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SECRET. Nº 76

E-61. **NOT FOR PUBLICATION.**

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No.* 201–*C.*)

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

CANADA.

Foreword.

THIS paper is written in the belief that the national feeling in Canada does not differ materially from that expressed by Sir Wilfred Laurier in 1909 when the following resolution proposed by him was unanimously agreed to after debate by the Canadian Parliament.

"This House fully recognises the duty of the people of Canada as they "increase in numbers and wealth to assume in larger measure the responsi- "bilities of National Defence. The House is of opinion that under the present "constitutional relations between the Mother Country and the self-governing "Dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the "Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not, so far as "Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of "defence.

"The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed "to promote the speedy organisation of a Canadian Naval Service in co-opera- "tion and close relation with the Imperial Navy, along the lines suggested by "the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the "view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of "commerce, the safety of the Empire and the peace of the world.

"The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises, the "Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that "is required to give the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty "co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and "honour of the Empire."

1. *Object.*

To summarise the Naval Situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Canada in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

It may be assumed that the Empire as a whole might be involved in war in defence of Canada or any other Dominion and that the sea communications in all parts of the Empire would be liable to attack in the event of such a war. It is the duty of the Admiralty to protect these communications, with the available British forces together with any forces placed at its disposal by Dominion Governments, on the outbreak of war.

An enemy would be lacking in the elements of strategy if he failed to reap any advantage which might accrue from the attack of a weakly held area.

Similarly, in time of peace, if it became known that arrangements did not exist to control on the outbreak of war the sea communications of any part of the Empire, foreign diplomacy in relation to such portions of the Empire might become more

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aggressive. It is necessary, in order to advise the Canadian Government as to what Naval forces she should maintain to assist in her own defence, to visualise the quarter from which danger may threaten.

The United States and Japan are the only Naval Powers which need be considered.

A war with the United States is regarded as almost unthinkable. The attitude of the Empire towards the possibility of such a conflict is shown by the fact that Canada has made no defensive preparations along her frontier such as are customary between even the most friendly foreign States, and that similarly the Admiralty has made no attempt to develop in the Western Atlantic any Naval Base, such as would be required if operations by the Main Fleet were contemplated in that area. None the less, in order not to be entirely helpless in the event of possible aggression, Canada does maintain a military organisation at a certain minimum strength and with a considerable capacity for expansion. But if so, then even from the point of view of Canada's southern frontier, it must be pointed out that Canadian Naval forces are no less necessary than Canadian Military forces.

A successful defence of the vital portion of the Canadian frontier depends upon the command in war of Lakes Ontario and Erie and the St. Lawrence River, when open to navigation.

The command of these waterways calls for Naval personnel, which cannot be built up at short notice when emergency arises.

When the projected improvements in the Canal system between the sea and Lake Erie permit the passage of large vessels, the Naval aspects of the defence of the Canadian land frontier will assume greater importance still.

That in such an event the possibility of reinforcements reaching Canada from the United Kingdom, or of Canadian trade being kept alive, will depend wholly upon the general Naval situation, and that any contribution Canada could make in sea-going strength would be invaluable, is obvious and need not be elaborated with reference to so remote a contingency as that of a conflict with the United States.

3. *The Naval Situation in Relation to Japan.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *status quo* Agreement cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific, which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Fleet base and the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming that the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Western Pacific.

In spite of the heavy burden for Naval defence which the people of Great Britain are bearing, it will not be possible, after providing the necessary Light Cruisers for the Main Fleet, to meet the world-wide calls for trade protection. The position of Canadian seaborne trade on the West Coast, in the event of hostilities with Japan, might be precarious under present conditions. The recommendations which have been made are intended partially to remedy the deficiency in Light Cruisers in North American waters.

They represent the minimum that, in the opinion of the Admiralty, is essential for the protection of trade in the Eastern Pacific and to prevent enemy raiders gaining access to the Atlantic.

As Canada has no Light Cruisers for the defence of her trade, the Admiralty war plan in the event of hostilities with Japan, necessitates the despatch of the greater part of the Light Cruiser Squadron maintained on the North America and West Indies Station in time of peace, and which would be urgently required to work with the Main Fleet, through the Panamá Canal to work off the West Coast, based on a Port in British Columbia.

It is intended as soon as possible after the outbreak of war to replace the squadron by older Light Cruisers and armed merchantmen, when the present ships of the North America and West Indies Squadron would proceed to Singapore.

The main task of the Naval Forces of the Empire in the Eastern Pacific will be :—

(*a.*) To assert economic pressure on Japan by preventing her trade with North or South America.
(*b.*) To protect Empire Trade in the Eastern Pacific from attack by raiders.
(*c.*) To prevent enemy raids on British Columbia.
(*d.*) To prevent enemy raiders gaining access to the Atlantic.

4. *Air Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the English Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Composition of Sea-going Dominion Navies.*

Light Cruisers are the smallest sea-going ships of the Fleet which can play a part in protecting our ocean trade routes in war or threatening the enemy's sea communications, and which can provide the necessary sea-going training in peace. To obtain and maintain full efficiency a Light Cruiser Squadron should consist of not less than four ships in full commission. *Submarines* are particularly suitable for aggressive action in the face of superior enemy forces, but a Light Cruiser Squadron is the more urgent requirement for the Canadian Navy, and for this reason and also to avoid the greater expense consequent upon maintaining two types of vessel in a small Navy, it is not recommended that Canada should acquire any submarines at present.

Destroyers are essentially a fleet weapon and are uneconomical for local defence or escort duties.

Those which Canada now possesses might well be retained for the peace training of officers and men, and for local defence, but it is not recommended that any more be acquired

6. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the Naval Defence requirements of Canada, as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese Light Cruiser Building Programme in 1928, as well as the financial and economic position of Canada, have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

7. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Composition of Sea-going Dominion Navies.*

Light Cruisers are the smallest sea-going ships of the Fleet which can play a part in protecting our ocean trade routes in war or threatening the enemy's sea communications, and which can provide the necessary sea-going training in peace. To obtain and maintain full efficiency a Light Cruiser Squadron should consist of not less than four ships in full commission. *Submarines* are particularly suitable for aggressive action in the face of superior enemy forces, but a Light Cruiser Squadron is the more urgent requirement for the Canadian Navy, and for this reason and also to avoid the greater expense consequent upon maintaining two types of vessel in a small Navy, it is not recommended that Canada should acquire any submarines at present.

Destroyers are essentially a fleet weapon and are uneconomical for local defence or escort duties.

Those which Canada now possesses might well be retained for the peace training of officers and men, and for local defence, but it is not recommended that any more be acquired

6. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the Naval Defence requirements of Canada, as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese Light Cruiser Building Programme in 1928, as well as the financial and economic position of Canada, have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

7. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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CANADA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—General.

1. It is assumed that the Canadian Navy is now ready to pass from Phase 1 into Phase 2, of which the following is a description (C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C) :—

"In the second phase, the first definite steps are taken in the creation of "a force for work on the high seas, as opposed to a local defence force. This "phase involves the obtaining of one or more sea-going ships, and in the first "instance, it may be necessary, for financial and other reasons, to obtain both "the ships themselves and a portion, at any rate, of the personnel from the "Royal Navy.

"Throughout this phase the necessary training, repair and fuelling "facilities should gradually be built up for the next phase."

2. The Admiralty is prepared to assist the Canadian Navy during Phase 2, either by the loan of ships and personnel or by receiving Canadian personnel for training in ships of the Royal Navy until a Canadian ship is available.

3. The proposals which follow are intended to enable the Canadian Navy to reach Phase 3 (sea-going squadron) about ten years hence.

II.—Ships.

Existing R.C.N. Ships and their Life.

Light Cruiser "Aurora."

4. Light Cruisers which took part in the war are assessed to last twelve years, but owing to the financial stringency it is considered that this must be increased to the normal of fifteen years.

H.M.C.S. "Aurora" was completed in 1913, and is therefore considered to reach the replacement age in 1928.

It is recommended that this vessel be kept efficient for use in an emergency until replaced.

Destroyers.

5. The useful life of Destroyers is estimated at eight and twelve years respectively, according to whether they took part in the war or not. As in the case of Light Cruisers, it is considered that for financial reasons a life of not less than fifteen years must be accepted for all.

This life may even have to be extended in the case of Destroyers retained for Local Defence purposes.

6. Applying the above to the Canadian Destroyers :—

T.B.D's.	Date of Completion.	Estimated Life.	Year due for replacement by Auxiliary Patrol Vessels (*vide* paragraph 3 below).
Patriot	1916	15 years	1931
Patrician	1916	15 years	1931

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Submarines.

7. *Submarines for Training in Anti-submarine Work.*—For reasons already explained, it is not recommended that the Canadian Navy should include a submarine flotilla at present.

It is suggested, however, that submarines C.H. 14 and C.H. 15 should be retained for the purpose of training the personnel of the Auxiliary Patrol Force in anti-submarine work.

8. It is recommended that one or two sets of Asdic Gear be obtained later, when this gear has emerged from the experimental stage. For the purpose of gaining experience and training personnel, these sets might be fitted in the "Patriot" and "Patrician" until such time as the design of a suitable type of vessel for the purpose is evolved (see paras. 6, 10 and 15).

Types of Ships recommended for the R.C.N.

Light Cruisers.

9. Displacement	...	Limited by the Washington Agreement to 10,000 tons.
Speed ...	...	Sufficiently high to avoid action with enemy Battle Cruisers and not less than 33 knots.
Endurance	...	6,500 miles if possible.
Fuel ...	...	Oil burning.
Armament	...	7·5-inch or preferably 8-inch, which is the maximum permissible by the Washington Agreement. Anti-aircraft Guns. Torpedo Tubes if obtainable without a reduction in speed or endurance.
Armour	...	Protected Deck.
Cost ...	...	Approximately 10,000,000 dollars.

The above are the sketch outlines for the design of Foreign Service Light Cruisers now being got out in the Admiralty.

Auxiliary Patrol Craft, Minesweepers and Anti-S/M Craft.

10. The question of the design of vessels most suitable for the above purposes is under consideration.

The R.C.N. trawlers are suitable minesweeping craft.

11. It is recommended that dormant arrangements be made in peace to take up on the outbreak of war the additional craft necessary for the above Services.

Suggested Building Programme for the R.C.N.

Light Cruisers.

12. It is suggested that 3 Light Cruisers be built during the next twelve years.

13. In order to assist the Canadian Navy to pass from Phase 2 to Phase 3 (*vide* C.I.D. Paper 194–C), the Admiralty is prepared to recommend that a fourth Light Cruiser be provided and maintained by Great Britain and lent to the Canadian Navy to form a squadron of 4 ships, as soon as the Canadian Government is prepared to take over the Naval Station.

Squadron Oiler.

14. It is recommended that one oiler be obtained for the use of the squadron.

A.P. Craft.

15. It is recommended that the R.C.N. Destroyers be retained until a satisfactory design of special craft has been evolved.

16. *Summary of Cost of Proposed Building Programme.*

—	Approximate Year laid down.	Approximate Cost.
1 Light Cruiser	1924	$10,000,000
1 Light Cruiser	1928	10,000,000
1 Light Cruiser	1932	10,000,000
1 Squadron Oiler...	1925	400,000
Auxiliary Patrol Vessels	...	600,000
		$31,000,000

The above programme, if spread over approximately twelve years, making an average cost of, say, $2,500,000 a year.

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III.—War Plans.

17. The initial disposition of a Canadian Light Cruiser Squadron of 4 ships in the event of war with Japan might well be as follows :—

On the Pacific Coast—

3 Light Cruisers.

On the Atlantic Coast—

1 Light Cruiser.

IV.—Repair Ports and Fuelling Ports.

18. It is recommended that the existing Naval Yards and Armament Depots at Halifax and Esquimalt be kept up to date so as to be able, with the assistance of local commercial facilities, to cope with the refits and docking of modern Light Cruisers. In the event of war with Japan Esquimalt will assume great importance.

V.—Trade.

19. The Trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings :—

Naval Control Service	...	...	Protection.
Naval Control Service	...	...	Contraband Control.

20. It is recommended that the provision of the Naval crews for defensively equipped merchant-vessels, together with the personnel and craft for routeing and convoy and for contraband control, be regarded as an urgent requirement.

VI.—Personnel.

Officers.

21. The first essential for the progressive growth of a Dominion Navy is a constant source of supply of officers, more especially officers of the Military Branch, the extensive and specialised training for which precludes its rapid expansion in time of need.

Any considerable gap in the list of officers causes an uneven flow of promotion, which is most undesirable both for the Services and for the officers themselves. In the past it has been possible for the Dominions to rely on borrowing officers from the Royal Navy when insufficient Dominion officers were available, but the recent reduction in junior officers of the Royal Navy will render it increasingly difficult as time goes on to loan any considerable number of officers to Dominion Navies.

22. To meet the difficulty the following courses appear open to the Canadian Government :—

(*a.*) To reopen the Royal Naval College of Canada.
(*b.*) To send officers overseas for training.
(*c.*) To institute a Naval class in the Royal Military College of Canada, for the training of Cadets entered on a system analogous to the special entry system in force in the Royal Navy.

23. In regard to the second alternative, the Admiralty would willingly train a limited number of Cadets of the Royal Canadian Navy at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, but the limited accommodation available makes it impossible to guarantee that more than a very small number can be accepted in any one year.

The only other Naval College in the Empire is the R.A.N. College at Jervis Bay, which is three times as far distant from Canada.

Personnel: Men.

24. The building up of personnel to enable a Dominion Navy to pass from Phase 1 to Phase 2 may present difficulties in a country with small maritime

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population. The first essential is to educate public opinion as to the value of sea power, so that the Navy may be regarded by all parties and sections of the community as a national necessity and asset. The political support of all parties and the encouragement of the Canadian Navy League are some of the methods which suggest themselves.

25. The most powerful incentive to recruiting, however, is the prospect of foreign service, and this can be arranged in the following manner :—

During Phases 1 *and* 2.

By carrying out the sea-going training of recruits either in a Dominion ship which cruises abroad or by sending the men to ships of the R.N. on other stations.

During Phase 3.

By arranging the regular exchanges of H.M.C. ships with H.M. ships on other stations.

Specialist Training.

26. Schools for specialist training in the various technical branches on the small scale necessary in a Dominion Navy are very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

VII.—Communications.

27. It is recommended that the high-power stations, which it is understood will be erected at Montreal and Vancouver, be fitted to broadcast to ships on wave-lengths of not more than 20,000 metres.

28. It is recommended that arrangements be made whereby all commercial W/T stations in Canada, which may be required for Naval purposes, be placed under Naval discipline in war. This might well be effected by arranging that the existing personnel of these stations be enrolled as Naval ranks and ratings on the outbreak of war.

In peace, as many as possible should be encouraged to join the R.C.N.V.R.

VIII.—Stores.

Fuel.

29. Experience has shown that it is unsafe to depend upon normal commercial supplies of fuel in time of war, for the following reasons :—

(*a.*) Difficulties of transport.
(*b.*) Difficulty of obtaining commercial supplies owing to abnormal demand.
(*c.*) Grade of commercial oil not necessarily suitable for Naval purposes.

War Reserve.

30. It is recommended that 110,000 tons of oil fuel be maintained in Canada as a war reserve.

This quantity is approximate and has been arrived at as follows :—

	Tons of Oil Fuel.
4 oil-burning Light Cruisers (one year's war consumption)	96,000
2 T.B.D's. used as Local Defence Craft : one year's war consumption (equivalent to half ordinary war consumption because of employment)	12,000
Squadron Oiler	2,000
	110,000

31. It is recommended that this oil and the necessary storage be provided during the next eight years at a total cost of approximately $2,600,000, or an annual cost of $325,000.

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Positioning of Oil Reserves.

32. It is recommended that a reserve of 80,000 tons of oil fuel be established on the Pacific Coast, in the vicinity of Esquimalt, and that 30,000 tons be stored at Halifax, at both places in Government-owned tanks.

Peace Requirements.

33. The basis adopted in the Royal Navy for calculating the allowance of fuel for vessels in commission is to take the probable number of days steaming and add the estimated consumption for auxiliary purposes and for the authorised trials at special speeds.

Armament Supplies.

34. The manufacture of Armament Supplies on a small scale is uneconomical, though on the other hand it is desirable in principle that Dominion Navies should be self-contained in this as in other respects.

For these reasons, it is recommended that Canada should manufacture armament supplies whenever local production would prove economical, but in other cases it appears undesirable to incur expenditure which does not produce additional Naval strength.

35. Independent Naval Inspection during manufacture of armament supplies intended for use on board H.M.C. ships is considered essential.

Naval and Victualling Stores.

36. The fact that nearly all Naval and Victualling Stores required for the R.C.N. are obtainable in Canada is highly satisfactory.

IX.—Local Defence.

37. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports Oversea, to examine at the same time the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence and for defences on land.

X.—Air Co-operation.

38. It is recommended that future Canadian Light Cruisers be built to carry one or more amphibians.

39. An aerial patrol of the Coast of British Columbia would materially assist local Naval Defence Forces in the event of war with Japan.

XI.—Hydrographic.

40. It is suggested that the present system of exchange of publications resulting from the Surveying work undertaken by the Dominion be developed.

The Admiralty has recently ceased to publish charts of the River St. Lawrence above Quebec, thus depending upon the Canadian charts of these pilotage waters.

It is very desirable that charts published by the Hydrographic Departments of the Empire should be co-ordinated as far as possible.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.

P.D. 01843.

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E. 62. **NOT FOR PUBLICATION.**

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No. 202–C.*)

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *Object.*

TO summarise the Naval situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to South Africa in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper 194–C.

2. *The Naval Situation: General.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and, by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct, Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations to enable a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, viâ the Suez Canal, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Should the Main Fleet be unable to use the Suez Canal for any reason, it would have to fall back on the far longer Cape route. It is not recommended, however, that the oil supplies on this route should be developed at the present time to the same extent as on the Suez Canal route.

3. *Effect of Air Power.*

The control in war of the sea communications of the Empire can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters such as the Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can undoubtedly assist by acting in co-operation with surface vessels in keeping open our sea communications.

4. *South Africa.*

South African waters are unlikely to be the sphere of any main operations, and, except for the contingency of the Main Fleet using the Cape route, the Naval problem

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is therefore chiefly one of protecting Empire trade and of interfering with that of the enemy.

South Africa commands trade routes, East and West, on which the prosperity and economic existence of the Union depend. The focal points and terminals of these routes in South African waters invite attack, and with their protection the Union is vitally concerned. Such protection will, of course, be given by the British Fleet so far as resources admit and the requirements of other areas will allow.

It is felt, however, that South Africa will be reluctant always to rely on Great Britain for the protection of her overseas trade, and, as soon as she feels able to emerge from Phase I and take her part with sea-going forces in the Naval Defence of the Empire, it is considered that she can best do so by assisting in the task of safeguarding the Imperial Trade routes in those waters in which she herself is concerned.

5. *Composition of South African Naval Forces.*

In addition to the general protection afforded by the operations of the Main Fleet, trade defence in South African waters involves a convoy system and local defence arrangements (*i.e.*, minesweeping, anti-submarine patrols, &c.) supported by a Light Cruiser force.

South Africa has already undertaken her share in the preparations for a world-wide convoy system and has instituted measures for local defence. It only remains, therefore, for her to take steps to expand her Naval forces so that they may include the necessary Light Cruisers as soon as her finances admit.

Light Cruisers are the smallest type of vessel which can play a part in protecting ocean trade routes and which can supply the necessary sea-going training in peace.

6. *Scale of Forces Recommended.*

While it is recognised that at the moment the economic and financial condition of South Africa may prevent any considerable increase in Naval expenditure, yet it is considered that the size and importance of South Africa call for a development of her Navy from Phase I to Phase II at no distant date.

It has therefore been assumed in framing the following recommendations that South Africa will desire in the near future to take steps to expand her Naval forces.

At the same time, it has not been possible to consider the Naval forces of one Dominion without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by others and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

7. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire.

The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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SOUTH AFRICA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—Ships.

1. It is recommended that South Africa should aim at maintaining, in the not too distant future, a cruiser force of two ships.

2. The process of working up must be a gradual one, and the composition and development of the South African forces must depend largely on the question of personnel. As a first step, it is recommended that a sloop should be added to the present force, to be followed by a second as soon as circumstances permit. Subsequently these two vessels could be replaced by a Light Cruiser.

The annual cost of maintenance of a British sloop on the South African Station is £38,750, and of a Light Cruiser is £163,100.

Provision of Ships.

3. As it appears that the cost of providing her own ships at this stage would hamper the naval effort of South Africa and hinder the development of sea-going forces, the Admiralty is prepared, in accordance with the principle of assisting the development of Dominion Navies, to recommend that such vessels as the Union may want for this purpose should be provided from the British Fleet and exchanged for others from the same source as necessary.

4. The maintenance by South Africa of seagoing forces is considered of the first importance, and to this end a shipbuilding policy should take second place until such time as both are possible.

II.—Local Defences.

5. The defences of Simonstown will be examined and any requirements that may be found necessary will be put forward in due course.

6. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports oversea, to examine, at the same time, the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence, and for defences on land.

7. The minesweeping organisation already instituted is a step of great value in this direction.

III.—Trade.

8. The Trade arrangements recommended have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings: "Naval Control Service—Protection," "Naval Control Service—Contraband Control."

IV.—Personnel.

9. The personnel necessary for the proposed increase in the South African Naval Forces can only be built up gradually, and in doing so it is most desirable that a system should be adopted which will facilitate regular advancement and even distribution in all grades. This can be achieved if a definite number of officers and men are entered yearly on a long-service system.

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10. Until sufficient South African personnel is available, British personnel will be loaned when desired to supply any deficiency. It is probable that some South Africans already in the British Navy would volunteer for this service.

Officers.

11. It is recommended that a few Officers should be entered yearly at Dartmouth as cadets and should receive their early training in the British Navy, but the limited accommodation available makes it impossible to guarantee that more than a very small number can be accepted in any one year. This would be in addition to existing arrangements whereby four cadetships in the British Navy are open to South African candidates.

12. It is recommended that from 25 to 50 men should be entered yearly from the training ship "General Botha."

Until South African Naval Forces are large enough to absorb all of these, they can be trained in the ships of the British Squadron in place of the 25 boys at present entered from the same source.

Training.

13. Schools for the higher specialist training of ratings on the small scale necessary for the South African Naval Forces would be very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

Reserves.

14. The R.N.V.R. organisation will enable the personnel required for trade protection and Local Defence measures to be provided and the numbers enrolled should be based on these requirements. The period of four years' service might be increased with advantage, in the case of promising men, to provide higher ratings with more sea experience.

15. Any steps that could be taken to encourage the fishing industry and coasting trade would increase the local seafaring population and would be of great value in war.

Interchange.

16. For some time to come the South African Naval Service will be too small to ensure within itself that circulation of personnel and variety of duties which is necessary to prevent stagnation and inefficiency. It has been in existence too short a time at present for such symptoms to develop, but it is considered that a system of interchange of personnel with the British Navy is essential if a healthy growth is to be maintained. Later, when South Africa possesses Light Cruisers, periodical interchange of these with British ships is recommended.

V.—Fuel Supplies.

17. The 24,000 tons of Oil Fuel and Storage which South Africa is providing at Simonstown are of great strategic value in connection with secondary operations in South African waters, as well as forming a reserve to meet part of the requirements for the passage of the Fleet to the East viâ the Cape, should that route have to be used.

18. In the future, when the class of ship now on the station is replaced by an oil-burning type, it may be found necessary to recommend that this reserve be increased.

VI.—Communications.

19. As part of the scheme of Imperial communications in war, the requirements of wireless in South African waters are as follows:—

(1.) Ability to broadcast messages to ships within 2,000 miles of South Africa.
(2.) Ability to communicate direct with His Majesty's Ships within 1,500 miles of South Africa.
(3.) Ability to communicate with Mauritius and the proposed stations at St. Helena and Falkland Islands.

20. The proposed High Power Station will fulfil (1) and (3) of the above, and it is recommended should be able to transmit a wave of not more than 20,000 metres for the purpose.

21. The second requirement will be met if Port Nolloth and Durban (Jacobs) Wireless Telegraphy Stations are modernised and kept ready for use when required, should it be found impossible to keep them in constant use.

It is also important that the personnel of these stations should be under Naval discipline in war time, and it is therefore recommended that they should be enrolled in the R.N.V.R.

VII.—Air Co-operation.

22. Aerial co-operation in reconnaissance and patrol of local waters will be of great value and will lighten the task of the naval forces considerably.

It is recommended that a proportion of the South African Air Force should be suitably equipped and trained for this work.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.

P.D. 01844/23.

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E. 63. **NOT FOR PUBLICATION.**

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No. 203–C.*)

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE. 76

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

1. *Object.*

To give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Newfoundland in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper 194–C.

2. *The Position of Newfoundland in regard to Naval Defence.*

Newfoundland differs from other Dominions because her small population will render it difficult, if not impossible, for her naval forces to follow the phases of development of a Dominion Navy as defined in C.I.D. 194–C. On the other hand, Newfoundland has a relatively large maritime population which is capable of providing for more than the numbers necessary for the local defence of the Colony.

It is therefore recommended in her case that the line of development should consist in providing trained seamen for manning in war British light cruisers and armed merchantmen detailed for the defence of the trade of the Empire.

3. *The Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve.*

The value to the Empire of Newfoundland seamen in the late war is well expressed in a report on the blockade of Germany by the 10th Cruiser Squadron in the Atlantic :—

> "The boarding of vessels was a very hazardous undertaking; generally the "boat's crew consisted of Newfoundland fishermen.
>
> "Each ship had a few of these excellent Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve "seamen on board, and they handled the boarding boats with such skill in the heavy "seas that, marvellous to relate, no lives were lost, though in a few instances the "boats got stove in alongside the vessels they were boarding."

The Admiralty decision to withdraw in 1922 H.M.S. "Briton" from her duties as training vessel for the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve was not due to any lack of appreciation of the past work or potential value of the Reserve, but was solely because Their Lordships had no funds at their disposal with which to provide the increased pay and retaining fees necessary to obtain recruits under post-war conditions, or to build and equip a training depot at St. John's. Under present conditions, and owing to the difficulty of providing a suitable berth alongside for a training vessel, it is considered that a shore barracks or armoury would be the most suitable form of training establishment to-day.

4. *Basis of Proposals.*

The outline proposals which follow take into consideration the financial and economic position of Newfoundland and are based upon the Admiralty scheme put forward in 1922 (*vide* Appendix) with certain additions and amendments.

5. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

6. *Administration and Command.*

(Reference: Paragraph 11 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

If the Newfoundland Government desired to place the Reserve under the command of the Commander-in Chief, North America and West Indies Station in time of peace, this could be arranged. The Commander-in-Chief could direct the training of the force, and, in conjunction with the local authorities, make the necessary arrangements for mobilisation in time of war or emergency. Under this arrangement the local administration of the Newfoundland Reserve would be carried out by the Newfoundland Government through its Commanding Officer.

7. *Training.*

(Reference: Paragraphs 9 and 10 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

Should the Newfoundland Government agree in principle to these proposals the question of training will require consideration. The cost of a sea-going training ship similar to "Lobelia" would be excessive, and the only alternative appears to be the institution of a drill hall ashore, possibly combined with service afloat in ships of the North America and West Indies squadron.

8. *Numbers Recommended.*

The numbers which can be trained must depend upon the financial provision which the Newfoundland Government is able to make, together with the rates of pay and gratuity which they decide upon.

If the present Admiralty scale is taken, a force of 200 men carrying out the Admiralty schedule of training would cost about $35,000 a year.

The above approximate estimate is inclusive of an administrative and instructional staff, but exclusive of the cost and maintenance of a drill hall.

Two hundred men are considered to be the smallest number that it would be economical to raise, and it is suggested that this number should be increased whenever possible to a maximum of 1,000.

9. *Administrative and Instructional Personnel.*

(Reference: Paragraph 13 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

It should be explained that the recommendation to employ a retired officer and pensioned petty officers for this purpose was made with a view to saving the Newfoundland Government the expense of paying the pension contribution that would be necessary, in addition to full pay, in the case of active service personnel.

If the latter is preferred, however, the necessary arrangements can be made, and in either case great care would be taken in their selection.

The Officer in Charge would be responsible to the Government Department concerned for the administration of the Force. He would require the assistance of a registrar, who could combine the duties with that of accountant and victualling officer, with the aid of one clerical assistant.

With a total of 200 men, the numbers under training at one time are not likely to exceed 40, and it is therefore considered that the Instructional Staff of 4 petty officers previously recommended might be reduced by 2, thus compensating in part for the expense of a registrar and clerk.

10. *Admiralty Assistance in the Re-construction of a Newfoundland R.N.R.*

The Admiralty are prepared to render all assistance towards the re-establishment of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve that is within their power. In particular, they are prepared to recommend the provision, free of cost, of a first supply of guns and all equipment necessary for training purposes in a drill hall on shore.

They will also supply on repayment all Naval and victualling stores required by the Force from time to time.

Admiralty, July 21, 1923.
P.D. 01839.

C 63026

APPENDIX I.

Telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Newfoundland, January 9, 1922.

January 9.

Your telegram, 6th December. Admiralty anxious to assist Newfoundland Government in development of Royal Naval Reserve, but are not in a position to incur any increased expense during financial year as provision not made in Navy Estimates. Definite proposals for future are being drawn up and will be forwarded for consideration as soon as possible. As regards "Briton," Admiralty of opinion that training could be carried out more economically on shore, and new scheme contemplates this. Crew of "Briton" has been withdrawn, and Admiralty would prefer to proceed with sale of vessel, expense of maintenance of which is not justified, in their opinion. Admiralty will reserve from sale guns, mountings and any stores or appliances on board which may be of use for training reserves on shore and transfer them without charge to Newfoundland Government if desired.

APPENDIX II.

Enclosure to Letter from Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Newfoundland, dated April 21, 1922.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

In continuation of Admiralty letter of the 6th January, M. 33039/21, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that they have given careful consideration to the question of the future of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve.

2. This Reserve has hitherto been administered under the Royal Naval Reserve Acts, 1859, 1896 and 1902, and the cost of its maintenance has accordingly fallen upon Imperial funds, except for the annual contribution of £3,000 paid by the Newfoundland Government as long as the numbers borne are not less than 600.

3. It will be recalled that at the time of the inception of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve the existing law precluded the Imperial Government from maintaining a division of the Royal Naval Reserve composed of men not employed in merchant vessels registered in the United Kingdom. It was therefore suggested in Admiralty Letter "N" of the 20th May, 1901, that the Newfoundland Government should introduce legislation to enable them to raise such a force under the Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865. The Newfoundland Government were not prepared, however, to incur the cost of such a scheme, and steps were therefore taken, by the passage of the Royal Naval Reserve Act of 1902, to secure the necessary powers for the Imperial Government.

4. In the present financial situation my Lords do not consider that they would be warranted in incurring further expense in connection with the maintenance of Naval Forces in Dominions and Colonies in cases where the Dominion or Colony is itself able to accept the burden. They suggest, therefore, that any Naval Reserve in Newfoundland should in future be raised and maintained at the charge of the Newfoundland Government, and that steps should be taken by that Government, if willing, to obtain the necessary powers from the Newfoundland Legislature, due provision being made for the application of the Naval Discipline Act to Newfoundland Reservists during periods of drill, training and mobilised service.

5. Assuming that this view is accepted by the Dominion Government, my Lords confine themselves to suggesting the main lines which the future regulations of the Force should follow.

6. The Force should be trained primarily for the defence of Newfoundland. It is desirable, however, on general grounds that the men should be entered on the terms that, in the event of an emergency, they would be liable to general service in the Royal Navy, provided that an offer of their services has been made by the Dominion Government and accepted by His Majesty's Government under Section 7 of the Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865. It is impossible to forecast every situation which may arise in war, and it would be a source of weakness to the defence of the Empire if sections of the Naval Forces were entered without any other liability than to serve defences.

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7. My Lords consider that the period of engagement of Newfoundland Reservists should continue to be for five years, as in the case of the Royal Naval Reserve raised in this country, and that they should be encouraged to re-engage for similar periods of five years each. It is desirable that the periods of drill, details of training and qualifications for advancement in vacancies should follow those of the Royal Naval Reserve in Great Britain as far as possible. A copy of Admiralty Fleet Order 526/21 showing the principal new regulations in force for the latter is enclosed for information.

8. The rates of pay, &c., would be a question for the Newfoundland Government, but it appears desirable that the rates of pay and allowances while under training in His Majesty's ships (if such mode of training should ever be adopted) or when called up on mobilisation should be those in force for the time being in the Royal Navy.

9. Except as stated in the next paragraph, it would be sufficient to confine recruiting to the Seaman Branch as in the past, and the Force should be trained with a view to their performing the following principal duties :—

(*a.*) Examination service and traffic control (for this purpose it would be desirable that a proportion of seaman ratings should be selected for additional instruction in signalling).
(*b.*) Coast watching, signals and manipulation of searchlights.
(*c.*) To man a gun 4·7 and below.
(*d.*) To use a rifle.

The particulars of training contained in the enclosures* to this letter will serve as an indication of the nature and extent of the training required.

10. The desirability of making provision for minesweeping is under consideration ; if minesweeping training should prove to be necessary a proportion of chief enginemen and enginemen should be entered.

11. The administration of the Force would be a matter for the Newfoundland Government. If the Newfoundland Government so desire the Admiralty would be prepared to direct the Commander-in-Chief, North America and West Indies Station, to assist by his advice in any way possible.

12. The question of raising officers for the Force is recommended for consideration. If raised, it is desirable that they should take an active part in drilling and instructing the men, so as to gain prestige and acquire executive ability.

13. It would probably be found desirable for the Newfoundland Government to employ for a period of about four years a small professional staff, consisting of one Commissioned Officer R.N. (retired) and four Petty Officers R.N. (pensioners). At the expiration of the four years it is hoped that sufficient instructors, both officers and men, will have been trained from the Newfoundland Force to enable them to carry on the instruction as a self-contained unit.

14. Should the Newfoundland Government concur generally in the foregoing suggestions, my Lords would be ready to advise, if desired, as to the steps necessary to establish the force on a proper legal basis, and also as to mobilisation arrangements.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) CHARLES WALKER.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Colonial Office, S.W. 1.

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* Not printed.

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SECRET. C 63028

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on the Limits of Territorial Waters.

AS the result of correspondence between the Foreign Office and the Admiralty, an Inter-Departmental Committee was convened for the purpose of preparing, for reference to the Dominions and India, a draft memorandum regarding the adoption of a common policy for the Empire in respect of the limits of territorial waters. It is anticipated that this question will receive consideration at the Imperial Conference to be held in October 1923.

2. The Committee met at the Admiralty on the 4th, 11th and 22nd January, 6th and 22nd February, and 16th April. Representatives attended from the following Departments :—

Home Office.
Foreign Office.
Colonial Office.
India Office.
Admiralty.
Board of Trade.
Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.
Board of Customs and Excise.
Scottish Office.
Fishery Board for Scotland.

3. The accompanying memorandum has been drawn up as the result of the deliberations of the Committee.

4. In view of recent war experience, the Admiralty representatives emphasised the paramount importance of opposing any recognition of territorial waters beyond the 3-mile limit. So far as the open coast is concerned, the Committee were unanimously in agreement with this view, which is in accordance with the traditional policy of the British Empire.

5. With regard, however, to the question of bays and other inlets, it is unanimously recognised that exceptions to the strict application of this rule must be made in the case of certain areas described in paragraph 16 of the memorandum as territorial inlets. It is also agreed that in the case of bays whose width at the entrance does not exceed 6 miles, universal practice is in favour of placing the limit of territorial waters 3 miles to the seaward of a straight line drawn across the entrance.

6. It has also been proposed by the representatives of the Scottish Departments concerned in fishery administration that a further exception, applicable to fishery purposes only, should be made in the case of bays. They consider that British policy should be directed to obtaining universal recognition for the 10-mile bay rule, as embodied in the North Sea Fisheries Convention of 1882, as a general rule for all countries, but applying to fisheries only ; in other words, that the 3-mile limit in bays should have as its starting point a line drawn across the bay at the first point where the width does not exceed 10 miles.

7. The arguments adduced by them in support of this proposal are briefly :—

(1.) The special practical significance of the 10-mile bay rule in the case of fisheries, which is referred to in paragraph 9 of the memorandum ;
(2.) The recognition by British practice and certain utterances of British statesmen and by international jurists of the view that the 3-mile limit is subject to some qualification in its application to bays of a certain width ;
(3.) The desirability of substituting a general rule in place of the limited measure of uniformity already attained by separate international conventions, which they regard rather as giving formal recognition and definition to an existing principle than as introducing a new one ; and
(4.) The special importance of the proposed rule to Scotland, whose coast is much indented by bays and inlets and is inhabited by a large fishing population.

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8. The other members of the Committee feel that if the British Delegates at an International Conference took the initiative in proposing this rule for fishery purposes it would render it more difficult for them to oppose wider claims not necessarily limited to fisheries. These difficulties would not arise in the same degree if the policy adopted were not to put forward this rule, but to accept it, for fishery purposes only, on its being proposed by other Powers with substantial support; and on these lines the Committee have found it possible to reach an agreed conclusion, which is expressed in paragraph 20 of the memorandum.

(Signed)

F. C. LEARMONTH, Rear-Admiral and Hydrographer (*Chairman*)	Admiralty.
J. V. CREAGH ...	
W. H. HANCOCK ...	
R. T. GOULD	
M. SHEARMAN	Foreign Office.
JOHN RISLEY	Colonial Office.
J. C. WALTON	India Office.
P. J. ROSE	Scottish Office.
G. A. STEEL	
DAVID T. JONES ...	Fishery Board for Scotland.
HENRY G. MAURICE	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.
H. S. MOSS-BLUNDELL	
G. E. BAKER	Board of Trade.
A. E. LEE	
B. HAWKINS	Board of Customs and Excise.
WILLIAM CHRISTIAN	
L. S. BRASS	Home Office.

June 1923.

(Confidential.)

Memorandum regarding a Common Policy for the British Empire on the Question of the Limits of Territorial Waters.

The question of the extent of territorial waters is of the greatest importance to the British Empire, particularly in time of war, when any considerable extension of territorial waters would gravely hamper the exercise of naval power. As is well known, the views of this country and of a number of other Powers are by no means in agreement, and it is probable that it will be impossible to avoid an international conference on the subject in the near future. It is therefore essential that a common policy for the Empire with regard to all aspects of the question should be arrived at by mutual agreement, thus enabling a united front to be presented to any proposed alteration of the present conditions which would operate to the disadvantage of the Empire.

2. While fully recognising the importance which must be attached to the other aspects of the questions (fisheries, customs, &c.), it is considered that the naval aspect is, from the Empire point of view, of pre-eminent importance, and that consequently the object to be aimed at is, generally speaking, to reduce as far as possible the restrictions placed by territorial waters upon the exercise of naval power.

3. His Majesty's Government have always opposed the recognition by this country of the claim of any other Power to exercise jurisdiction outside a 3-mile limit, which has generally come to be understood as the envelope of all circles of a radius of 3 nautical miles whose centres are on the low-water mark of the coastline.

4. This limit has also been adopted by most other Powers, but some exemptions from its rigid application are generally claimed, particularly as regards bays, while several Powers refuse *in toto* to accept this limit and put forward varied claims to wider limits.

5. The following are the principal Powers that recognise the 3-mile limit:—

Great Britain, United States of America, Japan, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Portugal and Austria.

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. Wider limits as shown below are understood to be claimed by certain Powers:—

Power.	Extent of Territorial Waters Claimed.	For what Purposes.	Remarks.
Spain	6 miles	All	Old-standing claim.
Norway	4 miles	All	Old-standing claim; mutually recognised by the three countries named, but not by other Powers.
Sweden			
Denmark*			
Norway	10 miles	Customs...	Recent claim; intended to aid enforcement of prohibition.
Russia	12 miles	Mainly fisheries ...	Recent revival of unsuccessful claim made in 1911.
France	6 miles	Fisheries (in Morocco) and Neutrality	Accepts 3 miles for exclusive fishery limits in the North Sea and in the English Channel under Fishery Conventions.
Italy ...	10 miles	Control of merchant vessels	Law of 1912.
	6 miles	Neutrality	Decree of 1914.
Greece	10 miles	Neutrality	Put forward in 1913
Uruguay	5 miles	All	Put forward in 1914.
Ecuador	12 miles	Neutrality	Put forward in 1914.
Colombia	12 miles	Fisheries. Deposits of hydrocarbons	Put forward in 1923.

* Denmark has accepted the 3-mile limit for purpose of exclusive fishery limits in the North Sea.

7. In addition to these claims to a greater limit of territorial waters than 3 miles, special territorial rights over certain bays, &c., are claimed by various Powers, including both those who do, and those who do not, accept the principle of the 3-mile limit.

8. There also appears to be a growing tendency to claim for all purposes the application of a rule laid down in various Fishery Conventions that for purposes of fishery protection the 3-mile limit in bays should have as its starting-point a line drawn across the bay at the first point where the width does not exceed 10 miles.

9. In the case of fisheries, as distinguished from other purposes, a practical basis can be adduced in support of the 10-mile rule for bays. In a bay of 10 miles or less in width, fishing in the narrow limits of the free waters between the 3-mile lines drawn on each side of the bay would be impracticable. If foreign fishing craft were allowed to fish in such a small space, there would be a constant risk of their violating territorial waters. They are, therefore, in certain cases excluded altogether from such bays by International Convention.

POLICY PROPOSED FOR ADOPTION.

10. After careful examination of the question, four draft resolutions are put forward as embodying the policy proposed.

Resolution 1.

It is essential that the general limit of territorial waters should be fixed at a distance of 3 miles from low-water mark.

11. This resolution is in accordance with the policy of this country for upwards of a century past. So long as the Empire depends upon Naval supremacy it is essential that any extension should be vigorously opposed, as it would gravely interfere with the successful conduct of naval operations, both those of a military nature and those connected with the extremely important and difficult operations for cutting off an enemy's sea-borne commerce.

12. One of the principal reasons, apart from the consequent restriction of the "high-seas," against widening the present 3-mile maritime belt is that the difficulty of determining with accuracy, either by observations taken on board or from shore, whether a ship is within the maritime belt or not is found in practice to be considerable even before the 3-mile limit is reached while it increases very rapidly beyond this limit.

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13. From the point of view of a neutral Power such extension is also objectionable, as increasing the responsibilities imposed upon that Power by the necessity of preserving its territorial waters from violation by belligerents.

14. The starting-point of the maritime belt (*i.e.*, whether the latter should be measured from low-water mark, high-water mark, or any other definition) is to some extent a moot point, but the general consensus of opinion amongst the various Powers is that the low-water mark should be adopted.

Resolution 2.

The limit of territorial waters should be the same for the purposes of belligerency, neutrality, customs, fisheries, control of vessels, and all other purposes

15. It is considered than when rights outside the 3-mile limit are once conceded for any purpose, it becomes more difficult to refuse to recognise similar rights for other purposes. Any jurisdiction beyond the normal 3-mile limit must be based on special international agreement.

Special areas may, however, be defined by International Convention, in which, with a view to the preservation of fish, trawling or other particular methods of fishing are prohibited to vessels of all countries that are parties to the Convention. The closing of such special areas would not involve any assertion of territorial rights over the waters in question.

Resolution 3.

The limit of territorial waters should, in the case of bays whose width at the entrance does not exceed 6 miles, be 3 miles to seaward of a straight line drawn across the entrance.

Similar territorial rights may, in addition, be admitted in respect of a certain number of larger bays or inlets, to be known as territorial inlets, which should be specifically enumerated and geographically defined.

16. Where the width of the entrance of an inlet (or, if there is more than one entrance, the widest) does not exceed 6 miles, it is generally recognised that the whole of the inner waters, however great their lateral extension, are territorial.

Territorial rights are, however, also claimed over certain inlets the width of whose entrances in many cases much exceeds twice the ordinary territorial limit

Those inlets include openings of all kinds. *i.e.*, bays, gulfs, estuaries and straits, and it is proposed to describe them by the special term "territorial inlets."

Such claims have in the past been based on :—

Configuration (that is, the shape and degree of enclosure of the area of water in question, with special reference to the extent to which it penetrates into the land),

either by itself or combined with one or more of the following reasons :—

(*a.*) That territorial rights are essential for reasons of national defence, safety or neutrality.
(*b.*) That sovereign jurisdiction has been exercised for a long period.
(*c.*) That territorial rights have been claimed for a long period.
(*d.*) That exclusive rights are necessary for the maintenance of the country's food supply, or for some other adequate economic reason.
(*e.*) That the waters in question are remote from general sea traffic routes.

17. It is recognised that it would probably be impossible and undesirable to obtain a general renunciation of these "historical" claims, or of similar future claims based on reasons mentioned in paragraph 16, and it is accordingly proposed that a schedule of such inlets within the Empire should be drawn up, stating the grounds on which exclusive jurisdiction is necessary or desirable, for consideration at an Imperial Conference. The policy of the Empire should, however, it is thought, be to restrict such claims as much as possible in order to prevent excessive claims by foreign Powers, which, if upheld, would seriously limit the exercise of naval power.

18. In the accompanying Appendix particulars are given of claims which have actually been made by foreign Powers. It is to be observed that in most cases they have not been substantiated.

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19. It has been proposed that the "10-mile bay rule" should be put forward as a general international rule *applicable to fisheries only*. In other words, that the "exclusive fishery limits" in bays should be generally recognised as including in all cases the waters within a distance of 3 miles measured from a straight line drawn across the bay in the part nearest the entrance at the first point where the width does not exceed 10 miles. This rule would be strictly limited to fishery purposes, and would not affect general territorial rights in bays.

20. It is however considered that while no strong objection can be taken to the 10-mile rule for bays being generally adopted, for fishery purposes only, if agreement to this effect can be negotiated with the other countries concerned, it is undesirable that the British Empire should take the initiative in any such negotiations.

Resolution 4.

The coast-line from the low-water mark of which the 3-mile limit of territorial waters should be measured is that of the mainland and also that of all islands. The word "island" covers all portions of territory permanently above high water in normal circumstances and capable of use or habitation.

21. The definition of the word "island" in the foregoing resolution is advanced as the best solution of an almost insuperable difficulty. On the one hand, it is essential that the area of territorial waters should not be unduly extended, firstly, on account of the consequent restriction of the action of His Majesty's ships in war, and, secondly, on account of the serious increase in the practical difficulty of determining a vessel's position if objects are low or indefinite ; on the other hand, there are certain legal decisions bearing on this question which cannot be ignored.

22. The phrase "capable of use or habitation" has been adopted as a compromise. It is intended that the words "capable of use" should mean capable, without artificial addition, of being used throughout all seasons for some definite commercial or defence purpose, and that "capable of habitation" should mean capable, without artificial addition, of permanent human habitation.

23. It is recognised that these criteria will in many cases admit of argument, but nothing more definite could be arrived at in view of the many divergent considerations involved. It is thought that no criteria could be selected that would not be open to some form of criticism.

September 27, 1923.

APPENDIX.

Extension of Foreign Maritime Jurisdiction over (1) *large Bays and* (2) *Straits.*

(Prepared by Foreign Office, January 1923.)

1. Bays.

Ecuador.

Gulf of Jambeli.—In 1915 the Ecuadorean Government claimed territorial jurisdiction over the waters of Jambeli channel from inside a line drawn 1 marine league west of Punta Salinas Point to 1 marine league west of the mouth of the Payana. The Gulf of Jambeli is an inlet of the sea between the mainland of Ecuador and the Island of Puna ; at its extremity it would appear to be upwards of 20 miles in width. The Government of Ecuador was informed that His Majesty's Government were unable to recognise territorial jurisdiction as extending beyond the usually recognised limit of 3 miles, whether along the open coast or in bays.

It may be observed that the waters at the mouth of the Payana are also claimed to be territorial waters of the Republic of Peru.

France.

Granville Bay.—By the Anglo-French Convention of 1839 a considerable stretch of water, containing oyster beds, in the Bay of Granville on the French coast, between

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Cape Carteret and Point Meinga, south-east of Jersey, and extending far beyond the 3-mile limit, was reserved exclusively for French fishermen, the boundaries being defined and laid down on a chart annexed to the Convention; British fishermen were prohibited from carrying on any kind of fishing, even for floating fish, within this area. The bay thus appropriated is over 17 miles in breadth, and the closing line passes in some places about 14 miles from the shore. This concession to France was a recognition of the principle that fisheries of this nature—that is, for objects which are attached to or stationary on the bottom—require special treatment.

Greece.

By a law of the 8th April, 1913, the Greek Government sanctioned the exclusion, in war time, of shipping from a zone of 10 nautical miles from the coast, and, in the case of gulfs and roadsteads, the zone was to be measured along a straight line drawn across the indentation and at the outermost part thereof where the width of the opening did not exceed 20 miles. The usual protest was made by this country.

On the 15th August, 1914, the Greek Minister intimated that his Government had fixed the limits of Greek territorial waters, for neutrality purposes, at 6 nautical miles. The Admiralty, who were not prepared to make the same concession to the Greek Government as they had done in the case of a similar claim by Italy (see under that country), concurred in the proposal that no reply should be returned to the Greek announcement, the Foreign Office view being that it would be impolitic to differentiate more than was absolutely necessary between the two cases.

Subsequent events proved that Greek steamers were arrested by His Majesty's ships in waters within the 6-mile limit.

Italy.

An Italian Royal Decree of the 10th August, 1914, stipulated that, for purposes of neutrality, territorial waters in bays, creeks and gulfs extended as far as a straight line drawn at a tangent of the circumferences of two circles of 6 marine miles radius, having as their centres the extreme points of the opening of the bay, creek or gulf, provided the distance between these points does not exceed 20 marine miles. If this distance is exceeded the territorial waters were stated to be comprised within a straight line drawn between the two farthest points, which are 20 marine miles apart.

His Majesty's Ambassador in Rome was instructed to intimate to the Italian Government that the British Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean had been instructed to respect rigidly the neutrality of Italy, even to the extent of not approaching within 6 miles of the Italian coast. It was pointed out, however, that this act of courtesy did not entail any abandonment of the principle of the 3-mile limit for territorial waters. Any further action was, for political reasons, deprecated at the time by His Majesty's Government.

It may be added that in 1911 when a Bill providing for the extension, when considerations of national defence rendered it necessary, of territorial waters to the limits just referred to, was presented to the Italian Parliament, the Italian Government were informed that His Majesty's Government could not recognise any claim to jurisdiction over, or to interference with, British vessels beyond the 3-mile limit. A further protest was made on the passage into law of the Bill.

Norway.

The question of the limits of Norwegian territorial waters, which are claimed to be "an ordinary sea-mile" (4 English geographical miles) seawards from the outermost island or rock which is not washed over by the sea, together with the Varanger Fjord, Vest Fjord, and certain other "internal waters," was raised in a somewhat acute form by the arrest of the British trawler "Lord Roberts" on the 11th March, 1911, and by the refusal of His Majesty's Government to admit the right of Norway, in the absence of any specific agreement to the contrary, to exercise jurisdiction in waters outside the 3-mile limit. His Majesty's Government proposed at the time to call an international conference for the settlement of maritime limits, but chiefly owing to the opposition of Germany it was impossible to arrange for its meeting.

The question still remains unsettled; but mainly out of regard to the services of Norwegian seamen during the war, the British Government has not wished to raise the matter in recent years.

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Russia.

Gulf of Bothnia.—In 1915 the Russian Government called the attention of the Swedish Government to the legal status of the waters of the Gulf of Bothnia. By the Russo-Swedish Treaty of 1810 the frontier between Finland and Sweden was defined as following a certain line somewhat to the west of the middle of the gulf, so that all the waters to the east of that line must be considered, in any case as between Russia and Sweden, as Finnish, and all the waters west of that line as Swedish.

The Admiralty considered that Russia and Sweden jointly could make out a strong case for the waters of the gulf being territorial, unless there was an international custom of long standing to the contrary. During the war the matter was one of almost exclusively Russian interest, and if at some later date it should be to our interest to claim that the waters of the gulf are the high sea, it would be enough that we should have expressed no opinion on the matter.

Gulf of Finland.—The Russian Ministry of Marine having issued a notification in 1913 respecting the area over the mouth of the Gulf of Finland which was prohibited for flying craft, His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires was instructed to call attention to the fact that the area in question, measuring 120 miles by 60 miles, completely closed the whole entrance to the gulf over a considerable distance, and that the gulf being at its neck 30 miles wide on the average, the order of the Ministry of Marine claimed jurisdiction in the air over waters outside the territorial limits—a claim which His Majesty's Government were unable to admit. The treaty of Dorpat between Soviet Russia and Finland makes special provision in regard to the territorial waters of Finland within this gulf.

White Sea.—In July 1910 the British trawler "Onward Ho!" was seized for fishing in the White Sea, but on representation being made by His Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh the vessel was released.

In 1911 the Russian Government having introduced into the Duma a Bill forbidding foreigners to fish in the White Sea south of a line from Cape Kanin to Cape Svyatoi (a distance of 102 miles), and also anywhere within 12 miles of the coast of the Archangel Government, mainland or island, His Majesty's Ambassador was instructed to point out that it was not generally admitted that foreign fishing vessels could be prevented from exercising their avocation beyond the ordinary 3-mile limit, and that His Majesty's Government certainly would not accept a limit extending as far as 12 miles.

A voluminous correspondence took place, and the Bill was withdrawn in 1912.

In 1919 the provisional Government of Northern Russia passed a decree prohibiting trawling for fish and sealing within the coastal waters of the Northern Territories. The limits of those waters were laid down as 12 sea miles from the outstanding points of the Murman coast, the Ainof Islands and Kildin Island being reckoned as extensions of the coast. As regards the White Sea the limits extended to a line running 12 sea miles north of Capes Kanin and Svyatoi.

M. Nabokof, Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, was told that His Majesty's Government saw no reason to depart from their consistent policy of opposing any extension of territorial waters beyond the 3-mile limit. They recognised, nevertheless, that the circumstances affecting seal hunting were somewhat different from those affecting ordinary fishing, and would consequently be prepared to consider a convention specifically dealing with that question, provided that the wider question of the extension of the existing territorial limits for normal kinds of fishing was not affected thereby.

In May 1921 the Russian Trade delegation communicated to the Board of Trade a telegram from M. Chicherin pointing out that fishing and hunting in Russian territorial waters, especially south of a line from Kanin Nos to Svyatoi Nos, had been prohibited to foreigners since the 1st May, 1920, and adding that compulsory action against British vessels for infraction of the order would be regretted.

M. Krassin communicated, in June 1921, a Soviet Decree of the 24th May of that year, imposing the same restrictions as regards the White Sea. A reply, in similar terms to that given to M. Nabokof in 1919, was sent to M. Berzin, the Soviet representative, on the 27th August, 1921. It was arranged on the 13th October following that the negotiations for a convention dealing with seal fisheries should be carried on in Moscow.

Nothing more appears to have transpired in regard to the White Sea, although a lengthy correspondence has taken place respecting the arrest of British trawlers off Murmansk.

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It may be of interest to recall that the Norwegian Government has intimated to the Russian Government its willingness to agree to an area for fishing and whaling of 1 geographical mile (7,420 metres), reckoned from low-water mark on the mainland and islands, and to negotiate in regard to the recognition of the White Sea as a closed area for Russian fishing and whaling within a boundary drawn closer in than the line from Svyatoi to Kanin Nos, at a point where the distance between the coasts is appreciably less and where it would be easier for Norwegian whalers to take the necessary precautions against entering Russian territorial waters

The area of the White Sea is approximately 38,000 miles.

United States.

Delaware Bay.—In 1793 the French frigate "L'Embuscade" captured the British ship "Grange" in Delaware Bay at a distance from the shore of more than 3 miles. Declaring that the whole of the bay was within its jurisdiction, the United States required the restoration of the British vessel. France complied. The bay has a headland width of 10½ miles.

Chesapeake Bay.—In 1885 it was held by the United States Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims that Chesapeake Bay was American territory and that seizures made by the Confederate cruisers within any part of Chesapeake Bay were not made on the high seas. The headlands of Chesapeake Bay are 12 miles apart, and its length is over 114 miles before its waters narrow to 6 miles. The fishing in this bay is controlled by State legislation.

2. Straits.

Chile.

A Chilean Decree of the 15th December, 1914, laid down that, for purposes of neutrality, the interior waters of the Strait of Magellan, and of the southern channels even in those places where the distance from shore to shore was more than 3 miles, were to be considered as a jurisdictional sea.

After some correspondence the Admiralty accepted the Foreign Office view that the question of jurisdiction should not then be raised with the Chilean Government. They placed it on record, however, that they were not disposed to go as far as the Foreign Office in admitting the validity of the Chilean claim. They considered it to be arguable that, in a natural international highway, the internal waters of which open out so as to include a tract of water more than 3 miles from the nearest land, such an area should be regarded as outside territorial limits. The Admiralty pointed out that His Majesty's ships had, on occasion, performed acts which disregarded the Chilean claim, and which, if called in question, His Majesty's Government could and should justify.

Denmark. (See *Norway.*)

France.

The French Government having, in October 1912, passed a Decree relating to neutrality in maritime war, which Decree fixed the limits of French territorial waters at 6 marine miles from low-water mark, the Admiralty, after some correspondence, pointed out that the case of France being neutral in a war between this country and a North Sea State was the very one in which British interests as a belligerent would be most affected by an extension of the French territorial limits. If France established the right to force belligerent warships to keep outside a 6-mile limit, it would be almost futile to station a British patrol force in the Straits of Dover in such a war. As matters stood, the off-lying shoals between Calais and Dunkirk compelled large vessels to keep more than 3 miles from the French coast, or at least render it very risky for them to keep closer in. With a 3-mile limit, therefore, a British patrol could act effectively, but a 6-mile limit would clear many of the dangers to navigation and enable an enemy's ship, or a contraband-carrying neutral, to pass with comparative impunity.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris was instructed on the 19th May, 1914, to intimate to the French Government that His Majesty's Government did not recognise the claim to extended territorial waters, and that any such extension beyond the customary 3-mile limit must be a matter for special agreement.

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Norway.

Skaggerack.—At the North Sea Fisheries Conference of 1881 it was agreed, in deliberating on the boundaries of the North Sea for the purposes of the Convention, to exclude the Skaggerack (whose waters are nowhere less than 60 geographical miles in width) the fisheries of which it was stated by the President were not international, but were "essentially within the jurisdiction of the States to which the shores belong."

It should be stated, however, that neither Denmark nor Norway appears to have asserted since the conclusion of the Convention exclusive jurisdiction in its moiety of those waters, where in fact both British and German vessels are believed to carry on an extensive fishing.

Spain.

Straits of Gibraltar.—The Admiralty have pointed out that the effective control of the Straits of Gibraltar has been greatly weakened through the acquiescence of His Majesty's Government in the extension of the Spanish protectorate in Morocco to the westward, which carried the right of territorial waters with it, and gave an enemy a 3-mile gap through the straits in which to pass in safety from attack.

United States

Fuca Straits.—A case in which the principle of the sovereignty of the riverain Powers over straits seems to have been recognised by Great Britain and the United States in 1873, when, in carrying out the award of the German Emperor, the international boundary was carried along the middle of the Fuca Straits, which are about 70 miles long and from 15 to 20 miles wide. The treaty of the 15th June, 1846, lays down that the boundary is to continue through the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island and of Fuca Straits. The commissioners appointed by the two Powers were unable to agree upon this portion of the boundary, *i.e.*, as to whether it should run through the Canal of Haro. This definition of the boundary is finally established by Article 8 of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States respecting the demarcation of the boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, signed at Washington on the 11th April, 1908. This agreement is naturally binding only on the parties to the treaty; and in that respect it corresponds to the Russo-Swedish Agreement of 1810, whereby the frontier of the two countries was defined as following a certain line somewhat to the west of the middle of the Gulf of Bothnia.

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SECRET. Nº 78

E-65. **NOT FOR PUBLICATION**

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No.* 132-*D.*)

With reference to the Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Standing Defence Sub-Committee (C.I.D. 175th Minutes, 4 (c)), the Secretary of State for India, as leader of the Indian Delegation at the Imperial Conference, has taken note of the views as expressed by the Admiralty in this Memorandum and reserves his opinion on these views for discussion in the Conference.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

INDIA.

1. *Object.*

To summarise the Naval situation (1923) and to give, in outline, Admiralty recommendations to India.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Dockyard and of the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming that the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Western Pacific.

The enemy's obvious and most natural objective during the interval would be Singapore, the seizure of which would lay Indian ports and Indian trade open to heavy attack by enemy raiders. The resultant loss, both direct and indirect, would amount to a disaster of the first magnitude, not only to India herself, but to the whole Empire, and it is on this account that India is invited to co-operate in the creation of the Singapore Dockyard.

At the present time Naval co-operation by India in the defence of the Empire cannot be said to exist in the strict sense of the term, the Royal Indian Marine being a non-combatant Service. An annual subsidy of £100,000, however, is paid to Naval funds in respect to certain services performed by His Majesty's Ships in Indian waters.

3. *Air-Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on

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the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the English Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

4. *Form of Future Naval Co-operation by India.*

For offensive action in war, prior to the arrival of the Main Fleet, two classes of vessel are essential:—

(*a.*) Fast Light Cruisers of great endurance.
(*b.*) Large overseas submarines.

At the present time, however, it is not considered possible for India, in view of her relatively small sea-faring population, the undeveloped state of Naval maritime resources and the general dictates of economy, to maintain either of these types of vessel.

The reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine on the lines recommended by the Government of India so as to provide a nucleus of Auxiliary Patrol Craft and Minesweepers will be a first step towards the entry of India into the first phase of the development of her own Navy, though a considerable expansion of both personnel and matériel will be necessary before India will be able to provide and assume responsibility for her Local Defence Services.

5. In this connection the Admiralty desire to reaffirm their views expressed on several occasions to the Secretary of State for India, that if the Royal Indian Marine is to become an efficient combatant force, capable of co-operating in the Naval defence of the Empire, that Service should be placed, in the early stages of its development at any rate, under the control of a Director, who should be a Naval officer of senior rank on the Active List of the Royal Navy, and that the Director, R.I.M., should be given a status commensurate with his rank and the responsibilities which should accrue to him.

6. *Repair Ports and Fuel Reserves.*

Local defences, however perfect, cannot ensure in time of war the safety and prosperity of India. Of far greater immediate importance is the ability to transfer the British Fleet with all speed through the Indian Ocean to the Pacific, and subsequently to maintain it in these waters.

By assisting the transit of the Main Fleet, India can best shoulder part of the burden of Imperial Naval defence.

Repair Ports and fuel reserves are the chief requirements and recommendations under these headings are made subsequently in this paper.

7. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the above considerations and the Naval defence requirements of India as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

Nevertheless, India cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one part of the Empire is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by all parts.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counter-balanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

INDIA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—Maintenance of Naval Forces.

The Royal Indian Marine.

1. The Admiralty has recently received a copy of the proposals for the reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine. These proposals, if adopted, will constitute a definite change in the status of that Service from the non-combatant to the combatant, and are, in this respect, to be welcomed.

2. It is not proposed to make exhaustive comment on the reorganisation proposals at this stage. The Royal Indian Marine, it is considered, should be so organised and constituted that within a few years it can protect the waters in the vicinity of Indian ports. The requirements in Indian waters as regards A. P. Flotillas, and Minesweeping Units at Indian ports are now under Admiralty consideration, and will be communicated to the Indian Government in due course.

3. The extent to which the air can assist in carrying out the above functions will be examined at the same time.

4. A preliminary examination of the above requirements shows that a very considerable expansion of the proposed peace strength of the R.I.M. both as regards personnel and matériel will be necessary in war.

II.—Local Defences.

5. The defences including Naval and Air Defence and Defences on land at Indian ports are now under consideration by the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee and their recommendations will be communicated in due course.

III.—Repair Ports.

Singapore.

6. The necessity for a base at Singapore to enable the Main Fleet to operate in the Pacific has been explained above.

The completion of this base is considered to be an urgent requirement for the defence of India, and it is on this assumption that the Indian Government is invited to co-operate with Great Britain in the construction of the Dockyard. The form which such co-operation could take is now under consideration.

Indian Ocean.

7. The primary requirement in this area is to expedite the transit of the Main Fleet to the probable theatre of operations.

8. It has been decided therefore to revive gradually the small repair establishment at Trincomali, the natural strategic centre of this area and the only anchorage suitable to modern requirements on the coasts of India and Ceylon.

In passing, it may be observed that the closing down of the Trincomali establishment in 1904 was necessitated by the concentration of the Main Fleet in Home waters, and its revival marks the return to normal world-wide strategy.

9. The Admiralty also recommend that all idea of developing large Naval repair bases in India should be definitely abandoned. The large commercial repair facilities of Bombay and Calcutta will still be of great value in war time for refitting ships employed in the Indian Ocean, or whose services can be spared for long periods

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from the theatre of operations. Large "after action" repairs could also be undertaken at Bombay. The Admiralty do not, however, consider that strategical reasons justify anything in the nature of a Government subsidy for these establishments.

IV.—Oil Fuel Reserves.

10. The policy of building up oil fuel reserves on the route to the East and of ensuring the mobility of a Fleet stationed in the East has already found expression in the commencement of oil fuel installations at Aden, Colombo, Trincomali, Rangoon and Singapore.

11. Although the British Government has started to erect these installations, they are becoming increasingly sensible of the financial burden that these preparations involve, and have already been forced to curtail considerably the programme of tank construction and to extend the number of years over which this programme is spread.

12. The provision by India by 1931 of 48,000 tons of oil fuel reserve at Aden and 216,000 tons at Rangoon, as recommended in paragraph 42 of C.I.D. Paper 176–C of the 28th July, 1922, would be of very material assistance in rectifying the present disadvantageous strategic position which we now occupy in the East.

V.—Trade.

13. The trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Indian Government under the headings:—

Naval Control Service (Protection).
Naval Control Service (Contraband Control).

VI.—Communications.

14. The W/T Stations of the Indian Empire, which are of Naval importance are:—

Rangoon, Port Blair, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Karachi, Basra.

All these stations would prove of importance in the event of—

(*a.*) Naval operations in their vicinity.
(*b.*) Movements of troops by transport.

Their power plant is considered adequate, but it would be of great advantage if they were modernised with valve transmitting apparatus.

15. At present routine point to point services exist between Bombay, Aden and Matara (Ceylon). These services also would benefit if Bombay were fitted with valve transmitting apparatus.

16. In the event of war in the Far East, efficient intercommunication between Madras, Rangoon, Port Blair, and thence to the medium power stations at Seletar (Singapore) will be a necessity.

17. It is proposed that the Navy should build a high power station at Singapore. In addition to working direct with England, this station will also work with the proposed high power Indian station, and great importance is attached to this service.

VII.—Stores.

18. The supply of Naval and Victualling Stores from the United Kingdom in time of war to satisfy every need of a large fleet operating from Singapore would be difficult and uneconomical. The extent to which India can assist in this respect will be investigated by the Admiralty, and, if found necessary, the co-operation of the Government of India will be sought.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.
P.D. 01845/23.

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E-66. **NOT FOR PUBLICATION.**

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No.* 204–*C.*)

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

IRISH FREE STATE.

THE terms of the recent Treaty provide that the Naval defence of the Irish Free State should be undertaken by the British Government, subject to a review of this arrangement in 1927.

During the period in which the Imperial Naval Forces are undertaking the sea defence of the Irish Free State, their task will be much simplified and enhanced if the Irish Free State will assist as far as possible within the limits of the Treaty. The Admiralty would be very grateful if the Irish Free State would allow a representative to discuss with them details of the various ways in which this assistance can be given.

Admiralty, July 21, 1923.

P.D. 01837/23.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Grant of Naturalisation to Persons Resident in Mandated Territories.

Joint Memorandum by the Home Office and Colonial Office.

THE Commonwealth Government have asked that the question of amending "The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914," so as to permit of the grant of naturalisation to persons resident in mandated territories may be brought before the Imperial Conference. It is understood that the Commonwealth Government have in mind Imperial naturalisation, and the amendment which they suggest is one to the effect that residence in "B" or "C" mandated territories should count as residence in His Majesty's dominions for the purpose of qualifying by residence for naturalisation.

2. In this connection, the Commonwealth Government have referred to the proposal submitted to the Council of the League of Nations by the Permanent Mandates Commission in August 1922, which was in the following terms:—

> "It is open to mandatory Powers to whom 'B' and 'C' mandated "territories have been entrusted to make arrangement in conformity with "their own laws for the individual and purely voluntary acquisition of their "nationality by inhabitants of these territories."

3. The matter was considered by the Council of the League in April 1923, and the following resolutions were adopted:—

(1.) The status of the native inhabitants of a mandated territory is distinct from that of the nationals of the mandatory Power, and cannot be identified therewith by any process having general application.

(2.) The native inhabitants of a mandated territory are not invested with the nationality of the mandatory Power by reason of the protection extended to them.

(3.) It is not inconsistent with (1) and (2) above that individual inhabitants of the territory should voluntarily obtain naturalisation from the mandatory Power in accordance with arrangements which it is open to such Power to make with this object under its own law.

4. Hitherto naturalisation, except on the ground of service under the Crown in foreign countries, has depended on residence in British territory, and it has been considered undesirable to allow naturalisation on account of residence in protectorates on the ground that it is contrary to sound principle to exercise such a high right of sovereignty as that involved in changing the nationality of an inhabitant in a territory which does not form part of His Majesty's dominions. Only two exceptions to this principle have been admitted, namely, in South and Northern Rhodesia, where *local* naturalisation has been provided for by Orders in Council.

5. If provision is to be made for Imperial naturalisation in mandated territories, and it would appear from the resolutions of the Council of the League of Nations quoted above that the League entertains no objection to this as regards "B" and "C" mandated territories, it will be necessary to make similar provision in protectorates to which these territories are analogous.

6. The position is different as regards protected States where there are local rulers and the native inhabitants are subjects of those rulers. It would hardly be

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possible for His Majesty to take power to enable such subjects of the local rulers to transfer their allegiance to himself, and even if naturalisation in such territories were confined to persons who were not subjects of the local rulers it is probable that the local rulers would object to such action as an infringement of their own sovereign rights and powers. Somewhat similar objections would apply to a proposition to provide for Imperial naturalisation in "A" mandated territories, the position of which is analogous to that of protected States.

7. If a general desire is expressed for such a change in the law as is proposed by the Commonwealth Government, the most convenient method of procedure would appear to be that, when next legislation amending the Act of 1914 is introduced, provision should at the same time be made enabling the Act to be applied by Order of His Majesty in Council (or, in the case of territories mandated to dominions, Order of the Governor-General in Council), to the territories in question, subject to such modifications and adaptations as may be necessary. Having regard to the difficulty which arises in connection with protected States and "A" mandated territories, it would be desirable not to provide generally for the application of the Act to "any territory under His Majesty's protection or in "respect of which a mandate on behalf of the League of Nations has been "accepted by His Majesty," but to provide for its application to certain individual territories specified in a schedule to the Act. This schedule would include "B" and "C" mandated territories and most of the protectorates, as to which no difficulty in regard to sovereignty occurs, but would not include "A" mandated territories or protected States.

8. *Nationality of Children Born to British Subjects in Mandated Territories.*—Somewhat similar considerations underlie another question which arises out of the scheme for the continuance of British nationality amongst successive generations born abroad contained in "The British Nationality and Status of "Aliens Act, 1922." It would appear that, as regards the children of British subjects born in "B" and "C" mandated territories, there is no necessity to go through the procedure contemplated in the Act of 1922 in order that they may obtain British nationality at birth and retain it at majority. It would seem that they are to be deemed to be "born in a place where by treaty, capitulation, grant, "usage, sufferance or other lawful means His Majesty exercises jurisdiction over "British subjects," and they therefore acquire British nationality at birth in their own right under the proviso to section 1 (1) of the Act of 1914, as amended in 1922. Children born in protectorates appear to be in the same position. On the other hand, children born in protected States and in "A" mandated territories would appear not to acquire or retain British nationality except in pursuance of the procedure laid down in the Act of 1922 in regard to registration at birth and assertion of British nationality at majority.

September 10, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Imperial Airship Scheme.

Statement made in the House of Commons, by the Secretary of State for Air, on July 26, 1923.

(Extract from Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 167. No. 105, Thursday, July 26, 1923.)

THE question of the development of airships has recently been considered by the Committee of Imperial Defence and the Imperial Shipping Committee. The Committee of Imperial Defence attaches considerable strategic value to airships, whilst the Imperial Shipping Committee considers that it is by means of an airship service that the carriage of mails can most cheaply be expedited to the Far East and Australia.

The Government have, therefore, decided to resume the development of airships and to proceed, if possible, by means of a commercial service rather than by State operation.

Proposals have been placed before them by the hon. and gallant Member for Uxbridge (Lieut.-Commander Burney), under which a bi-weekly service of six large airships to India will eventually be set up. The Government have accepted the scheme in principle, subject to the details of the contract being satisfactorily settled by the Treasury. The House of Commons will have an opportunity of considering the scheme when the details have been provisionally agreed.

The Dominions are being informed of this decision, and it is hoped to discuss the question at the Imperial Conference with a view to their co-operation in the scheme.

The administration of the scheme in so far as it is a matter of commercial aviation will come under the Air Ministry.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
September 20, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

RECOMMENDATIONS

OF THE

NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE COMMITTEE

AS APPROVED BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT,

UPON

I.—The Relations of the Navy and the Air Force.
II.—The Co-ordination of the Defence Forces.

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

LONDON:
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I.—THE RELATIONS OF THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE.

The Main Committee observe that the Special Sub-Committee are not altogether satisfied with the term " Seconded " which they have used in describing the status of Naval officers serving in the Fleet Air Arm. It is clear that the actual position of a Naval officer seconded to the Air Service afloat differs from a seconded officer as hitherto understood. For example, he continues to be under the ultimate tactical and disciplinary orders at sea of an officer of the Service to which he permanently belongs, whilst he is serving under the immediate command of an officer of the Service to which he is temporarily attached. Moreover, the work he is called on to do in his temporary Service directly relates to the needs of his parent Service, and he carries it out under the eyes of a commanding officer of his parent Service. The Main Committee therefore consider the term " Seconded " not altogether appropriate. They would prefer the more general term " Attached," provided the conditions ot attachment necessary in this particular case are clearly understood, as follows : These Naval officers belonging to the Fleet Air Arm are therefore to be attached to the Air Service. But whilst after their training under the Air Service they will be posted to units of the Navy by the Air Service on the nomination of the Admiralty and will serve under the immediate command of Air Service officers, yet afloat they will be under the ultimate command of the Naval officers of the Fleet. Though their temporary pay and their acting rank will be determined by the Air Service, after consultation with the Admiralty, yet their permanent rank and promotion will continue to be subject to the regulations of the Navy. Lastly, though they must serve with the Air Service and not be moved from it during the period of their attachment without the consent of the Air Ministry, yet as regards discipline and status afloat they will in all respects be in precisely the same position as officers of the Royal Marines.

With regard to uniform, the officers and men generally of the Fleet Air Arm will wear a distinguishing badge on their uniform. If the Admiralty desire, the Naval officers attached to the Fleet Air Arm will retain their Naval uniform with the same badge.

If any Naval other ranks and ratings are employed in the Fleet Air Arm, the same principle as regards uniform and badges would apply.

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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL SUB-COMMITTEE.

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PART I.

THE GENERAL PROBLEM.

1. Your Sub-Committee were instructed to enquire into the relations of the Navy and the Air Force as regards the control of Fleet air work, and on this point they have taken a great deal of evidence from witnesses representing both Departments.

In addition to this, two of our members, Lord Peel and Lord Weir, accompanied by Sir Maurice Hankey (Secretary), paid a visit to the aerodromes in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth and the Aircraft Carriers " Argus " and " Eagle."

2. In the course of the somewhat acute controversy between the two Departments, a very large number of points have been raised whose importance is subsidiary and illustrative. This was inevitable, and probably desirable; but the broad principles lying at the root of the policies respectively advocated by the contending parties are perfectly intelligible, quite apart from the detailed arguments and counter arguments by which they are supported.

3. To the Air Ministry was given in 1917 control over the air forces of the country. The Department was at one stroke placed on a par with the Admiralty and the War Office, for, though aerial warfare is a growth of yesterday, it was felt that its rapidly increasing importance required an organisation which would ensure its development under the most favourable conditions. In these circumstances it was only natural that the Air Ministry should strongly object to being partially dismembered so soon after it had been brought into existence, the more so as in the early days of this dispute the severance of the Fleet Air Arm from the rest of the Air Force meant an immensely larger proportionate loss than it would mean at the present moment. But though the injury involved in the complete removal from their jurisdiction of the Fleet Air Arm is relatively diminished, it remains in principle the same, and if carried out to its logical conclusions would, in the opinion of the Department, lead to many administrative difficulties and much overlapping, while in the region of supply and research it would hamper progress and increase expense.

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4. The Admiralty case is not less worthy of most serious consideration. In their view a Fleet Air Arm is now as necessary to a Fleet as cruisers, destroyers or submarines. Aerial reconnaissance and aerial " spotting " are as strictly naval operations as gunnery, torpedo work and wireless telegraphy. It seems to them intolerable that, while they are responsible for the safety and success of our Battle Fleets, the air work on which that safety and that success in large measure depend should be performed by persons belonging to another Service, imbued by different traditions, and looking for support and promotion to a different Department.

5. Your Sub-Committee have the greatest sympathy with both these points of view, and they have given much anxious thought to the question of how they can best be dealt with. They do not think that the present system can remain altogether unchanged; neither do they think it possible to sever completely the Air organisation which does work for the Fleet from the Air organisation which is responsible for Home Defence against air attack and for co-operating with the Army in other theatres of operation. A course somewhere between these two extremes is the one we recommend, but before describing our suggestions in detail it seems desirable to give a brief sketch of the system now in course of development along the line where the two Services come into contact.

PART II.

The Present System.

The General System.

6. The general system is that the Air Ministry raises, trains and maintains the Fleet Air Arm. At sea the Fleet Air Arm comes under the operational and disciplinary control of the Admiralty, which designs, builds and maintains the carriers.

The functions of the Fleet Air Arm comprise aerial reconnaissance, naval gunnery spotting, bombing and fighting.

The Fleet Air Arm operates at sea from a carrier, which is a floating aerodrome. In addition, in time of war, capital ships and cruisers will embark aeroplanes, but at present the risk to personnel and *matériel* is too great to justify this in time of peace.

Air Force squadrons also operate over sea from shore bases in co-operation with the Navy, but these are not at present in question.

The numbers of the Royal Air Force personnel at present employed with the Fleet Air Arm are 115 officers and 681 other ranks.

Policy.

7. Naval Air policy is concerted by the Air Staff and Admiralty War Staff. Initiative may come from either side, but Naval officers of high rank do not, under the present system, have many opportunities of obtaining experience or training in air matters to fit them for this work.

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The Coastal Area.

8. Apart from matters of policy, *liaison* is secured between the Navy and the Air Force by a special machinery termed the " Coastal Area " Organisation. This is provided by the Air Ministry for the purpose of administering the Fleet Air Arm on land, subject to the general control of the Air Ministry. The Coastal Area is commanded by a senior Air Force Officer (the present occupant is an ex-naval officer) who is responsible for the maintenance at full strength of the personnel and *matériel* of the Fleet Air Arm, and for its special training for naval purposes. He is the adviser to the Admiralty on Air matters other than policy, and communicates directly with the Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic Fleet, on all matters connected with the Fleet's requirements.

9. Under the Air Officer Commanding the Coastal Area are two Group Captains, with headquarters at Leuchars (the Forth) and Lee-on-Solent respectively. In the case of larger operations involving the embarkation of aircraft or the carrying out of operations from shore bases, the Naval Commander-in-Chief notifies his requirements direct to the Air Officer Commanding Coastal Area. For minor operations he deals directly with one or other of the Group Captains.

10. Corresponding arrangements are made at Malta for the Mediterranean Fleet.

Position on Board Carriers.

11. As soon as the Air Units are on board the carriers they come under the orders of the naval Commander-in-Chief, and are altogether outside the control of the Coastal Area Organisation, which is then, as we have already noted, only responsible for keeping units up to strength in air personnel and *matériel*. The orders for flying are given by the naval Commander-in-Chief (who has an Air Force Officer on his Staff) to the captain of the Aircraft Carrier, who is, of course, a naval officer, and he gives his orders to the senior Air Force Officer on board. The Royal Air Force personnel are responsible for the cleanliness and maintenance of their own quarters and some other parts of the ship, such as the aeroplane deck. They can be employed on the general duties of the ship. Difficulties have, however, been made in regard to the performance of particular duties, such as the training and use of Air Force personnel for passing ammunition to the guns.

12. A certain amount of co-operation is practised between the skilled mechanics of both Services. The Royal Air Force may, for example, utilise the services of the ship's blacksmith for certain repairs to aeroplane engines, and the Royal Air Force may undertake repairs to motor-boat engines. Such co-operation is naturally limited by the highly specialised training which is inevitable in each Service.

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Supply of Personnel.

13. The Air Ministry are responsible for the supply of officers and other ranks for duty with the Fleet Air Arm, with the exception of certain naval officers, who, after training in Air Force establishments, are employed as observers in "spotting" machines and some naval ratings employed as wireless telegraph operators.

14. It is of importance to note that the Royal Air Force possesses a number of officers who were formerly in the Royal Naval Air Service, many of whom were trained as naval officers. The senior positions in the Fleet Air Arm are at present largely filled by these officers. The original intention of the Air Ministry was that, in order to replace these, some 30 per cent. of the officers of the Fleet Air Arm should consist of naval officers seconded for a term of years. Unfortunately, however, only a very few naval officers responded to the invitation to volunteer for this service.

15. It may be worth noting that the general system for the supply of Air Force officers to meet future demands is divided into two classes—

(*a*) Officers holding permanent Commissions, and
(*b*) Officers holding short-service Commissions.

16. Officers holding permanent Commissions, on leaving Cranwell, are given the choice of the particular branch in which they wish to specialise. Those selecting the Naval side will, in the first instance, do four years with the Fleet Air Arm. They may then serve with other branches, including courses of instruction, for a term of years in order to gain wider experience, but will ultimately return to the Naval side again. This practice will ensure that there will always be a proportion of senior officers in the Royal Air Force with Naval experience obtained in the Fleet Air Arm.

17. A proportion of the officers holding short-service Commissions for five years, after receiving their initial training of one year, are posted for duty with the Fleet Air Arm, and do the whole of their service with that branch. On completion of their five years' service they are posted to the Reserve for five years, when they are earmarked as reserves for the Fleet Air Arm in case of emergency.

18. The Air Ministry endeavour to retain the personnel with the Fleet Air Units for the normal term of service (*i.e.*, four years), but exceptional cases arise when it is impossible to allow them to remain for the whole of that period.

Training.

19. The whole of the primary training of flying personnel, whether their future work is to be on sea or on land, is carried out by the Air Ministry. No criticisms of it have been brought to our notice, and we do not propose to refer to it again. The

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later and more specialised training of the Fleet Air Arm is partly conducted in the carriers and partly on land at technical schools maintained by the Air Ministry at certain naval ports. Apart from their initial training, before they are embarked, the Air Detachments of Carriers use their establishments for training, when not required by the Naval Commander-in-Chief for exercise. It will be seen therefore that as things are at present these establishments are used entirely for the purposes of the Fleet Air Arm or for shore-based aircraft co-operating with the Navy. The Air Force training schools in the Portsmouth area work in close touch with the naval gunnery and torpedo schools. Behind the establishments devoted exclusively to training for the Fleet Air Arm are a series of technical centres maintained for the Air Force as a whole, the resources of which are available for the Fleet Air Arm.

Design and Research Work.

20. New design, experimental and research work to meet naval requirements are carried out by the Air Ministry after consultation with the Admiralty. The Admiralty, after consultation between the two Departments, put forward their suggestions as to the types of machines which they require, and the Air Ministry design such machines, as far as is practicable from the point of view of aerodynamics and similar technical consideration. The Air Ministry draw up the specification of the type required, and call for designs from the trade, and the Admiralty are kept fully informed of the progress made during the whole process and after the trials have been carried out.

21. The Navy are not directly represented on the design, experimental or research branches at the Air Ministry, but the Air Ministry utilise the services of a certain number of ex-Naval officers, who have now transferred to the Air Force, in these departments, and also receive reports as to defects in design and performance of machines from Air Force officers serving with Fleet Air Units, thus ensuring that due weight is attached to the user's point of view in the modification and improvement of design.

22. There is also in existence an Inter-Departmental Committee called "The Joint Technical Committee on Aviation Arrangements in His Majesty's Ships," which consists of representatives of the Admiralty and the Air Ministry. Its functions are to examine the technical problems which may arise with regard to the suitability of the types of aircraft intended for embarkation on board carriers, and the modifications and improvements which can be effected on board the carriers themselves. It is clear from the evidence that new uses of aircraft involving possibly new types can be proposed either by the Admiralty or the Air Ministry, and that the latter give full consideration to all suggestions which may be put forward by the Navy.

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The Supply of Matériel.

23. At present theAir Ministry are solely responsible for the supply of all matériel connected with aircraft. An establishment of the machines required for the Fleet Air Arm has been agreed upon between the Admiralty and the Air Ministry, and the latter is responsible for maintaining that establishment at full strength with its correct proportion of machines in reserve, the necessary spare parts and the various shore organisations required for its maintenance. This establishment is at present limited by the number of Aircraft Carriers in commission in the Navy, but the Air Ministry have made the necessary arrangements in their programme of construction to increase the number of machines up to the number which will be required when the two new Aircraft Carriers are completed in 1923-24.

PART III.

Recommendations.

24. We have endeavoured to explain, in the first place, the general nature of the objection felt by the Air Department to any important change in the existing system and by the Admiralty to its maintenance. We have also given a full account of the system as it has been developed up to the present moment. We now propose to turn to the future and make certain suggestions which, as we hope, may go far to reconcile the contending parties and to make material improvements in the existing system.

25. Our task is materially lightened by the fact that, in the course of discussions before your Sub-Committee, a larger measure of agreement was found possible on certain aspects of the problem than had at one time seemed likely.

26. In the first place, it appeared that on some important points the practice, though not the written law, of the Air Department was already in conformity with the wishes of the Admiralty. For example, the Admiralty are very desirous that the Group Captains in contact with the Navy should be officers with experience of the Fleet Air Arm.

1st Recommendation

Broadly speaking, the Air Ministry take the same view, and we recommend that it be made part of the settled practice of the Air Ministry to consult with the Admiralty before such appointments are made. We think the same principle should be extended to the Air Officer Commanding the Coast Defence Area and the Senior Air Officer on board a carrier.

27. The Admiralty desire that the Air Ministry shall provide all the matériel which they demand. This, we believe, has always been the intention of the Air Ministry.

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2nd Recommendation.

We think it should be formally laid down, and that, in the event of the Air Ministry for one reason or another not carrying into effect the wishes of the Admiralty, there shall be an appeal by either party to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

28. We have no reason to believe that there is any fundamental difference of opinion between the two Services with regard to certain questions of discipline, such, for example, as those which might arise when a member of the Air Force leaves the ship, where he is under the command, for every purpose, of the Captain, and goes for training to the aerodrome, which is under the control of an officer of the Air Force.

3rd Recommendation.

But though there are no differences of principle, there are certain obscurities which it would be desirable to clear up, and we therefore recommend that the two Departments should, in collaboration, draw up a code of regulations which would make clear the relations between them at all points where they come in contact.

29. In all the cases that we have so far enumerated there may have been misunderstanding, but there has not been at any time, so far as we are aware, any difference of principle.

30. We now turn to a class of cases where, as a result of discussion before your Sub-Committee, the Air Department have shown a disposition to meet Admiralty views. The first of these relates to the framing of the Naval Estimates. The Admiralty desire that in these Estimates should be included the cost of the Fleet Air Arm.

4th Recommendation.

The Air Department are of opinion that technically this course would be inconvenient, but have no objection to it in principle. Your Sub-Committee are of opinion that this question should be settled by the Treasury in consultation with the two Fighting Services.

31. The Admiralty require that the Air Force on board ship should be completely under the orders of its Captain. Your Sub-Committee are of opinion that, inasmuch as all the airmen on board ship are under the Naval Discipline Act, this, in theory, is already provided for, but undoubtedly in the minds of those chiefly concerned some obscurity hangs over the subject. This, we think, should be explicitly cleared up.

5th Recommendation.

The position of a member of the Air Force when on board ship does not differ in law, and should not differ in practice, from the position of, say, a Marine.

6th Recommendation.

32. In order fully to carry out the policy laid down in the preceding paragraph, we recommend, and have reason to believe that the Air Ministry will accept the principle, that all reports on officers of the Fleet Air Arm, whether confidential or otherwise, should be signed by the Captain of the ship and passed through the Naval Commander-in-Chief to the Air Officer Commanding the Coastal Area.

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7th Recommendation.

33. A further point which should be dealt with under this heading is one on which the Admiralty have expressed considerable anxiety and on which we have reason to believe that the Air Force are prepared to meet their wishes. The Admiralty are apprehensive lest, in time of war or other emergency, the Air Ministry might withdraw from the Navy units of the Fleet Air Arm, and use them for other purposes. In respect of this we recommend that it should be definitely laid down that the personnel, *matériel* and reserves of the Fleet Air Arm should not be withdrawn by the Air Ministry without either the consent of the Admiralty or a decision of the Cabinet.

34. Before concluding this class of questions we must take note of a complaint made by the Admiralty that on board the Carrier there is a good deal of duplication of effort between the purely Naval Service and the Air Force.

8th Recommendation.

We think this subject should be looked into by the two Departments concerned, and we do not doubt that arrangements can be made by which all overlapping can be effectively avoided.

35. We now come to the last class of questions with which we have to deal, which are at once the most difficult and the most important. We are strongly of opinion, and we have every hope that the two Services share our view, that, since in war the Services may have to co-operate, it is vital that in time of peace they should form an accurate estimate of each others needs and capacities.

9th Recommendation.

We therefore recommend :

(i.) That Naval officers should be appointed to the Air Staff.

(ii.) That Air Force officers should be appointed to the Naval War Staff.

(iii.) That some means should be devised by which the wealth of technical knowledge at the disposal of the Admiralty should be utilised in the technical departments of the Air Ministry, preferably by reinforcement of the staff of these departments by naval technicians.

36. These recommendations refer exclusively to the headquarters of the two Services; but it is perhaps even more important that the junior ranks of the two Services, who will in time occupy responsible positions, should have a considerable sprinkling of persons familiar with the needs and capacities of the other Service.

37. The Air Force look to a system of naval seconding for carrying out half this policy, and we cannot believe that the Admiralty would be averse to having members of the Air Force on board the carriers. Unfortunately, seconding from the Navy to the Air Force, as at present understood, must be deemed to have been hitherto a failure, and we find it difficult to believe that, if the present system remains unchanged and unexplained,

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any great improvement is likely to occur. We cannot be surprised that a young officer who has just joined the Navy is reluctant to abandon, even temporarily, the department under which he expected to serve and to exchange it for one which is essentially different. The feeling is natural, and cannot be ignored.

It must, however, be pointed out that if the word " seconding " is thus used this is not what any naval officer under the present scheme is expected to do. In ordinary practice, when we say that an officer is " seconded " to another Service we no doubt intend to express the idea that for the duties which he had to perform and for the authorities he had to obey in the Service which he has temporarily left, will be substituted new duties and new authorities. But this does not really represent the facts in the case of so-called " seconding " from the Navy into the Air Force. The duties of the seconded officer, though carried out in the air, remain, nevertheless, Naval duties, and the Captain whom he has to obey continues to be a Naval Captain.

10th Recommendation.

In order to make this situation perfectly clear, we recommend that no seconded Naval Officer shall be asked to perform non-naval air duties, except with the consent of the Admiralty. We believe the Air Force are prepared to accept this principle.

38. If this recommendation be carried into effect, the most important change involved in the operation of what is (somewhat inaccurately) called " seconding " is the change from the Naval to a Flying uniform—a change which can hardly be said to touch the essence of the situation.

11th Recommendation.

We suggest, however, in order to meet the sentimental, though not on that account unimportant, objection, that the uniform of a Naval flying man who, except for his period of training, is to all intents and purposes still under the Admiralty, should be distinguished from the flying men under the Air Force by some differentiating badge or mark. This would be the outward and visible sign that he still remains a member of the Service which he originally joined. It would be a clear indication that what he proposes to do is to add accomplishments in Naval flying to the other accomplishments which his brother officers are cultivating. If such a plan were found practicable, the objection felt by the Admiralty to the introduction of what they deem an alien element into the domestic life of the ship should be largely mitigated.

39. It might well be that, if this scheme succeeded, the number of officers seconded from the Navy to the Air Force would exceed the 30 per cent. of the total contemplated by the Air Service

12th Recommendation.

We see no reason why 30 per cent. should be regarded as the maximum, and we should propose to leave it to the Admiralty to determine what the proportion should be, subject to the proviso that not less than 30 per cent. of Air Force Officers, whether regular or short service, should serve on board the Carriers.

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40. There is another point of great practical importance on which something must be said. It is agreed that the work of spotting for naval gunnery is one which should be undertaken in all cases by Naval officers, but such investigations as we have been able to make convince us that naval spotting and fleet reconnaissance cannot be sharply divided, and that the officer entrusted with the one may inevitably find himself called upon to perform the other also. We have been unable to discover any objection to this change, which, on the face of it, seems obviously reasonable.

13th Recommendation.

We therefore recommend that fleet reconnaissance, as well as naval spotting, should be entrusted to Naval officers seconded or otherwise.

41. If anybody will take the trouble to read the evidence given before us they will, we believe, be impressed by the number of problems for which a solution has been found by the two Departments or suggested in this Report. We earnestly trust that no merely technical difficulties will be allowed to stand in the way of a settlement which in the public interest is most urgently required.

(Signed) BALFOUR (*Chairman*).
PEEL.
WEIR.

M. P. A. HANKEY (*Secretary*).

2, *Whitehall Gardens*,
July 21, 1923.

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II.—THE CO-ORDINATION OF THE DEFENCE FORCES.

The following decisions have been taken by His Majesty's Government on the recommendations of the National and Imperial Defence Committee :—

(1.) It is undesirable and impracticable to supersede the Ministerial heads of the three Fighting Services by making them subordinates of a Minister of Defence; the alternative plan for an amalgamation of the three Service Departments is equally impracticable.

(2.) On the other hand, the existing system of co-ordination by the Committee of Imperial Defence is not sufficient to secure full initiative and responsibility for defence as a whole and requires to be defined and strengthened.

(3.) Under the existing system the Committee of Imperial Defence, an advisory and consultative body, enquires into and makes recommendations in regard to the issues of defence policy and organisation which are brought before it. The power of initiative lies with the Government Departments and with the Prime Minister.

(4.) This system, though invaluable up to a point, does not make any authority, except the Prime Minister, who can only devote a small part of his time and attention to defence questions, directly responsible for the initiation of a consistent line of policy directing the common action of the three or any two of the three Services, taking account of the reactions of the three Services upon one another.

(5.) While, therefore, the existing system of departmental initiative will continue, the responsibility for the wider initiative referred to above in Paragraph (4) will also rest with the Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence acting under the general direction of the Committee of Imperial Defence and with the assistance of the three Chiefs of Staff.

(6.) In accordance with the terms of the Treasury Minute of the 4th May, 1904, constituting the Committee of Imperial Defence in its present form, the Committee of Imperial Defence will continue to consist of the Prime Minister, as President, with such other members as, having regard to the nature of the subject to be discussed, he may from time to time summon to assist him. In pursuance of a decision by the Prime Minister, the Committee places on record that the following should be members :—

The Chairman (Deputy to the Prime Minister).
The Secretary of State for War.
The Secretary of State for Air.
The First Lord of the Admiralty.

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The Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Financial Secretary.
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
The Secretary of State for the Colonies.
The Secretary of State for India.
The Chiefs of Staff of the three Fighting Services.
The Permanent Secretary of the Treasury as head of the Civil Service.

In addition to these, other British or Dominion Ministers of the Crown and other officials, or persons having special qualifications, will be summoned as members by the President according to the nature of the business.

(7.) The functions of the Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence will be :—

(i.) To preside over the Committee of Imperial Defence in the absence of the Prime Minister.

(ii.) To report to the Prime Minister (when he himself has not presided) and to the Cabinet the recommendations of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

(iii.) In matters of detail, to interpret the decisions of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet thereupon to the Departments concerned.

(iv.) Assisted by the three Chiefs of Staff, as laid down in paragraph (5) above, to keep the defence situation as a whole constantly under review so as to ensure that defence preparations and plans and the expenditure thereupon, are co-ordinated and framed to meet policy, that full information as to the changing naval, military and air situation may always be available to the Committee of Imperial Defence and that resolutions as to the requisite action thereupon may be submitted for its consideration.

(8.) In addition to the functions of the Chiefs of Staff as advisers on questions of sea, land or air policy respectively, to their own Board or Council, each of the three Chiefs of Staff will have an individual and collective responsibility for advising on defence policy as a whole, the three constituting, as it were, a Super-Chief of a War Staff in Commission. In carrying out this function they will meet together for the discussion of questions which affect their joint responsibilities.

(9.) Questions relating to co-ordination of expenditure may be entertained by the Committee of Imperial Defence when referred to it by the Cabinet. The Committee

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(subject to any directions by the Cabinet) will consider such questions in the light of the general defence policy of the Government and of the strategical plans drawn up to give effect to that policy in time of war.

(10.) The Secretariat of the Committee of Imperial Defence will continue to act as liaison officers between the Chairman of the Committee and the Service Departments. The staff of the Committee will be strengthened by the addition of an Assistant Secretary to be nominated by the Prime Minister on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for Air, whose status will be identical with that of the three existing Assistant Secretaries nominated by the Prime Minister on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for War, the Secretary of State for India and the First Lord of the Admiralty.

(11.) The Standing Defence Sub-Committee is suppressed and its past proceedings will be merged into those of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

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Printed for the Committee of Imperial Defence. October 1923.

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(*Also C.I.D. No.* 206–*C.*)

This Memorandum was approved by the Committee of Imperial Defence at their 177th Meeting, held on the 12th October, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1923.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMINION AIR FORCES.

Introduction.

Note by the Secretary of State for Air.

THE following memorandum prepared by the Air Staff is circulated in continuation of the corresponding paper (C.I.D. No. 132–C),* prepared for the Conference in February 1921.

It will be noticed that this memorandum deals at some length with the present position of the Royal Air Force, and the scheme of expansion that has been authorised by the Imperial Government. It was thought that the representatives of the Dominion Governments might desire to be put in possession of the latest developments in the Royal Air Force, with a view to seeing how far and in what way it is possible to devise a scheme of co-operation between the various Governments of the Empire. I hope, therefore, that the paper will form a basis of discussion, and will lead to an interchange of views between representatives of the Dominions and the Air Staff.

The Air Staff paper deals almost exclusively with the problems of military aviation. It may, however, be noted that I have already circulated to the Economic Conference a paper (I.E.C. (23)/0) upon the Imperial aspects of civil aviation, certain of which, as for instance the carrying of mails and geographical survey, are already being developed to some extent by the air forces of the Empire.

S. H.

Memorandum by the Air Staff.

Preparation in Peace.

It is an essential to success in air operations that the forces employed against the enemy should be based on a secure foundation of peace organisation. Air forces cannot be extemporised. A practical illustration of this is furnished by the experience of the Americans on their entry into the war in 1917. Referring to the matter, the Chief of the United States Air Staff wrote :—

> "Owing to the many technical problems which had to be solved, to the many "difficulties connected with the procurement of equipment which had to be "overcome and to the considerable time that it takes for training, it has been "shown that it takes longer to place an efficient air service in the field than is "the case with any other arm of the Service. In all planning for the future this "fact must be given full consideration."†

2. Adequate preparation in peace is therefore essential to the success of air operations in modern war, the conditions of which make it probable that great events will immediately follow, if they do not actually precede, a formal declaration of hostilities. If organisations have to be improvised, staffs created, aircraft and equipment provided and plans matured after the outbreak of war, the value of air co-operation, however willingly and enthusiastically given, will be greatly lessened.

Policy. Royal Air Force.

3. Since the war the Air Force has been reduced to the absolute minimum compatible with the immediate needs of the Navy and the maintenance of units for overseas garrisons.

* Also Paper No. E. 7.

† Final Report of the Chief of the Air Staff, American Expeditionary Force, February 15, 1921.

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Memorandum by the Air Staff.

Preparation in Peace.

It is an essential to success in air operations that the forces employed against the enemy should be based on a secure foundation of peace organisation. Air forces cannot be extemporised. A practical illustration of this is furnished by the experience of the Americans on their entry into the war in 1917. Referring to the matter, the Chief of the United States Air Staff wrote :—

> "Owing to the many technical problems which had to be solved, to the many "difficulties connected with the procurement of equipment which had to be "overcome and to the considerable time that it takes for training, it has been "shown that it takes longer to place an efficient air service in the field than is "the case with any other arm of the Service. In all planning for the future this "fact must be given full consideration."†

2. Adequate preparation in peace is therefore essential to the success of air operations in modern war, the conditions of which make it probable that great events will immediately follow, if they do not actually precede, a formal declaration of hostilities. If organisations have to be improvised, staffs created, aircraft and equipment provided and plans matured after the outbreak of war, the value of air co-operation, however willingly and enthusiastically given, will be greatly lessened.

Policy. Royal Air Force.

3. Since the war the Air Force has been reduced to the absolute minimum compatible with the immediate needs of the Navy and the maintenance of units for overseas garrisons.

* Also Paper No. E. 7.

† Final Report of the Chief of the Air Staff, American Expeditionary Force, February 15, 1921.

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The actual distribution of the Royal Air Force throughout the Empire (exclusive of Home Defence), together with the duties of individual units, is given in Appendix (A) to this paper.

In addition to the above, however, the Government decided in 1922 to institute a small force for the purpose of Home Defence against Air attack. This force was to consist of eighteen squadrons.

Mr. Bonar Law on assuming office appointed a representative Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence to investigate certain aspects of National Defence as affected by the last war and by modern development of mechanical weapons. This Committee recommended the increase of the Home Defence Air Forces to a total of fifty-two squadrons, and this recommendation has been accepted by His Majesty's Government.

In announcing this decision to the House of Commons on the 26th June, 1923, the Prime Minister outlined the policy which would govern the strength of British air forces as follows :—

"The Government have come to the following conclusions with reference to "British Air Power :—

"In addition to meeting the essential Air Power requirements of the Navy, "Army, Indian and Overseas commitments, British Air Power must include a "Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength adequately to protect us against "air attack by the strongest Air Force within striking distance of this country.

"It should be organised in part on a regular and permanent military basis, "and in part on a territorial or reserve basis, but so arranged as to ensure that "sufficient strength will be available immediately for purposes of defence. The "fullest possible use to be made of civilian labour and facilities.

"In the first instance the Home Defence Force should consist of fifty-two "squadrons, to be created with as little delay as possible, and the Secretary of "State for Air has been instructed forthwith to take the preliminary steps for "carrying this decision into effect. The result of this proposal will be to add "thirty-four squadrons to the authorised strength of the Royal Air Force. The "details of the organisation will be arranged with a view to the possibility of "subsequent expansion, but before any further development is put in hand the "question should be re-examined in the light of the then air strength of foreign "Powers.

"In conformity with our obligation under the Covenant of the League of "Nations, His Majesty's Government would gladly co-operate with other "Governments in limiting the strength of air armaments on lines similar to the "Treaty of Washington in the case of the Navy, and any such arrangements, it "is needless to say, would govern the policy of air expansion set out in this "statement."*

Necessity for a Common Doctrine.

4. Meanwhile, however, there appears to be no immediate probability of any general limitation of air armaments. It is, therefore, necessary, not only for this country, but also for the Dominions, to consider the strength of Air Forces which the circumstances of the Empire require and the form of organisation which would best promote their mutual assistance and support if the necessity arose.

THE SITUATION OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE WITH REGARD TO PERSONNEL.

5. It is desirable first to describe briefly the present position as regards the supply of personnel in the Royal Air Force.

(i.) *The Situation of the Royal Air Force with regard to Officer entry and Reserve.*

It has been an accepted principle that the great majority of pilots of the Royal Air Force shall be officers. From this principle and the nature of the work it follows that there must always be in the General Duties Branch of the Royal Air Force a very large number of junior officers for whom it is impossible to provide permanent careers.

* "Hansard," Vol. 165, No. 83.

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Again, owing to the limit in age above which an officer cannot be expected regularly to fly, officers leaving the Air Force in middle life will not be available for the active flying reserve in the event of war.

To counter these two problems two systems of commissioning officers have been adopted in the Royal Air Force, namely :—

(*a*.) A system of permanent commissions granted mainly to boys between 17 and 19 who pass through Cranwell, the Royal Air Force Cadet College, and who look to the Force as a permanent career.

(*b*.) A Short Service system by which commissions are granted for five years, at the end of which period officers are transferred to the Reserve with gratuity.

In addition it is contemplated that a considerable number of Naval and Military officers will be seconded to the Air Force for periods normally of three or four years, returning thereafter to the duties of their parent Service.

The principle in view has been that 50 per cent. of the Flying Officers and Flight Lieutenants in the General Duties Branch should be officers holding short-service commissions. To achieve this at the present strength of the Royal Air Force there is required an annual intake of from 250 to 300 officers. When the expansion foreshadowed in paragraph 4 above has been fully achieved, the required annual intake will be about 400 to 450 short-service officers.

(ii.) *The Situation of the Royal Air Force with regard to Airmen.**

There is a disinclination on the part of the mechanic class of tradesman to offer himself for service under peace conditions in a disciplined force at service rates of pay and with the liability for overseas service. In this respect a country which relies on voluntary enlistment is at a disadvantage compared with one which has compulsory service.

It has, therefore, been found necessary to enlist boys and train them as airmen, in addition to the ordinary enlistment of skilled and semi-skilled mechanics.

The terms of service of these boys are ten years on the active list and two years on the Reserve. The boys are trained on lines similar to those for apprentices in civilian trades, and their training is regarded favourably by the various Trade Unions. They should not, therefore, meet with opposition when they seek employment in skilled trades on discharge from the Service.

Personnel Problems of the Dominions.

6 It is presumed that, in the supply of skilled personnel for their reserve, the Dominions would be confronted with a similar problem. In addition they would have to contend with the maintenance expense of training establishments for their permanent air forces. This expenditure on training may prove to be out of all proportion to the size of the force to be maintained, and it is in this connection that the Royal Air Force and the Dominion Air Forces may be of mutual assistance.

Proposals for Dominion Co-operation.

7. As a basis for discussion it is therefore suggested that a scheme of mutual co-operation might be worked out on the following lines :—

Short Service Officers—

(*a*.) The Dominion authorities to recruit candidates for Short Service Commissions in the Royal Air Force.

(*b*.) The Royal Air Force to grant short service commissions to these selected candidates and to employ them on the active list of the Royal Air Force for five years

(*c*.) On conclusion of their short service engagements these officers to pass into the Reserve of the Dominion concerned to complete their four years' reserve engagement.

* The term "airmen," as used in the Royal Air Force, excludes officers of commissioned rank, who are always termed officers, but includes all warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and men, irrespective of the duties on which they are employed.

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(*d.*) The Dominions to be responsible for the organisation of a system of Reserve training on lines similar to the present Royal Air Force system. This arrangement might also provide training for officers of the Royal Air Force Reserve who have emigrated to the Dominions.

(*e.*) The financial arrangements to be discussed between the representatives of the British and Dominion Governments.

Permanent Commissions—

(*a.*) The Dominions to nominate suitable entrants to Cranwell.

(*b.*) The Royal Air Force to train these entrants at Cranwell and employ them for some four years. They would then be given permanent commissions in the Air Force of the Dominion concerned. The British Government would bear the cost of their pension rights for the period of their service with the Royal Air Force.

(*c.*) Any officer trained under this scheme who, at the end of his four years' service with the Royal Air Force, was found to be surplus to the requirements of the permanent Air Force of the Dominion concerned could be retained in the Royal Air Force.

(*d.*) The financial arrangements to be discussed between the representatives of the British and Dominion Governments.

It will be remembered that the Governors-General of the Dominions have already the privilege of nominating Dominion candidates for entry to the Royal Air Force Cadet College with a view to their making a permanent career in the Royal Air Force. No candidates have, so far, been forthcoming from this source, and it is thought that it may become more attractive to Dominion candidates if it is made to include, as suggested in paragraph (*b*), an ultimate return to service with the Air Force of the parent Dominion.

8. To allow for specialist training it would probably be necessary for some officers to extend the period of their time of service with the Royal Air Force beyond the four years suggested, but the advantage would lie in the fact that these regular long-service officers, when they had reached an age at which they would no longer be of great practical value as pilots, would be in a position to do useful work as Commanders or Instructors in the more specialised branches of air force work.

If a scheme on these lines could be mutually agreed upon, the career of an officer cadet selected by a Dominion for training at Cranwell and subsequent attachment to the Royal Air Force prior to returning to the Dominion Regular Air Force would be somewhat as follows :—

Age.	Employment.
17½–19½ .. Cranwell..	.. Disciplinary, educational, general technical and service-type flying training.
19½–21½ .. Service squadron	.. Continued flying training in service types, general training in bombing, fighting and formation flying, &c., Army or Fleet co-operation course, and/or seaplane training and/or flying instructors' course.
21½–22½	.. If selected as suitable, any of the twelve months' courses detailed in paragraph 16.
22½–23½	.. Service squadron overseas—probably employed on duties in connection with the technical training just completed.
23½	.. Returns to Dominion Regular Air Force.

A scheme on the above lines would confer many advantages; for example :—

(*a.*) It would bring about a constant interchange of personnel and ideas between the Dominions and Great Britain, and would ensure a community of doctrine and method between the various air forces of the Empire which would greatly facilitate their mutual co-operation.

(*b.*) It would provide the Dominions with a reserve of highly-trained pilots at a smaller cost than if each Dominion provided on its own behalf full facilities which would necessarily be elaborate and costly.

(*c.*) It would assist the Royal Air Force in maintaining a flow of temporary junior officers.

The foregoing suggestions would involve charges and liabilities both on the Imperial and the Dominion Exchequers. Should they be accepted in principle the incidence of such charges would require careful consideration by the financial authorities on both sides.

TRAINING.

9. In order to fit air forces for war, training in peace must be organised to produce the following main categories :—

(i.) Commanders and Staff Officers.
(ii.) Personnel to fly aeroplanes and operate their armament.
(iii.) Personnel to supervise the provision and accounting of stores and pay.
(iv.) Higher technical experts in aircraft, armament and allied technical matters.
(v.) Personnel for the maintenance of aircraft.
(vi.) Reserve for (ii) above.
(vii.) Reserve for (v) above.

All officers of the above categories, with the exception of those in (iii), who belong to a "Stores List," are on a "General List," and are trained pilots, thus ensuring that all concerned with the more technical aspects of equipment have had air experience.

10 *Commanders and Staff Officers* will eventually be drawn from officers who have passed through the Royal Air Force Staff College at Andover.

The subjects taught at this college are as follows :—
Air Strategy and Tactics.
Organisation and Training of the Royal Air Force.
Imperial Strategy.
Elements of Naval and Military Strategy and Tactics.
Organisation of the Army, Navy and Dominion Forces.
Writing Appreciations.
Operation Orders.
Drafting of Letters.
Staff Organisation and Staff Work in General.

There are at present twenty Royal Air Force officers, two military, two naval and one officer from each of the Canadian and Australian Air Forces, undergoing the twelve months' course at Andover. The next course begins on the 1st May, 1924. The attachment of an officer of the Australian Air Force has already been arranged and the attendance of an officer from other Dominion Air Forces as a student will be welcomed.

11. The sources from which are drawn the personnel to fly aeroplanes and operate their armament have been explained under the heading of "Personnel."

The system of training is as follows :—

(a.) *Permanent Commissioned Officers.*—Before receiving their commissions these officers undergo a course of two years as Cadets at the Royal Air Force Cadet College, Cranwell. The course comprises instruction in all the duties of a pilot officer, including the flying of a service aeroplane.

(b.) *Short Service Commissioned Officers.*—These officers are obtained by a system of direct entry from civil life for a period of five years' service in the Regular Air Force followed by four years' service in the Reserve. On appointment to Short Service Commissions they are sent to one of the four Flying Training Schools for a course of one year and are trained in the duties of a pilot officer including the flying of a service aeroplane.

(c.) *Airmen Pilots.*—These are trained on a course of one year at a Flying Training School on lines similar to the Short Service Commissioned Officers above. They are drawn from the "skilled" ranks of the Royal Air Force, and, while under instruction at Flying Training Schools, and subsequently when with a Service Squadron, they keep in touch with their original "trade."

(d.) *Aerial Gunners.*—These are drawn from the non-commissioned and other ranks of the Royal Air Force and are trained both at home and abroad in a course of ground gunnery, and in camera gun practice in the air. Conditions abroad permit of aerial firing being carried out in the unit, but at home this part of the training has to be done at the Armament and Gunnery School at Eastchurch. This school also carries out the elementary training of a certain proportion of the aerial gunners required for home units.

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Service Training.

12 At Cranwell and the Flying Training Schools pilots are taught to fly a service aeroplane, but are not taught to fight in it, still less to fight in flight and squadron formations; this and all the service knowledge necessary for a pilot is obtained in the Service Squadron and is the responsibility of the Service Squadron Commander.

13. The Air Ministry endeavours to keep all pilots for a term of four years with the same squadron in order to enable both pilots and squadrons to become efficient in their own particular duty, and in order to foster "esprit de corps" in Squadrons.

14. There are a number of specialist schools in the Royal Air Force at which pilots during the course of their employment with the service squadrons can attend short courses in the various more technical aspects of flying. These schools are as follows :—

Training School.	Nature of Course.	Duration of Course.
School of Army Co-operation, Old Sarum ..	Army co-operation	3 months.
Seaplane Training School, Lee-on-Solent ..	Fleet spotting and reconnaissance ..	5–6 „
Armament and Gunnery School, Eastchurch ..	Aerial gunnery and bombing ..	2 „
Central Flying School, Upavon	Training of flying instructors ..	3 „
R.A.F. Base, Calshot	Air pilotage	3 „
„ „	Seaplane training	3 „

These courses not only serve to train individual pilots, but also enable certain selected officers to be employed as instructors in service units.

The Air Staff would welcome the attachment of a certain number of Dominion officers to service squadrons, and also to undergo some of the short courses outlined above.

Training of Technical Experts.

15. A number of officers on the General List are selected for training in the higher technical subjects concerning Aircraft, Armament and Equipment. For this purpose there are a number of long courses at Service Specialist Establishments and at the Universities. Details of these courses are as follows :—

Training School.	Nature of Course.	Duration of Course.
School of Photography, Farnborough ..	Aerial photography	40 weeks.
Electrical and Wireless School, Flowerdown ..	Wireless telegraphy	12 months.
Armament and Gunnery School, Eastchurch ..	Armament	11 „
Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough ..	Engineering, A	12 „
Cambridge University	Engineering, B	2 years
Imperial College	Advanced, C	1 year
Cambridge University	Signal officers	2 years
Imperial College	Research course	1 year
„ „	Meteorology	1 „

NOTE.—The three engineering courses follow one upon the other. Officers from Course A provide the engineer officers for squadrons and training units, &c., with the exception of a few of those who pass out highest, who go on to Course B, which provides even more highly qualified officers for the various technical establishments. Again, a few of the best from Course B continue into the advanced Course C, and are available for the higher technical staffs and for research work.

The Air Staff consider that the Dominions would derive considerable advantage from these courses and they recommend that selected officers of the Dominion Air Forces should go through some of them.

Training of Maintenance Personnel.

16. The training of airmen is undertaken at Flowerdown for electrical trades and at Manston and Halton for the remaining skilled trades. Men enlisted as aircraft hands (unskilled) undergo a disciplinary course at Uxbridge, the Royal Air Force Depot, and then are posted direct to units.

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Training in skilled trades at Flowerdown and Manston is completed within a period varying from four to twenty-four months, according to the trades and the initial skill of the individual.

Aircraft Apprentices (Boys) are trained at Cranwell, Halton and Flowerdown, the length of the course being three years.

While in a squadron, unskilled men are encouraged to learn a trade, and if considered likely to progress they are recommended for a course in one of the skilled trades.

With a view to the provision of skilled technical instructors the Dominions would no doubt derive benefit from the attachment of certain non-commissioned officers to these Technical Training Schools.

Training of Reserve Pilots.

17. It is essential that pilots of the Reserve should carry out a certain amount of flying annually. For this purpose four Civilian Training Centres have been formed as follows :—

Location.	Firm	Machines.
Stag Lane, Hendon ..	The De Havilland Aircraft Company	Avros and D.H.9 a's.
Filton, Bristol	The Bristol Aeroplane Company	Bristol Lucifer and Bristol Tourer.
Coventry	Armstrong, Siddeley Company	Avros and Wolf machines.
Renfrew, Glasgow ..	W. Beardmore and Co. ..	Avros and D.H.9 a's.

This system, in addition to relieving the Regular Force of a duty which at present it is too much occupied to carry out, is of direct benefit to the aircraft industry.

Each school can handle seventy pupils per annum. Pilots who have not flown for some time are first instructed on a school type of machine, and subsequently on a service type. In order to qualify as reserve pilots they must each carry out five hours solo flying on a service type machine and also pass certain tests of efficiency.

Pilots with more recent experience of flying are given quarterly training and must carry out three hours solo flying per quarter on a service aeroplane. It should be understood that the direct entry of ex-officers of the war period into the Reserve is a temporary measure to provide an immediate increase in the number of trained reserve pilots. The main source of supply for the Reserve will be the short service officers who have completed the active list portion of their engagements. Officers so entered need only the ordinary quarterly training to keep in practice in flying.

Reserve officers of Class B (technical and observer officers) are liable to be called upon to carry out fourteen days' training per annum with an Air Force unit.

It is suggested that training of Reserve pilots on the lines indicated would prove satisfactory in the Dominions.

Training of Reservists (Airmen).

18. Airmen on the Reserve of the Royal Air Force are liable to be called upon for twelve days' training per annum with an Air Force unit.

EQUIPMENT AND STORES.

19. Aeronautical equipment is one of the most important factors in the efficiency of a flying force, and it will undoubtedly play a large part in assuring the security of the British Empire. It is manifest, therefore, that no opportunity should be lost of improving aeronautical equipment in every way, and of developing the resources of the Empire in this respect.

Aircraft Production.

20. At the present time practically all aircraft production for the equipment of the various air services of the Empire is carried out in the United Kingdom. In time of peace this may not be disadvantageous, but in the event of a serious threat to

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the security of one of the distant dominions this state of affairs might have grave results. From the military point of view it is important that there should be no undue delay or exceptional risks involved in transporting aircraft equipment to any threatened part of the Empire. But so long as practically the whole of aircraft manufacture is carried on in the United Kingdom it is beyond doubt that considerable delay would take place in transporting stores for the defence of a Dominion, even if the maritime risk involved could be satisfactorily overcome. The constant flow of equipment from an assured source would be essential to meet the heavy wastage which would inevitably take place in extended operations. It is a matter of importance therefore that the development of a healthy aircraft industry should be encouraged in the Dominions, or at least that a nucleus industry, capable of expansion in an emergency, should be established and maintained.

Standardisation of Aircraft.

21. In considering the question of the efficient utilisation of the resources of the Empire for the defence of any threatened Dominion, the question immediately arises as to the best method by which the maximum co-operation in the supply of aeronautical equipment could be achieved. If the types of aircraft and aircraft parts could be completely standardised throughout the Empire it would be undoubtedly true to say that a very great stride would be made in this direction. Production would be facilitated and cheapened; the confusion resulting from non-interchangeability of equipment, which so frequently attends combined operations, would be very largely, if not completely, eliminated; pilots from all parts of the Empire would be familiar with all types of machines in use, and one country would be enabled to come to the assistance of another in the supply of equipment without the great preliminary delay which would otherwise almost certainly take place. Standardisation would thus be attended by great military advantages.

There are, however, obvious difficulties in the way of complete standardisation. Local conditions in the Dominions would probably dictate considerable alteration to the design of machines constructed for operation in, for example, the United Kingdom. Moreover, there is always the risk that standardisation may restrict originality in design, and thereby hamper the progress of aviation.

It would seem, therefore, that the realisation of the ideal of complete standardisation might prove to be impracticable; but the advantages of standardisation are so great that the failure to attain this ideal completely should not be allowed to obscure the possibility of achieving some step in its direction. It is for consideration, therefore, whether partial standardisation could not be brought into force with advantageous results, and without acting as a drag on aircraft design. Careful consideration of this matter leads to the conclusion that partial standardisation could undoubtedly be effected.

Partial Standardisation.

22. It is important that only such aeronautical equipment and stores should be standardised as have reached some degree of finality in design. It is most undesirable to standardise equipment which might require to be scrapped owing to obsolescence during its useful life. It is considered that there would be little risk on this account in the standardisation of aircraft spares, such as A.G.S.* parts (bolts, nuts, screws, &c., which are common to all types of machines), wheels and tyres, propeller hubs, bomb racks, &c. Standardisation, it is thought, could also be effected in the matter of photographic equipment, plates, &c., and in the case of machine guns, ammunition, bombs, &c., and perhaps wireless equipment.

It is also desirable that common specifications for materials should be adopted throughout the Empire, *e.g.*, for fabric, dope, metals, petrol and oil.

It is unlikely that any very material advantage would be derived from the standardisation of instruments, such as speedometers, &c.

Nomenclature.

23. Wherever standardisation of equipment is possible it is suggested that standard nomenclature should be adopted in order to obviate confusion.

* Aircraft General Stores—Stores common to all aircraft.

Supplies of Raw Materials.

24. It is obvious that one of the most important factors in the problem of aeronautical supply at any time of emergency where increased production would be required at short notice is the existence of stocks of the raw materials necessary for aircraft construction. In particular, the supply of spruce would be a difficulty in the event of any great expansion of aircraft manufacture. The development of the all-metal machine may, in the near future, alter the situation, but at present, spruce, which must be of the best grade and well seasoned, is essential to the manufacture of aircraft. There is a shortage of stocks of wood of the right quality, not only in Great Britain, but also in the world markets generally. Measures are being taken by the Air Ministry to build up a small reserve stock, but this far from providing a complete solution to the problem. Further measures are greatly to be desired for the development of stocks of spruce from the potentially abundant supplies which exist in Canada.

RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTAL WORK.

25. The Air Member for Supply and Research at the Air Ministry is responsible, through the Director of Research, both for the direction and co-ordination of pure research in aeronautics and for the conduct of experimental work and the construction and development of experimental equipment, both for the Royal Air Force and Civil Aviation.

26. The Aeronautical Research Committee was set up in 1920 to take the place of the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. Its principal functions are to advise the Air Ministry on scientific and technical problems relating to the construction and navigation of aircraft; to initiate any research work which it considers advisable; to assist the aeronautical industry by scientific advice and research; to prepare for the approval of the Air Council a scheme of work and estimate of expenditure for the year, and to make reports from time to time to the Air Council.

The research work initiated by the Committee is principally carried out at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, and the National Physical Laboratory, Teddington, but in addition there is some research carried out at the universities and at commercial research establishments.

Aerodynamical Research.

27. Pure research in aerodynamics is carried out in the Aerodynamics Department of the National Physical Laboratory (wind channel and theoretical investigations) and at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough (wind channel and full scale investigations). The problems investigated include the plotting of pressure areas on the wings and other parts of the aeroplane, the measurement of the forces exercised by the various controls, questions of stability, the aerodynamic properties of various forms of construction, and the problem of control flight above the stalling angle. For full scale research on many of these problems the development of special instruments is necessary to secure accurate results, and the development of these instruments is carried out entirely at the Royal Aircraft Establishment.

28. There are Sub-Committees of the Aeronautical Research Committee for the more detailed investigation of special problems which may be referred to them, such as the Engine Sub-Committee and the Accidents Sub-Committee.*

Engine Research.

29. Engine Research is carried out under the supervision of the Air Ministry at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, at Messrs. Ricardos, and in some cases at the works of engine constructors. The Air Ministry Laboratory is responsible for research on thermodynamics.

Armament Research.

30. Research on Armament is to a great extent carried out jointly on behalf of the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry by the Ordnance Committee. The

* This must be distinguished from the Accidents Investigation Branch of the Air Ministry whi investigates all accidents however caused. The Accidents Sub-Committee only investigates such accidents as are referred in order that the aerodynamic aspects of the question may be considered.

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Air Ministry is, however, directly concerned in research upon the aerodynamic properties of bombs, the composition of bombs and pyrotechnics, and the development of special guns suited for use in aircraft. Efforts are being made to develop guns of a larger size than have hitherto been used. The question of special ammunition is also continually under investigation.

Wireless Research.

31. Research on wireless telegraphy and radio telephony is carried out by the three services jointly under the supervision of co-ordinating bodies, each service concentrating on the development of apparatus specially designed to meet its peculiar requirements. The Air Ministry has for some years carried out special research on oxygen and oxygen apparatus for use in aircraft, while a great deal of work has been done in the development of special navigating and course-setting instruments, more particularly for use in Naval gunnery work.

32. Considerable work has also been done in connection with the design of other accessories, such as radiators, petrol pipes, tyres and shock-absorbing components, with a view to evolving a type of equipment capable of resisting extremes of temperature ranging from the heat of Iraq, India and Egypt to the intense cold of great heights in northern latitudes.

33. In order that the Dominions may secure the full benefit of the work which is being done by the Air Ministry, the first essential is that there should be some machinery by which the results of this work may be communicated to the technical officers of Dominion Air Forces or to Dominion aviation companies.* To a great extent the results of pure research can be communicated by the transmission of reports and papers such as are produced by the Aeronautical Research Committee; but if the Dominions are to be kept in touch with the experimental work and also with such research work as does not always become the subject of formal reports, it is desirable that Dominion liaison officers should have sufficient technical experience to enable them to select on behalf of the Dominions such points as are likely to be of interest to them. The present difficulty experienced in arranging for the common investigation of certain problems of interest to all concerned or the investigation of special problems by the Dominion whose climatic conditions make such investigation particularly desirable or easy would thus be overcome. Co-ordination of this kind is essential if the best results are to be obtained without unnecessary duplication of effort.

34. If, however, some indication is required as to the type of problem which might be investigated more particularly by the Dominions, the following suggestions are made :—

Canada—

The effect of extreme cold on material of all kinds.
The effect of extreme cold on air-cooled engines.
Air Survey.

Australia—

The effect of extreme heat on materials.
The effect of extreme heat on engines. (This might overlap to some extent with the knowledge already acquired by the Royal Air Force in Iraq and Egypt.)
Effect of heat on dopes, fabrics and glue.
Air Survey.

35. A certain degree of co-operation has already been obtained in the past with regard to Canada and Australia through the medium of the Aeronautical Research Committee. The Secretary of the Committee has been for some time in direct correspondence with both these Dominions, and has until recently sent copies of aeronautical papers direct to the Director of Research on Air Matters in Australia. He has also received copies of the programme of research in hand in Canada and has answered questions referred to the Aeronautical Research Committee by Canada. While this degree of co-ordination has undoubtedly been useful, it clearly cannot be so effective as the maintenance of close touch by the appointment of technical liaison officers.

* In the latter case, subject to such reservations as may be necessary on military grounds.

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Use of Naval and Military Aircraft in Peace.

36. Air forces developed on the lines indicated are not only an insurance against external aggression in time of war, but can also be economically used for other purposes in time of peace. Thus, in the intervals of war training aircraft may be employed with advantage on coastal survey, land survey, forest fires and postal work.

In the United States of America military aircraft are extensively employed on survey duties with most beneficial results.

In Canada, air patrols have been found to be the most efficient and most economical method of locating forest fires. The Canadian Government is now almost entirely dependent on aircraft for this work.

The employment of aircraft in peace on duties of the above nature is not only an excellent method of developing the art of airmanship in the flying personnel of an air force, but may be in many cases an economical method of carrying out certain services of a civil character, especially in undeveloped or unsettled areas. Owing to such causes as the greater distances between centres of population, superior climatic conditions for flying, &c., the Dominions may be expected to have considerable advantage over Great Britain as regards opportunity for useful auxiliary employment of aircraft primarily provided for national defence. It may be observed in this connection that the employment of military aircraft for carrying mails between Cairo and Bagdad has effected an average saving of seventeen days on the time taken for mails between London and Bagdad.

Air Staff, October 4, 1923.

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APPENDIX (A).

Distribution of the Royal Air Force.

(Service Units.)

United Kingdom—
2 squadrons, army co-operation.
2 squadrons, reserve (probably to become army squadrons).
1 squadron, communications.

Navy—
3 flights, reconnaissance.
3 flights, fleet spotters.
3 flights, ships' fighters (for embarkation in three aircraft carriers).
2 flights, torpedo aircraft.
1 flight, flying boats.

(All naval flights comprised of six aircraft each, except the boat flight which is comprised of five.)

Malta, navy—
1 flight, reconnaissance.
1 flight, fleet spotters.
1 flight, ships' fighters (for embarkation in Mediterranean Fleet aircraft carrier).
1 flight, seaplanes.

Egypt—
3 squadrons, under General Officer Commanding, Egypt, for operations.

Palestine—
1 squadron, internal security under Air Ministry.

Transjordania—
1 flight, internal security under Air Ministry

Aden—
1 flight, under General Officer Commanding, Aden, for operations.
(Also available for operations in Somaliland.)

India—
6 squadrons, under Commander-in-chief, India, for operations.
(The expense of these squadrons is borne by the Indian Government.)

Iraq—
8 squadrons, internal security under Air Ministry.

Note.—In addition to the above, there are now authorised a total of 52 squadrons for Home Defence, to be stationed in the United Kingdom. Of these—

3 are already formed.
15 are in process of formation.
34 are recently sanctioned.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

[A 5909/116/45]

PROHIBITION AND LIQUOR-SMUGGLING IN THE UNITED STATES.

Memorandum by the Foreign Office.

THE stages of the prohibition question in the United States as affecting Anglo-American relations are briefly as follows:—

1. The enforcement of prohibition (January 1920) was followed by liquor-smuggling, at first sporadic and then continuous, particularly from the West Indies.

2. From the end of 1922, cases of the seizure of British vessels outside the 3-mile limit grew more and more frequent, the United States Government basing their action on a section in their customs laws (akin to the old British "hovering" laws), which gave them jurisdiction (including the right of search, but not explicitly of seizure) within a 12-mile limit.

3. His Majesty's Government lost no time in formally reserving their right to protest against seizures of British vessels outside the 3-mile limit, and a series of protests in individual cases followed. In the summer of 1922, seizures became increasingly frequent (owing to the strengthening of the prohibition flotilla), and a clause was surreptitiously introduced into the United States Tariff Act of 1922 expressly affirming the right of seizure for customs purposes within a 12-mile limit. His Majesty's Government therefore intensified their diplomatic pressure; the United States Government gave way, and the United States Cabinet in September 1922 promulgated a ruling that no seizures were to be made outside the 3-mile limit unless the small boats of the vessel concerned could be shown to have entered that limit for an illegal purpose. His Majesty's Government have refused to accept the principle of international law implied in this reservation.

4. Prior to their abandonment of the claim to a right of seizure within a 12-mile limit, the United States Government addressed to His Majesty's Government a request (in June 1922) substantially identical with that which they have now put forward. This request Sir A. Geddes was instructed to reject in a despatch, dated the 30th September, 1922, on the grounds that His Majesty's Government had in the past consistently opposed any suggestion for the extension of territorial waters, and that they felt unable to reverse their attitude on an important question of principle in order to meet an emergency which they were confident would prove a temporary one.

At the same time Sir A. Geddes was instructed to affirm that "His Majesty's "Government are desirous of assisting the United States Government to the best of "their ability in the suppression of the traffic and in the prevention of the abuse of "the British flag by those engaged in it."

5. The United States Government have made various proposals as to the steps which could be taken to assist them to check smuggling. They suggested that His Majesty's Government should give information of shipments of liquor from British ports, that transfer to British registry of United States vessels should be refused unless permits from the United States Shipping Board had been obtained, that exporters under bond should be required to land cargoes at places specified in the clearance papers, and that the export of liquor from the United Kingdom should be prohibited except under licence. After careful consideration of these proposals by the departments of His Majesty's Government concerned it was found impossible to give effect to any of them. On the other hand, the United States Government were informed that His Majesty's Government were prepared to stop fraudulent transfers to British registry when the ownership in fact remains American, to stop the issue of double clearance papers and to delay the survey of vessels in suspicious cases until enquiries had been made in London. Moreover, the attention of the Governor of the Bahamas was drawn to a number of irregularities which had occurred.

6. It must be admitted that the cumulative effect of these measures has been to interfere little, if at all, with the use of British facilities by the liquor-smugglers and their financial "backers." The revenue statistics of the British West Indies (particularly the Bahamas) since the introduction of prohibition in the United States show (*a*) an enormous increase in the quantity of imported wines and spirits, (*b*) the inauguration and development of an entirely new export trade in these commodities. There is no secret about this and the statistics are readily available to the United States Government.

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At the same time the more highly organised of the smuggling "rings" have discovered, especially since our championship of the 3-mile limit in the controversy with the United States referred to in section 3, that the easiest and cheapest way of disposing of liquor is to fit out vessels of some size and despatch them directly to lie outside the 3-mile limit opposite New York, &c. There the liquor is sold to small vessels coming out from points on the coast. The place where these vessels (nearly all under the British flag) lie has come to be known as "Rum Row," and they are stated to constitute danger to navigation lying as they do, often without lights, in the path of incoming ocean liners. One of these vessels, the "Istar," has returned some months ago to Glasgow boasting of a net profit of over £100,000 on her five-months' trip.

7. The present phase of the controversy started at the end of April, when the United States Government suddenly obtained a decision from the Supreme Court (where the question had previously been dormant for a good many months) interpreting the Volstead (Prohibition) Act as prohibiting the transportation of liquor by foreign vessels within United States territorial waters, even when such liquor was placed under seal on the vessel entering these waters. In spite of representations on the part of His Majesty's Government and of the other maritime Powers, on the grounds of international comity, regulations enforcing this decision came into effect on the 10th June, a few minor concessions alone being made to permit the carriage of liquor for medicinal purposes and for the use of the crew when such use was enjoined by the law of the vessel's country.

8. The following day Mr. Hughes communicated to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington a draft treaty* consisting of two articles, of which the substance is as follows :—

Article 1. The two parties, without attempting to extend the limits of their respective territorial waters, agree that the authorities of the other party may, within the distance of 12 geographical miles from its coast, board the vessels of the other and make enquiry whether such vessels or the persons controlling them are attempting to violate the laws of the party making the enquiry, and prohibit or regulate the unlading near, or the importation into, its territories of any articles. An officer of one party may examine a vessel of the other party and make enquiry of the master with respect to the cargo and destination. If such officer has reason to believe that the vessel or the person controlling it is engaged in the wilful commission of acts which constitute the violation of the laws of the State of which such boarding officer is an official, he may institute a search of the vessel and an examination of any articles on board. If there is reasonable cause to believe that the vessel is engaged in the commission of acts which constitute a violation of the laws of the State whose officer is conducting the search, the vessel may be seized and brought in for an adjudication and subjected to imposition of penalties established by law by the party whose laws and regulations are found to have been violated.

Article 2. Any article, the importation of which into the territories of either party is prohibited, but which is listed as sea stores or as cargo destined for a port foreign to either party, on board a vessel of either party destined for a port of the other party, may be brought within the territorial waters of the other party on condition that upon the arrival of the vessel within 12 geographical miles of the coast of the other party such article shall be placed under seal.

9. On the 14th July, Mr. Chilton informed Mr. Hughes that although theoretically the international validity of the 3-mile limit might be strengthened by a treaty making an exception for a special purpose, in practice such a treaty would weaken the principle, because it would form a precedent for the conclusion of similar treaties. For this reason the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs felt bound to state in Parliament that His Majesty's Government could not accept Mr. Hughes's proposal. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government Mr. Hughes's proposed treaty would not provide for any immediate remedy, seeing that it could not be ratified until Congress meets, when an amendment of the Volstead Act could equally well be introduced if the United States Government so desire. Moreover, even if the 12-mile limit were accepted, cases would inevitably occur liable to cause serious friction between the two countries, owing to the difficulty of deciding the position of a limit usually out of sight of land, at any rate on the Atlantic coast. Mr. Chilton added that the Hovering

* See Annex.

Acts in the United Kingdom were entirely superseded by "The Customs Consolidation Act, 1876," by which British municipal legislation is made to conform to international law.

On the 19th July Mr. Hughes replied that it was not his intention to propose an extension of the limits of territorial waters. He was unable to agree that the conclusion of a treaty making an exception for a special purpose would weaken the principle, and there could be inserted in the treaty any qualification deemed desirable to show that it was definitely limited to the particular situation in view. No assurance could be given as to the action of the Senate or with regard to the prospect of securing from Congress an amendment of the Volstead Act in relation to ship liquor and cargo liquor destined for foreign ports, but it was believed that the solution of the present difficulty through the making of a fair and reasonable agreement would be the most promising method of securing early action. With regard to the difficulty of determining the position of the 12-mile limit and the friction which His Majesty's Government contended would therefore arise, Mr. Hughes felt that the treaty would do much to eliminate the present cause of friction. He emphasised that the treaty would not interfere with vessels bound to United States ports when engaged in legitimate commerce, as they would in any case come within 3 miles of the coast. He confidently asserted that there would be no disposition on the part of the United States authorities to interfere with a British vessel, save within the limits proposed and when it was clear that a vessel was engaged in smuggling.

10 On the 22nd August an interdepartmental committee, under the chairmanship of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which had already examined the possibility of introducing legislation to stop smuggling, reported that in their opinion, His Majesty's Government have strong ground for complaint that British vessels are no longer allowed to carry liquor in United States territorial waters even under seal. They considered that His Majesty's Government could hardly be expected to adopt measures to assist the United States in suppressing smuggling unless the latter is prepared to remedy the British grievance. With regard to the possibility of retaliation, it was felt that this, to be effective, would have to take the form of the exclusion of United States vessels from the ports not only of the United Kingdom, but of the whole Empire, and that no steps in this direction could be taken without the concurrence of the Dominions and India. In any case, the Empire has much more to lose than the United States by such a contest, as it possesses a far greater amount of tonnage.

11. The committee next examined Mr. Hughes's proposed treaty. The Board of Trade representative said that the Liverpool Shipowners' Association and the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom were in favour of the proposal. A fear was expressed that opposition to the proposal might result in His Majesty's Government losing the support of the United States to the principle of the 3-mile limit for general purposes, and it was suggested that the proposed treaty might strengthen the doctrine if it were reaffirmed in the text. The precise distance from the shore at which the search should take place was not regarded as of great importance, provided that the right were exercised *bonâ fide* and not abused. The committee thought that there was much force in the suggestion made by Sir C. Hurst that no limit should be fixed, and the term "in the vicinity of the coast" substituted, subject to an interpretative clause. They also thought that the omission of mention of the 12-mile limit would have the advantage of emphasising the exception to the recognised limit of territorial waters and of avoiding the adoption even for this exceptional case of a limit which certain nations claim for all purposes. They believed that a treaty on the lines suggested by Mr. Hughes offers the only satisfactory solution, but as any such agreement would be applicable to all British vessels, it was agreed that it would be necessary to consult the Dominions and India. Hence the placing of this subject on the agenda of the Imperial Conference.

12. Inasmuch as it was desirable, pending the meeting of the Imperial Conference, that a reasoned reply should be returned to the United States Government, His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington was accordingly instructed to address a note to the United States Government containing the following points: The amount of smuggling of liquor into the United States by sea is admitted by the United States Prohibition Commissioner to be exaggerated by anti-prohibitionists in the United States in order to discredit prohibition. This makes it the less justifiable to weaken the authority of the general rule of international law. The 12-mile limit would be almost impossible to observe, at all events on the Atlantic coast of the United States, which lies low. The British Hovering Acts were modified in 1876 to bring them into harmony with the principle of international law. It is no violation of any law to sell

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liquor on the high seas. The export of liquor from the United Kingdom could only be regulated by measures similar to those in force during the war. His Majesty's Government could not be expected to revive such measures, more especially as the United States had refused to ratify the Arms Traffic Convention of 1919 for this very reason. All other countries must adopt similar measures if they are to be effective. It would in any case be impossible to recommend such measures to Parliament so long as British ships are prevented from carrying liquor under seal in United States territorial waters. His Majesty's Government claim the right to exercise jurisdiction over all vessels in British territorial waters, but it is only exercised in the interests of the safety and welfare of the ship, crew and passengers. As a matter of international comity, the maritime Powers refrain from imposing their jurisdiction except for these purposes. The United States Government had themselves in the past made representations to the Spanish Government on this basis and had recognised it recently in exempting vessels trading between the United States and Italy from the strict application of the Volstead Act, on the ground that Italian law requires the provision of liquor on such ships. In view of the difficulties of the case, His Majesty's Government could not agree to an extension of the 3-mile limit even for a limited purpose until the matter had been submitted to the Imperial Conference.

13. The conclusions to be derived from the above narrative would appear to be as follows: On the one hand the case for concluding such a treaty as has been recommended by Mr. Hughes may be thus stated: —

(*a.*) Although no breach of international law is created by vessels under the British flag hovering on the verge of United States territorial waters with liquor on board notwithstanding the fact that it is admittedly the intention of the owners to sell the liquor to United States citizens; yet inasmuch as the failure of His Majesty's Government to stop the practice has necessarily given rise to strong criticism in the United States, it is in the interests of the continuance of cordial relations between the two Governments that a settlement of this troublesome matter should be reached. It has been found impossible, for various reasons, for His Majesty's Government to take any effective action by legislation or otherwise to assist the United States authorities. Hence the acceptance of Mr. Hughes's treaty in some form may lead to the avoidance of an open quarrel, in which His Majesty's Government would be represented as the champions of an odious traffic, while British vessels would remain exposed to the confiscation of any ship or cargo liquor which they might bring into United States ports and waters. On the other hand, if Mr. Hughes's proposals were accepted, British vessels would in future be able to carry liquor under seal in United States territorial waters.

(*b.*) The fear that the extension of the 3-mile limit for a limited purpose would weaken the principle of the 3-mile limit for general purposes, might be met by the actual terms of the treaty itself.

(*c.*) The further objection that United States prohibition officers might abuse the powers accorded to them under the proposed treaty and interfere with innocent vessels, could also be met by limiting the duration of the treaty to a short period, *e.g.*, one year in the first instance.

14. If the idea of a treaty be favoured, it will be necessary to settle whether a limit of 12 miles shall be fixed, or whether Sir Cecil Hurst's proposal be accepted, that the right of search should be conceded "in the vicinity of the coast," with an interpretation clause limiting the "vicinity of the coast" to so many hours' steaming. An "hour's steaming," which has been suggested, seems too vague a definition even for this purpose, and a fixed limit of distance would, in spite of the objections which will be mentioned presently, in all probability be preferable.

15. It will also be necessary to decide whether the treaty if concluded should be reciprocal, as proposed by Mr. Hughes, or non-reciprocal. Of these alternatives the latter seems preferable, since it would be undesirable to give the United States Government the opportunity to claim that they have made us a concession which would, in fact, be valueless.

16. Such is the case of those who advocate a settlement by treaty on the lines proposed by Mr. Hughes On the other hand there are arguments in the opposite sense:—

(i.) The object of the United States Government in making these proposals is to secure the right to search and arrest ships from which spirituous liquors

are sold just outside the present limit of territorial jurisdiction. The extent of this traffic seems, however, to have been exaggerated, judging from the following statement published by Mr. Haynes, the United States Prohibition Commissioner, in the "New York Times" of the 18th July last:—

> "The moonshine-still is the bootlegger's chief source of supply. "From what other place can he get his liquor in quantity? Surely "not from the rigidly controlled bonded warehouses—they are "eliminated at once. As to smuggled liquor, some, it is true, is "brought into the country, but not one-tenth as much as the illegal "traffic would have us believe.
>
> "When reports of huge smuggling operations are circulated it "should be remembered that the illicit liquor interests are conducting "a great and elaborate propaganda campaign to discredit law enforce- "ment and that the spreading of such reports is part and parcel of "that campaign. No bootlegger, of course, is willing to admit that "he can obtain only adulterated moonshine. Hence, fanciful tales of "the wet wave sweeping in on our coasts and other related falsehoods "pass from mouth to mouth to hide the real and dangerous origin of "what the bootlegger has to sell."

(ii.) It may further be argued that it is for the United States to enforce their own laws, and that His Majesty's Government cannot be expected to hamper a lucrative export trade carried on, so far as British subjects are concerned, without any violation of municipal or international law, and that there is no reason why the British Empire should alter its laws because another country has altered its social system.

(iii.) Further, there is the less reason for purely disinterested action on our part, seeing that the United States Government have seized a considerable number of vessels under the British flag outside the 3-mile limit in entire violation of the accepted principles of international law.

(iv.) The view which has hitherto been uniformly held by the British Government is that jurisdiction over foreign vessels in territorial waters should not be exercised except to restrain acts calculated to disturb public order and safety. Upon this point the comity and practice of nations were clearly defined in the judgment of the Supreme Court in the "Wildenhus" case. In that case the jurisdiction of the United States was extended to cover an act committed on a foreign ship. Yet, even so, the Supreme Court recognised the existing international doctrine on the subject to be as follows:—

> "And so by comity it came to be generally understood among "civilised nations that all matters of discipline and all things done on "board which affected only the vessel or those belonging to her, and "did not involve the peace or dignity of the country, or the tranquillity "of the port, should be left by the Local Government to be dealt with "by the authorities of the nation to which the vessel belonged as the "laws of that nation or the interests of its commerce should require."

The regulations issued as a result of the judgment of the Supreme Court afford an example of the kind of issue that might be raised all over the world if the existing comity and practice were abandoned. Ships of all nations frequently pass through the jurisdiction of other nations, even when not entering their ports. For example, to reach Antwerp a vessel must pass through Dutch territorial waters, to reach the Baltic through Danish or Swedish waters, to reach the Black Sea through Turkish waters. The principle was well stated in the despatch of the 28th October, 1852, from Mr. Conrad, when Acting Secretary of State, to the United States Minister at Madrid, which contained the following passage:—

> "You will state that this Government does not question the "right of every nation to prescribe the conditions on which the "vessels of other nations may be admitted into her ports. That "nevertheless those conditions ought not to conflict with the received "usages which regulate the commercial interccurse between civilised "nations. That those usages are well known and long established

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" and no nation can disregard them without giving just cause of " complaint to all other nations whose interests would be affected by " their violation."

The British Hovering Acts were modified in 1876 precisely in order to bring them into harmony with international practice, and His Majesty's Government can therefore hardly be expected to admit that the municipal legislation of any country can override this practice.

The action of the United States in not allowing vessels to carry liquor in United States territorial waters affects not only passenger vessels, more particularly in regard to their homeward-bound voyages from the United States, but also cargo vessels, especially those plying in the Pacific between the ports of Australia, Canada and Hong Kong, which, if they have cargoes of liquor on board, as is probable, are unable to use United States ports.

(v.) The United States Government maintain that they have no choice but to enforce the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court, and that they can exercise no dispensary power. Nevertheless, they have exercised such power in the case of French and Italian vessels which are allowed to carry wine on the ground that this is necessary under French and Italian law, although there is no proviso in the judgment of the Supreme Court to meet this necessity. They have also allowed British ships in the Italian trade to carry liquor for third class passengers in order that Italian law in this respect may be complied with.

(vi.) Friction would not be avoided by the acceptance of a 12-mile limit, owing to the difficulty of deciding the position of the limit, usually out of sight of land, at any rate on the Atlantic coast. Indeed, the present difficulty would be revived, though in a different geographical area, for larger vessels could easily be employed which would lie further out from the land. It has already been proposed that vessels with liquor on board should lie 20 or 25 miles from the United States coast.

(vii.) That the general validity of the 12-mile limit could be strengthened by making an exception to it for a special purpose, appears to be very doubtful reasoning. It is much more likely that the exception thus conceded would be made the precedent for similar treaties and that a serious inroad would thus be made in the principle itself.

(viii.) Further, the fixing of a 12-mile limit is particularly open to objection, because France and Italy are in favour of this limit being fixed for all purposes.

It is, in any case, essential that all countries should accept the 12-mile limit, if this were agreed to by His Majesty's Government. The result would otherwise merely be to penalise British vessels for the benefit of their trade rivals.

(ix.) It has been suggested, for whatever the point may be worth, that the loss to the Bahamas would be so serious were the traffic effectively stopped, that, however illogical it may be, impetus would be given to the movement to transfer the islands to the United States.

(x.) Finally, the view has been put forward that, if Sir C. Hurst's proposal to accord to the United States the right of search " in the vicinity of the coast " were adopted, prohibition agents would seize vessels all over the Western Atlantic in the confident expectation that no protest would be made. Congress might then defer their approval of the treaty, and His Majesty's Government would not obtain the proposed concession with regard to the carrying of liquor under seal in United States territorial waters.

17. The above statement of the arguments pro and con will perhaps assist the Imperial Conference in arriving at a decision on this exceedingly complex subject.

Foreign Office,
October 1, 1923.

C 63077

[A 3778/116/45]

ANNEX.

Sir A. Geddes to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(*Received June* 26.)

(No. 751.)

My Lord, *Washington, June* 14, 1923.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 260 of the 11th instant, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of the draft treaty in regard to the extension of the limit of territorial waters to 12 miles, which was handed to Mr. Chilton by Mr. Hughes on the 11th June.

I have, &c.
(For the Ambassador)
H. G. CHILTON.

Enclosure in Annex.

Draft Treaty in regard to the Extension of the Limit of Territorial Waters to 12 Miles.

ARTICLE 1.

THE high contracting parties, without attempting to extend as between themselves the limits of their respective territorial waters adjacent to the high seas, agree that the authorities of either high contracting party may, within the distance of 12 geographical miles from its coasts, board the private vessels of the other and make enquiry of the masters thereof as to whether such vessels or the person or persons controlling them are engaged in any attempt, either with or without the co-operation of other vessels, or persons on board the same, to violate the laws of the high contracting party making the enquiry, and prohibiting or regulating the unlading near, or importation into, its territories of any articles.

An officer of one high contracting party boarding a private vessel of the other may examine the manifest of the vessel and make enquiry of the master with respect to the cargo and destination thereof. If such officer has reason to believe from the statements of the master or from documents exhibited by him or otherwise, that the vessel or the person or persons controlling it, either with or without the co-operation of other vessels, or persons on board the same, is or are engaged in the wilful commission of acts which constitute a violation of the laws of the State of which such boarding officer is an official, with respect to the unlading or importation of any article or articles, he shall impart his belief to the master of the vessel, and thereupon may, with the aid of the master, institute a search of the vessel and an examination of any articles on board. The search shall be conducted with the courtesy and consideration which ought to be observed between friendly nations. If there is reasonable cause for belief that the vessel or the person or persons coutrolling it is or are wilfully engaged, with or without the co-operation of other vessels or persons on board the same, in the commission of acts which constitute a violation of the laws of the State whose officer has conducted the search, forbidding or regulating the unlading near, or importation into, its territories of any article or articles, the vessel, cargo and the person or persons controlling it or them may be seized and brought in for an adjudication, and subjected to the imposition of the penalties established by law by the party whose laws and regulations are found to have been violated.

ARTICLE 2.

Any article or articles the importation of which into the territories of either high contracting party is or are for any purposes prohibited by its laws, but which is or are listed as sea stores, or as cargo destined for a port foreign to either high contracting party, on board a private vessel of either high contracting party destined for a port of the other high contracting party, may be brought within the territorial waters of such other high contracting party on condition that upon arrival of the vessel so destined within 12 geographical miles of the coasts of such high contracting party whose territorial waters are about to be entered, such article or articles may be placed under seal by the appropriate officer of that party, and shall be kept sealed continuously thereafter until the vessel enters and during the entire stay of the vessel within those waters, and no part of such article or articles shall, during that period, be removed from under seal for any purposes whatsoever. Upon the departure of the vessel from such territorial waters destined for a foreign port, such article or articles under seal may be released therefrom either by an officer of the vessel or by an officer of the party affixing the seal.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

The Position of the United States in Relation to "C" Mandates.

Note by the Colonial Office.

AT a meeting held in June 1921 the Council of the League of Nations decided that a letter should be addressed to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers requesting them to negotiate direct with the United States Government on various points at issue in connection with Mandates. As a result the United States Government were asked to formulate their views, and this they did in a Memorandum dated the 24th August, 1921, a copy of which was communicated to the Governments of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa in a despatch dated the 1st September, 1921. Some of the points raised affected all Mandates; others were confined to Mandates of particular types.

So far as "C" Mandates were concerned, the points raised by the United States Government were as follows:—

1. Article 5 of the Mandates (which deals with the entry and residence of missionaries) should be changed so as to embrace nationals of the United States (and not merely nationals of States Members of the League of Nations), and so as to avoid ambiguity as to the right of missionaries to exercise charitable and educational activities in the Mandated Territories.
2. The terms of the "C" Mandates, if not qualified, would permit discrimination in commercial matters. The United States Government desired a guarantee of most-favoured-nation treatment in all "C" Mandated Territories, and, in addition, special rights in Samoa based on Article 3 of the Treaty of the 2nd December, 1899.
3. There should be provision prohibiting monopolistic concessions by the Mandatory, or the monopolising of natural resources by the Mandatory itself.
4. Modification of the Mandates should be subject to the assent of the United States.

His Majesty's Government replied to the points raised by the United States Government in connection with "B" Mandates and the Mandate for Palestine, but no reply was returned to the representations as regards "C" Mandates.

At the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921–22 some discussion of the question took place, and the Four Power Treaty of the 13th December, 1921, relating to the Pacific, was accompanied by a Declaration (pp. 40 and 41 of Cmd. 1627) that the making of the Treaty should not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States to the Mandates for the Pacific Islands, and should not preclude agreements between the United States and the Mandatory Powers in relation to those islands.

A further Memorandum on the subject of "C" Mandates was submitted by the United States Ambassador on the 26th July, 1922. This Memorandum repeated the four suggestions contained in the Memorandum of the 24th August, 1921, and quoted certain instances of alleged discriminatory treatment in "C" Mandated Territories, as to which enquiry was desired. These were as follows:—

1. The introduction of a tariff in Western Samoa giving preference to imports from the British Empire.
2. The inclusion of South-West Africa in the Union of South Africa for Customs and Excise purposes, the effect of which would be to give preference to certain British goods imported into South-West Africa over similar United States goods.

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3. Regulations promulgated by the Commonwealth Government as to the sale of ex-enemy properties in New Guinea, under which sale to persons other than British subjects or British companies was prohibited.
4. A statement made in the Commonwealth Parliament that it was proposed to reserve the oil deposits of New Guinea for the exclusive use of the Mandatory authorities.

The United States Government also asked that, pending the conclusion of a definite agreement as to "C" Mandates, they might receive duplicates of the reports submitted to the League of Nations on the administration of "C" Mandated Territories.

This Memorandum was communicated to the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa for consideration in a despatch dated the 18th August, 1922. The New Zealand Government suggested in reply that, as the Memorandum raised questions affecting all three Governments, the points raised should be left in abeyance until they had been considered by the Imperial Conference. A similar view has been expressed by the Commonwealth Government. No comments have been received from the Union Government.

As regards the points of principle raised in the United States Memorandum of the 24th August, 1921, it may be noted that similar points were also raised, though in a slightly different form, as regards "B" Mandates, and have been substantially met :—

1. As regards missionaries, His Majesty's Government have undertaken to grant to United States missionaries equal treatment with that guaranteed by the Mandates to missionaries who are nationals of States Members of the League of Nations. This ensures that United States missionaries will in "B" Mandated Territories enjoy the right to erect religious buildings and to open schools, subject to such measures of control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government.
2. The "B" Mandates expressly provide (unlike the "C" Mandates) that nationals of States Members of the League of Nations shall enjoy, on the same footing as British nationals, complete economic, commercial and industrial equality, and further, that concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territories shall be granted without distinction on grounds of nationality between the nationals of such States, but on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the local Government. Here again His Majesty's Government have undertaken to grant to United States nationals the same rights and privileges as are granted to nationals of States Members of the League of Nations.
3. The "B" Mandates (unlike the "C" Mandates) prohibit the granting of concessions having the character of a general monopoly (subject to the right of the Mandatory to create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in the interest of the territories, and in certain cases to carry out the development of natural resources either directly by the State or by a controlled agency).
4. His Majesty's Government have stated their readiness to give an undertaking that they will not propose or accept any modifications in the terms of the "B" Mandates without previous consultation with the United States Government, and to make provision that the rights of the United States and its nationals in "B" Mandated Territories shall not be affected by any modifications in the terms of the Mandates unless such modifications have been assented to by the United States.

His Majesty's Government have also undertaken to supply to the United States a duplicate of each of the Annual Reports on "B" Mandated Territories made to the League of Nations.

It may be observed that the third of the points of principle raised (the monopolising of natural resources by the Mandatory) has a bearing upon the arrangements made by His Majesty's Government and the Commonwealth and New Zealand Governments for exploiting the phosphate resources of Nauru. Neither of the two United States Memoranda refers expressly to Nauru, but it seems evident from conversations between Lord Balfour and Mr. Hughes, the United States Secretary of State, at the Washington Conference on the subject of "C" Mandates, that the United States Government have the case of Nauru in mind. The Permanent Mandates Commission, at its meeting of

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August 1922, devoted some attention to this topic, and its observations on the Nauru Report expressly raised the question "whether the establishment by the three "Governments concerned of a State organisation enjoying the sole rights of develop- "ment of the only natural resources of the area is fully in keeping, although no formal "provision under the Regulations for 'C' Mandates forbids it, with the disinterested "spirit which should characterise the mission of the Mandatory State." It was pointed out in the report of the Sixth Committee of the 1922 Assembly that the position in this connection was merely that the three Governments had acquired, by direct purchase through voluntary sale on the part of the owners and not through the Mandates, exclusive rights granted before the war by the German Government to a private company.

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C 63081

SECRET.

E. 77.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

POLITICAL STATUS OF BRITISH INDIANS IN THE COLONIES, PROTECTORATES, AND MANDATED TERRITORIES.

Memorandum by the Colonial Office.

West Indies.

IN the *West Indies*, British Indians are under no political or legal disability of any kind. They have the same franchise and the same opportunities of becoming members of elective bodies as any other British subjects.

The West Indian colonies in which there is a considerable British Indian population are British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica. It may be of interest to add some particulars regarding the franchise in these colonies.

In *British Guiana* the property qualifications for voters are somewhat complicated, and the following may serve as examples: Persons are qualified to be voters for counties if they have an annual income or salary of $480 or are tenants of a house, or house and land, of an annual rental of $192. A person is qualified as a voter for a city or town if he possesses a similar income or salary, or is a tenant to the value of $120. In either case, the payment of $20 in taxes qualifies. No person is entitled to be registered as a voter unless he can read and write some language.

In *Trinidad* the Legislative Council is at present nominated, but the elective system will be introduced at an early date. A person desirous of being registered as a voter must be able to satisfy the Registration Officer that he or she can understand the English language when spoken, and must possess one of a number of property qualifications. An annual salary of £62 10*s*., or the payment of £12 10*s*. for rent, or the occupation of land, or land and house thereon, assessed to taxes at 10*s*. a year will qualify.

In *Jamaica* the qualification for voters is the receipt of salary or wages of £50, or income of a similar amount combined with the payment of a rental of £10, or the payment of taxes of 10*s*. on real property or £1 10*s*. on personal property.

Eastern Colonies.

In *Ceylon*, under a revised Constitution about to be issued, qualified British Indians will be eligible for the franchise and for election to the Legislative Council in the same manner as all other British subjects. In addition, they will have the privilege of electing two Indian representatives on a communal basis. The property qualification for the franchise is reasonably low.

In *Mauritius* there is no distinction between British Indians and other British subjects as regards eligibility for the franchise. Moderate property and educational qualifications are imposed in all cases. An Indian member is also specially nominated to the Council of Government, to represent Indian interests.

In the *Straits Settlements* provision for an Indian representative, nominated by the Governor, is made in the recently revised Constitution of the Legislative Council.

With regard to the *Federated Malay States*, the Government of India has recently suggested that Indians should have representation in the Federal Council. This question is now under discussion with the High Commissioner.

Southern Pacific.

In *Fiji* the question of the political representation of Indians is still under consideration.

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EASTERN AFRICA.

In *Kenya*, where there are four communities to consider, the communal system of representation in the Legislative Council has, after careful consideration, been adopted. The European British subjects vote for eleven elected members on an adult franchise. The Indians will vote for five elected members on a wide franchise, which will be determined in consultation with the Indian community. The Arabs will vote for one elected member on a franchise to be determined in a similar manner. Until the political education of the African is advanced, African interests will be represented by a non-African, nominated, unofficial member, who will be a missionary.

The unofficial members of the Executive Council are not limited either as to race or numbers by the instrument of Government. Hitherto, there have been two European unofficial members and one Indian unofficial member, and it is hoped to continue this arrangement, with the addition of an unofficial member, whose advice on matters affecting Africans will be of value.

In each Council there is an absolute official majority.

In *Uganda* the Legislative Council is not elective. There is no restriction on the number or race of the unofficial members who may be nominated to the Council. The members at present approved are two Europeans and one Indian. There is an official majority.

In the Executive Council, there are no unofficial members.

In the *Tanganyika Territory* there is no Legislative or Executive Council; but, speaking generally, Indians have the same rights as the citizens of other countries members of the League of Nations.

Colonial Office, October 1923.

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E. 78.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

PUBLICITY ARRANGEMENTS.

MEMORANDUM AS THE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

IN the course of the preliminary correspondence as to the Conference the view has been expressed by the representatives of some of the Governments that as much publicity should be given to its proceedings as is compatible with the necessity for secrecy on questions such as foreign policy or the details of naval, military and air co-operation.

In previous years, the practice has been to issue daily communiqués, sometimes stating only that a meeting has been held, sometimes giving a brief outline of the subjects discussed. These were supplemented in 1921 by—

(*a.*) Verbatim reports of certain discussions given to the Press, in the course of the proceedings, at the wish of the Conference.

(*b.*) A summarised report of the discussions as a whole, drawn up for, and approved by, the Conference before it separated, and subsequently published.

It is suggested for consideration that this procedure might be somewhat expanded. There would seem to be great advantages in arranging that Press correspondents should be able to go to some specified person or persons to get what may be called the "atmosphere" of the Conference and any particulars which could safely be communicated and are likely to prove of interest to the newspapers overseas and here.

It is thought that it might be convenient to the Members of the Conference if a British Minister were made generally responsible for the publicity arrangements (subject to the special arrangements as regards the discussions on foreign policy and defence which are suggested below). He could attend the meetings of the Conference with a "watching brief," and at the end of each meeting, subject to any special ruling from the Conference itself and any necessary consultation with the individual speakers, he might have discretion to arrange for communication to the Press, in the most convenient manner, of such information as could properly be given regarding the work of the Conference. As regards the discussions on foreign relations and defence questions, special considerations arise. As to the former, it is thought that the most satisfactory arrangement might be that any information as to such discussions which the Conference might decide to make public should only be given to the Press under the express authority of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and through the Foreign Office machinery. Statements relating to Imperial defence should, it is thought, before publication, be referred to the office of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
October 1, 1923.

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E. 79 (a).

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Committee on the Position of the United States of America in relation to "C" Mandates.

CONCLUSIONS OF A MEETING OF THE ABOVE COMMITTEE, HELD AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE, S.W., ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1923, AT 4 P.M.

Present:

The Right Hon. S. M. BRUCE, M.C., Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia (*in the chair*).

The Hon. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (representing the Secretary of State for the Colonies).

Mr. R. H. CAMPBELL, C.M.G., Foreign Office (representing the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.M.G., Deputy Secretary, Imperial Conference.

Mr. J. F. N. GREEN, Colonial Office.

Mr. C. W. DIXON, M.B.E., Colonial Office.

The Hon. Sir LOMER-GOUIN, K.C.M.G., Minister of Justice and Attorney-General, Canada.

The Right Hon. W. F. MASSEY, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

General the Right Hon. J. C. SMUTS, C.H., K.C., Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

Lieut.-Colonel J. REID-HYDE, C.B.E., Secretary, Canadian Delegation.

Sir ROBERT GARREN, K.C.M.G., Solicitor-General, Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. F. D. THOMPSON, C.M.G., Secretary, New Zealand Delegation.

Commodore A. G. HOTHAM, C.M.G., R.N., Naval Adviser, New Zealand Delegation.

Captain E. F. C. LANE, C.M.G., Secretary, Union of South Africa Delegation.

Mr. G. OWEN-SMITH, I.S.O., Commissioner of Customs and Excise, Union of South Africa.

Mr. G. H. CREASY, Secretary to the Committee.

THE Committee considered the following requests made by the United States Government in their memoranda of the 24th August, 1921, and the 26th July, 1922, as set out in Paper E. 76 :—

(1.) Article 5 of the "C" Mandates should be changed so as to grant to United States missionaries equal treatment with that guaranteed by the Mandates to missionaries who are nationals of States members of the League.

(2.) The United States Government desired a guarantee of most-favoured-nation treatment in all "C" Mandated Territories.

(3.) There should be a provision prohibiting monopolistic concessions by the Mandatory, or monopolising of natural resources by the Mandatory itself.

(4.) Modification of the Mandates should be subject to the assent of the United States.

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(5.) Pending the conclusion of a definite agreement as to " C " Mandates, the United States Government asked that they might receive duplicates of the Reports submitted to the League of Nations on the administration of " C " Mandated Territories.

As regards (2), it was pointed out that, apart from their represenations as to " C " Mandated Territories generally, the United States Government had made special representations, based on Article 3 of the treaty of the 2nd December, 1899, between the United States, Germany and Great Britain, relating to Samoa, to the effect that the British preferential tariff in Western Samoa should be extended to United States goods.

It was agreed that no reply need be sent to the United States Government on the general question raised unless, and until, that Government brought the matter forward again. The Committee, whilst determining that there should be further consultation as to the exact terms of the reply, arrived at the following conclusions as to the general nature of the reply which might be returned, should the United States Government raise the matter again and press for an answer :—

As regards (1), the Committee saw no objection to an assurance being given to the United States Government that their missionaries would be granted the treatment desired.

As regards (2), it was pointed out that what the United States Government really desired was national treatment.

As regards all the " C " Mandated Territories, the position was that, under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and under the Mandate itself, the mandatory has absolute right to treat them as an integral part of its territory, subject only to certain specified rights in favour of the native inhabitants; and, therefore, the claim of the United States Government to have an Act to receive national treatment as regards all the " C " Mandated Territories was inconsistent with both the Covenant and the Mandate.

As regards the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa in particular, it was explained that in this respect it was in a special position. South-West Africa is treated, for customs purposes, as part of the Union of South Africa, and consequently, if preference were granted to United States goods imported into that territory, those goods would, in effect, have preference in all parts of the Union of South Africa, a position which the Government of the Union was not prepared to accept.

It was therefore agreed that it was impossible to grant the request of the United States Government for national treatment in " C " Mandated Territories generally.

As regards (3), the Committee considered that an assurance might possibly be given as regards monopolies on similar lines to the reply of His Majesty's Government in the case of " B " Mandated Territories.*

In the event of the United States Government raising any question as to Nauru in this connection, it would be sufficient to explain to them that the position with respect to the phosphate resources of the island was merely that the three Governments concerned (*i.e.*, His Majesty's Government and the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand) had acquired by direct purchase through voluntary sale on the part of the owners, and not through the Mandate, exclusive rights granted before the war by the German Government to a private company.

As regards (4), the matter should be reserved for further consideration.

As regards (5), the Committee saw no objection to the request being granted.

It was agreed that the special representations of the United States Government as to Western Samoa might be considered separately from the representations on the general question of commercial treatment. It was explained that His Majesty's Government had been advised that under the treaty of 1899 the United States Government are apparently bound to give British shipping in the parts of Samoa under United States administration treatment as favourable as that accorded to United States shipping; this treatment is not, in fact, accorded, and it was understood that the Prime Minister of New Zealand was prepared to agree to an answer being sent to the United States Government to the effect that the New Zealand Government would be willing to consider the request of the United States Government for national treatment for their commerce in Western Samoa if that Government was willing to give British shipping national treatment in that part of Samoa under United States administration.

* See despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors-General of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, Dominions Treaty No. 11, Confidential, of the 28th March, 1922, and subsequent correspondence.

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E. 80.

76

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

MEMORANDUM BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BEFORE the Conference comes to consider this thorny subject, I wish my colleagues to consider the following suggestion of a way out of the difficulties in which we find ourselves. In India the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire seems to be adding to the political agitation and unrest, while in those other parts the atmosphere for the solution of the difficulty is not improving but on the contrary getting worse. This latter change is in some measure due to the Sastri mission. Mr. Sastri by his mission and his speeches has undoubtedly made matters worse. He has, for instance, never failed, whenever opportunity presented itself, to attack the Indian policy of South Africa, and has thereby greatly exasperated public opinion in that Dominion, already very sensitive on this issue. In other Dominions he has made people alive to the issue—indeed he has largely created it. The claim he has everywhere vigorously pressed for equal franchise rights for Indians over the whole Empire has not only gone further than the local claims of the Indians themselves, but has tended to raise opposition in quarters where it did not exist before. It is because I foresaw this development that I did not invite Mr. Sastri to include South Africa in his mission. It is not alleged that the economic position of Indians in other parts of the Empire is bad. It is admitted that they are successful and thriving under the laws of the Dominions, and are in most respects economically better off than they would be in India. But the claim is put forward for equal political rights throughout the Empire, and its denial is looked upon as a stigma, as an affront to our Indian fellow-subjects. And no questions are more difficult and dangerous than those involving national dignity and honour.

The Indian claim for equal franchise rights in the Empire outside of India arise, in my opinion, from a misconception of the nature of British citizenship. This misconception is not confined to India, but is fairly general, and the Conference would do not only India but the whole Empire an important service by its removal. The misconception arises, not from the fact, but from the assumption that all subjects of the King are equal, that in an Empire where there is a common King there should be a common and equal citizenship, and that all differences and distinctions in citizen rights are wrong in principle. Hence it is claimed that whether a British subject has or has not political rights in his country of origin, he should, on migration to another part of the Empire where British subjects enjoy full political rights, be entitled automatically to the enjoyment of these rights. It is on this basis that equal political rights are claimed for Indians who live in the Dominions or Colonies outsid of India.

It is, of course, clear that the assumption on which the claim is based is wrong. There is no equality of British citizenship throughout the Empire. On the contrary, there is every imaginable difference. In some parts British subjects have no political rights whatever; in others they have modified rights of one kind or another; in others, again, they have the fullest political rights. In the same part you may find British subjects with little or no political rights, and others with full rights. There is no common equal British citizenship in the Empire, and it is quite wrong for a British subject to claim equality of rights in any part of the Empire to which he has migrated or where he happens to be living. There is no indignity or affront at all in the denial of such equality. Once this is clearly recognised, the stigma above referred to falls away. Indians in those parts of the Empire where they do not enjoy equal franchise rights cannot justly or fairly claim that their national dignity or status is involved.

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(5.) Pending the conclusion of a definite agreement as to "C" Mandates, the United States Government asked that they might receive duplicates of the Reports submitted to the League of Nations on the administration of "C" Mandated Territories.

As regards (2), it was pointed out that, apart from their represenations as to "C" Mandated Territories generally, the United States Government had made special representations, based on Article 3 of the treaty of the 2nd December, 1899, between the United States, Germany and Great Britain, relating to Samoa, to the effect that the British preferential tariff in Western Samoa should be extended to United States goods.

It was agreed that no reply need be sent to the United States Government on the general question raised unless, and until, that Government brought the matter forward again. The Committee, whilst determining that there should be further consultation as to the exact terms of the reply, arrived at the following conclusions as to the general nature of the reply which might be returned, should the United States Government raise the matter again and press for an answer:—

As regards (1), the Committee saw no objection to an assurance being given to the United States Government that their missionaries would be granted the treatment desired.

As regards (2), it was pointed out that what the United States Government really desired was national treatment.

As regards all the "C" Mandated Territories, the position was that, under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and under the Mandate itself, the mandatory has absolute right to treat them as an integral part of its territory, subject only to certain specified rights in favour of the native inhabitants; and, therefore, the claim of the United States Government to have an Act to receive national treatment as regards all the "C" Mandated Territories was inconsistent with both the Covenant and the Mandate.

As regards the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa in particular, it was explained that in this respect it was in a special position. South-West Africa is treated, for customs purposes, as part of the Union of South Africa, and consequently, if preference were granted to United States goods imported into that territory, those goods would, in effect, have preference in all parts of the Union of South Africa, a position which the Government of the Union was not prepared to accept.

It was therefore agreed that it was impossible to grant the request of the United States Government for national treatment in "C" Mandated Territories generally.

As regards (3), the Committee considered that an assurance might possibly be given as regards monopolies on similar lines to the reply of His Majesty's Government in the case of "B" Mandated Territories.*

In the event of the United States Government raising any question as to Nauru in this connection, it would be sufficient to explain to them that the position with respect to the phosphate resources of the island was merely that the three Governments concerned (*i.e.*, His Majesty's Government and the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand) had acquired by direct purchase through voluntary sale on the part of the owners, and not through the Mandate, exclusive rights granted before the war by the German Government to a private company.

As regards (4), the matter should be reserved for further consideration.

As regards (5), the Committee saw no objection to the request being granted.

It was agreed that the special representations of the United States Government as to Western Samoa might be considered separately from the representations on the general question of commercial treatment. It was explained that His Majesty's Government had been advised that under the treaty of 1899 the United States Government are apparently bound to give British shipping in the parts of Samoa under United States administration treatment as favourable as that accorded to United States shipping; this treatment is not, in fact, accorded, and it was understood that the Prime Minister of New Zealand was prepared to agree to an answer being sent to the United States Government to the effect that the New Zealand Government would be willing to consider the request of the United States Government for national treatment for their commerce in Western Samoa if that Government was willing to give British shipping national treatment in that part of Samoa under United States administration.

* See despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors-General of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, Dominions Treaty No. 11, Confidential, of the 28th March, 1922, and subsequent correspondence.

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76

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

MEMORANDUM BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BEFORE the Conference comes to consider this thorny subject, I wish my colleagues to consider the following suggestion of a way out of the difficulties in which we find ourselves. In India the position of Indians in other parts of the Empire seems to be adding to the political agitation and unrest, while in those other parts the atmosphere for the solution of the difficulty is not improving but on the contrary getting worse. This latter change is in some measure due to the Sastri mission. Mr. Sastri by his mission and his speeches has undoubtedly made matters worse. He has, for instance, never failed, whenever opportunity presented itself, to attack the Indian policy of South Africa, and has thereby greatly exasperated public opinion in that Dominion, already very sensitive on this issue. In other Dominions he has made people alive to the issue—indeed he has largely created it. The claim he has everywhere vigorously pressed for equal franchise rights for Indians over the whole Empire has not only gone further than the local claims of the Indians themselves, but has tended to raise opposition in quarters where it did not exist before. It is because I foresaw this development that I did not invite Mr. Sastri to include South Africa in his mission. It is not alleged that the economic position of Indians in other parts of the Empire is bad. It is admitted that they are successful and thriving under the laws of the Dominions, and are in most respects economically better off than they would be in India. But the claim is put forward for equal political rights throughout the Empire, and its denial is looked upon as a stigma, as an affront to our Indian fellow-subjects. And no questions are more difficult and dangerous than those involving national dignity and honour.

The Indian claim for equal franchise rights in the Empire outside of India arise, in my opinion, from a misconception of the nature of British citizenship. This misconception is not confined to India, but is fairly general, and the Conference would do not only India but the whole Empire an important service by its removal. The misconception arises, not from the fact, but from the assumption that all subjects of the King are equal, that in an Empire where there is a common King there should be a common and equal citizenship, and that all differences and distinctions in citizen rights are wrong in principle. Hence it is claimed that whether a British subject has or has not political rights in his country of origin, he should, on migration to another part of the Empire where British subjects enjoy full political rights, be entitled automatically to the enjoyment of these rights. It is on this basis that equal political rights are claimed for Indians who live in the Dominions or Colonies outsid of India.

It is, of course, clear that the assumption on which the claim is based is wrong. There is no equality of British citizenship throughout the Empire. On the contrary, there is every imaginable difference. In some parts British subjects have no political rights whatever; in others they have modified rights of one kind or another; in others, again, they have the fullest political rights. In the same part you may find British subjects with little or no political rights, and others with full rights. There is no common equal British citizenship in the Empire, and it is quite wrong for a British subject to claim equality of rights in any part of the Empire to which he has migrated or where he happens to be living. There is no indignity or affront at all in the denial of such equality. Once this is clearly recognised, the stigma above referred to falls away. Indians in those parts of the Empire where they do not enjoy equal franchise rights cannot justly or fairly claim that their national dignity or status is involved.

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I go even further. The newer conception of the British Empire as a smaller League of Nations, as a partnership of free and equal nations under a common hereditary Sovereign, involves an even further departure from the simple conception of a unitary citizenship. British citizenship has been variable in the past; it is bound to be even more so in the future. Each constituent part of the Empire will settle for itself the nature and incidents of its citizenship. The composition and character and rights of its people will be the concern of each free and equal State in the Empire. It will not only regulate immigration from other parts of the Empire as well as from the outside world, but it will also settle the rights of its citizens as a matter of domestic concern. The common Kingship is the binding link between the parts of the Empire; it is not a source from which private citizens will derive their rights. They will derive their rights simply and solely from the authority of the State in which they live. Hence Indians going to Canada will not be entitled to claim equal political rights with the other citizens of Canada, no more than Canadians going to India or Australia could claim equal political rights there. The conception of the Empire as a League of Nations ought to do away with these claims, which are so disturbing and unsettling in the Empire.

From this point of view the Indian resolution passed at the last Imperial Conference was a profound mistake. It was not only impracticable, but it ran counter to the new conception of the Empire, as not a unitary State, but a partnership of equal States. It has both theoretically and practically landed us in a false position, and the sooner we get out of it the better for the future good relations of the different States of the Empire. The political claims of Indians arising under that resolution should not be allowed to create difficulties for the Governments of the Dominions, which would not have arisen if the constitutional position had been properly appreciated.

The Indian Government should not claim from the other Empire Governments what (say) the friendly Governments of Japan and China would not claim. And the fact is that with neither of these Governments have we any difficulties in the Dominions, while the difficulties with India are notorious and growing.

We must get to the right constitutional conception, which I take to be the absolute and unquestioned power and authority of each part of the Empire to settle such questions for itself. India has threatened retaliation as a method of reprisal against Dominions which do not concede equal rights to her nationals. This is, again, a false position arising out of the misconception which I have explained. There should be no question either of retaliation or reprisal. India should be free to deal with nationals of the Dominions on a basis of reciprocal treatment, and neither on her part nor on the part of the Dominions concerned should there be any resentment or ill-feeling in the matter. Our relations in this regard should be practically those of friendly sovereign States towards each other Unless this readjustment of viewpoint is brought about it is feared that the question of the position of Indians in the Empire may continue to grow in gravity.

I would therefore suggest that for the resolution of the last conference on the subject there be substituted a resolution affirming the right of each portion of the Empire to regulate citizenship as well as immigration as domestic questions for its own handling and not affecting the status or dignity of other portions of the Empire, and expressing the opinion that provisions for reciprocal treatment of the nationals of the States of the Empire should not be looked upon as unfriendly or otherwise affecting the good relations of these States *inter se*. It would thus be left to the good sense of each State of the Empire to say what citizen rights shall be enjoyed, and by whom, within their territorial jurisdiction, and no State of the Empire should have claim to force its citizens on any other State or resent their exclusion or special treatment by the latter.

(Signed) J. C. SMUTS.

South African Delegation, Savoy Hotel, W.C. 2,
October 18, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S W.* 1.,
November 8, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE,

1923.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS.

(Appendices published separately in Cmd. 1988.)

Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

November, 1923.



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* Published separately in Cmd. 1988.

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I.—PRELIMINARY NOTE.

THE proceedings of the Conference opened at 10, Downing Street, on October 1st, 1923, and were continued until November 8th. During that period 16 plenary meetings took place, which were normally attended by the following:—

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, M.P., Prime Minister, (Chairman).
The Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., Lord President of the Council.
The Most Hon. the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Secretary of State for the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.
The Hon. G. P. Graham, Minister of Railways and Canals.
The Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin, K.C.M.G., Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.
Senator The Hon. R. V. Wilson, Honorary Minister in Charge of Departments of Health and Migration.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General The Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, K.C., C.H., Prime Minister.
The Hon. H. Burton, K.C., Minister of Finance.
The Hon. N. J. de Wet, K.C., Minister of Justice.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Professor John MacNeill, T.D., Minister of Education.
Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister of External Affairs.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W. R. Warren, K.C., Prime Minister.

INDIA.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E., Secretary of State for India and Head of the Indian Delegation.
Colonel His Highness the Maharajah of Alwar, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I.

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SECRETARIAT.

Great Britain.

Sir M. P. A. Hankey, G.C.B.
Mr. E. J. Harding, C.M.G.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. Skelton.

Commonwealth of Australia.

Sir R. R. Garran, K.C.M.G.

New Zealand.

Mr. F. D. Thomson, C.M.G.

Union of South Africa.

Captain E. F. C. Lane, C.M.G.

Irish Free State.

Mr. P. McGilligan.

Newfoundland.

Mr. W. J. Carew.

India..

Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E.

Other Ministers took part in the proceedings at one or more meetings.

These were:—

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., M.P., Lord Privy Seal.
The Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.
The Rt. Hon. W. C. Bridgeman, M.P., Secretary of State for Home Affairs.
The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Derby, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., Secretary of State for War.
The Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bart., C.M.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Air.
The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty.
The Rt. Hon. Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame, K.B.E., M.C., M.P., President of the Board of Trade.
The Hon. W. G. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, T.D., President of the Executive Council.
Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Vice-President of the Executive Council.
General R. Mulcahy, Minister of Defence.

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Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, C.H., C.B., M.P., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Minister in Charge of Publicity, and Sir J. Masterton Smith, K.C.B., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, were present at nearly all the Sessions of the Conference.

The following also attended for the discussion of subjects which particularly concerned their respective departments :—

GREAT BRITAIN.

Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.
General The Earl of Cavan, K.P., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., Chief of the Imperial General Staff, War Office.
Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh M. Trenchard, Bart., K.C.B., D.S.O., Chief of the Air Staff, Air Ministry.
The Rt. Hon. Sir John Anderson, G.C.B., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Home Office.
Mr. R. G. Vansittart, C.M.G., M.V.O., Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Mr. A. W. A. Leeper, C.B.E., Assistant Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Mr. T. Jones, Principal Assistant Secretary, Cabinet Office.
Lieut-Colonel C. W. G. Walker, D.S.O., Assistant Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence.
Commander H. R. Moore, D.S.O., R.N., Assistant Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence.
Major L. A. Clemens, O.B.E., M.C., Assistant Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence.
Major-General Sir Fabian Ware, K.C.V.O., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G. Vice-Chairman of the Imperial War Graves Commission.
Major C. K. Phillips, O.B.E., Land and Legal Adviser, Imperia, War Graves Commission.

CANADA.

Major-General J. H. MacBrien, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Chief of General Staff, Canada.
Commodore Walter Hose, C.B.E., R.C.N., Director of Naval Service, Canada.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Vice-Admiral Sir Allan F. Everett, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., First Naval Member of the Royal Australian Naval Board.
Rear-Admiral P. H. Hall-Thompson, C.M.G., First Naval Member Designate of the Royal Australian Naval Board.
Brigadier-General T. A. Blaney, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Australian Representative on the Imperial General Staff, War Office.

NEW ZEALAND.

Commodore A. G. Hotham, C.M.G., R.N., Naval Adviser to the New Zealand Delegation.

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IRISH FREE STATE.

General Sean MacMahon, Chief of Staff, Irish Free State.
Major-General J. J. O'Connell, Assistant Chief of Staff, Irish Free State.
Mr. O. Esmonde. (acting for Mr. McGilligan).

INDIA.

Lieut.-General Sir Alexander Cobbe, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., Secretary, Military Department, India Office.
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E., Political Secretary to His Highness the Maharajah of Alwar.

In addition to the meetings of the full Conference, there were eleven meetings of Committees, and technical discussions on Defence Questions at the Admiralty and Air Ministry.

II.—OPENING STATEMENTS.

In opening the Proceedings on October 1st, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, as Chairman, extended a welcome to the Representatives of the Dominions and India, and referred especially to the enlargement which had taken place in the circle of the Imperial Conference by the constitution in 1922 of the Irish Free State.

Mr. Baldwin then made a general statement on the Imperial and International situation, in which he reviewed the chief events which had taken place since the Conference of 1921, and outlined briefly the agenda of the Conference and the main problems which would come before it.

Speeches were made in reply by the Prime Ministers of Canada New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland, by the President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, and by the Maharajah of Alwar for India. The cordial greeting extended by Mr. Baldwin to the Representatives of the Irish Free State was warmly endorsed by other speakers, and Mr. Cosgrave expressed his deep appreciation of the welcome which he and his colleagues had received.

These opening speeches were published in full immediately afterwards.*

The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia was not present at the opening meeting: he was unable to reach London until October 5th.

III.—MESSAGE TO THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND QUEEN.

The first official act of the Conference, in accordance with the

* See Appendix I in Cmd. 1988.

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practice on previous occasions, was to send a message of greeting to Their Majesties the King and Queen.

The words of this message were :—

"The Prime Ministers and other Representatives of the British Empire assembled in Conference, at their first meeting and as their first official act, desire to express their respectful greetings and fidelity to the King, and fervently hope that His Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen may be long spared to strengthen those ties of love and devotion which unite the peoples of the British Commonwealth."

His Majesty's gracious reply was read aloud by the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the meeting on October 5th and was in the following terms :—

"I sincerely thank the Prime Ministers and other Representatives of the British Empire for the generous terms of the message which they have addressed to the Queen and myself on the occasion of the opening of the Imperial Conference. I sincerely trust that their deliberations will lead to a solution of those many and grave problems the settlement of which is so essential to the future welfare and prosperity of the Commonwealth of the British Nations.

GEORGE R.I."

IV. MESSAGE TO JAPAN.

It was also resolved at the first meeting of the Conference to send the following message of sympathy to Japan :—

"The Prime Ministers and Representatives of Great Britain, the British Dominions and India, assembled at the Imperial Conference, desire at their opening session to send to their old and faithful ally, Japan, an expression of their profound sympathy in the terrible calamity by which she has been assailed; their admiration of the patriotic energy and unconquerable spirit with which the Japanese nation have met the blow; and their confident expectation that Japan will rapidly recover from a shock that might have overwhelmed any less courageous people and will pursue, undismayed, the great part that she is destined to fill in the social and economic progress of the world."

In reply to this message a note was received from the Japanese Ambassador in London. This note, which was read aloud by the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the meeting on the 11th October, was as follows :—

"Under instructions from the Japanese Premier, I have the honour to request Your Lordship to convey to the Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin, Prime Minister, and his eminent colleagues on the Imperial Conference, the Japanese Premier's sincere thanks for the touching message of sympathy in the calamity which has

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befallen Japan. Count Yamamoto desires to assure Mr. Baldwin that the manifestation of cordial sentiment coming as it did so promptly from the representative statesmen of the British Empire the old and never failing ally of Japan, has deeply moved the Japanese nation in their great distress and will give them encouragement and reassurance in taking up the tremendous task of reconstruction.

I have, etc.,

HAYASHI."

V.—DEATH OF MR. BONAR LAW.

The Rt. Hon. A. Bonar Law, Prime Minister of Great Britain from October 24th, 1922, to May 21st, 1923, died on October 31st. One of his first acts on assuming office had been to have a message of invitation sent to the Dominions and India, which resulted in the calling of the Imperial Conference and of the Imperial Economic Conference this year.

The following resolution was passed by the Conference at its meeting on the afternoon of October 31st :—

"The Members of the Imperial Conference have learnt with the most profound regret of the death of the Rt. Hon. Andrew Bonar Law, at whose invitation, issued on his assuming office last year, the present Conference is now meeting.

"They desire to express to the members of the late Prime Minister's family their deep sympathy in the irreparable loss which they and the Empire have sustained by his death."

VI.—PUBLICITY.

The Conference gave special attention to the question of publicity for its proceedings. There was general agreement that at meetings of this nature, where questions of high policy and of the greatest consequence to all parts of the British Commonwealth are surveyed and dealt with, it was of the first importance that the representatives present should feel able to speak among themselves with the utmost freedom and in a spirit of complete confidence. Hence, it was considered essential that nothing should be published without the approval of the Conference as a whole and under its directions.

At the same time it was felt that the proceedings of the Conference would cause wide interest among the peoples of the countries represented, and consequently that, as opportunity offered, information regarding its deliberations should be made public.

It was decided to place the general arrangements as to publicity in charge of a British Minister, and, at the unanimous wish of the Conference, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, C.H., C.B., M.P., was asked to be present at the meetings and to undertake the necessary work.

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This procedure, though of an experimental character, turned out to be of much value and at the conclusion of the meetings the Conference expressed to Mr. Davidson its great indebtedness for his valuable help.

A discussion also took place, at the instance of the Prime Minister of Canada, as to the desire of the Parliaments of the various parts of the Empire to be afforded the fullest information possible on all matters concerning which negotiations were going on, or discussions taking place, between the various Governments. It was felt that as many as possible of the communications passing ought to be made available for the use of the Parliaments, and a general understanding was reached as to the principles which should govern the publication of correspondence between the Governments.

VII.—COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND MANDATED TERRITORIES.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies gave to the Conference, on October 3rd, a comprehensive review, subsequently published*, of the situation in the Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories.

A general discussion followed on various aspects of policy in regard to the development of the Colonial Empire and the Mandated Territories, and great stress was laid by the representatives of the Dominions and India on the economic importance of these parts of the world and, in particular, on the value to the Empire as a whole of the great tropical territories in East and West Africa and in Eastern Asia.

One question touched on was the recent arrangement concluded with the Belgian Government for the rectification of the Ruanda Boundary, and it was made clear that this rectification still left available a strip of the British mandated territory of Tanganyika west of Lake Victoria, which could be utilised for the construction of a line north and south.

The Prime Minister of Newfoundland expressed his interest in the researches about to be undertaken in the Antarctic by the late Captain Scott's ship "Discovery." It had already been arranged that any information obtained from these researches should be made available to the Government of the Union of South Africa, and the Duke of Devonshire undertook that the information should be supplied also to the Newfoundland Government.

It should be added that the further developments in the Middle East, and particularly in Palestine, which occurred during the sittings of the Conference, were placed before it.

The Conference took note of these developments.

VIII.—FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The discussions on foreign relations were commenced on October 5th by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who gave to the Conference a review of the general situation in every part of the world, and the most frank exposition, first, of the main problems which have confronted the Empire during the last two years, and, secondly, of those which seem most likely to arise in the near future.

* See Appendix II in Cmd. 1988.

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The greater part of what Lord Curzon said was necessarily of a confidential character, since it was his object to supplement the written and telegraphic communications of the past two years by giving orally to the Representatives of the Dominions and India the inner history of the period, but it was thought advisable that extracts from those parts of his speech which related to subjects of immediate interest and importance, viz., the situation in connection with the Reparations problem and the Turkish Treaty, should be published forthwith.*

This was a departure from the practice at previous Imperial Conferences, when statements made by the Foreign Secretary have been regarded as confidential throughout.

Lord Curzon's review was followed by a general discussion on foreign relations, in which Lord Robert Cecil as British representative on the Council of the League of Nations, all the Dominion Prime Ministers present, the Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State and the three members of the Indian delegation, took part.†

Frequent and detailed examination was given, not only to the main features of the international situation, but to the different aspects of that situation as they developed from day to day. Nor did the Imperial Conference terminate its sittings until each subject had been carefully explored and a common understanding reached upon the main heads of foreign policy.

It was while the Conference was sitting that the President of the United States renewed the offer of the United States Government to take part in an international conference or enquiry to investigate the European Reparations problem, and to report upon the capacity of Germany to make the payments to which she is pledged. The Conference cordially welcomed, and decided to take immediate advantage of, this overture; and communications were at once entered into with the Allied Powers to obtain their co-operation.

The Conference, after careful consideration of the policy which has been pursued, was of the opinion that the European situation could only be lifted on to the plane of a possible settlement by the co-operation of the United States of America, and that, if the scheme of common enquiry to be followed by common action were to break down, the results would be inimical both to the peace and to the economic recovery of the world.

It felt that in such an event it would be desirable for the British Government to consider very carefully the alternative of summoning a Conference itself in order to examine the financial and the economic problem in its widest aspect.

* See Appendix III in Cmd. 1988.

† For speeches on the work of the League of Nations see Appendix IV in Cmd. 1988.

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The Conference regarded any policy which would result in breaking up the unity of the German State as inconsistent with the Treaty obligations entered into both by Germany and the Powers, and as incompatible with the future discharge by Germany of her necessary obligations. The strongest representations on this subject were accordingly made to the Allied Governments.

The Conference considered the situation in the Near and Middle East and recorded its satisfaction at the conclusion of peace between the Allies and Turkey. An end had thus been brought to a period of acute political tension, of military anxiety and financial strain in the eastern parts of Europe; and more particularly had great relief been given to the sentiments of the Moslem subjects of the British throne in all parts of the world.

Another of the subjects that engaged the attention of the Conference was that of Egypt. The Conference was glad to recognise the great advance that has been made during the last two years towards a pacific settlement of this complex problem, which will safeguard important communications between several parts of the Empire.

The Conference, so much of whose time had been occupied two years ago with the question of the renewal or termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and with the future regulation of the Pacific, noted with satisfaction the results of the Washington Conference, which had added immensely to the security of the world without disturbing the intimate relations that have for so long existed between the Empire and its former Ally.

It recognised with satisfaction the progressive fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the Washington Treaties; it registered the confident belief that the future relations between the Governments and peoples of the British Empire and Japan will be not less sincere and cordial than when the British and Japanese Governments were bound by written conventions; and it recorded its profound sympathy with the Japanese Government and people in the terrible catastrophe which has recently befallen them.

During the session of the Conference, the question of the regulation of the liquor traffic off the American coasts and of the measures to be taken to avoid a serious conflict either of public opinion or of official action was seriously debated. The Conference arrived at the conclusion that, while affirming and safeguarding as a cardinal feature of British policy the principle of the three mile limit, it was yet both desirable and practicable to meet the American request for an extension of the right of search beyond this limit for the above purpose, and negotiations were at once opened with the United States Government for the conclusion of an experimental agreement with this object in view.

Finally the Conference, after listening to a detailed exposition of the work of the League of Nations during the past two years, and more particularly of the recent sitting of the Council and the Assembly at Geneva, placed on record its emphatic approval of the action that had been taken by, and the support that had been given to, the representatives of the British Empire on the latter occasion. There was full accord that the League should be given the unabated support of

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all the British members of the League as a valuable instrument of international peace, and as the sole available organ for the harmonious regulation of many international affairs.

This Conference is a conference of representatives of the several Governments of the Empire; its views and conclusions on Foreign Policy, as recorded above, are necessarily subject to the action of the Governments and Parliaments of the various portions of the Empire, and it trusts that the results of its deliberations will meet with their approval.

IX.—NEGOTIATION, SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF TREATIES.

The principles governing the relations of the various parts of the Empire in connection with the negotiation, signature and ratification of Treaties seemed to the Conference to be of the greatest importance. Accordingly it was arranged that the subject should be fully examined by a Committee, of which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was Chairman. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Prime Ministers of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and Newfoundland, the Minister of External Affairs of the Irish Free State, and the Secretary of State for India as Head of the Indian Delegation, served on this Committee. With the assistance of the Legal Adviser to the Foreign Office, Sir C. J. B. Hurst, K.C.B., K.C., the following Resolution was drawn up and agreed to:—

"The Conference recommends for the acceptance of the governments of the Empire represented that the following procedure should be observed in the negotiation, signature and ratification of international agreements.

"The word 'treaty' is used in the sense of an agreement which, in accordance with the normal practice of diplomacy, would take the form of a treaty between Heads of States, signed by plenipotentiaries provided with Full Powers issued by the Heads of the States, and authorising the holders to conclude a treaty."

I.

"1. *Negotiation.*

"(*a*) It is desirable that no treaty should be negotiated by any of the governments of the Empire without due consideration of its possible effect on other parts of the Empire, or, if circumstances so demand, on the Empire as a whole.

"(*b*) Before negotiations are opened with the intention of concluding a treaty, steps should be taken to ensure that any of the other governments of the Empire likely to be interested are informed, so that, if any such government considers that its interests would be affected, it may have an opportunity of expressing its views, or, when its interests are intimately involved, of participating in the negotiations.

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"(*c*) In all cases where more than one of the governments of the Empire participates in the negotiations, there should be the fullest possible exchange of views between those governments before and during the negotiations. In the case of treaties negotiated at International Conferences, where there is a British Empire Delegation, on which, in accordance with the now established practice, the Dominions and India are separately represented, such representation should also be utilised to attain this object.

"(*d*) Steps should be taken to ensure that those governments of the Empire whose representatives are not participating in the negotiations should, during their progress, be kept informed in regard to any points arising in which they may be interested.

"2. *Signature.*

"(*a*) Bilateral treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire only should be signed by a representative of the government of that part. The Full Power issued to such representative should indicate the part of the Empire in respect of which the obligations are to be undertaken, and the preamble and text of the treaty should be so worded as to make its scope clear.

"(*b*) Where a bilateral treaty imposes obligations on more than one part of the Empire, the treaty should be signed by one or more plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the governments concerned.

"(*c*) As regards treaties negotiated at International Conferences, the existing practice of signature by plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the governments of the Empire represented at the Conference should be continued, and the Full Powers should be in the form employed at Paris and Washington.

"3. *Ratification.*

"The existing practice in connection with the ratification of treaties should be maintained.

II.

"Apart from treaties made between Heads of States, it is not unusual for agreements to be made between governments. Such agreements, which are usually of a technical or administrative character, are made in the names of the signatory governments, and signed by representatives of those governments, who do not act under Full Powers issued by the Heads of the States: they are not ratified by the Heads of the States, though in some cases some form of acceptance or confirmation by the governments concerned is employed. As regards agreements of this nature the existing practice should be continued, but before entering on negotiations the governments of the Empire should consider whether the interests of any other part of the Empire may be affected, and, if so, steps should be taken to ensure that the government of such part is informed of the proposed negotiations, in order that it may have an opportunity of expressing its views."

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The Resolution was submitted to the full Conference and unanimously approved. It was thought, however, that it would be of assistance to add a short explanatory statement in connection with part I (3), setting out the existing procedure in relation to the ratification of Treaties. This procedure is as follows:—

(*a*) The ratification of treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire is effected at the instance of the government of that part:

(*b*) The ratification of treaties imposing obligations on more than one part of the Empire is effected after consultation between the governments of those parts of the Empire concerned. It is for each government to decide whether Parliamentary approval or legislation is required before desire for, or concurrence in, ratification is intimated by that government.

X.—THE UNITED STATES AND "C" MANDATES.

Certain general questions concerning the territories in South West Africa and the Southern Pacific administered under "C" Mandates had been raised by the Government of the United States of America, and the opportunity of the Conference was taken to examine these questions.

XI.—CONDOMINIUM IN THE NEW HEBRIDES.

The developments in the New Hebrides since the Conference of 1921 were examined and the present situation and possibilities of action further discussed by representatives of the British Government in consultation with the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand.

XII.—DEFENCE.

The Conference gave special consideration to the question of Defence, and the manner in which co-operation and mutual assistance could best be effected after taking into account the political and geographical conditions of the various parts of the Empire.

The Lord President of the Council, as Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence, opened this part of the work of the Conference by a statement outlining the main problems of Defence as they exist to-day. He was followed by the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War and the Secretary of State for Air, each of whom explained to the Conference the aspects of defence which concerned his special responsibilities.

In addition to these statements there was a full and frank interchange of views in which the standpoints of the various representatives and the circumstances of their countries were made clear. There were

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also discussions at the Admiralty and Air Ministry at which Naval and Air Defence were dealt with in greater detail. The points involved were explained by the Chiefs of the Naval and Air Staffs respectively and were further examined.

In connection with Naval Defence one matter of immediate interest came before the Conference, namely, the projected Empire Cruise of a squadron of modern warships. The First Lord of the Admiralty explained that the project was that two capital ships, the "Hood" and the "Repulse," together with a small squadron of modern light cruisers, should visit South Africa, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand, and return by way of British Columbia, the Panama Canal and Eastern Canada. The light cruisers would accompany the battle cruisers as far as British Columbia, but would return to England by way of the west coast of South America and Cape Horn. The Dominion Prime Ministers expressed their appreciation of this proposal, and assured the Conference that the ships would be most heartily welcomed in their countries.

After the whole field of Defence had been surveyed, the Conference decided that it would be advisable to record in the following resolutions its conclusions on the chief matters which had been discussed :—

"(1) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.

(2) In this connection the Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire, upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them.

(3) Subject to this provision, the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles :—

(*a*) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(*b*) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

(*c*) The provision of Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(*d*) The desirability of the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely, equality with the Naval Strength of any foreign power, in accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on Limitation of Armament as approved by Great Britain, all the self-governing Dominions and India.

(*e*) The desirability of the development of the Air Forces in the several countries of the Empire upon such lines as will make it possible, by means of the adoption, as far as practicable, of a common system of organisation and training and the use of uniform manuals, patterns of arms, equipment, and stores (with the exception of the type of aircraft), for each part of the Empire as it may determine to co-operate with other parts with the least possible delay and the greatest efficiency.

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(4) In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned the Conference takes note of :—

(*a*) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and India, in the provision of a Naval Base at Singapore, as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in Eastern Waters.

(*b*) The necessity for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

(*c*) The necessity for the maintenance by Great Britain of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

(5) The Conference, while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object."

XIII.—STATUS OF HIGH COMMISSIONERS.

Certain questions were discussed relating to the status of the High Commissioners in Great Britain, particularly in connection with precedence and with exemption from taxation, Customs duties, etc.

The representatives of the British Government undertook to examine the points raised, while explaining that any alteration of the existing rules of precedence would require the approval of His Majesty the King.

XIV.—POSITION OF INDIANS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE EMPIRE.

The position of Indians in other parts of the Empire was reviewed by the Conference in the light of the developments which have taken place since the Resolution which formed part of the Pro-

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ceedings at the 1921 Conference.* The subject was opened by a general statement from the Secretary of State for India as Head of the Indian Delegation. He explained that the intensity of feeling aroused in India by this question was due to the opinion widely held there (which, however, he did not himself share) that the disabilities of Indians were based on distinction of colour and were badges of racial inferiority. This statement was followed by a full presentation of the case on behalf of India by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and His Highness the Maharajah of Alwar.

It was found possible to publish these speeches, and those made in the course of the discussions by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Dominion Prime Ministers and the Minister of External Affairs of the Irish Free State, shortly after the speeches had been delivered.† In this respect the procedure differed from that at the Conference of 1921 when only the Resolution adopted was made public. It is unnecessary in the present Report to do more than refer to the main proposal made on behalf of the Indian Delegation and the views expressed and conclusions reached with regard to it. The Indian proposal was to the effect that the Dominion Governments concerned, and the British Government for the Colonies and Protectorates, should agree to the appointment of Committees to confer with a Committee appointed by the Indian Government as to the best and quickest means of giving effect to the Resolution of the 1921 Conference.

In the case of the Union of South Africa, which was not a party to the 1921 Resolution, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru expressed the hope that the Union Government would agree to the Government of India sending an agent to South Africa who would protect Indian nationals there, who would serve as an intermediary between them and the Union Government, and who would place the Indian Government in full possession of the facts regarding Indian nationals in South Africa.

The Conference expressed its high appreciation of the able and moderate manner in which Lord Peel and his colleagues had presented the Indian case. The opinions expressed and the conclusions reached with regard to the above suggestions were, in brief, as follows :—

The Prime Minister of Canada observed that, so far as he knew, Indians now domiciled in Canada did not suffer any legal or political disability in eight out of the nine provinces of Canada ; as regards the ninth province—British Columbia—he was not aware of any legal disability, and even the political disability that existed in the matter of the exercise of the franchise does not apply to all Indians because the federal law relating to the franchise lays it down that any Indian who served with His Majesty's military, naval or air forces is entitled to the franchise. He explained the present difficulties in conceding the franchise to Indians generally in British Columbia which are due not to distinction of colour but to economic and complex political considerations, and he reiterated what he had already said to Mr. Sastri on the occasion of the latter's visit to Canada in 1922, namely, that the

* Cmd. 1474, P. 8. † See Appendix V in Cmd. 1988.

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question whether natives of India resident in Canada should be granted a Dominion Parliamentary Franchise on terms and conditions identical with those which govern the exercise of that right by Canadian citizens generally was necessarily one which Parliament alone could determine, and that the matter would be submitted to Parliament for consideration when the Franchise Law comes up for revision.

Mr. Mackenzie King added that he was somewhat doubtful whether the visit of a Committee appointed by the Government of India would make it easier to deal with this problem in Canada, but that, should it be desired to send a Committee, the Canadian Government would readily appoint a Committee to confer with the Committee from India.

The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia explained the principles underlying the present attitude of Australia on this question. He stated that the representatives of every shade of political thought in Australia had shown sympathy with the claim that lawfully domiciled Indians should enjoy full citizen rights, and that he believed that public opinion was ready to welcome, so far as concerned the position of such Indians, any measure conceived in the interests of the Empire as a whole.

The Commonwealth had the right to control the admission to its territories of new citizens, and its immigration policy was founded on economic considerations. He felt that, in view of the position which existed in Australia, there was no necessity for a Committee, but assured the Indian representatives that he would consult his colleagues on his return to Australia as to what action should be taken in connection with the Resolution of the 1921 Conference.

The Prime Minister of New Zealand said that the New Zealand Government would welcome the visit of a Committee from India such as had been suggested should this be desired ; New Zealand practically gave the natives of India now resident in the Dominion the same privileges as were enjoyed by people of the Anglo-Saxon race who were settled there.

The Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa intimated that, so far as South Africa was concerned, it was not a question of colour, but that a different principle was involved. He stated that the attitude of thinking men in South Africa was not that the Indian was inferior because of his colour or on any other ground—he might be their superior—but the question had to be considered from the point of view of economic competition. In other words, the white community in South Africa felt that the whole question of the continuance of western civilisation in South Africa was involved. General Smuts could hold out no hope of any further extension of the political rights of Indians in South Africa and, so far as the Union was concerned, he could not accept Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposal.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, on behalf of the British Government, cordially accepted the proposal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that there should be full consultation and discussion between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a Committee appointed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians

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domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories. At the same time the Duke of Devonshire was careful to explain that, before decisions were taken as a result of discussions with the Committee, consultations with the local Colonial Governments concerned, and in some cases local enquiry, would be necessary.

Further, while welcoming the proposal, the Duke reminded the Conference that the British Government had recently come to certain decisions as to Kenya, which represented in their considered view the very best that could be done in all the circumstances. While he saw no prospect of these decisions being modified, he would give careful attention to such representations as the Committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, while taking note of the above statement of the Duke of Devonshire, desired to make plain that the recent Kenya decision could not be accepted as final by the people of India.

The Secretary of State for India, summarising as Head of the Indian Delegation the results attained, pointed out that the discussion had demonstrated that it was a mistake to suppose that Indians throughout the Empire were given an inferior status or that such disabilities as might be felt to exist were based on race or colour.

XV.—CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO THE EXPENSES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The question of the contribution of India to the expenses of the League of Nations was raised by the representatives of India at the Conference and was referred to a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was there explained by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that India was assessed far higher than any other part of the Empire, except Great Britain. In 1922, Lord Balfour had stated publicly at a meeting of the Assembly that the various parts of the Empire represented on the League would settle among themselves the exact amount which each would find. India desired to ascertain whether, in view of this statement, some relief could be afforded by the other parts of the Empire.

The members of the Committee representing Great Britain and the Dominions, while expressing sympathy with the difficulties of India, explained that their Governments were not able to agree to any variation from the standard of contributions already laid down by the Assembly for 1923 and 1924.

In the circumstances it was, of course, impossible for the Committee as a whole to make any recommendation. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru intimated that India must necessarily reserve the right to raise the question of its contribution at the League Assembly of 1924, and the Secretary of State for India, as Head of the Indian Delegation, affirmed this attitude when the matter came up before the Conference.

The Conference took note of the position.

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XVI.—NATIONALITY QUESTIONS.

Certain questions connected with the law of British nationality were brought before the Conference at the instance of the Commonwealth Government and were referred to a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Home Affairs.* These questions were shortly as follows :—

(1) *The grant of naturalisation to persons resident in Mandated Territories.*

Apart from certain special cases, there is under the existing law no power to grant an Imperial Certificate of Naturalisation to a person who is not qualified by residence in His Majesty's Dominions. The Commonwealth Government proposed an amendment of the law, so as to provide for the grant of certificates on the basis of residence in " B " or " C " Mandated Territories, *i.e.*, the territories administered under Mandates in Africa and the Southern Pacific. To this proposal (which accorded with certain recent decisions of the Council of the League of Nations) the British Government added the suggestion that similar provision should be made, generally speaking, in the case of persons resident in British Protectorates.†

The Committee decided to recommend that the power of granting Certificates of Imperial Naturalisation be extended so as to cover persons resident in " B " and " C " Mandated Territories and also in Protectorates.

(2) *The appointment of Committees of Enquiry in connection with the Revocation of Certificates.*

A self-governing Dominion which has adopted Part II of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, as amended, has power in accordance with the provisions of Section 7 of that Act to revoke certificates of naturalisation. Provision is made in the Act for investigation of the circumstances, in given instances, by a Committee of Enquiry, presided over by a person who holds or has held high judicial office. The Commonwealth statute adopting Part II of the Imperial Act laid down a definition of high judicial office which it is now anticipated may cause difficulty in some cases, as persons of the prescribed standing may not be available. The Commonwealth Government accordingly contemplated the adoption of a somewhat wider definition.

The Committee came to the following conclusion :—

> " Having heard the reasons for which the Commonwealth Government is disposed to provide that the presidency over such Committees of Enquiry may, where convenient, be taken by persons holding judicial office of lower standing than that prescribed at present by the Commonwealth statute, the Committee see no objection to a question of machinery of this nature being settled according to local circumstances and needs, if after examination of the experience of the Committee of Enquiry, and of the practice which has grown up in the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth Government desires to make an alteration."

* For the memorandum prepared by the Commonwealth Government see Appendix VI, Part I, in Cmd. 1988.

† For a joint memorandum on this subject by the Home Office and the Colonial Office see Appendix VI, Part II, in Cmd. 1988.

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(3) *The Nationality of Married Women.*

The Commonwealth Government proposed an amendment of the Imperial nationality law as to the nationality of British-born women married to aliens. Under the present law the national status of the wife follows that of her husband; a British woman becomes an alien on her marriage to an alien, and there is no power to naturalise her during the continuance of the marriage. The Commonwealth Government have found that the wife's loss of British nationality tends to give rise to hardship in cases where the wife is separated from, or has been deserted by, her husband, and they accordingly suggested an alteration of the law to cover such cases.

This proposal raises wider questions of principle and policy in regard to the national status of married women, which have attracted considerable attention in recent years both within the British Empire and in certain foreign countries.* A number of arguments for and against maintaining the existing rule that "The wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien" will be found in the two draft Reports† prepared by Members of a Select Committee of both Houses of the British Parliament who examined this question earlier in the year in connection with proposals which had been made for a fundamental alteration in the law.

The discussion of this question by the Committee of the Conference did not disclose any opinion in favour of altering the existing law as to the nationality of husband and wife; and the following resolution was passed:—

> "The Committee are of opinion that the principle of the existing law that the nationality of a married woman depends on that of her husband should be maintained. They nevertheless recommend that power should be taken to re-admit a woman to British nationality in cases where the married state, though subsisting in law, has to all practical purposes come to an end."

The conclusions of the Committee were reported to the Conference and received approval.

XVII.—VALIDITY OF MARRIAGES BETWEEN BRITISH SUBJECTS AND FOREIGNERS.

Another matter suggested by the Commonwealth Government for consideration by the Conference concerned the law relating to the validity of marriages between British subjects and foreigners. The main difficulty appears to be that such a marriage, although validly contracted in British law, may nevertheless in certain circumstances be invalid in the law of the foreign country concerned.‡

The Committee, under the Chairmanship of the Home Secretary, to whom this question was referred, came to the conclusion that, having examined the action which is being taken by the Foreign Office and

* The subject in its various aspects is dealt with briefly in a Memorandum prepared by the Home Office, for which see Appendix VI, Part III, in Cmd. 1988.

† Published in House of Commons paper 115 of 1923.

‡ For the correspondence see Appendix VI, Part IV, in Cmd. 1988.

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the Home Office to carry into effect the Marriage with Foreigners Act, 1906, they had no recommendation to make. The Committee's resolution to this effect was laid before the Conference and accepted.

XVIII.—PROPOSED EXTENSION OF THE POWERS OF THE IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES COMMISSION.

During the course of the Conference a proposal was received from the Imperial War Graves Commission that the powers conferred upon the Commission by the Charter of 10th May, 1917, and the Supplementary Charter of 10th August, 1921, should be extended so as to enable the Commission to comply with a request, based on public expediency and economy, that they should undertake the public duty of the future maintenance of such Cemeteries and Graves as the Old Military Cemetery at Tel el Kebir, the Crimean Cemetery at Scutari, which is in the same plot of ground as the Commission's War Cemetery, and the older Cemeteries in Turkey which could more conveniently be maintained in conjunction with the graves of those who fell in the Great War.

This proposal was submitted to the Representatives of the Governments concerned, all of whom have indicated their acceptance of the proposed amendment of the Charters by the addition of a clause to the following effect:—

> "The Commission, if in their absolute discretion they deem it desirable, may, at the request of any Government of any part of Our Empire responsible for or desirous of maintaining any place of burial or memorial whether or not of or relating to such Officers or men as may fall within the descriptions contained in Our Original Charter of May 10, 1917, or Our Supplemental Charter of August 10, 1921, or of or relating to any other Officers, men or civilians whatever, exercise with regard to such place of burial or memorial aforesaid and the graves in such place of burial all or any of their powers as in the said Original and Supplemental Charters were applicable to the said burial place or memorial and graves, provided that the cost of or incidental to any exercise of the additional powers given by this Our Charter be provided by the Government making the aforesaid request.

Accordingly the necessary steps will be taken forthwith to incorporate a clause on the above lines in a further Supplementary Charter for submission to His Majesty the King.

XIX.—ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING, EMPEROR OF INDIA.

The following Address to His Majesty was moved by the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the concluding meeting of the Conference and was unanimously adopted.* Mr. Baldwin, as Chairman of the Conference, was asked to submit the Address to His Majesty.

* For the reply from His Majesty see Appendix VIII in Cmd. 1988.

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To His Majesty the King, Emperor of India.

"We, the Prime Ministers and Representatives of the British Empire, who have been assembled to take counsel together during the past six weeks, desire, before our meetings come to an end, to give expression once again to our affection and respect for Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen, and to reaffirm our fidelity to the Crown.

"We have had to face, in the course of the deliberations at both our Conferences, many and serious problems which confront the sister nations and the peoples of the British Commonwealth. We shall count ourselves fortunate if we have been able to contribute towards the solution of these problems, even to a small degree.

"Yet as we look back on the years which have passed since the Great War, we are proud to feel that, amid the economic and political convulsions which have shaken the world, the British Empire stands firm and that its widely scattered peoples remain one in their belief in its ideals and their faith in its destiny.

"To the task of promoting that unity, of which the Crown is the emblem, Your Majesties have long devoted your strength and labours. We pray that the consciousness of the devotion of the peoples and the members of your Empire may encourage and uphold you in that task for many years to come."

XX.—CONCLUDING RESOLUTION.

The Conference at its concluding meeting placed on record the following Resolution:—

"Before the meetings of the Imperial Conference terminate, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and his colleagues desire to express their great pleasure at having been able to welcome in London the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the other Representatives from overseas, and their appreciation of the readiness of other members of the Conference to travel so far in order to take part in its sittings.

On their part the Prime Ministers and Representatives of the Dominions and India wish to place on record their thanks, first to the Prime Minister of Great Britain for his conduct of the business of the Conference, and secondly, both to him and to the other members of the British Government for their constant attention to its work, in spite of the pressure of other duties.

The members of the Conference are unanimous that the hours spent in consultation have been of the greatest value, and will do much to facilitate the work of achieving unity of thought and action on matters of common concern to all parts of the Empire."

London.
8th November, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Committee on the Spahlinger Treatment of Tuberculosis.

REPORT.

THE Committee was appointed at the Fourteenth Meeting of the Imperial Conference held on the 31st October, 1923, to consider and report to the Imperial Conference on the Spahlinger treatment of tuberculosis.

At the first meeting of the Committee held on Thursday, the 1st November, 1923, it was decided that M. Spahlinger should be invited to meet the Committee personally at their next meeting during the ensuing week. At the direction of the Committee a telegram was immediately despatched by Sir George Newman, K.C.B., Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, to M. Spahlinger at Geneva as follows :—

"British Imperial Conference has appointed a special Committee to consider the question of supporting or otherwise your tuberculosis treatment. Can you come to London to meet Committee on Tuesday next."

The following reply was received from M. Spahlinger on the 2nd November :—

"Regret impossible return London now.—SPAHLINGER."

On the same day, by direction of the Chairman of the Committee, a further telegram was sent by Sir George Newman to M. Spahlinger stating as follows :—

"Committee must report to Government on your treatment next week. Strongly urge attendance."

On the 6th November a letter, of which a copy is appended to the present Report, was received from M. Spahlinger declining the invitation to attend.

At the second meeting of the Committee held on Tuesday, the 6th November, 1923, this correspondence was considered and it was decided that, as M. Spahlinger found himself unable to meet the Committee appointed by the Imperial Conference, the Committee could not satisfactorily proceed with their enquiry or form any definite conclusions in regard to M. Spahlinger's method of treatment of tuberculosis. The Chairman of the Committee undertook, however, as Minister of Health, that if M. Spahlinger should hereafter prove willing to submit his method of treatment to investigation under conditions which the Minister considered satisfactory, he would have such investigations carried out and would acquaint the various Governments attending the Imperial Conference with any conclusions reached.

(Signed for the Committee),
W. JOYNSON HICKS, *Chairman.*

(Signed) J. N. DARK, F. D. THOMSON } *Joint Secretaries.*

APPENDIX.

Institut bactériothérapique,
Carouge, Geneva, November 3, 1923.

Dear Sir George Newman,

I RECEIVED your telegram of the 1st November as follows :—

"British Imperial Conference has appointed a special Committee to consider the question of supporting or otherwise your tuberculosis treatment. Can you come to London to meet Committee on Tuesday next.—NEWMAN."

To this I replied :—

"Regret impossible return London now.—SPAHLINGER."

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To-day I have received another telegram from you :—

"Committee must report to Government on your treatment next week. Strongly urge attendance.—NEWMAN."

This reply will reach you on Monday, about the same time as a telegram dispatched to-day; therefore I think it better to explain by letter that owing to repeated absences caused by financial difficulties, the work here in Geneva is so much behind that I dare not run the risk to leave it at present for fear that some of the toxins which I have in process of preparation at the moment would be irredeemably lost. It is unfortunate that I could not have met the Committee during the last fortnight when I was in London. My return now would not be of much value to the Committee as the evidence I could submit consists of facts already well known. As you will see from the enclosed, even my father's life insurance policies have now been sold by auction to-day by the creditors. Matters have reached such an acute condition that I have been obliged to take immediate steps to save part of my work and adopt a new line of action. I have had to regulate my activities, discharge some of my staff, sell partly immunized animals so that it is absolutely necessary that I should devote all my time to the laboratory work.

I should be much obliged if you would please place this letter before the Imperial Conference and express my best thanks to the members for their kind interest, but I fear that the question of time would prevent them now from relieving the situation by the suggested financial support, even if it were ultimately granted.

I am extremely sorry not to have had the pleasure of seeing you when I called at the Ministry last week.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) A. SPAHLINGER.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

THE accompanying memorandum, received from the Irish Free State Delegation, is circulated at the wish of the Prime Minister.

(Signed) M. P. A. HANKEY.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 8, 1923.

MEMORANDUM *re* RESOLUTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE AND THE IMPERIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

The Imperial Conference is a consultative body, and has no legislative or executive status. The participant Ministers are responsible solely to the Governments and Legislatures of their respective States. The acts and recorded proceedings of the Conference must accordingly be understood to be purely of the character of advice and information, and to have no binding force on the Governments or on the participant Ministers.

It must follow from this that the acts and proceedings of the Conference should not, in future, take the form of resolutions. Though a resolution of the Conference does not bind the Government of the States it may appear to commit a Minister to a responsibility other than his Constitutional responsibility.

Moreover, a difference in opinion may arise between the participant members on the subject of a resolution, and it is not desirable that such differences should be forced without necessity to become a matter of decision and record and eventual publicity.

It should also be understood that, in adopting the Reports of its Committees, the Conference does no more than place such Reports on record for the advice and information of the respective Governments and Legislatures

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

STATUS OF INDIANS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

(Ref. :—E. 12th, 13th and 14th Meetings.)

THE accompanying telegram from the Viceroy of India to the Secretary of State for India is circulated to Members of the Conference at the wish of Lord Peel.

(Signed) M. P. A. HANKEY.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.*,
November 16, 1923.

From Viceroy, Department of Education, Health and Lands, to Secretary of State for India.—(Received November 7, 8 A.M.)

(Priority A.) *Delhi, November* 7, 1923.

We have now the completed text of the speeches delivered at the Imperial Conference on the position of Indians overseas, and hasten to express to you and your colleagues on the Indian Delegation our grateful appreciation of all you have achieved by the strength and cogency of your advocacy of the Indian case. It is a cause of deep gratification to us that on this momentous occasion. the Government, Princes and peoples of India have spoken with one voice. We desire also to express our appreciation of the spirit in which India's representation was received by the Conference as a whole, and the sympathy shown generally towards our claims and aspirations. To you personally we tender warm thanks for your efforts on India's behalf, and for your powerful presentation of her case. Please convey our warm thanks to Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. We owe to you and to them a deep debt of gratitude. We are publishing the above portion of this telegram, and also our telegrams to Maharajah Alwar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

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E. 92.

C 4

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Reply to the Address from the Members of the Imperial Conference, 1923.

THE accompanying reply from His Majesty The King, Emperor of India, has been sent to the Prime Minister of Great Britain for communication to members of the Conference and for publication.

Arrangements are being made for publication on Tuesday, the 20th November.

(Signed) M. P. A. HANKEY, *Secretary.*

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.*,
November 19, 1923.

It has been a great satisfaction to the Queen and myself to receive from the Prime Minister of Great Britain the Address presented by the members of the Imperial Conference at the close of their sessions. We thank you most cordially for these inspiring words.

The last few weeks have given me a happy opportunity to renew personal touch with some of my Ministers from the Overseas Dominions, and of making the acquaintance of others on whom their present high responsibilities have fallen since the last Conference.

As Emperor of India, I welcome the members of the Conference from that great country. I know that its many peoples will rejoice that the problems brought on their behalf to the attention of the Conference have been dealt with so fully and sympathetically.

No one can follow closely, as I have done, the work of successive Conferences without realising the immense value of such meetings. First comes the spread of mutual knowledge of the conditions obtaining in all parts of the Empire; then the increase of good feeling that springs naturally from such knowledge; and, lastly, the hearty desire to co-operate in strengthening the bonds which unite us, so that, however distracted the world may be, the British Commonwealth shall stand steadfast and undismayed.

I thank you one and all for your labours. I am confident that these will redound to the security, happiness and prosperity of all the nations and peoples of my Empire.

(Signed) GEORGE R. I.

November 14, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

IMPERIAL NAVAL DEFENCE.

MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD IN THE BOARD ROOM, ADMIRALTY, S.W., ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1923, AT 3 P.M.

Present:

The Right Hon. L. S. AMERY, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty (*in the Chair*).

The Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., Lord President of the Council.

The Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G., Prime Minister of Canada.

The Right Hon. S. M. BRUCE, M.C., Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The Right Hon. W. F. MASSEY, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

The Hon. H. BURTON, K.C., Minister of Finance, Union of South Africa.

General R. MULCAHY, Minister of Defence, Irish Free State.

The Hon. W. R. WARREN, K.C., Prime Minister of Newfoundland.

The Right Hon. Viscount PEEL, G.B.E., Secretary of State for India.

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I.

The following were also present:

Admiral of the Fleet EARL BEATTY, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.

Vice-Admiral Sir HENRY F. OLIVER, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., M.V.O., Second Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Personnel, Admiralty.

Rear-Admiral CYRIL T. M. FULLER, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Third Sea Lord and Controller, Admiralty.

Rear-Admiral the HON. ALGERNON D. E. H. BOYLE, C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., Fourth Sea Lord and Chief of Supplies and Transport, Admiralty.

Vice-Admiral Sir ROGER J. B. KEYES, Bart., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., C.M.G., D.S.O., Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.

Major-General J. H. MACBRIEN, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Chief of General Staff, Canada.

Commodore WALTER HOSE, C.B.E., R.C.N., Director of Naval Service, Canada.

Vice-Admiral Sir ALLAN F. EVERETT, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., First Naval Member of the Royal Australian Naval Board.

Brigadier-General T. A. BLANEY, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Australian Representative on the Imperial General Staff at War Office.

Commodore A. G. HOTHAM, C.M.G., R.N., Naval Adviser to the New Zealand Delegation.

General SEAN MACMAHON, Chief of Staff, Irish Free State.

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Rear-Admiral ARTHUR K. WAISTELL, C.B., Assistant Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.

Sir M. P. A. HANKEY, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Captain A. D. P. R. POUND, C.B., Director of Plans Division, Admiralty.

Captain DAVID T. NORRIS, C.B., C.M.G., Director of Trade Division, Admiralty.

Commander JAMES W. S. DORLING, Operations Division, Admiralty.

Mr. N. E. ARCHER, Colonial Office.

Major-General J. J. O'CONNELL, Assistant Chief of Staff, Irish Free State.

SECRETARIAT.

United Kingdom.

Mr. ALEX. FLINT, C.B.

Commander H. R. MOORE, D.S.O., R.N.

Irish Free State.

Mr. P. MCGILLIGAN.

Union of South Africa.

Captain E. F. C. LANE, C.M.G.

India.

Professor L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

THIS Meeting was held at the Admiralty to consider in more detail the strategic aspect of Imperial Naval Defence, the discussion on which was opened by the First Lord of the Admiralty at the Ninth Meeting of the Imperial Conference on Wednesday, the 17th October.

The First Sea Lord gave the Conference a review of the strategic requirements for Naval Defence in all parts of the Empire.

A general discussion followed.

In view of the secret nature of the subject under discussion it was decided that the Minutes of the Meeting should not be circulated. Two copies only of the Minutes have been prepared, and will be kept for record in the custody of the First Lord of the Admiralty and of the Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence, respectively.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
October 18, 1923.

C 63120

SECRET.

E. 94.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

IMPERIAL AIR DEFENCE.

MINUTES OF A MEETING HELD IN THE ROOM OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, AIR MINISTRY, ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1923, AT 3 P.M.

Present:

The Right Hon. Sir Samuel HOARE, Bart., C.M.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Air (*in the Chair*).

The Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., Lord President of the Council.

The Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G., Prime Minister of Canada.

The Right Hon. S. M. BRUCE, M.C., Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The Right Hon. W. F. MASSEY, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

General the Right Hon. J. C. SMUTS, C.H., K.C., Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

Professor JOHN MCNEILL, T.D., Minister of Education, Irish Free State.

Colonel His Highness the MAHARAJAH OF ALWAR, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Sir TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, K.C.S.I.

The following were also present:

His Grace the DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, Under-Secretary of State, Air Ministry.

Air Chief-Marshal Sir H. M. TRENCHARD, Bart, K.C.B., D.S.O., Chief of the Air Staff, Air Ministry.

Air Vice-Marshal O. SWANN, C.B., C.B.E., Air Member for Personnel, Air Ministry.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir W. G. H. SALMOND, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., Air Member for Supply and Research, Air Ministry.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir I. L. B. VESEY, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Director of Organisation and Staff Duties, Air Ministry.

Group-Captain C. S. BURNETT, C.B.E., D.S.O., Deputy Director of Operations and Intelligence, Air Ministry.

Squadron-Leader R. M. DRUMMOND, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., Department of the Air Member for Personnel, Air Ministry.

Sir M. P. A. HANKEY, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Major-General J. H. MACBRIEN, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Chief of General Staff, Canada.

Commodore WALTER HOSE, C.B.E., R.C.N., Director of Naval Service, Canada.

Vice-Admiral Sir ALLAN F. EVERETT, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., First Naval Member of the Royal Australian Naval Board.

Rear-Admiral P. H. HALL-THOMPSON, C.M.G., First Naval Member Designate of the Royal Australian Naval Board.

Wing-Commander WILLIAMS, D.S.O., O.B.E., Royal Australian Air Force.

Brigadier-General T. A. BLANEY, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Australian Representative on the Imperial General Staff at War Office.

Commodore A. G. HOTHAM, C.M.G., R.N., Naval Adviser to the New Zealand Delegation.

Lieut.-General Sir ALEXANDER COBBE, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., Secretary, Military Department, India Office.

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SECRETARIAT:

United Kingdom.

Mr. C. Ll. BULLOCK, O.B.E., Air Ministry.

Major L. A. CLEMENS, O.B.E., M.C., Committee of Imperial Defence.

Squadron-Leader C. J. MACKAY, M.C., D.F.C., Air Ministry.

Irish Free State.

Mr. P. McGILLIGAN.

Union of South Africa.

Captain E. F. C. LANE, C.M.G.

India.

Professor L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.

THE meeting was held at the Air Ministry to consider in more detail the strategical and technical aspects of "Military" aviation, the discussion on which was initiated by the Secretary of State for Air at 11th meeting of the Imperial Conference on the 22nd October.

The Chief of the Air Staff outlined the present position of the Royal Air Force and explained the scheme of expansion that had been authorised by the Imperial Government and the scheme of defence for the South-Eastern portion of England which had been approved by the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The Air Member for Supply and Research gave a description of the types of machines at present in use in the Royal Air Force, and touched on other points in connection with his Department, and the Air Member for Personnel made a statement with regard to the organisation of the personnel of the Royal Air Force.

A general discussion followed, and methods of co-operation between the various Governments of the Empire were considered.

In view of the secret nature of the subjects under discussion, it has been decided that the stenographic notes of the meeting should not be circulated. Two copies only of the notes have been prepared, and will be kept in the custody of the Secretary of State for Air and of the Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence, respectively.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
October 27, 1923.

C 63122

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1923.

This folder contains the following memoranda:

1. General.
2. Canada.
3. Australia.
4. New Zealand.
5. South Africa.
6. Newfoundland.
7. Irish Free State.
8. India.

C 63126

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Printed for the Committee of Imperial Defence. June 1923.

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This Memorandum was approved by the Standing Defence Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence at their 33rd Meeting, held on June 19, 1923. [S.S./33rd Minutes (1).]

FOR PUBLICATION EVENTUALLY.

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1923.

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Peace Organisation: The Principle of Dominion Navies	2
Organisation in War	3
Progressive Development of Dominion Navies	3

AS it is desirable that the peoples of the British Empire, on whom the burden of naval effort falls, may understand the principles on which Dominion co-operation is being sought, it will be suggested at the Imperial Conference that this Paper ONLY should, subject to the concurrence of the Dominion representatives, be issued to the press for publication simultaneously in Great Britain and the Dominions.

In order that the published version may be correct and not garbled, it is requested that a copy (marked "FOR PUBLICATION EVENTUALLY") may be retained in each Dominion after the departure of their representatives so that it may be given to the press when authority to do so is sent by telegram.

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1. *Empire Naval Policy and Co-operation*, 1923.

The British Empire is an Oceanic Commonwealth. The economic and defensive organisation of each nation and community of that Commonwealth has grown up and is based to-day on the presupposition that the use of the sea routes is free to us for mutual co-operation in peaceful development and for mutual assistance against external aggression. The control by a hostile Power of the sea routes which are the arteries of the Empire would involve all of us in economic disaster, and leave us individually isolated in the face of attack or invasion by superior forces.

2. *The Task of the Empire's Naval Forces.*

The task of the Naval Forces of the Empire is to destroy or neutralise Enemy Naval Forces and thereby to keep open the Sea Communications of the Empire.

In doing so they can secure:—

1. The protection of our sea-borne trade.*
2. The destruction of the enemy's sea-borne trade.
3. The free movement by sea of our own Military and Air Forces.
4. The prevention of the despatch overseas of enemy Military or Air Forces.

* The vital importance of oversea trade is shown in the Appendices.

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Wherever this task can be most effectively fulfilled, there, and there alone, the Empire as a whole, and each part of it, however remote from the actual scene of operations, will be effectively defended.

The capacity of the Naval Forces of the Empire to carry out their duties in the actual event of war will enable them to fulfil their primary and continuous function, which is to preserve peace and to enable British interests to be safeguarded by peaceful diplomacy.

[redacted]

3. *The Influence of Air Power on the Naval Problem.*

The development of aviation, while destined to have a great influence on the tactical organisation of our Naval Forces, will not, outside narrow waters such as the English Channel or the Mediterranean, materially affect the problem of the control of the ocean routes, which, in the main, will continue to depend upon surface craft. Airships, if developed and found reliable, may, however, play a considerable part, in co-operation with surface vessels, in carrying out the reconnaissance of the sea routes and the keeping open of sea communication.

4. *The Standard of Naval Strength.*

The definite standard of Naval strength necessary for the peace and security of the Empire must naturally vary with the general political situation, always allowing for the fact that Naval strength and efficiency cannot be improvised, and that it takes several years to build a capital ship and a generation to train a really efficient body of senior officers.

The Imperial Conference of 1921 defined the One-Power Standard of Naval strength as the basis of Imperial defence. This standard was contemplated by the Conference as a minimum. It was subsequently, as far as the main units of the Battle Fleet are concerned, fixed as the maximum by the Washington Agreement. This limitation was accepted by the representatives of the Empire at Washington and by the Admiralty, in the general interest of world peace. But in view of the fact that we depend for our very existence upon the freedom of the seas, it is essential that the Naval Forces of the Empire should, within that limitation, attain the highest point of individual and combined efficiency, and the greatest possible degree of mobility.

5. *The Problem before the Imperial Conference.*

At the forthcoming Imperial Conference the Admiralty will present for discussion with the Dominions the building programmes with which the Empire is faced for the next few years in order to maintain the One-Power Standard, and invite them to consider how they can best co-operate in a task which, even with the substantial relief afforded by the Washington Agreement, involves an unduly heavy burden for Great Britain to bear alone. It is obvious that, in order to secure the necessary minimum of security with the equally necessary minimum of cost, there must not only be the most complete and whole-hearted mutual co-operation between the Governments and Services concerned in peace and war, but that the peace organisation must be such as to fit in with the most effective organisation for war.

6. *Peace Organisation: The Principle of Dominion Navies.*

The maintenance of the Naval Forces of the Empire in peace must depend lutimately on the sustained will of the peoples of the Empire as expressed by their Parliaments and through their responsible Governments. It is not merely approval, but the active and determined support of public opinion in every part of the Empire that is required if the Naval effort is to be adequate to our needs. With the growth of the Dominions in national status and sentiment, the only system of Naval co-operation which can command sufficient permanent good-will and support is one under which each Dominion possesses and controls its own Naval Forces. The

Admiralty whole-heartedly endorses this principle, not only on political and constitutional grounds, but also because it will develop new centres of Naval strength, and new bases for the Navy of the Empire which are essential to the strategy of the future.

7. *Organisation in War.*

In war the Naval Forces of the Empire must be considered as a single collective Empire Fleet. From the strategical point of view, that Fleet may conveniently be regarded as falling into *three categories*. These three categories are closely interdependent, but they stand in a very definite order of relative importance.

First and foremost comes the *Main Fleet*. This must be capable of performing its function of destroying or containing the Main Fleet of the enemy. On it rests the fate of the whole Empire.

Secondly, there are the *Detached Forces* which, backed by the power of the Main Fleet, exercise control of the sea communications in areas distant from the main theatre of operations.

Thirdly, there are the *Local Defence Forces* which are necessary in order to free the Main Fleet and the Detached Forces for their proper work on the High Seas. The effort expended upon these Local Defence Forces should only be the minimum necessary to resist such pressure as the enemy may reasonably be expected to exercise in any particular area in view of the general position on the High Seas. It should never be allowed to limit or starve the preparations for the Sea-going Fleet.

8. *Progressive Development of Dominion Navies.*

The Naval Forces of the Dominions can, as they develop, take their part progressively in each of these categories. In the course of their development they will naturally pass through certain distinct but successive phases.

Phase 1.—In the First Phase provision should be made and responsibility assumed for Local Defence Services. At the same time preparations should be made for the next phase by beginning the training of personnel for a sea-going force. Canada and South Africa are in the First Phase.

Phase 2.—In the Second Phase the first definite steps are taken in the creation of a force for work on the High Seas, as opposed to a local defence force. This phase involves the obtaining of one or more seagoing ships, and in the first instance it may be necessary, for financial and other reasons, to obtain both the ships themselves and a portion, at any rate, of the personnel from the Royal Navy. Throughout this phase the necessary training, repair and fuelling facilities should gradually be built up in preparation for the next phase. This Second Phase has been reached by New Zealand.

Phase 3.—The Third Phase is reached when a Dominion is in a position to provide and man a seagoing squadron of its own, and to take over the full control in peace of the station in which its shores are included. That station will be the normal home station of its Squadron, but interchange and co-operation with British Units on other stations should be arranged. Australia is the only Dominion which is now in the Third Phase.

Phase 4.—In the Fourth and final Phase the Dominions should be capable, in addition to the Squadrons for service on their own home stations, to provide, whether in the shape of additional cruiser squadrons or of capital ship units, a substantial part of the general scheme of naval defence and, more particularly, of the Main Fleet.

Throughout the process of development certain general considerations should be kept in view. The fostering of a Mercantile Marine, and with it of a seafaring population and of a national sea sentiment, constitutes an essential foundation for the building up of a Dominion Navy. A small local Navy, with no scope for ambition and no variety of scene, cannot, in the long run, secure the right type of officers or men, or maintain a high standard of efficiency. A good deal can be done to surmount these difficulties during the Second and Third Phases by a free interchange, both of individuals and of ships, with the Royal Navy. But the real solution lies, for the

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Dominions which can afford it, in reaching the Fourth Phase as soon as possible and being able to provide in their own ships a regular rotation of home and foreign service, as well as regular opportunities for taking part in the Fleet Exercises of the Royal Navy, and a more extended and varied responsibility for their own senior officers. In any case, whatever the stage of development to which the Government of each Dominion considers its naval efforts can attain in the near future, it will be the endeavour of the Admiralty, by whole-hearted co-operation and assistance, to contribute to the success of those efforts.

Admiralty, S.W. 1, *June* 11, 1923.

APPENDIX I.

AUSTRALIA.

Chart showing Values and Tonnage of Principal Commodities exchanged between Australia and other Countries.

THE accompanying chart has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance to Australia.

Australia, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to and receive goods from Australia. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st March, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable while there are no particular items which justify inclusion. In these cases the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

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Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

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Australia : Imports.

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Bananas	Fiji	4,000
Maize	South Africa	1,000
Maize flour	United States of America	5,000
Molasses	Fiji	9,000
Oats	Argentine	1,000
	Brazil	1,000
Rice	India	8,000
	Hong Kong	5,000
Sugar	Dutch East Indies	81,000
	Cuba	26,000
	Peru	6,000
	Fiji	5,000
Tea	Ceylon	6,000
	India	3,000
	Dutch East Indies	5,000
Raw materials—		
Coal	United Kingdom	9,000
	New Zealand	6,000
Copra	New Guinea	21,000
	Solomon Islands	8,000
	Papua	7,000
Flax and hemp	New Zealand	6,000
	Philippines	2,000
Guano	Pacific Islands	56,000
Gums and resins	United States of America	4,000
Linseed	India	12,000
Manganese	New Caledonia	2,000
Nitrate of soda	Chile	3,000
	Japan	2,000
Oakum	New Zealand	2,000
Petroleum	United States of America	125,000
	Dutch East Indies	85,000
	Straits Settlements	33,000
Phosphates	Pacific Islands	237,000
Salt	United Kingdom	9,000
Soda, &c.	United Kingdom	33,000
Sulphur	United States of America	70,000
Timber	Canada	..
	United States of America	..
	Norway	..
	Sweden	..
	New Zealand	..
Manufactured articles—		
Cement	Japan	9,000
	United Kingdom	6,000
	Denmark	4,000
	Sweden	4,000
Iron and steel	United Kingdom	112,000
	United States of America	50,000
	Belgium	11,000
Jute bags	India	..
Metal manufactures	United Kingdom	..
	United States of America	..
Paper	Canada	28,000
	Sweden	26,000
	Norway	16,000
	United States of America	6,000
	United Kingdom	15,000
Textiles, hardware, leather goods	United Kingdom	..
Tin-plates	United Kingdom	49,000
	United States of America	6,000

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Australia : Exports. Year ending March 31, 1921.

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Barley	United Kingdom	40,000
	Belgium	18,000
	France	7,000
Butter	United Kingdom	38,000
	Dutch East Indies	1,000
Cheese	United Kingdom	4,000
Flour	United Kingdom	74,501
	Egypt	55,911
	South Africa	37,689
	Dutch East Indies	13,989
	Straits Settlements	7,512
	Mauritius	3,000
Fruits	United Kingdom	25,000
Oats	United Kingdom	8,000
	Dutch East Indies	3,000
Meat, preserved and refrigerated	United Kingdom	97,000
	Egypt	5,000
Preserved milk	Belgium	4,000
Wheat	United Kingdom	1,055,718
	Egypt	285,749
	France	243,317
	Belgium	156,947
	Germany	68,309
	Italy	60,522
	Holland	60,072
	South Africa	31,575
	New Zealand	16,441
Bark	New Zealand	3,000
Coal and coke	New Zealand	740,000
	Dutch East Indies	412,000
	Chile	191,000
	Straits Settlements	173,000
	Philippines	110,000
	Egypt	104,000
	New Caledonia	72,000
	India	71,000
	Sweden	94,000
	Hawaiian Islands	42,000
	Fiji	41,000
	United States of America	30,000
	Norway	27,000
	Ceylon	21,000
	Peru	16,000
	Hong Kong	12,000
	China	11,000
Copper	United Kingdom	22,000
Copra (not Australian)	Denmark	7,000
	United Kingdom	5,000
	United States of America	10,000
	Holland	6,000
Fertilisers	New Zealand	37,000
	Dutch East Indies	3,000
Iron, pig	New Zealand	8,000
Lead, pig	United Kingdom	17,000
Oil-cake	United Kingdom	5,000
Salt	New Zealand	11,000
Sandal wood	Hong Kong	7,000
Tallow	United Kingdom	13,000
	Japan	7,000
Wool	United Kingdom	145,000
	France	15,000
	Belgium	16,000
	Italy	7,000
	Japan	6,000
	Germany	4,000
	United States of America	18,000
Zinc and ores	Belgium	27,000
	United Kingdom	15,000

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Memoranda & Notes

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CANADA

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APPENDIX II.

NEW ZEALAND.

Chart showing Values and Tonnage of Principal Commodities exchanged between New Zealand and other Countries.

THE accompanying chart has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance to New Zealand.

New Zealand, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to and receive goods from New Zealand. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st December, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table, from which the chart was prepared, shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight, as no such figures are published in the trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases the value of the *total* trade only has been shown, as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

NEW ZEALAND: IMPORTS, YEAR 1921.

Commodity.	Country whence imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Corn	India	24,000
Maize	Australia	2,000
Oats	Australia	1,000
Onions	Australia	3,000
Rice	Australia	1,000
	China	1,000
Sugar	United States of America	1,000
	Fiji	56,000
	Australia	3,000
	Java	4,000
Tea	Ceylon	2,000
Wheat	Australia	7,000
Raw materials—		
Coal and coke	Australia	630,000
	United States of America	65,000
	Canada	3,000
	United Kingdom	84,000
	Japan	43,000
Fertilisers	United States of America	2,000
	Australia	11,000
	Belgium	11,000
	India	2,000
	Pacific Islands	49,000
	Japan	3,000
Jute	India	12,000
	Australia	1,000

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THE WORLD

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS 1920-21.

REFERENCE.

IMPORTS *are shown in black.*
EXPORTS *" " " green*

The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.

(84) *Imports* } *Values in Millions of*
(67) *Exports* } *Pounds Sterling.*

(–) } *Where values fall below £100,000*

No units are shown for Machinery, Metal manufacturers, Timber, Leather goods and Textiles, weights are not published, and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

N.M.S.O. Press, Cricklewood

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THE WORLD

MEAT 211
WOOL 64
CHEESE 69
BUTTER 46

387 GREAT BRITAIN

— BELGIUM

4 214

4 27

CANADA 1·7 NEWSPRINT 12

U.S.A. 7·1 PETROLEUM 79, COAL 65, MACHINERY

— JAPAN

— INDIA

6 6

— PACIFIC ISLANDS 2

COAL 43 SUGAR 56, FERTILISER 43

6 6·5

TIMBER 2 AUSTRALIA

FERTILISERS
CORN 24, JUTE 12
COAL 630, IRON 20, FERTILISERS 11, TIMBER

COAL 84, IRON 40, SALT 11, TEXTILES, MACHINERY

NEW ZEALAND

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown in black
EXPORTS " " " green
The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.
1·7 Imports, 2 Exports — Values in Millions of Pounds Sterling.
— — Where values fall below £100,000.

No units are shown for Machinery, Timber & Textiles, weights are not published and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS 1921.

180° 170° West Longitude 160° 150° 140° 130° 120° 110° 100° 90° 80° 70° 60° 50° 40° 30° 20° West Longitude 10° Meridian Of Greenwich 10° East Longitude 20° 30° 40° 50° 60° 70° 80° 90° 100° 110° 120° 130° 140° 150° 160° East Longitude 170° 180°

H.M.S.O. Press, Cricklewood

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Raw materials (*continued*)—		
Iron and steel	United Kingdom ..	8,000
	Australia	8,000
	South Africa	2,000
Linseed oil	United Kingdom ..	1,000
Mineral oil	United States of America..	79,000
	Sumatra	6,000
	Australia	1,000
Paraffin..	Burma	1,000
Potash	Germany	1,000
Salt	United Kingdom ..	11,000
	Australia	6,000
Sulphur..	United States of America..	4,000
Tanning materials	Australia	2,000
Timber	Australia	..
Manufactures—		
Fencing..	United States of America..	5,000
	United Kingdom ..	2,000
Iron manufactures	United Kingdom ..	22,000
	United States of America .	2,000
	Australia	3,000
	Canada	4,000
Machinery	United Kingdom ..	..
	United States of America..	..
Newsprint	Canada	12,000
Rails	United Kingdom ..	9,000
	Australia	9,000
	United States of America..	2,000
Textiles..	United Kingdom ..	..
Tinned plates	United Kingdom ..	3,000

NEW ZEALAND EXPORTS. YEAR 1921.

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Butter	United Kingdom ..	44,000
Cheese	United Kingdom ..	68,000
Frozen meat	United Kingdom ..	211,000
Dried milk..	United Kingdom ..	7,000
Oats	United Kingdom ..	7,000
Peas	United Kingdom ..	4,000
Potatoes	Fiji	1,000
Coal	Australia	9,000
	Fiji	2,000
Fibres	Australia	7,000
	United Kingdom ..	3,000
Hides and skins	United Kingdom ..	5,000
	United States of America..	6,000
Linseed	Australia	3,000
Timber	Australia	..
Wool	United Kingdom ..	64,000
	United States of America..	3,000

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The annexed Appendices III, IV, V and VI should be attached to C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C circulated on the 22nd June, 1923.

2, *Whitehall Gardens*, *S.W.* 1,
July 20, 1923.

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Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Raw materials (*continued*)—		
Iron and steel	United Kingdom	8,000
	Australia	8,000
	South Africa	2,000
Linseed oil	United Kingdom	1,000
Mineral oil	United States of America	79,000
	Sumatra	6,000
	Australia	1,000
Paraffin	Burma	1,000
Potash	Germany	1,000
Salt	United Kingdom	11,000
	Australia	6,000
Sulphur	United States of America	4,000
Tanning materials	Australia	2,000
Timber	Australia	..
Manufactures—		
Fencing	United States of America	5,000
	United Kingdom	2,000
Iron manufactures	United Kingdom	22,000
	United States of America	2,000
	Australia	3,000
	Canada	4,000
Machinery	United Kingdom	..
	United States of America	..
Newsprint	Canada	12,000
Rails	United Kingdom	9,000
	Australia	9,000
	United States of America	2,000
Textiles	United Kingdom	..
Tinned plates	United Kingdom	3,000

NEW ZEALAND EXPORTS. YEAR 1921.

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Butter	United Kingdom	44,000
Cheese	United Kingdom	68,000
Frozen meat	United Kingdom	211,000
Dried milk	United Kingdom	7,000
Oats	United Kingdom	7,000
Peas	United Kingdom	4,000
Potatoes	Fiji	1,000
Coal	Australia	9,000
	Fiji	2,000
Fibres	Australia	7,000
	United Kingdom	3,000
Hides and skins	United Kingdom	5,000
	United States of America	6,000
Linseed	Australia	3,000
Timber	Australia	..
Wool	United Kingdom	64,000
	United States of America	3,000

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The annexed Appendices III, IV, V and VI should be attached to C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C circulated on the 22nd June, 1923.

2, *Whitehall Gardens*, *S.W.* 1,
July 20, 1923.

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Appendix III to C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C. 170

CANADA.

CHART SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXCHANGED BETWEEN CANADA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying chart has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to Canada.

Canada, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to, and receive goods from, Canada. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st March, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of Foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the Trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases, the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable, while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases, the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

CANADA: IMPORTS (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921.)

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Butter	United States of America	1,000
Coffee	Peru	9,000
	Brazil	4,000
Corn (Indian)	United States of America	255,013
Fish	Alaska	1,000
	United States of America	2,000
	Newfoundland	9,000
Lard	United States of America	5,000
Mutton	New Zealand	2,000
	United States of America	1,000
Pork	" " "	10,000 } 9,000 }
Potatoes	" " "	23,800
Rice	British Guiana	3,649
	Hong Kong	7,136
	United States of America	3,473
Sugar	Cuba	139,000
	United States of America	70,000
	British Guiana	28,000
	San Domingo	29,000
	Jamaica	11,000
	Barbadoes	9,000

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—(continued).		
Tea	United Kingdom	5,000
	India	3,000
Tobacco	United States of America	10,000
Raw Materials—		
Aluminium	United States of America	56,000
Animal fat	,, ,, ,,	6,000
Asphalt	,, ,, ,,	30,000
Bones and bone dust	,, ,, ,,	4,000
Chloride of lime	,, ,, ,,	17,000
Coal	,, ,, ,,	20,245,000
Coke	,, ,, ,,	27,000
Copper	,, ,, ,,	16,000
Cotton	,, ,, ,,	43,000
Fibre (manila)	,, ,, ,,	4,000
,, (sisal)	,, ,, ,,	17,000
Fire clay	,, ,, ,,	49,000
Gravel and sand	,, ,, ,,	210,000
Gums and resin	,, ,, ,,	13,393
Hides and skins	New Zealand	1,000
	Argentine	1,500
	United States of America	4,000
	Uruguay	1,000
Iron ore	Newfoundland	622,000
	Norway	11,000
	Sweden	11,000
	United States of America	1,305,000
Iron, scrap	,, ,, ,,	126,000
Iron, pig	,, ,, ,,	56,000
Lead, pig and bars	United Kingdom	18,000
	United States of America	24,000
Nitrate of Soda	,, ,, ,,	22,000
	Chile	1,500
Oilcake	United States of America	9,311
Petrol and products	Peru	33,000
	United States of America	1,355,000
Phosphate rock	,, ,, ,,	11,000
Potash	Germany	5,000
Rags	United Kingdom	6,000
	United States of America	8,000
Rubber	United Kingdom	2,113
	Straits Settlements	4,139
	United States of America	5,366
Salt	United Kingdom	23,000 } 12,000 }
	West Indies	22,000
	Spain	9,000
	United States of America	15,000 } 51,000 }
Sand (silica)	,, ,, ,,	102,000
Silicate of soda	,, ,, ,,	12,000
Soda	,, ,, ,,	4,000
Stone	,, ,, ,,	445,000
	Newfoundland	32,000
Sulphate of soda	United States of America	37,000
Sulphur	,, ,, ,,	10,000 } 106,000 }
Vegetable oils	,, ,, ,,	14,194
Waste paper	,, ,, ,,	95,000
Wood pulp	,, ,, ,,	20,000
Wool	United Kingdom	1,000
	United States of America	3,000

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Manufactured Articles—		
Iron and steel	United States of America	193,000
	United Kingdom	8,000
Luxury imports, *e.g.*, wines, silks, &c.	France.	
Steel products	United States of America.	
Textiles	,, ,, ,,	
	United Kingdom.	

CANADA: EXPORTS (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Bacon	United Kingdom	49,000
Barley	,, ,,	198,000
Cheese	,, ,,	54,000
Condensed milk	,, ,,	9,000
	United States of America	6,000
Flour	,, ,, ,,	36,000
Fruit	United Kingdom	1,272,000
Meat	United States of America	20,000
Oatmeal	United Kingdom	13,000
Oats	,, ,,	125,000
Potatoes	United States of America	105,000
	Cuba	12,000
Rye	United Kingdom	29,000
	Norway	14,000
	United States of America	19,000
Sugar	,, ,, ,,	25,000
Wheat	United Kingdom	784,000
	Belgium	377,000
	France	135,000
	Germany	49,000
	Greece	125,000
	Italy	564,000
	Netherlands	187,000
	Spain	39,000
	United States of America	1,134,000
Wheat Flour	United Kingdom	240,000
	United States of America	104,000
Raw Materials—		
Aluminium	United Kingdom	2,000
	United States of America	5,000
Asbestos	United Kingdom	12,000
	Belgium	10,000
	United States of America	114,000
	Germany	5,000
Calcium carbide	United States of America	46,000
Coal	United Kingdom	81,477
	South Africa	23,000
	British Guiana	19,000
	Gibraltar	26,000
	Newfoundland	387,000
	Australia	23,000
	New Zealand	20,000
	Argentine	13,000
	China	20,000
	France	168,000
	French Africa	32,000
	Japan	14,000
	Netherlands	227,000
	Norway	36,000
	Sweden	15,000

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Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Raw materials—(continued).		
Coal—(*continued*)	United States of America....	1,031,000
	Alaska	37,000
Coke	United States of America....	37,000
Copper	United Kingdom....	4,000
	United States of America....	14,000 } 17,000
Cyanide	„ „ „	44,000
Feldspar	„ „ „	41,000
Hay....	„ „ „	162,000
Hides and skins	„ „ „	13,000
Iron ore	„ „ „	17,000
Iron, pig	„ „ „	51,000
Lime	„ „ „	24,000
Timber	United Kingdom....	—
	United States of America....	—
Sand, gravel	„ „ „	1,503,000
Sulphur	„ „ „	6,000
Wood pulp	„ „ „	535,000
	United Kingdom....	113,000
	France	34,000
	Japan	18,000
Wool....	United States of America....	3,000
Manufactured Articles—		
Abrasives (carborundum, &c.)	United States of America....	27,000
Cement	„ „ „	93,000
Iron bars and rods	United Kingdom....	39,000
	United States of America....	40,000
Newspaper	Australia	37,000
	United States of America....	668,000
Rails	United Kingdom....	49,000 } 18,000

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Memoranda & Notes

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

THE WORLD

C 63142

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS 1920-21.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS *are shown in black.*
EXPORTS *" " " green.*
The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.
(19.) *Imports.* (27.) *Exports.* } *Values in Millions of Dollars.*
(—) (—) *Where values fall below 500,000 Dollars.*
No units are shown for Machinery, Timber & Textiles, weights are not published, and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

CANADA
U.S.A.
U.S.A.
ALASKA
CHINA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
PERU
CUBA
W. INDIES
BRITISH GUIANA
NORWAY
GERMANY
HOLLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
BELGIUM
FRANCE
SPAIN
ITALY
GREECE
GIBRALTAR
SOUTH AFRICA

H.M.S.O. Process Co.

C 63143

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Appendix IV to C.I.D. Paper No. 194-C.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

CHART SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying chart has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to the Union of South Africa.

The Union of South Africa, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to, and receive goods from, the Union of South Africa. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st December, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of Foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the Trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases, the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable, while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases, the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: IMPORTS (YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Coffee	Brazil	12,000
Flour	Australia	19,000
Rice....	China	18,000
	India	8,000
	Cochin China	5,000
Sugar	Portuguese East Africa	11,000
Wheat	Australia	19,000
Raw Materials—		
Hides and Skins	South-West Africa Protectorate	6,000 / 8,000
Nitrate of Soda	Chile	21,000
Petroleum	United States of America....	69,000
	Dutch East Indies	26,000
	Persia	5,000
Phosphates	Egypt	6,000
	South Sea Islands	5,000
Sulphur	United States of America....	8,000
Superphosphates	Holland....	8,000
Timber	Sweden	—
	Finland....	—

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Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Manufactured Articles—		
Cement	Demark	6,000
	Germany	6,000
Cotton Goods....	United Kingdom	—
Iron bars	„ „	6,000
Iron, cast	„ „	5,000
Iron, wrought	„ „	5,000
Iron, galvanised	„ „	10,000
Leather manufactures....	„ „	—
Machinery	„ „	—

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: EXPORTS (YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Maize and meal	United Kingdom	92,000 / 235,000
	Germany	53,000
	Holland	17,000
	Belgium	15,000
	Portuguese East Africa	4,000
Sugar	United Kingdom	56,000
	India	2,000
Raw Materials—		
Asbestos	United Kingdom	2,000
	Australia	1,000
Coal....	India	759,000
	Ceylon	238,000
	Aden	134,000
	Mauritius	40,000
	Egypt	205,000
	Portuguese East Africa	36,000
	Straits Settlements	17,000
	Madagascar	34,000
	Portuguese India	29,000
	Argentine	16,000
	Turkey	8,000
Diamonds	United Kingdom	
Feathers	„ „	
Gold	„ „	
Hair, Angora	„ „	7,000
Hides and skins	„ „	11,000
	Germany	2,000
	France	5,000
	United States of America	2,000
Wattle bark, &c.	United Kingdom	3,000 / 13,000
	Germany	34,000
	Japan	9,000
	United States of America	6,000
Wool	United Kingdom	45,000
	Germany	22,000
	Belgium	12,000
	France	9,000
	United States of America	7,000
	Japan	3,000

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GREAT BRITAIN (51) (1.) (·3) (24)

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HOLLAND

GERMANY

EGYPT (·3) (—) (·4)

U.S.A. (22) (86)

CHILE (—) (·3)

ARGENTINE (—) (—)

PORTUGUESE E. AFRICA (·8)

ADEN (—)

MAURITIUS (·3)

MOZAMBIQUE (—)

PORTUGUESE INDIA (—)

INDIA (2) (—)

CEYLON (—)

STRAIT SETTLEMENTS (·3)

CHINA (·8)

DUTCH E. INDIES (—)

AUSTRALIA (2) (—)

SOUTH AFRICA

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1921.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown in black.
EXPORTS " " " green.

The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.

(36) Imports } Values in Millions of
(·3) Exports } Pounds Sterling.

(—) (—) Where values fall below £500,000.

No units are shown for Machinery, Textiles, Leather goods, Gold and Diamonds, weights and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

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C 63146

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Appendix V to C.I.D. Paper No. 194-C.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

TABLES SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT AND IMPORT BETWEEN NEWFOUNDLAND AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying tables have been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to Newfoundland.

Newfoundland, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is, in her turn, under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

Table I shows the imports and exports by countries in values for the year ending the 30th June, 1921.

Table II shows the more bulky and valuable imports and exports by weight (where this is known) for the same year. In the case of textiles, timber and wheat, the total weights could not be ascertained, as they are not published in the trade returns.

TABLE I.—VALUES OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS BY COUNTRIES INTO NEWFOUNDLAND FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1921.

—	Imports (1,000 Dollars).	Exports (1,000 Dollars).
Canada	14,841	1,976
United States	9,556	1,854
United Kingdom	3,230	6,275
West Indies	794	1,131
Ceylon	149	—
Portugal	105	3,781
Spain	77	2,956
Brazil	—	2,263
Greece	—	814
Italy	—	1,047

TABLE II.—NEWFOUNDLAND: IMPORTS, 1920–21.

Commodity.	Country whence imported.	Tons weight.
Coal....	Canada	297,000
	United States of America....	15,000
	United Kingdom	8,000
Cotton Textiles	United States of America....	—
	United Kingdom	—
Flour	Canada	26,000
Hay....	„	10,000
Meat	„	....Not known
Oats	„	17,000
Oils....	„	3,000
	United States of America....	3,000
Oilcake	Canada	2,000
Potatoes	„	3,000
Salt....	Portugal	15,000
	Spain	13,000
	West Indies	3,000
	Germany	2,000
	United Kingdom....	2,000
Sugar	Canada	1,000
Sulphur	United States of America....	3,000
Timber	Canada	—
	United States of America....	—

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NEWFOUNDLAND: EXPORTS, 1920–21.

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons weight.
Codfish	Portugal	18,000
	Spain	14,000
	Brazil	9,000
	West Indies	5,000
	Italy	5,000
	Greece	4,000
	United Kingdom....	3,000
	Canada	3,000
	United States of America....	2,000
	French Indies	1,000
Cod oil	United States of America....	2,000
Iron	Canada	460,000
	United Kingdom....	27,000
	Holland	26,000
Limestone	Canada	93,000
Paper	United Kingdom....	61,000
Pulp	„ „	24,000
	United States of America....	2,000
Timber	United Kingdom....	—
	United States of America....	—

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Appendix VI to C.I.D. Paper No. 194-C.

INDIA.

CHART SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXCHANGED BETWEEN INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying chart has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to India.

India, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to, and receive goods from, India. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st March, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of Foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the Trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases, the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable, while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases, the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

INDIA: IMPORTS (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Fruit and vegetables	Persian Gulf	31,000
	Muscat	12,000
	Persia	7,000
Sugar and molasses	Mauritius	11,000
	Java	306,000
	Straits Settlements	9,000
	Hong Kong	6,000
	Egypt	4,000
Raw Materials—		
Aluminium	United Kingdom	2,000
Asphalt	,, ,, ...	4,000
Betel nuts	Straits Settlements	40,000
	Ceylon	6,000
China clay	United Kingdom....	22,000
Coal and coke	Australia	33,000
	United Kingdom	10,000
	Natal	7,000
	Straits Settlements	3,000
	Japan	10,000
	Portuguese East Africa	18,000
Copper	United Kingdom	7,000
	United States of America....	6,000
Copra	Ceylon	7,000

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Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Raw materials—(continued).		
Cotton	United Kingdom	5,000
	Kenya	3,000
Lead	United Kingdom	3,000
Petroleum	Straits Settlements	34,000
	United Kingdom	7,000
	Borneo (British)	2,000
	Persia	96,000
	Borneo (Dutch)	111,000
	United States of America	170,000
Pitch and tar	United Kingdom	7,000
Salt	" "	93,000
	Aden, &c.	183,000
	Egypt	117,000
	Germany	101,000
	Spain	68,000
	Italian East Africa	54,000
Soda	United Kingdom	42,000
	Kenya	2,000
Sulphur	Japan	4,000
	Italy	3,000
	United States of America	1,000
	United Kingdom	1,000
Timber	Siam	—
	Straits Settlements	—
	United States of America	—
Tin	Straits Settlements	2,000
Woodpulp	Norway	3,000
	Sweden	2,000
Zinc	United Kingdom	3,000
Manufactured Articles—		
Brass, bronze and manufactures	United Kingdom	23,000
	Japan	2,000
Cement	United Kingdom	123,000
Iron and steel	" "	108,000
	" "	368,000
	United States of America	20,000
	" "	91,000
	Belgium	42,000
	"	21,000
	Germany	14,000
Machinery	United Kingdom	—
	United States of America	—
Paint	United Kingdom	15,000
Soap	" "	15,000
Railway material	" "	—
Textiles	" "	—
	Japan	—

INDIA: EXPORTS (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Barley	Red Sea	4,000
Beans, pulse, &c.	United Kingdom	7,000
	Germany	9,000
	Belgium	9,000
	Japan	3,000
	Ceylon	9,000
	Straits Settlements	8,000
Coffee	United Kingdom	5,000
	France	2,000

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—(continued).		
Fish	Ceylon	10,000
Rice	United Kingdom	170,000
	Straits Settlements	183,000
	Ceylon	276,000
	Bahrein	29,000
	Federal Malay States	42,000
	Hong Kong	24,000
	Egypt	16,000
	Mauritius	36,000
	Australia	18,000
	Germany	51,000
	Red Sea	22,000
	Java	27,000
	Japan	12,000
	Arabia	36,000
	Belgium	11,000
	Cape Colony	7,000
Rice meal	United Kingdom	6,000
Sugar	" "	12,000
	Ceylon	6,000
	United States of America	2,000
Tea	United Kingdom	111,000
	Canada	3,000
	Australia	3,000
Vegetables and fruit	Ceylon	16,000
	Straits Settlements	13,000
Wheat and wheatflour	United Kingdom	95,000
	Egypt	36,000
	Germany	27,000
	Belgium	22,000
	France	20,000
	Holland	15,000
	Italy	13,000
	Ceylon	24,000
	Aden	6,000
	Straits Settlements	6,000
	Mauritius	6,000
	Red Sea	6,000
	Persian Gulf	10,000
Raw material—		
Bran	Straits Settlements	101,000
	United Kingdom	59,000
	Hong Kong	7,000
Chrome iron ore	United Kingdom	20,000
	Belgium	7,000
	United States of America	5,000
Coal	Ceylon	674,000
	Straits Settlements	194,000
	Aden	76,000
	Egypt	74,000
	Sumatra	53,000
	Java	15,000
	Philippines	14,000
	Algeria	16,000
	Persian Gulf	11,000
	France	6,000
Cotton	United Kingdom	17,000
	Germany	36,000
	Belgium	43,000
	Italy	38,000
	Spain	14,000

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Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Raw material—(continued).		
Cotton—(*continued*)	Japan	168,000
	China	32,000
Ferro-manganese	Japan	47,000
Fertilisers	Ceylon	21,000
	United Kingdom....	16,000
	Japan	12,000
	United States of America....	14,000
	Belgium	28,000
	France	8,000
Hemp	United Kingdom....	26,000
	Belgium	6,000
Hides and skins	United Kingdom....	6,000
	United States of America....	10,000
	Italy	3,000
Jute, raw	United Kingdom....	136,000
	Germany	72,000
	France	50,000
	United States of America....	110,000
	Belgium	26,000
	Spain	24,000
	Italy	23,000
	Brazil	9,000
	Holland....	8,000
	Japan	7,000
Lac	United Kingdom....	3,000
	United States of America....	11,000
Lead	United Kingdom....	8,000
	Ceylon	5,000
	Hong Kong	3,000
	Japan	6,000
Manganese ore	United Kingdom....	331,000
	Belgium	170,000
	France	81,000
	United States of America....	170,000
	Italy	14,000
	Holland....	8,000
Oil-cake	United Kingdom....	50,000
	Ceylon	28,000
	Japan	12,000
Oil-seeds	United Kingdom....	286,000
	Australia	14,000
	Belgium	163,000
	Germany	27,000
	France	71,000
	Italy	32,000
Paraffin wax	United Kingdom....	5,000
	Italy	5,000
	Japan	5,000
Petroleum	United Kingdom....	15,000
	France	50,000
Rubber	United Kingdom....	5,000
Saltpetre	„ „	5,000
	Mauritius	5,000
	United States of America....	3,000
Tanning materials	United Kingdom....	19,000
	United States of America....	15,000
Teak	United Kingdom....	—
Vegetable oils	„ „	3,000
	Mauritius	1,000
	Belgium	1,000
Wolfram	United Kingdom....	2,000
Wool	„ „	10,000
Zinc....	Belgium	60,000

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Manufactured Articles—		
Coir	United Kingdom....	12,000
	United States of America....	4,000
	Holland....	4,000
	Belgium	3,000
Jute manufactures	United Kingdom....	—
	United States of America....	—
	France	—
	Australia	—
	Egypt	—
	Java	—
	Argentine	—
	Chile	—
	Cuba	—

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BELGIUM 13 — 5
FRANCE 9 — 4
ITALY — 4
SPAIN — 3
U.S.A. 35 — 35
PERSIA 2 — 1
EGYPT 3 — 1
ARABIA —
ADEN 2
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PORTUGUESE E. AFRICA —
SOUTH AFRICA 1
MAURITIUS —
INDIA
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JAPAN 24
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SIAM —
BURMA 5
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS 17
DUTCH E. INDIES 1
AUSTRALIA 1 — 3 — 6

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1920-21.

REFERENCE.

IMPORTS *are shown in black*
EXPORTS *" " " green*
The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.
(204) *Imports* } *Values in Crores of Rupees.*
(53) *Exports* }
(—) } *Where values fall below 1,00,00,000 Rupees*
(—) }
No units are shown for Machinery, Timber, Textiles, Railway materials & Jute bags, weights are not published, and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

180° 170° West Longitude 160° 150° 140° 130° 120° 110° 100° 90° 80° 70° 60° 50° 40° 30° 20° West Longitude 10° Meridian Of Greenwich 10° East Longitude 20° 30° 40° 50° 60° 70° 80° 90° 100° 110° 120° 130° 140° 150° 160° East Longitude 170° 180°

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Printed for the Committee of Imperial Defence. August 1923.

SECRET.

No. 142

201-C.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

(*Also E* 61.)

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

CANADA.

Foreword.

THIS paper is written in the belief that the national feeling in Canada does not differ materially from that expressed by Sir Wilfred Laurier in 1909 when the following resolution proposed by him was unanimously agreed to after debate by the Canadian Parliament.

> "This House fully recognises the duty of the people of Canada as they "increase in numbers and wealth to assume in larger measure the responsi- "bilities of National Defence. The House is of opinion that under the present "constitutional relations between the Mother Country and the self-governing "Dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the "Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not, so far as "Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of "defence.
>
> "The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed "to promote the speedy organisation of a Canadian Naval Service in co-opera- "tion and close relation with the Imperial Navy, along the lines suggested by "the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the "view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of "commerce, the safety of the Empire and the peace of the world.
>
> "The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises, the "Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that "is required to give the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty "co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and "honour of the Empire."

1. *Object.*

To summarise the Naval Situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Canada in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

It may be assumed that the Empire as a whole might be involved in war in defence of Canada or any other Dominion and that the sea communications in all parts of the Empire would be liable to attack in the event of such a war. It is the duty of the Admiralty to protect these communications, with the available British forces together with any forces placed at its disposal by Dominion Governments, on the outbreak of war.

An enemy would be lacking in the elements of strategy if he failed to reap any advantage which might accrue from the attack of a weakly held area.

Similarly, in time of peace, if it became known that arrangements did not exist to control on the outbreak of war the sea communications of any part of the Empire, foreign diplomacy in relation to such portions of the Empire might become more

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aggressive. It is necessary, in order to advise the Canadian Government as to what Naval forces she should maintain to assist in her own defence, to visualise the quarter from which danger may threaten.

The United States and Japan are the only Naval Powers which need be considered.

A war with the United States is regarded as almost unthinkable. The attitude of the Empire towards the possibility of such a conflict is shown by the fact that Canada has made no defensive preparations along her frontier such as are customary between even the most friendly foreign States, and that similarly the Admiralty has made no attempt to develop in the Western Atlantic any Naval Base, such as would be required if operations by the Main Fleet were contemplated in that area. None the less, in order not to be entirely helpless in the event of possible aggression, Canada does maintain a military organisation at a certain minimum strength and with a considerable capacity for expansion. But if so, then even from the point of view of Canada's southern frontier, it must be pointed out that Canadian Naval forces are no less necessary than Canadian Military forces.

A successful defence of the vital portion of the Canadian frontier depends upon the command in war of Lakes Ontario and Erie and the St. Lawrence River, when open to navigation.

The command of these waterways calls for Naval personnel, which cannot be built up at short notice when emergency arises.

When the projected improvements in the Canal system between the sea and Lake Erie permit the passage of large vessels, the Naval aspects of the defence of the Canadian land frontier will assume greater importance still.

That in such an event the possibility of reinforcements reaching Canada from the United Kingdom, or of Canadian trade being kept alive, will depend wholly upon the general Naval situation, and that any contribution Canada could make in sea-going strength would be invaluable, is obvious and need not be elaborated with reference to so remote a contingency as that of a conflict with the United States.

3. *The Naval Situation in Relation to Japan.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *status quo* Agreement cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific, which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Fleet base and the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming that the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Western Pacific.

In spite of the heavy burden for Naval defence which the people of Great Britain are bearing, it will not be possible, after providing the necessary Light Cruisers for the Main Fleet, to meet the world-wide calls for trade protection. The position of Canadian seaborne trade on the West Coast, in the event of hostilities with Japan, might be precarious under present conditions. The recommendations which have been made are intended partially to remedy the deficiency in Light Cruisers in North American waters.

They represent the minimum that, in the opinion of the Admiralty, is essential for the protection of trade in the Eastern Pacific and to prevent enemy raiders gaining access to the Atlantic.

As Canada has no Light Cruisers for the defence of her trade, the Admiralty war plan in the event of hostilities with Japan, necessitates the despatch of the greater part of the Light Cruiser Squadron maintained on the North America and West Indies Station in time of peace, and which would be urgently required to work with the Main Fleet, through the Panamá Canal to work off the West Coast, based on a Port in British Columbia.

It is intended as soon as possible after the outbreak of war to replace the squadron by older Light Cruisers and armed merchantmen, when the present ships of the North America and West Indies Squadron would proceed to Singapore.

The main task of the Naval Forces of the Empire in the Eastern Pacific will be:—

(*a.*) To assert economic pressure on Japan by preventing her trade with North or South America.
(*b.*) To protect Empire Trade in the Eastern Pacific from attack by raiders.
(*c.*) To prevent enemy raids on British Columbia.
(*d.*) To prevent enemy raiders gaining access to the Atlantic.

4. *Air Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the English Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Composition of Sea-going Dominion Navies.*

Light Cruisers are the smallest sea-going ships of the Fleet which can play a part in protecting our ocean trade routes in war or threatening the enemy's sea communications, and which can provide the necessary sea-going training in peace. To obtain and maintain full efficiency a Light Cruiser Squadron should consist of not less than four ships in full commission. *Submarines* are particularly suitable for aggressive action in the face of superior enemy forces, but a Light Cruiser Squadron is the more urgent requirement for the Canadian Navy, and for this reason and also to avoid the greater expense consequent upon maintaining two types of vessel in a small Navy, it is not recommended that Canada should acquire any submarines at present.

Destroyers are essentially a fleet weapon and are uneconomical for local defence or escort duties.

Those which Canada now possesses might well be retained for the peace training of officers and men, and for local defence, but it is not recommended that any more be acquired

6. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the Naval Defence requirements of Canada, as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese Light Cruiser Building Programme in 1928, as well as the financial and economic position of Canada, have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

7. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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I.—General.

1. It is assumed that the Canadian Navy is now ready to pass from Phase 1 into Phase 2, of which the following is a description (C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C):—

"In the second phase, the first definite steps are taken in the creation of "a force for work on the high seas, as opposed to a local defence force. This "phase involves the obtaining of one or more sea-going ships, and in the first "instance, it may be necessary, for financial and other reasons, to obtain both "the ships themselves and a portion, at any rate, of the personnel from the "Royal Navy.

"Throughout this phase the necessary training, repair and fuelling "facilities should gradually be built up for the next phase."

2. The Admiralty is prepared to assist the Canadian Navy during Phase 2, either by the loan of ships and personnel or by receiving Canadian personnel for training in ships of the Royal Navy until a Canadian ship is available.

3. The proposals which follow are intended to enable the Canadian Navy to reach Phase 3 (sea-going squadron) about ten years hence.

II.—Ships.

Existing R.C.N. Ships and their Life.

Light Cruiser "Aurora."

4. Light Cruisers which took part in the war are assessed to last twelve years, but owing to the financial stringency it is considered that this must be increased to the normal of fifteen years.

H.M.C.S. "Aurora" was completed in 1913, and is therefore considered to reach the replacement age in 1928.

It is recommended that this vessel be kept efficient for use in an emergency until replaced.

Destroyers.

5. The useful life of Destroyers is estimated at eight and twelve years respectively, according to whether they took part in the war or not. As in the case of Light Cruisers, it is considered that for financial reasons a life of not less than fifteen years must be accepted for all.

This life may even have to be extended in the case of Destroyers retained for Local Defence purposes.

6. Applying the above to the Canadian Destroyers:—

T.B.D's.	Date of Completion.	Estimated Life.	Year due for replacement by Auxiliary Patrol Vessels (*vide* paragraph 3 below).
Patriot	1916	15 years	1931
Patrician	1916	15 years	1931

Submarines.

7. For reasons already explained, it is not recommended that the Canadian Navy should include a submarine flotilla at present.

8. Bearing in mind that Submarines C.H. 14 and C.H. 15 have been paid off since the 30th June, 1922, it is not considered that any further expenditure on their maintenance would be justified, and it is therefore recommended that these vessels be disposed of.

Types of Ships recommended for the R.C.N.

Light Cruisers.

9. Displacement ... Limited by the Washington Agreement to 10,000 tons.
Speed ... ... Sufficiently high to avoid action with enemy Battle Cruisers and not less than 33 knots.
Endurance ... 6,500 miles if possible.
Fuel ... ... Oil burning.
Armament ... 7·5-inch or preferably 8-inch, which is the maximum permissible by the Washington Agreement.
Anti-aircraft Guns.
Torpedo Tubes if obtainable without a reduction in speed or endurance.
Armour ... Protected Deck.
Cost ... ... Approximately 10,000,000 dollars.

The above are the sketch outlines for the design of Foreign Service Light Cruisers now being got out in the Admiralty.

Auxiliary Patrol Craft, Minesweepers and Anti-S/M Craft.

10. The question of the design of vessels most suitable for the above purposes is under consideration.

The R.C.N. trawlers are suitable minesweeping craft.

11. It is recommended that dormant arrangements be made in peace to take up on the outbreak of war the additional craft necessary for the above Services.

Suggested Building Programme for the R.C.N.

Light Cruisers.

12. It is suggested that 3 Light Cruisers be built during the next twelve years.

13. In order to assist the Canadian Navy to pass from Phase 2 to Phase 3 (*vide* C.I.D. Paper 194–C), the Admiralty is prepared to recommend that a fourth Light Cruiser be provided and maintained by Great Britain and lent to the Canadian Navy to form a squadron of 4 ships, as soon as the Canadian Government is prepared to take over the Naval Station.

Squadron Oiler.

14. It is recommended that one oiler be obtained for the use of the squadron.

A.P. Craft.

15. It is recommended that the R.C.N. Destroyers be retained until a satisfactory design of special craft has been evolved.

16. *Summary of Cost of Proposed Building Programme.*

—	Approximate Year laid down.	Approximate Cost.
1 Light Cruiser	1924	$10,000,000
1 Light Cruiser	1928	10,000,000
1 Light Cruiser	1932	10,000,000
1 Squadron Oiler...	1925	400,000
Auxiliary Patrol Vessels	...	600,000
		$31,000,000

The above programme, if spread over approximately twelve years, making an average cost of, say, $2,500,000 a year.

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III.—War Plans.

17. The initial disposition of a Canadian Light Cruiser Squadron of 4 ships in the event of war with Japan might well be as follows :—

On the Pacific Coast—

3 Light Cruisers.

On the Atlantic Coast—

1 Light Cruiser.

IV.—Repair Ports and Fuelling Ports.

18. It is recommended that the existing Naval Yards and Armament Depots at Halifax and Esquimalt be kept up to date so as to be able, with the assistance of local commercial facilities, to cope with the refits and docking of modern Light Cruisers. In the event of war with Japan Esquimalt will assume great importance.

V.—Trade.

19. The Trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings :—

Naval Control Service	...	...	Protection.
Naval Control Service	...	...	Contraband Control.

20. It is recommended that the provision of the Naval crews for defensively equipped merchant-vessels, together with the personnel and craft for routeing and convoy and for contraband control, be regarded as an urgent requirement.

VI.—Personnel.

Officers.

21. The first essential for the progressive growth of a Dominion Navy is a constant source of supply of officers, more especially officers of the Military Branch, the extensive and specialised training for which precludes its rapid expansion in time of need.

Any considerable gap in the list of officers causes an uneven flow of promotion, which is most undesirable both for the Services and for the officers themselves. In the past it has been possible for the Dominions to rely on borrowing officers from the Royal Navy when insufficient Dominion officers were available, but the recent reduction in junior officers of the Royal Navy will render it increasingly difficult as time goes on to loan any considerable number of officers to Dominion Navies.

22. To meet the difficulty the following courses appear open to the Canadian Government :—

(*a.*) To reopen the Royal Naval College of Canada.
(*b.*) To send officers overseas for training.
(*c.*) To institute a Naval class in the Royal Military College of Canada, for the training of Cadets entered on a system analogous to the special entry system in force in the Royal Navy.

23. In regard to the second alternative, the Admiralty would willingly train a limited number of Cadets of the Royal Canadian Navy at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, but the limited accommodation available makes it impossible to guarantee that more than a very small number can be accepted in any one year.

The only other Naval College in the Empire is the R.A.N. College at Jervis Bay, which is three times as far distant from Canada.

Personnel: Men.

24. The building up of personnel to enable a Dominion Navy to pass from Phase 1 to Phase 2 may present difficulties in a country with small maritime

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population. The first essential is to educate public opinion as to the value of sea power, so that the Navy may be regarded by all parties and sections of the community as a national necessity and asset. The political support of all parties and the encouragement of the Canadian Navy League are some of the methods which suggest themselves.

25. The most powerful incentive to recruiting, however, is the prospect of foreign service, and this can be arranged in the following manner :—

During Phases 1 *and* 2.

By carrying out the sea-going training of recruits either in a Dominion ship which cruises abroad or by sending the men to ships of the R.N. on other stations.

During Phase 3.

By arranging the regular exchanges of H.M.C. ships with H.M. ships on other stations.

Specialist Training.

26. Schools for specialist training in the various technical branches on the small scale necessary in a Dominion Navy are very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

VII.—Communications.

27. It is recommended that the high-power stations, which it is understood will be erected at Montreal and Vancouver, be fitted to broadcast to ships on wave-lengths of not more than 20,000 metres.

28. It is recommended that arrangements be made whereby all commercial W/T stations in Canada, which may be required for Naval purposes, be placed under Naval discipline in war. This might well be effected by arranging that the existing personnel of these stations be enrolled as Naval ranks and ratings on the outbreak of war.

In peace, as many as possible should be encouraged to join the R.C.N.V.R.

VIII.—Stores.

Fuel.

29. Experience has shown that it is unsafe to depend upon normal commercial supplies of fuel in time of war, for the following reasons :—

(*a.*) Difficulties of transport.
(*b.*) Difficulty of obtaining commercial supplies owing to abnormal demand.
(*c.*) Grade of commercial oil not necessarily suitable for Naval purposes.

War Reserve.

30. It is recommended that 110,000 tons of oil fuel be maintained in Canada as a war reserve.

This quantity is approximate and has been arrived at as follows :—

	Tons of Oil Fuel.
4 oil-burning Light Cruisers (one year's war consumption)	96,000
2 T.B.D's. used as Local Defence Craft : one year's war consumption (equivalent to half ordinary war consumption because of employment)	12,000
Squadron Oiler	2,000
	110,000

31. It is recommended that this oil and the necessary storage be provided during the next eight years at a total cost of approximately $2,600,000, or an annual cost of $325,000.

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Positioning of Oil Reserves.

32. It is recommended that a reserve of 80,000 tons of oil fuel be established on the Pacific Coast, in the vicinity of Esquimalt, and that 30,000 tons be stored at Halifax, at both places in Government-owned tanks.

Peace Requirements.

33. The basis adopted in the Royal Navy for calculating the allowance of fuel for vessels in commission is to take the probable number of days steaming and add the estimated consumption for auxiliary purposes and for the authorised trials at special speeds.

Armament Supplies.

34. The manufacture of Armament Supplies on a small scale is uneconomical, though on the other hand it is desirable in principle that Dominion Navies should be self-contained in this as in other respects.

For these reasons, it is recommended that Canada should manufacture armament supplies whenever local production would prove economical, but in other cases it appears undesirable to incur expenditure which does not produce additional Naval strength.

35. Independent Naval Inspection during manufacture of armament supplies intended for use on board H.M.C. ships is considered essential.

Naval and Victualling Stores.

36. The fact that nearly all Naval and Victualling Stores required for the R.C.N. are obtainable in Canada is highly satisfactory.

IX.—Local Defence.

37. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports Oversea, to examine at the same time the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence and for defences on land.

X.—Air Co-operation.

38. It is recommended that future Canadian Light Cruisers be built to carry one or more amphibians.

39. An aerial patrol of the Coast of British Columbia would materially assist local Naval Defence Forces in the event of war with Japan.

XI.—Hydrographic.

40. It is suggested that the present system of exchange of publications resulting from the Surveying work undertaken by the Dominion be developed.

The Admiralty has recently ceased to publish charts of the River St. Lawrence above Quebec, thus depending upon the Canadian charts of these pilotage waters.

It is very desirable that charts published by the Hydrographic Departments of the Empire should be co-ordinated as far as possible.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.

P.D. 01843.

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SECRET. Nº 123

195-C.

(*Also E* 58.)

This Memorandum was approved by the Standing Defence Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence at their 33rd Meeting, held on June 19, 1923. [S.S./33rd Minutes (1).]

NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

AUSTRALIA.

1. *Object.*

TO summarise the Naval Situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Australia in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is off-set to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Fleet Base and the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming the Suez Canal Route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Far East.

The enemy's obvious and most natural objective during the interval would be Singapore, the seizure of which would deny to our Fleet the control of the Western Pacific and secure the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Australia and New Zealand.

The main task of the Naval Forces of the Empire in the Western Pacific, operating in the face of superior enemy forces, would consequently be to delay and harass the despatch of an expedition against Singapore, or any operation, such as an attack upon Hong Kong, intended to lead up to such an expedition.

For this purpose two classes of vessel are suitable :—

(*a.*) Fast light cruisers of great endurance.
(*b.*) Large overseas submarines.

It is, therefore, recommended that Australia should include both these classes of vessel in any future building programme.

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3. *Composition of Sea-going Dominion Navies (in Peace).*

Light Cruisers are the smallest sea-going ships which can play a part in protecting our ocean trade routes in war or threatening the enemy's sea communications, and which can provide the necessary sea-going training in peace. To obtain and maintain full efficiency a light cruiser squadron should consist of not less than four ships in full commission.

Submarines are particularly suitable for offensive action or scouting in the face of superior enemy forces, and for this reason would be invaluable before the arrival of the Main Fleet.

The true rôle of a submarine is not coast defence. Stationed for the defence of a port, it is unlikely that one or two could prevent a transitory raid or bombardment. If of the right type, however, they would be effective against any prolonged operation.

To obtain and maintain full efficiency a flotilla of submarines should consist of not less than six boats.

Destroyers are essentially a fleet weapon and are uneconomical for local defence or escort duties.

Those which Australia now possesses might well be retained temporarily, used for the peace training of officers and men, and for local defence, but it is not recommended that any more be acquired.

4. *Air-Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the Naval Defence requirements of Australia, as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese Light Cruisers' Building Programme in 1928 as well as the financial and economic position of Australia have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

6. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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AUSTRALIA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—War Plans.

Adequacy of existing R.A.N. War Plans.

The existing arrangements for the disposition of the R.A.N. Light Cruisers, in the event of the squadron being placed at Admiralty disposal in war, are very satisfactory and cannot well be improved upon.

II.—Ships.

(1.) Existing R.A.N. Squadron and their life.
(2.) Types of Ships recommended for R.A.N.
(3.) Suggested Building Programme.

(1.) *Existing R.A.N. Ships and their Life.*

Battle Cruiser "Australia."

By the provisions of the Washington Agreement this vessel must be rendered incapable of further warlike service within six months of the ratification of the Treaty.

So far as can be foreseen the ratification will be completed at an early date; it is recommended that the Australian Government take steps for the disposal of this ship without waiting for the final ratification, in order to allow as much time as possible for her economical disposal. Although the inclusion of this Dominion unit among the ships to be retained was not practicable, and her normal life was thereby somewhat curtailed, it is considered that the vital need for vessels of this type during the war fully repaid the Commonwealth for the outlay incurred on this unit, and that the money could not have been better expended.

Light Cruisers.

Post-war Light Cruisers are assessed to last fifteen years, and those which took part in the war are assessed to last twelve years, but owing to the financial stringency it is considered this must be increased to the normal of fifteen years.

Applying these rules to Australian Light Cruisers they are considered to reach the replacement age as shown hereunder:—

Ship.	Date of Completion.	Estimated Life.	Year due for replacement.
Melbourne	1913	15 years	1928
Sydney	1913	15 „	1928
Brisbane	1916	15 „	1931
Adelaide	1922	15 „	1937

Destroyers.

The useful life of Destroyers is estimated at eight and twelve years, according to whether they took part in the war or not.

As in the case of Light Cruisers it is considered that for financial reasons a life of not less than fifteen years must be accepted for all.

This life may even have to be extended in the case of Destroyers retained for local defence purposes.

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Applying the above to Australian Destroyers :—

T.B.D's.	Date of Completion.	Estimated Life.	Year due for replacement by Auxiliary Patrol Vessels (*vide* paragraph 3 below).
Yarra	1911	15 years	1926
Parramatta	1911	15 „	1926
Warrego	1912	15 „	1927
Huon	1915	15 „	1930
Swan	1915	15 „	1930
Torrens	1915	15 „	1930
Anzac	1918/1919	15 „	1933/1934
Stalwart			
Tasmania			
Swordsman			
Success			
Tattoo			

(2.) *Types of Ships recommended for the R.A.N.*

Light Cruisers.

Displacement ... Limited by the Washington Agreement to 10,000 tons.
Speed ... ... Sufficiently high to avoid action with enemy Battle Cruisers and not less that 33 knots.
Endurance ... 6,500 miles if possible.
Fuel ... ... Oil burning.
Armament ... 7·5-inch or preferably 8-inch, which is the maximum permissible by the Washington Agreement.
Anti-Aircraft Guns.
Torpedo Tubes if obtainable without a reduction in speed or endurance.
Armour ... Protected Deck.
Cost ... ... Approximately £2,000,000.

The above are the sketch outlines for the design of Foreign Service Light Cruisers now being got out in the Admiralty.

Submarines.

The type of Submarine best suited for the Australian Navy is the Overseas Patrol type, of which the following are the main particulars :—

Endurance ... ... 10,000 miles.
Armament ... ... 21-inch torpedoes.
Fitted with a powerful W/T set, and suitable for work in the tropics.
Cost ... ... About £300,000.

The first Submarine of this type for the Royal Navy will be completed in 1925.

Auxiliary Patrol Craft, Minesweepers and Anti-S/M Craft.

The question of a design of vessel or vessels most suitable for the above purpose is under consideration.

(3.) *Suggested Building Programme for the R.A.N.*

Light Cruisers.

It is recommended that Light Cruisers be laid down so as to replace the existing ships in the years in which they are considered due for replacement, or as near those dates as may be practicable.

Submarines.

It is recommended that the Commonwealth Government obtain six Submarines of the overseas patrol type. H.M.A.S. " Platypus " would be a suitable depot ship.

A shore base would be required for the flotilla.

A.P. Craft.

It is recommended that the R.A.N. Destroyers be retained until a satisfactory design of special craft has been evolved.

Summary of Cost of Proposed Building Programme.

—	Approximate Year laid down.	Approximate Cost.
		£
1 Light Cruiser replace " Melbourne " ...	1924	2,000,000
1 Light Cruiser replace " Sydney "	1924	2,000,000
1 Light Cruiser replace " Brisbane " ...	1927	2,000,000
1 Light Cruiser replace " Adelaide " ...	1933	2,000,000
2 S/M's	1924	600,000
1 S/M	1926	300,000
3 S/M's	1928	900,000
Auxiliary Patrol Vessels	...	200,000
		10,000,000

The above programme, if spread over approximately thirteen to fourteen years, making an average cost of, say, £750,000 a year.

The proposed dates for laying down Submarines are based upon the following considerations :—

The building of a Submarine presents many difficulties not experienced with other classes of ship, notably the fitting in of the various components, which calls for considerable experience and very careful overseeing. If the Commonwealth Government decided to build Submarines, the best procedure might be that adopted in the case of the Australian Torpedo Boat Destroyers, the first two of which were completed in England, the third was sent out in sections for erection in Australia, and the remaining three built in Australia.

III.—Repair Ports and Fuelling Ports.

(1.) Outside Australia.
(2.) In Australia.

(1.) *Outside Australia.*

The necessity for a base at Singapore to enable the Main Fleet to operate in the Pacific has been explained above. The completion of this base is considered to be an urgent requirement for the defence of Australia, and it is upon this assumption that the Commonwealth Government is invited to take part in the construction of the Dockyard.

The Commonwealth share may be assessed by estimating the cost of a graving dock suitable for Light Cruisers, together with the necessary workshops and facilities, and this is estimated to be £1,600,000, to be spread over eight years.

This sum could conveniently be employed in the supply of raw and manufactured material from Australia.

(2.) *In Australia.*

(a.) *Repair Ports.*

In view of the changed situation that will be brought about by the creation of a large Naval Dockyard at Singapore, the Admiralty recommend that all idea of developing repair ports at Port Stephens and Cockburn Sound should be definitely abandoned.

As regards Sydney, it is recommended that the existing Dockyard should be kept up to date so as to be able to cope with the refits and docking of modern Light Cruisers and Submarines, but that no money should be spent on establishing, either at Sydney or elsewhere in Australia, docking and repair facilities for Capital Ships.

The Naval and Commercial repair facilities in Australia should keep pace with the growth of a Dominion Navy.

The construction of Singapore will remove any necessity for providing a repair port in Australia for the Capital Ships of the Main Fleet, though if large commercial docks are contemplated, it is desirable that they should be capable of taking the largest Man-of-War.

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(b.) *Fuelling Ports.*

In addition to the Singapore Base, a fuelling port will be required in Australia for the use of forces operating in the Southern exits to the Java, Flores and Banda Seas and in the waters between Timor and Australia. These straits possess great strategical importance, and the denial of their passage to enemy surface raiders will go far to ensure the safety of communications in the Indian Ocean and Australian waters. All available information points to Bynoe Harbour as the most suitable site for such a fuelling port.

If oil tanks are located at Bynoe, the provision of mobile defences would be necessary until such time as it may be practicable to provide the port with fixed defences.

The alternative to a fuelling port in Northern Australia is to maintain the oil reserves at a southern port and to accept the resultant larger carry and increased number of oilers.

It must be realised, however, that the alternative is not of equivalent value to reserves strategically situated in Northern Australia, owing to the inadequacy of the world's tankage tonnage, quite apart from any question of vulnerability and wastage by consumption on passage.

IV.—Trade.

1. The Trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Commonwealth Government under the headings :—

Naval Control Service	...	...	Protection.
Naval Control Service	...	...	Contraband Control.

2. It is recommended that the importance of Albany as a Convoy assembly port be borne in mind in connection with the commercial development of the port.

V.—Personnel.

(1.) Officers.
(2.) Submarine Personnel.
(3.) Interchange of Personnel.
(4.) Personnel for Naval Control Service.

(1.) *Officers.*

The system whereby Officers for the R.A.N. are trained in Australia appears to be entirely sound.

The reports which have been received on Officers who have been trained at the R.A.N. College, whilst serving in ships of the Royal Navy, show that these Officers are of at least as high a standard as those trained in similar Colleges in this country.

It is considered that the expense of maintaining a Naval College for small numbers of Officers, although relatively high, is fully justified by the effect of building up the naval spirit of the country, and the retention of the R.A.N. College is most strongly recommended.

(2.) *S/M Personnel.*

It is recommended that Officers and ratings who have already specialised in S/M's should be sent to the United Kingdom for employment in the S/M Service until required for Australian S/M's. It is recommended that additional personnel be sent to the United Kingdom for S/M training as required, for manning Australian Submarines should it be decided to build this class of vessel.

(3.) *Interchange of Personnel.*

It is recommended that officers and men of the R.A.N. be regarded as interchangeable in all respects with those of the R.N. One of the main drawbacks of a small Navy is that the personnel become stale through long service on one station and in a limited number of ships.

The absence of foreign service must necessarily militate against recruiting.

The antidote is a regular system of exchange, whereby the ships and the personnel of the R.A.N. spend a proportion of their time on other stations.

(4.) *Personnel for Naval Control Service.*

It is recommended that the provision of the Naval crews for Armed Escort Vessels and Defensively equipped Merchant Vessels, together with the personnel and craft for Routeing and Convoy and for Contraband Control, be regarded as an urgent requirement.

VI.—Communications.

(1.) The establishment of a High Power W/T Station in Australia for communication direct or otherwise with Great Britain and other Dominions will not fulfil Naval requirements, because—

(*a.*) The High Power Station could not be constantly available for Naval purposes.

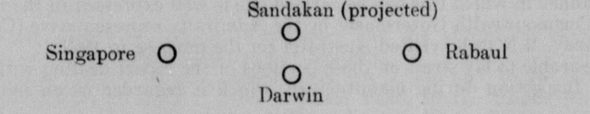
(*b.*) The W/T range of a man-of-war is necessarily limited, and coastal stations are therefore necessary for the transmission of orders and the reception of reports.

(*c.*) It is an accepted principle that it is uneconomical and technically unsound to employ High Power Stations for short and medium range working.

(2.) An examination of the power and position of the existing Australian W/T Stations has shown that Naval requirements in the probable theatre of operations in the event of a war in the Far East would be met by the following :—

(*a.*) The existing coastal stations at Perth, Sydney, Townsville and Rabaul to be modernised with valve apparatus.

(*b.*) A medium Power Station to be established at Port Darwin, with a range of 1,500 miles. This station would form a necessary link in the area :—



thus facilitating the operations of Naval Forces in the vicinity of this area in war.

This station would be unremunerative in peace time and need not be manned until war is imminent.

The cost of a medium High Power Station is estimated at £50,000.

(3.) Wireless communications are vital in war, and must therefore be exercised in peace, or they will fail when most required. It is recommended that an agreement be reached whereby all commercial W/T Stations in Australia which may be required for Naval purposes be placed under Naval Discipline in war. This might well be effected by arranging that the existing personnel of these stations be enrolled in Naval ranks and ratings on the outbreak of war. In peace, as many as possible should be encouraged to join the R.A.N.V.R., and peace exercises are recommended, especially between the stations mentioned in paragraph 2.

(4.) In the matter of Wireless organisation, it is recommended that the Royal Australian Navy maintain a close liaison with the Naval Staff at Singapore.

(5.) It is very necessary that the High Power Station should be able to broadcast to ships on waves not more than 20,000 metres.

VII.—Stores.

(1.) Fuel.
(2.) Armament Supplies.
(3.) Naval and Victualling Stores.

(*a.*) *War Reserve.* (1.) *Fuel.*

It is recommended that *200,000* tons of Oil Fuel be maintained in Australia as a War Reserve. This quantity is approximate and has been arrived at as follows :—

	Tons of Oil Fuel.
4 oil-burning Light Cruisers : one year's war consumption	96,000
12 T.B.D's. used as Local Defence Craft : one year's war consumption (equivalent to half ordinary war consumption because of employment)	72,000
6 Submarines (one year's war consumption)	7,200
Armed Escort Vessels, oil tankers, &c.	24,800
say,	200,000

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It is recommended that this oil and the necessary storage be provided during the next eight years at a total cost of approximately £1,000,000, or an annual cost of £125,000.

(*b.*) *Position of Oil Fuel Reserves.*

Assuming that Bynoe or other Northern Port is decided upon as a fuelling port it is recommended that three-quarters of the Light Cruisers' oil reserve be stored there, and that one-quarter be stored at Southern Ports.

As regards oil for Submarines it is suggested that one-half of the oil reserve for Submarines be located at a suitable port in Australia and the remaining half at Singapore, in order that they may be able, in war, to operate from the latter place as soon as the situation permits.

(*c.*) *Peace Requirements.*

It is recommended that the allowance of fuel for vessels in commission should be calculated on a similar basis to that adopted in the Royal Navy.

For example, the provision for the China Squadron for 1923–24 is based on 50 days' steaming. To this is added the estimated consumption for the year for auxiliary purposes, and the necessary provision to permit of the authorised trials at special speeds.

(2.) *Armament Supplies.*

The decision to establish a Naval Base at Singapore places Australia in an ideal position to become the source of Armament supplies for the Main Fleet in War.

The manner in which this can be carried out is well expressed in the report laid before the Commonwealth Government by the Admiralty representative (Commander J. G. McHardy, R.N.) who visited Australia for the purpose in 1921.

It is desirable to lay stress on those portions of the report dealing with independent Naval inspection during manufacture, which is regarded as an indispensable condition.

(3.) *Naval and Victualling Stores.*

In view of the great difficulty in arranging supplies from the United Kingdom for a large Fleet operating abroad in time of war, it is strongly recommended that the general lines of development should be such that Australia should ultimately be able, not only to supply the needs of her own forces, but also to assist in meeting those of a large Fleet.

VIII.—Local Defence.

The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the scales of Defence of British Ports oversea, to examine at the same time the scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence and for defences on land.

IX.—Air Co-operation.

(1.) It is recommended that future Australian Light Cruisers be built to carry one or more amphibians.

(2.) In the meantime, in order to enable the R.A.N. to co-operate in peace time with the Australian Air Force, it is recommended that one existing Light Cruiser be fitted to carry a small seaplane, or alternatively, that the squadron oiler or collier be so fitted.

(3.) It is recommended that plans be prepared with a view to taking up and fitting out a merchant ship as a seaplane carrier in Australia on the outbreak of war.

Admiralty, June 11, 1923.
P.D.01805.

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SECRET.

196-C.

(*Also E* 59.)

Nº 124

This Memorandum was approved by the Standing Defence Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence at their 33rd Meeting, held on June 19, 1923. [S.S./33rd Minutes (1).]

NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

NEW ZEALAND.

1. *Object.*

TO summarise the naval situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to New Zealand in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper No. 194-C.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess and, by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct, Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with preparations to enable a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Fleet base and the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Far East.

The enemy's obvious and most natural objective during the interval would be Singapore, the seizure of which would deny to our Fleet the control of the Western Pacific and secure the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Australia and New Zealand.

The main task of the Naval Forces of the Empire in the Western Pacific, operating in the face of superior enemy forces, would consequently be to delay and harass the despatch of an expedition against Singapore, or any operation, such as an attack upon Hong Kong, intended to lead up to such an expedition.

For this purpose two classes of vessel are suitable :—

(*a.*) Fast Light Cruisers of great endurance.
(*b.*) Large Overseas Submarines.

Light Cruisers are the smallest seagoing ships which can play a part in protecting the ocean trade routes in war, or threatening an enemy's sea communications, and which can provide the necessary sea-going training in peace.

[10153] [10184] [10353A] [10432A]

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Submarines are particularly suitable for offensive action or scouting, and for this reason would be invaluable both before and after the arrival of the Main Fleet in the East.

3. *Composition of the New Zealand Division.*

As it appears, however, that New Zealand would not be able for some time to come to maintain both light cruisers and submarines in sufficient numbers to ensure efficiency, it is recommended that she should concentrate on light cruisers.

4. *Air Power.*

The control in war of the sea communications of the Empire can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters such as the Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese light cruiser building programme in 1928, as well as the financial and economic position of New Zealand, have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval Forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counter-balanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

6. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire.

The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

NEW ZEALAND: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

I.—Ships.
II.—Local Defence.
III —Trade.
IV.—Personnel.
V.—Oil Fuel.
VI.—Repair Ports.
VII.—Communications.

I.—Ships.

During the difficult times through which New Zealand has been passing she has successfully maintained the nucleus of a naval force. It is recommended that this should now be expanded and that she should aim at maintaining a cruiser squadron of three ships, manned by New Zealand personnel. This can be built up gradually, and it is suggested that "Chatham" should be relieved by two D class light cruisers in 1924 and that a third ship should be added as soon as the Dominion is able to bear this additional burden.

Provision of Ships.

2. The arrangement whereby ships are loaned by Great Britain enables New Zealand to maintain a larger effective force than would otherwise be possible, and it is therefore recommended that it should be continued for the present.

It is recognised, however, that a division composed of ships on loan may not fulfil New Zealand's aspirations in the future, and it is therefore suggested that she should take steps to obtain a ship of her own to replace one of those lent as soon as her finances admit. It is considered, however, that the maintenance of three ships should take precedence over any building policy until such time as both are possible.

II.—Local Defence.

3. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports Oversea, to examine at the same time the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for local Naval and Air Defence and for defences on land.

III.—Trade.

4. The trade arrangements recommended have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings "Naval Control Service—Protection," "Naval Control Service—Contraband Control."

IV.—Personnel.

5. The increase in active service personnel rendered necessary by a squadron of three ships can only be made gradually, and until sufficient New Zealand personnel is available British personnel will be loaned when desired to supply the deficiency.

It is recommended that the final total aimed at should allow for a proportion of men undergoing training ashore.

Training.

6. Schools for the higher specialist training of ratings on the small scale necessary for the New Zealand Division would be very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

Interchange.

7. Continuous service in the same squadron on the same station tends to damp enthusiasm, and is not an incentive to recruiting; it is considered that interchange of New Zealand ships and personnel with the British Navy will benefit everybody and will do much to ensure efficient co-operation in war. It is suggested, therefore, that ships of the New Zealand Division should periodically join up with other squadrons and *vice versâ*, which, in the first case, would provide an opportunity for some of the higher ratings to go through the schools in England.

Reserves.

8. To provide the personnel necessary for the Naval Control Service and Local Defence measures it is recommended that the reserves should be increased and a force raised similar to the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.

V.—Oil Fuel.

9. The Admiralty note with satisfaction the decision of New Zealand to establish an oil fuel reserve at Auckland. This is an important step towards rectifying the present unsatisfactory fuelling position in the Pacific.

A war reserve of 10,000 tons is considered necessary in addition to any storage necessitated by the normal requirements of the station in peace.

VI.—Naval Repair Ports.

10. The present arrangements whereby the commercial facilities at Auckland are used for refitting ships of the New Zealand Division have proved so satisfactory and economical in practice that there does not appear to be any necessity to establish a Government Dockyard in the near future.

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Singapore, however, is of vital importance to the scheme of Empire Defence in the Pacific, and therefore to New Zealand in particular. Any assistance, either financial or in material, that she may find herself able to offer towards its development would be welcomed.

VII.—Communications.

11. In order to complete the network of W/T stations necessary to adequately cover the area of the Pacific Islands, the stations at Awanui and Apia should be modernised and made capable of maintaining communication with Sydney.

It is also important that the personnel of these stations should be under Naval discipline in war time, and it is suggested that they should be enrolled in the Volunteer Reserve proposed in paragraph 8.

Admiralty, June 11, 1923.
P.D. 01806.

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202-C. NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

(*Also E* 62.)

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *Object.*

TO summarise the Naval situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to South Africa in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper 194-C.

2. *The Naval Situation: General.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and, by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct, Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations to enable a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, viâ the Suez Canal, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Should the Main Fleet be unable to use the Suez Canal for any reason, it would have to fall back on the far longer Cape route. It is not recommended, however, that the oil supplies on this route should be developed at the present time to the same extent as on the Suez Canal route.

3. *Effect of Air Power.*

The control in war of the sea communications of the Empire can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters such as the Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can undoubtedly assist by acting in co-operation with surface vessels in keeping open our sea communications.

4. *South Africa.*

South African waters are unlikely to be the sphere of any main operations, and, except for the contingency of the Main Fleet using the Cape route, the Naval problem

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is therefore chiefly one of protecting Empire trade and of interfering with that of the enemy.

South Africa commands trade routes, East and West, on which the prosperity and economic existence of the Union depend. The focal points and terminals of these routes in South African waters invite attack, and with their protection the Union is vitally concerned. Such protection will, of course, be given by the British Fleet so far as resources admit and the requirements of other areas will allow.

It is felt, however, that South Africa will be reluctant always to rely on Great Britain for the protection of her overseas trade, and, as soon as she feels able to emerge from Phase I and take her part with sea-going forces in the Naval Defence of the Empire, it is considered that she can best do so by assisting in the task of safeguarding the Imperial Trade routes in those waters in which she herself is concerned.

5. *Composition of South African Naval Forces.*

In addition to the general protection afforded by the operations of the Main Fleet, trade defence in South African waters involves a convoy system and local defence arrangements (*i.e.*, minesweeping, anti-submarine patrols, &c.) supported by a Light Cruiser force.

South Africa has already undertaken her share in the preparations for a world-wide convoy system and has instituted measures for local defence. It only remains, therefore, for her to take steps to expand her Naval forces so that they may include the necessary Light Cruisers as soon as her finances admit.

Light Cruisers are the smallest type of vessel which can play a part in protecting ocean trade routes and which can supply the necessary sea-going training in peace.

6. *Scale of Forces Recommended.*

While it is recognised that at the moment the economic and financial condition of South Africa may prevent any considerable increase in Naval expenditure, yet it is considered that the size and importance of South Africa call for a development of her Navy from Phase I to Phase II at no distant date.

It has therefore been assumed in framing the following recommendations that South Africa will desire in the near future to take steps to expand her Naval forces.

At the same time, it has not been possible to consider the Naval forces of one Dominion without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by others and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

7. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire.

The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

SOUTH AFRICA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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III.—Trade	3
IV.—Personnel	3
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I.—Ships.

1. It is recommended that South Africa should aim at maintaining, in the not too distant future, a cruiser force of two ships.

2. The process of working up must be a gradual one, and the composition and development of the South African forces must depend largely on the question of personnel. As a first step, it is recommended that a sloop should be added to the present force, to be followed by a second as soon as circumstances permit. Subsequently these two vessels could be replaced by a Light Cruiser.

The annual cost of maintenance of a British sloop on the South African Station is £38,750, and of a Light Cruiser is £163,100.

Provision of Ships.

3. As it appears that the cost of providing her own ships at this stage would hamper the naval effort of South Africa and hinder the development of sea-going forces, the Admiralty is prepared, in accordance with the principle of assisting the development of Dominion Navies, to recommend that such vessels as the Union may want for this purpose should be provided from the British Fleet and exchanged for others from the same source as necessary.

4. The maintenance by South Africa of seagoing forces is considered of the first importance, and to this end a shipbuilding policy should take second place until such time as both are possible.

II.—Local Defences.

5. The defences of Simonstown will be examined and any requirements that may be found necessary will be put forward in due course.

6. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports oversea, to examine, at the same time, the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence, and for defences on land.

7. The minesweeping organisation already instituted is a step of great value in this direction.

III.—Trade.

8. The Trade arrangements recommended have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings: "Naval Control Service—Protection," "Naval Control Service—Contraband Control."

IV.—Personnel.

9. The personnel necessary for the proposed increase in the South African Naval Forces can only be built up gradually, and in doing so it is most desirable that a system should be adopted which will facilitate regular advancement and even distribution in all grades. This can be achieved if a definite number of officers and men are entered yearly on a long-service system.

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10. Until sufficient South African personnel is available, British personnel will be loaned when desired to supply any deficiency. It is probable that some South Africans already in the British Navy would volunteer for this service.

Officers.

11. It is recommended that a few Officers should be entered yearly at Dartmouth as cadets and should receive their early training in the British Navy, but the limited accommodation available makes it impossible to guarantee that more than a very small number can be accepted in any one year. This would be in addition to existing arrangements whereby four cadetships in the British Navy are open to South African candidates.

12. It is recommended that from 25 to 50 men should be entered yearly from the training ship "General Botha."

Until South African Naval Forces are large enough to absorb all of these, they can be trained in the ships of the British Squadron in place of the 25 boys at present entered from the same source.

Training.

13. Schools for the higher specialist training of ratings on the small scale necessary for the South African Naval Forces would be very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

Reserves.

14. The R.N.V.R. organisation will enable the personnel required for trade protection and Local Defence measures to be provided and the numbers enrolled should be based on these requirements. The period of four years' service might be increased with advantage, in the case of promising men, to provide higher ratings with more sea experience.

15. Any steps that could be taken to encourage the fishing industry and coasting trade would increase the local seafaring population and would be of great value in war.

Interchange.

16. For some time to come the South African Naval Service will be too small to ensure within itself that circulation of personnel and variety of duties which is necessary to prevent stagnation and inefficiency. It has been in existence too short a time at present for such symptoms to develop, but it is considered that a system of interchange of personnel with the British Navy is essential if a healthy growth is to be maintained. Later, when South Africa possesses Light Cruisers, periodical interchange of these with British ships is recommended.

V.—Fuel Supplies.

17. The 24,000 tons of Oil Fuel and Storage which South Africa is providing at Simonstown are of great strategic value in connection with secondary operations in South African waters, as well as forming a reserve to meet part of the requirements for the passage of the Fleet to the East viâ the Cape, should that route have to be used.

18. In the future, when the class of ship now on the station is replaced by an oil-burning type, it may be found necessary to recommend that this reserve be increased.

VI.—Communications.

19. As part of the scheme of Imperial communications in war, the requirements of wireless in South African waters are as follows:—

(1.) Ability to broadcast messages to ships within 2,000 miles of South Africa.
(2.) Ability to communicate direct with His Majesty's Ships within 1,500 miles of South Africa.
(3.) Ability to communicate with Mauritius and the proposed stations at St. Helena and Falkland Islands.

20. The proposed High Power Station will fulfil (1) and (3) of the above, and it is recommended should be able to transmit a wave of not more than 20,000 metres for the purpose.

21. The second requirement will be met if Port Nolloth and Durban (Jacobs) Wireless Telegraphy Stations are modernised and kept ready for use when required, should it be found impossible to keep them in constant use.

It is also important that the personnel of these stations should be under Naval discipline in war time, and it is therefore recommended that they should be enrolled in the R.N.V.R.

VII.—Air Co-operation.

22. Aerial co-operation in reconnaissance and patrol of local waters will be of great value and will lighten the task of the naval forces considerably.

It is recommended that a proportion of the South African Air Force should be suitably equipped and trained for this work.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.

P.D. 01844/23.

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SECRET.

203-C.

(*Also E* 63.)

NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE. 169

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

1. *Object.*

To give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Newfoundland in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper 194–C.

2. *The Position of Newfoundland in regard to Naval Defence.*

Newfoundland differs from other Dominions because her small population will render it difficult, if not impossible, for her naval forces to follow the phases of development of a Dominion Navy as defined in C.I.D. 194–C. On the other hand, Newfoundland has a relatively large maritime population which is capable of providing for more than the numbers necessary for the local defence of the Colony.

It is therefore recommended in her case that the line of development should consist in providing trained seamen for manning in war British light cruisers and armed merchantmen detailed for the defence of the trade of the Empire.

3. *The Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve.*

The value to the Empire of Newfoundland seamen in the late war is well expressed in a report on the blockade of Germany by the 10th Cruiser Squadron in the Atlantic :—

> "The boarding of vessels was a very hazardous undertaking ; generally the " boat's crew consisted of Newfoundland fishermen.
>
> " Each ship had a few of these excellent Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve " seamen on board, and they handled the boarding boats with such skill in the heavy " seas that, marvellous to relate, no lives were lost, though in a few instances the " boats got stove in alongside the vessels they were boarding."

The Admiralty decision to withdraw in 1922 H.M.S. " Briton " from her duties as training vessel for the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve was not due to any lack of appreciation of the past work or potential value of the Reserve, but was solely because Their Lordships had no funds at their disposal with which to provide the increased pay and retaining fees necessary to obtain recruits under post-war conditions, or to build and equip a training depot at St. John's. Under present conditions, and owing to the difficulty of providing a suitable berth alongside for a training vessel, it is considered that a shore barracks or armoury would be the most suitable form of training establishment to-day.

4. *Basis of Proposals.*

The outline proposals which follow take into consideration the financial and economic position of Newfoundland and are based upon the Admiralty scheme put forward in 1922 (*vide* Appendix) with certain additions and amendments.

5. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

6. *Administration and Command.*

(Reference: Paragraph 11 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

If the Newfoundland Government desired to place the Reserve under the command of the Commander-in Chief, North America and West Indies Station in time of peace, this could be arranged. The Commander-in-Chief could direct the training of the force, and, in conjunction with the local authorities, make the necessary arrangements for mobilisation in time of war or emergency. Under this arrangement the local administration of the Newfoundland Reserve would be carried out by the Newfoundland Government through its Commanding Officer.

7. *Training.*

(Reference: Paragraphs 9 and 10 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

Should the Newfoundland Government agree in principle to these proposals the question of training will require consideration. The cost of a sea-going training ship similar to "Lobelia" would be excessive, and the only alternative appears to be the institution of a drill hall ashore, possibly combined with service afloat in ships of the North America and West Indies squadron.

8. *Numbers Recommended.*

The numbers which can be trained must depend upon the financial provision which the Newfoundland Government is able to make, together with the rates of pay and gratuity which they decide upon.

If the present Admiralty scale is taken, a force of 200 men carrying out the Admiralty schedule of training would cost about $35,000 a year.

The above approximate estimate is inclusive of an administrative and instructional staff, but exclusive of the cost and maintenance of a drill hall.

Two hundred men are considered to be the smallest number that it would be economical to raise, and it is suggested that this number should be increased whenever possible to a maximum of 1,000.

9. *Administrative and Instructional Personnel.*

(Reference: Paragraph 13 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

It should be explained that the recommendation to employ a retired officer and pensioned petty officers for this purpose was made with a view to saving the Newfoundland Government the expense of paying the pension contribution that would be necessary, in addition to full pay, in the case of active service personnel.

If the latter is preferred, however, the necessary arrangements can be made, and in either case great care would be taken in their selection.

The Officer in Charge would be responsible to the Government Department concerned for the administration of the Force. He would require the assistance of a registrar, who could combine the duties with that of accountant and victualling officer, with the aid of one clerical assistant.

With a total of 200 men, the numbers under training at one time are not likely to exceed 40, and it is therefore considered that the Instructional Staff of 4 petty officers previously recommended might be reduced by 2, thus compensating in part for the expense of a registrar and clerk.

10. *Admiralty Assistance in the Re-construction of a Newfoundland R.N.R.*

The Admiralty are prepared to render all assistance towards the re-establishment of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve that is within their power. In particular, they are prepared to recommend the provision, free of cost, of a first supply of guns and all equipment necessary for training purposes in a drill hall on shore.

They will also supply on repayment all Naval and victualling stores required by the Force from time to time.

Admiralty, July 21, 1923.
P.D. 01839.

APPENDIX I.

Telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Newfoundland, January 9, 1922.

January 9.

Your telegram, 6th December. Admiralty anxious to assist Newfoundland Government in development of Royal Naval Reserve, but are not in a position to incur any increased expense during financial year as provision not made in Navy Estimates. Definite proposals for future are being drawn up and will be forwarded for consideration as soon as possible. As regards "Briton," Admiralty of opinion that training could be carried out more economically on shore, and new scheme contemplates this. Crew of "Briton" has been withdrawn, and Admiralty would prefer to proceed with sale of vessel, expense of maintenance of which is not justified, in their opinion. Admiralty will reserve from sale guns, mountings and any stores or appliances on board which may be of use for training reserves on shore and transfer them without charge to Newfoundland Government if desired.

APPENDIX II.

Enclosure to Letter from Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Newfoundland, dated April 21, 1922.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

In continuation of Admiralty letter of the 6th January, M. 33039/21, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that they have given careful consideration to the question of the future of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve.

2. This Reserve has hitherto been administered under the Royal Naval Reserve Acts, 1859, 1896 and 1902, and the cost of its maintenance has accordingly fallen upon Imperial funds, except for the annual contribution of £3,000 paid by the Newfoundland Government as long as the numbers borne are not less than 600.

3. It will be recalled that at the time of the inception of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve the existing law precluded the Imperial Government from maintaining a division of the Royal Naval Reserve composed of men not employed in merchant vessels registered in the United Kingdom. It was therefore suggested in Admiralty Letter "N" of the 20th May, 1901, that the Newfoundland Government should introduce legislation to enable them to raise such a force under the Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865. The Newfoundland Government were not prepared, however, to incur the cost of such a scheme, and steps were therefore taken, by the passage of the Royal Naval Reserve Act of 1902, to secure the necessary powers for the Imperial Government.

4. In the present financial situation my Lords do not consider that they would be warranted in incurring further expense in connection with the maintenance of Naval Forces in Dominions and Colonies in cases where the Dominion or Colony is itself able to accept the burden. They suggest, therefore, that any Naval Reserve in Newfoundland should in future be raised and maintained at the charge of the Newfoundland Government, and that steps should be taken by that Government, if willing, to obtain the necessary powers from the Newfoundland Legislature, due provision being made for the application of the Naval Discipline Act to Newfoundland Reservists during periods of drill, training and mobilised service.

5. Assuming that this view is accepted by the Dominion Government, my Lords confine themselves to suggesting the main lines which the future regulations of the Force should follow.

6. The Force should be trained primarily for the defence of Newfoundland. It is desirable, however, on general grounds that the men should be entered on the terms that, in the event of an emergency, they would be liable to general service in the Royal Navy, provided that an offer of their services has been made by the Dominion Government and accepted by His Majesty's Government under Section 7 of the Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865. It is impossible to forecast every situation which may arise in war, and it would be a source of weakness to the defence of the Empire if sections of the Naval Forces were entered without any other liability than to serve defences.

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7. My Lords consider that the period of engagement of Newfoundland Reservists should continue to be for five years, as in the case of the Royal Naval Reserve raised in this country, and that they should be encouraged to re-engage for similar periods of five years each. It is desirable that the periods of drill, details of training and qualifications for advancement in vacancies should follow those of the Royal Naval Reserve in Great Britain as far as possible. A copy of Admiralty Fleet Order 526/21 showing the principal new regulations in force for the latter is enclosed for information.

8. The rates of pay, &c., would be a question for the Newfoundland Government, but it appears desirable that the rates of pay and allowances while under training in His Majesty's ships (if such mode of training should ever be adopted) or when called up on mobilisation should be those in force for the time being in the Royal Navy.

9. Except as stated in the next paragraph, it would be sufficient to confine recruiting to the Seaman Branch as in the past, and the Force should be trained with a view to their performing the following principal duties :—

(*a.*) Examination service and traffic control (for this purpose it would be desirable that a proportion of seaman ratings should be selected for additional instruction in signalling).
(*b.*) Coast watching, signals and manipulation of searchlights.
(*c.*) To man a gun 4·7 and below.
(*d.*) To use a rifle.

The particulars of training contained in the enclosures* to this letter will serve as an indication of the nature and extent of the training required.

10. The desirability of making provision for minesweeping is under consideration ; if minesweeping training should prove to be necessary a proportion of chief enginemen and enginemen should be entered.

11. The administration of the Force would be a matter for the Newfoundland Government. If the Newfoundland Government so desire the Admiralty would be prepared to direct the Commander-in-Chief, North America and West Indies Station, to assist by his advice in any way possible.

12. The question of raising officers for the Force is recommended for consideration. If raised, it is desirable that they should take an active part in drilling and instructing the men, so as to gain prestige and acquire executive ability.

13. It would probably be found desirable for the Newfoundland Government to employ for a period of about four years a small professional staff, consisting of one Commissioned Officer R.N. (retired) and four Petty Officers R.N. (pensioners). At the expiration of the four years it is hoped that sufficient instructors, both officers and men, will have been trained from the Newfoundland Force to enable them to carry on the instruction as a self-contained unit.

14. Should the Newfoundland Government concur generally in the foregoing suggestions, my Lords would be ready to advise, if desired, as to the steps necessary to establish the force on a proper legal basis, and also as to mobilisation arrangements.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) CHARLES WALKER.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Colonial Office, S.W. 1.

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* Not printed.

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Printed for the Committee of Imperial Defence. August 1923.

SECRET.

204–C.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

(*Also Paper No. E–66.*)

164

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

IRISH FREE STATE.

THE terms of the recent Treaty provide that the Naval defence of the Irish Free State should be undertaken by the British Government, subject to a review of this arrangement in 1927.

During the period in which the Imperial Naval Forces are undertaking the sea defence of the Irish Free State, their task will be much simplified and enhanced if the Irish Free State will assist as far as possible within the limits of the Treaty. The Admiralty would be very grateful if the Irish Free State would allow a representative to discuss with them details of the various ways in which this assistance can be given.

Admiralty, July 21, 1923.

P.D. 01837/23.

[10462]

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SECRET.

132–D.

(*Also E.*65.)

№ 140

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

With reference to the Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Standing Defence Sub-Committee (C.I.D. 175th Minutes, 4 (c)), the Secretary of State for India, as leader of the Indian Delegation at the Imperial Conference, has taken note of the views as expressed by the Admiralty in this Memorandum and reserves his opinion on these views for discussion in the Conference.

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

INDIA.

1. *Object.*

To summarise the Naval situation (1923) and to give, in outline, Admiralty recommendations to India.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Dockyard and of the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming that the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Western Pacific.

The enemy's obvious and most natural objective during the interval would be Singapore, the seizure of which would lay Indian ports and Indian trade open to heavy attack by enemy raiders. The resultant loss, both direct and indirect, would amount to a disaster of the first magnitude, not only to India herself, but to the whole Empire, and it is on this account that India is invited to co-operate in the creation of the Singapore Dockyard.

At the present time Naval co-operation by India in the defence of the Empire cannot be said to exist in the strict sense of the term, the Royal Indian Marine being a non-combatant Service. An annual subsidy of £100,000, however, is paid to Naval funds in respect to certain services performed by His Majesty's Ships in Indian waters.

3. *Air-Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on

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the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the English Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

4. *Form of Future Naval Co-operation by India.*

For offensive action in war, prior to the arrival of the Main Fleet, two classes of vessel are essential:—

(*a.*) Fast Light Cruisers of great endurance.
(*b.*) Large overseas submarines.

At the present time, however, it is not considered possible for India, in view of her relatively small sea-faring population, the undeveloped state of Naval maritime resources and the general dictates of economy, to maintain either of these types of vessel.

The reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine on the lines recommended by the Government of India so as to provide a nucleus of Auxiliary Patrol Craft and Minesweepers will be a first step towards the entry of India into the first phase of the development of her own Navy, though a considerable expansion of both personnel and matériel will be necessary before India will be able to provide and assume responsibility for her Local Defence Services.

5. In this connection the Admiralty desire to reaffirm their views expressed on several occasions to the Secretary of State for India, that if the Royal Indian Marine is to become an efficient combatant force, capable of co-operating in the Naval defence of the Empire, that Service should be placed, in the early stages of its development at any rate, under the control of a Director, who should be a Naval officer of senior rank on the Active List of the Royal Navy, and that the Director, R.I.M., should be given a status commensurate with his rank and the responsibilities which should accrue to him.

6. *Repair Ports and Fuel Reserves.*

Local defences, however perfect, cannot ensure in time of war the safety and prosperity of India. Of far greater immediate importance is the ability to transfer the British Fleet with all speed through the Indian Ocean to the Pacific, and subsequently to maintain it in these waters.

By assisting the transit of the Main Fleet, India can best shoulder part of the burden of Imperial Naval defence.

Repair Ports and fuel reserves are the chief requirements and recommendations under these headings are made subsequently in this paper.

7. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the above considerations and the Naval defence requirements of India as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

Nevertheless, India cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one part of the Empire is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by all parts.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counter-balanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

INDIA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—Maintenance of Naval Forces.

The Royal Indian Marine.

1. The Admiralty has recently received a copy of the proposals for the reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine. These proposals, if adopted, will constitute a definite change in the status of that Service from the non-combatant to the combatant, and are, in this respect, to be welcomed.

2. It is not proposed to make exhaustive comment on the reorganisation proposals at this stage. The Royal Indian Marine, it is considered, should be so organised and constituted that within a few years it can protect the waters in the vicinity of Indian ports. The requirements in Indian waters as regards A. P. Flotillas, and Minesweeping Units at Indian ports are now under Admiralty consideration, and will be communicated to the Indian Government in due course.

3. The extent to which the air can assist in carrying out the above functions will be examined at the same time.

4. A preliminary examination of the above requirements shows that a very considerable expansion of the proposed peace strength of the R.I.M. both as regards personnel and matériel will be necessary in war.

II.—Local Defences.

5. The defences including Naval and Air Defence and Defences on land at Indian ports are now under consideration by the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee and their recommendations will be communicated in due course.

III.—Repair Ports.

Singapore.

6. The necessity for a base at Singapore to enable the Main Fleet to operate in the Pacific has been explained above.

The completion of this base is considered to be an urgent requirement for the defence of India, and it is on this assumption that the Indian Government is invited to co-operate with Great Britain in the construction of the Dockyard. The form which such co-operation could take is now under consideration.

Indian Ocean.

7. The primary requirement in this area is to expedite the transit of the Main Fleet to the probable theatre of operations.

8. It has been decided therefore to revive gradually the small repair establishment at Trincomali, the natural strategic centre of this area and the only anchorage suitable to modern requirements on the coasts of India and Ceylon.

In passing, it may be observed that the closing down of the Trincomali establishment in 1904 was necessitated by the concentration of the Main Fleet in Home waters, and its revival marks the return to normal world-wide strategy.

9. The Admiralty also recommend that all idea of developing large Naval repair bases in India should be definitely abandoned. The large commercial repair facilities of Bombay and Calcutta will still be of great value in war time for refitting ships employed in the Indian Ocean, or whose services can be spared for long periods

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from the theatre of operations. Large "after action" repairs could also be undertaken at Bombay. The Admiralty do not, however, consider that strategical reasons justify anything in the nature of a Government subsidy for these establishments.

IV.—Oil Fuel Reserves.

10. The policy of building up oil fuel reserves on the route to the East and of ensuring the mobility of a Fleet stationed in the East has already found expression in the commencement of oil fuel installations at Aden, Colombo, Trincomali, Rangoon and Singapore.

11. Although the British Government has started to erect these installations, they are becoming increasingly sensible of the financial burden that these preparations involve, and have already been forced to curtail considerably the programme of tank construction and to extend the number of years over which this programme is spread.

12. The provision by India by 1931 of 48,000 tons of oil fuel reserve at Aden and 216,000 tons at Rangoon, as recommended in paragraph 42 of C.I.D. Paper 176–C of the 28th July, 1922, would be of very material assistance in rectifying the present disadvantageous strategic position which we now occupy in the East.

V.—Trade.

13. The trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Indian Government under the headings:—

Naval Control Service (Protection).
Naval Control Service (Contraband Control).

VI.—Communications.

14. The W/T Stations of the Indian Empire, which are of Naval importance are:—

Rangoon, Port Blair, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Karachi, Basra.

All these stations would prove of importance in the event of—

(*a.*) Naval operations in their vicinity.
(*b.*) Movements of troops by transport.

Their power plant is considered adequate, but it would be of great advantage if they were modernised with valve transmitting apparatus.

15. At present routine point to point services exist between Bombay, Aden and Matara (Ceylon). These services also would benefit if Bombay were fitted with valve transmitting apparatus.

16. In the event of war in the Far East, efficient intercommunication between Madras, Rangoon, Port Blair, and thence to the medium power stations at Seletar (Singapore) will be a necessity.

17. It is proposed that the Navy should build a high power station at Singapore. In addition to working direct with England, this station will also work with the proposed high power Indian station, and great importance is attached to this service.

VII.—Stores.

18. The supply of Naval and Victualling Stores from the United Kingdom in time of war to satisfy every need of a large fleet operating from Singapore would be difficult and uneconomical. The extent to which India can assist in this respect will be investigated by the Admiralty, and, if found necessary, the co-operation of the Government of India will be sought.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.
P.D. 01845/23.

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(1923?)

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Conversation with Mr. Scott

The other point was the question of the channels of communication. It was recognized that the Governor-General could not, as in former days, be considered a representative or agent of the British Government or any of its Departments. It was also agreed that increased provision should be made for communication and consultation between the governments of the Commonwealth, in the interval between Conferences, and in more personal and direct fashion than by postal and cable correspondence. The Dominions have already appointed High Commissioners in London. We raised the question whether the best method of improving communication and consultation would not be for the British Government to appoint a direct representative in each Dominion, as circumstances required. This is of course a question for the British Government to decide, and it is still being given consideration. I can only state my personal view that this exchange of direct representatives between Great Britain and each of the larger Dominions, and between the several Dominions as circumstances warranted, is the most practical and constructive method which has yet been suggested of improving our methods of discussion, and avoiding delay and friction.

(Mackenzie King)
P.C.

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E-1305-1

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.
R.S.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

The understanding with the Colonial Office heretofore has been that code telegrams, unless specifically marked Secret or Confidential, may be given to Parliament as a matter of course without permission being asked. In view of this understanding the telegram of the 27th October might be brought down. On principle I do not think that it would be necessary to ask permission to bring down telegrams from the Canadian Government, but in practice consent becomes necessary if such telegrams are part of a continued secret correspondence, and make reference to secret communications from the Imperial Government. In the present instance, with the exception of the telegram of the 27th October, I think permission should be asked for all the papers, and I have accordingly sent the letter, copy of which I attach, to the Governor General's Secretary.

J. Pope

Ottawa, 20th March, 1923.

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Memorandum for the Prime Minister regarding Official Correspondence.

Sir Joseph Pope's memorandum of the 20th March, on the subject of papers regarding the Lausanne Conference, is, I think, not quite clear and is liable to misinterpretation.

Correspondence between the Government of Canada and His Majesty's Government is carried on, not by the Prime Minister or the Cabinet, but by the Governor General who is the Chief Executive and Head of the Government. He transmits, as such, his Ministers' opinions and follows their advice but the responsibility is his and the custody of the correspondence is his duty.

The Colonial Office Regulations with regard to official correspondence are framed for the guidance and instruction of Governors-General and for the safeguarding of that correspondence.

When Sir Joseph Pope says that "The understanding with the Colonial Office heretofore has been that code telegrams, unless specifically marked Secret or Confidential, may be given to Parliament as a matter of course without permission being asked", he is in one sense correct. Such telegrams or despatches may indeed be made public but, in

theory

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theory at least, only by permission of the Governor General, who has discretion in the matter and does not need to ask permission from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is needless to say that the Governor General always meets the wishes of his Prime Minister in such cases. It is true that, in the case of numbered despatches, publication when required is made in the Canada Gazette without express permission being asked but such despatches are generally concerned with regulations, e.g. regulations affecting the transfer of registry of vessels, and are of such a nature that their very transmission implies publication,- permission, therefore, being tacitly given by His Excellency.

There is, however, no record, so far as I am aware, of any papers being laid before Parliament without the permission of the Governor General. Indeed, at one time, when Ministers desired to bring down despatches, the documents in question were prepared by the Office of the Governor General's Secretary.

With regard to Confidential despatches, the case is different and the regulations given for the instruction of the Governor General lay down that "No confidential despatch, either to or from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, may be made public without his permission".

Sir Joseph Pope continues "On principle I do not think that it would be necessary to ask permission to bring down telegrams from the Canadian Government". This principle enunciated by Sir Joseph Pope does not accord with the

regulation

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regulation quoted above.

Despatches handed in to the Governor General's office in draft form are actually only written records of the advice of his Ministers to the Governor General, on which it is true that he acts, but the correspondence based on that advice is the act of the Governor General himself and the correspondence is his and remains in his custody. The fact that a telegram may be sent in the exact words suggested by the Prime Minister, who in drafting such telegram is fulfilling one of his proper functions as principal adviser to the Governor General, does not make that telegram his. So far as the substance of the despatch or the policy involved is concerned, Ministers naturally can at any time make this public in their speeches in the House of Commons or elsewhere but this does not affect the sanctity of official correspondence.

Such sanctity does not imply secret diplomacy. It is merely a safeguard,- as much to Ministers as to the Governor General or the Secretary of State for the Colonies - and is intended to provide a safe means whereby matters of public concern may be discussed in private. It is easily understood that discussions between parties whose interests are not always identical, and whose points of view must necessarily at times differ, might occasionally be somewhat

acrimonious

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acrimonious and nothing is to be gained by displaying such discussions to the public gaze. The whole object of such private correspondence is to promote and ensure the continuation of the harmonious relations which have so happily and for so long existed between the Mother Country and the self-governing Dominions.

With regard to Secret despatches or Cypher telegrams, the regulations are much the same as in the case of Confidential despatches, except that the Governor General is forbidden to "communicate such despatches to any one without express authority from the Secretary of State for the Colonies". This regulation is sufficiently explicit and is most important also, in view of the danger of compromising the Cyphers. This last point is an additional reason for great care in bringing down any papers. Cyphers must always be paraphrased.

The whole object of the procedure outlined above is to safeguard official correspondence in the interests of all concerned and to keep both Governments closely informed of what is proposed to be done in the matter of laying papers before their respective Parliaments, &c. The procedure has, as far as I am aware, never been objected to, has always worked well, and it would appear to be dangerous to alter it except after the fullest consultation with and consideration by all concerned.

W. F. Stadem.

OTTAWA,
12th April, 1923.

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OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

As I understand that the accuracy of the statements made in my memorandum of the 20th of March has been questioned, I can only say that while, in regard to the telegrams in code, I am unable to point to any record of the understanding with the Colonial Office, I feel satisfied from my experience of the preparation of such returns, and am confirmed in my opinion by the Assistant Under-Secretary, who was long familiar with the practice in the Governor General's office before the creation of this Department, that code telegrams were treated as of the same nature as numbered despatches, which in accordance with standing Colonial Regulation No. 173 "may be published unless express directions are given to the contrary." In any case, the object of putting a telegram in code is not secrecy, but economy, and while no doubt the incidental effect is to conceal its meaning to a certain extent, no confidential character is conferred on the message to differentiate it from a telegram en clair.

Ottawa, 19th April, 1923.

J. Pope

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OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.
E.T.

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

Whatever practical advantages may attach to the practice of entrusting to the Governor General's office the preparation of returns for Parliament of official correspondence with outside Governments, I venture to think that there is serious objection from a constitutional point of view to a reversion to that old time practice which obtained before the establishment of this Department. Such a course appears to imply the retention by the Crown of a control over matters which for many years have been committed to a responsible minister, such as is not consistent with sound constitutional theory, and such as is not exercised, I think, in any other department of Canadian affairs. It involves the position that the discretion of the Secretary of State for External Affairs as to the action to be taken in respect of communications made to the Canadian Government, is to be regarded as a provisional one, fettered by the necessity of submitting such action

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in certain particulars, for the special approval of the Crown, whereas the position hitherto taken in such matters is that the discretion to be exercised in the selection of papers to lay before Parliament is vested in the responsible minister. It might be pointed out that publication in the Canada Gazette of despatches coming to the Government through the Governor-General, where such action seems necessary or expedient, is made as a matter of ordinary practice under the Minister's authority, without any special reference to His Excellency, and why a different practice should prevail in respect of communication to Parliament is not apparent. Of course, in any case publication is subject to the usual rules governing international practice in this matter.

J. Pope

Ottawa, 20th April, 1923

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W.L. Mackenzie King

CONFIDENTIAL.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE AND STATUS OF HIGH COMMISSIONERS.

Meetings of Committee held on Friday, November 2nd, 1923, at 12-15 p.m. and 4-30 p.m. (E. (P.S.) 1st Conclusions).

A copy of the Draft Conclusions of the above Meetings is enclosed herewith for favour of approval or amendment.

It is requested that this copy may be returned to me by noon on Saturday, the 10th instant. After this time, unless a communication is received to the contrary, it will be assumed that no corrections are desired.

The attached copy should, in any case, be returned immediately on receipt of the FINAL COPY to the Secretary of the Conference at 2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

(Signed) C.W. DIXON,
Joint Secretary to the Committee.

Colonial Office, S.W.1.

5th November, 1923.

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The Conference gave its attention to the extent to which it was possible to meet the natural desire of the Parliaments of the various parts of the Empire to be afforded the fullest information possible on all matters of general interest on which negociations were going on, or discussions taking place, between two or more of the Governments, in the intervals between Conferences.

It was recognised that if ~~the existing system of~~ consultation, to which great importance was attached, was to be carried out effectively, it must involve a frank and confidential interchange of views in written or telegraphic communications, particularly in connection with foreign policy and defence, and that many of the communications exchanged ~~on such subjects~~ could not ~~in no circumstances~~ be made public.

At the same time it was felt that as many communications as possible ought to be made available for the use of the Parliaments, and that it would be well to have, as far as possible, a definite understanding as to the circumstances in which official communications between the Governments could and could not be made public.

It was generally agreed that any official communication not marked "confidential" or "secret" and not clearly intended to be treated as such, might be regarded by any of the Governments concerned as available for publication without reference to any other Government.

It was of course realised that it would be necessary to observe the general rules regarding diplomatic correspondence and that in particular the consent of foreign Governments must be obtained before publication of communications to or from those Governments.

It was thought that should the eventual, but not

immediate

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immediate, publication of certain communications be contomplated , it would be well to give some indication of this at the time when those communications were sent. This arrangement would facilitate subsequent publication if decided upon.

It was, however, agreed, that the consent of all the Governments interested must be obtained before any communications were made public which were marked at the time of despatch to be of a confidential or secret nature.

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The Conference gave its attention to the extent to which it was possible to meet the natural desire of the Parliaments of the various parts of the Empire to be afforded the fullest information possible on all matters of general interest on which negociations were going on, or discussions taking place, between two or more of the Governments, in the intervals between Conferences.

It was recognised that if the existing system of consultation to which great importance was attached was to be carried out effectively, it must involve a frank and confidential interchange of views in written or telegraphic communications, particularly in connection with foreign policy and defence, and that many of the communications exchanged ~~on such subjects~~ could in no circumstances be made public.

At the same time it was felt that as many communications as possible ought to be made available for the use of the Parliaments, and that it would be well to have, as far as possible, a definite understanding as to the circumstances in which official communications between the Governments could and could not be made public.

It was generally agreed that any official communication not marked "confidential" or "secret" (or not clearly intended to be treated as such) might be regarded by any of the Governments concerned as available for publication without reference to any other Government.

It was of course realised that it would be necessary to observe the general rules regarding ~~the~~ diplomatic correspondence ~~with foreign Governments which might be included in communications of this kind, viz., that~~ the consent of ~~the~~ foreign Governments ~~concerned~~ must be obtained before ~~the~~ publication of communications to or from those Governments.

It was thought that should the eventual, but not immediate, publication of certain communications be contemplated

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contemplated, it would be well to give some indication of this at the time when thosecommunications were sent. This arrangement would facilitate subsequent publication if decided upon.

It was, however, agreed, that the consent of all the Governments interested must be obtained before any communications were made public which were marked at the time of despatch to be of a confidential or secret nature.

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Publicity of Conferences

C 63200

2b.

The Conference gave its attention to the ~~extent to which it was possible to meet the natural~~ desire of the Parliaments of the various parts of the Empire to be afforded the fullest information possible on all matters ~~of general interest~~ on which negotiations were going on, or discussions taking place, between two or more of the Governments, ~~in the intervals between Conferences.~~

It was recognised that if ~~the existing system of~~ consultation, ~~to which great importance was attached~~, was to be carried out effectively, it must involve a frank and confidential interchange of views in written or telegraphic communications, particularly in connection with foreign policy and defence, and that many of the communications exchanged on such subjects could in no circumstances be made public.

At the same time it was felt that as many communications as possible ought to be made available for the use of the Parliaments, and that it would be well to have, as far as possible, a definite understanding as to the circumstances in which official communications between the Governments could and could not be made public.

It was generally agreed that any official communication not marked "confidential" or "secret" ~~and~~ or not clearly intended to be treated as such, might be regarded by any of the Governments concerned as available for publication without reference to any other Government.

It was of course realised that it would be necessary to observe the general rules regarding diplomatic correspondence and that in particular the consent of foreign Governments must be obtained before publication of communications to or from those Governments.

It was thought that should the eventual, but not

immediate

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immediate, publication of certain communications be contemplated , it would be well to give some indication of this at the time when those communications were sent. This arrangement would facilitate subsequent publication if decided upon.

It was, however, agreed, that the consent of all the Governments interested must be obtained before any communications were made public which were marked at the time of despatch to be of a confidential or secret nature.

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C 63202

3

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE.

Revised section for inclusion in Report of Conference.

The Conference gave its attention to the desire of the Parliaments of the various parts of the Empire to be afforded the fullest information possible on all matters on which negotiations were going on, or discussions taking place, between two or more of the Governments.

The Conference recognised that if consultation, to which it attached great importance was to be carried out effectively, this must involve a frank and confidential interchange of views in written or telegraphic communications, and that many of the communications exchanged between the Governments, particularly in connection with foreign policy and defence, could not be made public. At the same time the feeling of the Conference was that as many communications as possible ought to be made available for the use of the Parliaments, and it was thought desirable to discuss the circumstances in which official communications between the Governments could and could not be made public.

It was generally agreed that any official communication not marked "confidential" or "secret" or not clearly intended to be treated as such, might be regarded as available for publication without reference to any other Government, it ~~being~~ was understood that, so far as each Government was concerned and subject to the need for mutual consent in certain cases, the responsibility as to publication of correspondence

with

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with other Governments rested with the Ministers of the Crown in the Dominions as in Great Britain.

It was, of course, realised that it would be necessary to observe the general rules regarding diplomatic correspondence and that in particular the consent of foreign Governments must be obtained before publication of communications to or from those Governments.

The Conference thought that should the eventual, but not immediate, publication of certain communications be contemplated, it would be well for some indication of this to be given at the time when those communications were sent. This arrangement would facilitate subsequent publication if decided upon. It was, however, agreed that the consent of all the Governments interested must be obtained before any communications were made public which were marked at the time of despatch to be of a confidential or secret nature.

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C 63204

Rt. Mackenzie King

SECRET

E. (P.S.) [redacted].

6

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Publication of Correspondence,

Status of High Commissioners.

At the meeting of the Conference on October 31st it was decided to form a Committee to deal with the above questions constituted as follows :-

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Chairman)
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (or representative)
The Lord President of the Council.
A representative of Canada.
" " " The Commonwealth of Australia.
" " " New Zealand.
" " " The Union of South Africa.
" " " The Irish Free State.
" " " Newfoundland.

The first meeting of the Committee will be held in the Secretary of State's room, Colonial Office, on Friday November 2nd at 12 noon.

A copy of this notice has been sent to -

Great Britain :	The Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Lord President of the Council. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Canada :	Prime Minister.
Commonwealth of Australia :	Prime Minister.
New Zealand :	Prime Minister.
Union of South Africa :	Prime Minister.
Irish Free State :	Minister of External Affairs.
Newfoundland :	Prime Minister.

(Signed) M.P.A.HANKEY

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
31st October, 1923.

NOV 1 Rec'd

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C 63205

Mr. Mackenzie King

SECRET.

E. (P.S.) 1st Mtg.

6

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

Publication of Correspondence.

Status of High Commissioners.

The meeting of the Committee in the Secretary of State's room, Colonial Office, on Friday, November 2nd, is postponed from 12.0 noon until 12.15 p.m. It is proposed to deal at this meeting with the question of publication of correspondence, and then to adjourn the meeting until 4.30 p.m. on the same day, when the question of Status of High Commissioners will be considered.

For Mr King.

A copy of this notice has been sent to -

Great Britain:	The Secretary of State for the Colonies; The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; The Lord President of the Council; The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Canada:	Prime Minister.
Commonwealth of Australia:	Prime Minister.
New Zealand:	Prime Minister.
Union of South Africa:	Prime Minister.
Irish Free State:	Minister of External Affairs.
Newfoundland:	Prime Minister.

(Signed) M.P.A. HANKEY.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

1st November, 1923.

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MG 26 J1 Mackenzie King 63206

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SECRET.

E. (P.S.) 1st Cons.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE AND STATUS OF HIGH COMMISSIONERS.

DRAFT CONCLUSIONS of Meetings of the above Committees held in the Room of the Secretary of State, Colonial Office, S.W., on Friday, November 2nd, 1923, at 12-15 p.m. and 4-30 p.m.

PRESENT :-

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G., G.C.M.G., C.C.V.O., Secretary of State for the Colonies. (In the Chair).

The Most Hon. The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., Lord President of the Council.

The Most Hon. The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Sir Eyre Crowe, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office.

Sir James Masterton Smith, K.C.B., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

Mr. E.J. Harding, C.M.G., Deputy Secretary, Imperial Conference.

Mr. R.G. Vansittart, C.M.G., M.V.O., Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister of Canada.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The Right Hon. W.F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G., Secretary, New Zealand Delegation.

General the Right Hon. J.C.Smuts, C.H., K.C., Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

Captain E.F.C. Lane, C.M.G., Secretary, South African Delegation.

Mr. Desmond FitzGerald, T.D., Minister of External Affairs, Irish Free State.

Mr. P. McGilligan, Secretary, Irish Free State Delegation.

Mr. G.R. Hamilton, Board of Inland Revenue, was also present during the discussion of Conclusion 2.

Mr. C.W. Dixon, M.B.E., ...) Joint Secretaries
Mr. O.D. Skelton, ...) to the Committee.

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PUBLICATION OF OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

1. The Committee considered the draft of a statement as to the publication of official communications between the various Governments of the Empire which had been prepared as a basis for discussion and with a view to inclusion, if thought desirable, in the published Report of the Conference.

The Committee did not think it necessary that a full statement on the lines suggested should be included in the published Report but agreed that it would be well that there should be included among the unpublished papers of the Conference some record of the position which could be communicated to the Dominion Governments and might be of assistance to any of the Prime Ministers who desired to make a public announcement on the subject.

For this purpose the Committee approved the statement included in Appendix A.

STATUS OF HIGH COMMISSIONERS.

2. The Prime Minister of Canada raised the questions: (1) Whether arrangements could be made whereby the official representatives of the Dominions in Great Britain would be granted certain privileges additional to those already given as regards exemption from taxation and similar matters; (2) Whether it would be possible for some courtesy precedence to be granted to the official representatives of the Dominions in Great Britain.

As regards the first point, the Secretary of State for the Colonies promised to circulate a statement showing the privileges at present granted to High Commissioners and to the representatives of foreign countries, and to consider with his colleagues the possibility of extending the present concessions to High Commissioners.

As regards the second point, the Secretary of State for the Colonies undertook to confer with his colleagues with a view to a submission being made to His Majesty in the matter.

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RATIFICATION OF TREATY OF LAUSANNE.

3. The Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa drew attention to the position of the Union in relation to the ratification of the Treaties signed at Lausanne. He observed that the British Government had pointed out the desirability of early ratification but that, if it were necessary to submit the Treaty to the Union Parliament, the Union Government would not be in a position to express concurrence in ratification before February next at the earliest. He would not wish that the Treaty should be ratified in respect of the Union without the concurrence of the Union Government being first expressed, and, if an expression of concurrence were made without Parliamentary approval being first obtained, questions might be raised as to the propriety of such action. On the other hand, a difficulty would be created if the Union were to be excluded from His Majesty's ratification, in view of the nature of the Treaties.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated that it was hoped to secure the passing of the legislation required in Great Britain within a fortnight of Parliament meeting but that the coming into force of the Treaty might be delayed in any case by the inability of foreign Powers, e.g., France, to ratify immediately. He suggested that the best course would be that when the necessary bill had passed through all its stages and the Treaty was ready for ratification here, the British Government should communicate with the Dominion Governments, acquaint them with the urgency of the case, and invite their concurrence. It would then be for the Dominion Governments to say, if their Parliaments were not in Session, whether they would be content that His Majesty should ratify forthwith.

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It was understood that this course would be agreeable to the Dominion Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister of Canada intimated, however, that it might not be possible for the Canadian Government to express formal concurrence in the ratification.

Colonial Office, S.W.

5th November, 1923.

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C 63210
3a

APPENDIX A.

The Conference gave its attention to the desire of the Parliaments of the various parts of the Empire to be afforded the fullest information possible on all matters on which negotiations were going on, or discussions taking place, between two or more of the Governments.

The Conference recognised that if consultation, to which it attached great importance was to be carried out effectively, this must involve a frank and confidential interchange of views in written or telegraphic communications, and that many of the communications exchanged between the Governments, particularly in connection with foreign policy and defence, could not be made public. At the same time the feeling of the Conference was that as many communications as possible ought to be made available for the use of the Parliaments, and it was thought desirable to discuss the circumstances in which official communications between the Governments could and could not be made public.

It was generally agreed that any official communication not marked "confidential" or "secret" or not clearly intended to be treated as such, might be regarded as available for publication without reference to any other Government.

It was understood that, so far as each Government was concerned and subject to the need for mutual consent in certain cases, the responsibility as to publication of correspondence with other Governments rested with the Ministers of the Crown in the Dominions as in Great Britain.

It was, of course, realised that it would be necessary to observe the general rules regarding diplomatic correspondence

/and

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and that in particular the consent of foreign Governments must be obtained before publication of communications to or from those Governments.

The Conference thought that should the eventual, but not immediate, publication of certain communications be contemplated, it would be well for some indication of this to be given at the time when those communications were sent. This arrangement would facilitate subsequent publication if decided upon. It was, however, agreed that the consent of all the Governments interested must be obtained before any papers or communications were made public which were marked at the time of despatch to be of a confidential or secret nature, or were transmitted in confidential or secret despatches.

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C 63212

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

Extract from Summary of Proceedings

XIII. STATUS OF HIGH COMMISSIONERS

Certain questions were discussed relating to the status of the High Commissioners in Great Britain, particularly in connection with precedence and with exemption from taxation, Customs duties, etc.

The representatives of the British Government undertook to examine the points raised, while explaining that any alteration of the existing rules of precedence would require the approval of His Majesty the King.

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Naval Defence: "Empire Naval Policy & Co-operation". (1923)
O.D. SKELTON

E-1458

C 63213

9

Imperial Conference of 1923—
Defence

Dominions No. 431. Secret.
Col Sec to G.G.
23 Dec. 1922.

1. Encloses copy of Secret memorandum prepared for Committee of Imperial Defence (No 176-C) on subject of Empire Naval Policy & Cooperation.

2. In accordance with Resolution adopted at Imperial Meeting in 1921 [see "VI Imperial defence (naval) on p. 6 of Summary of Proceedings & Documents, Cmd. 1474], the preparation of this ~~Memo~~ Memo. was deferred pending the results of the Washington Conference.

3. Reference is also invited to Document E 4 secret, [E.N. P. & Co-Op.] which was circulated to P.M.'s before 1921 meeting.

Note Mobile Base proposals still under consideration, to not now referred to.

Memo. assumes Treaty of Washington will be carried out, otherwise must reconsider.

4. His Majesty's Government feel sure that the Memorandum will receive the fullest consideration from Your Ministers, and will be grateful for any observations which they may have to offer on the Memorandum generally and in particular for information as how far they will be prepared to co-operate on the lines suggested.

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Singapore. C 63214

Downing Street
27 March 1923
Devonshire to
G.G.
Dominions No 119.

(1) H.M.G. have decided to begin work on naval base at Singapore
no considerable expenditure in 1923-24 (£160,000 in estimates)
only moderate " 1924-25.
Estimate for work is £11,000,000

(2) Strategic situation in Pacific discussed in 1921 Conference & urgent need for establishing a base for British fleet at Singapore for protection of Australia, N.Z. India Colonies in far East was pointed out.

(3) Discussions which led up to decn. of Singapore should still be regarded as secret, altho' actual programme of decn. has now been made public. [Refers to Debate in H of C. H of C. Deb. Vol 161, Nos 20-21, cols. 1096-7, 1104. 1138-9. 1144, 1205, 1232-3, 1236].

(4) "I should explain that this action is taken by H.M.G. without prejudice to any conclusions which the Dominion Governments may reach on the question of contributions towards the naval development of Singapore after consideration of the suggestions put forward in the memorandum referred to above". [176 c: Capital Naval Policy & Conference]

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C 63215

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

1. Empire Naval Policy and Co-operation.

2. Naval Base at Singapore and its effect on foreign and naval policy.

3. Imperial Airship Scheme.

4. Relations between the navy and the air force and co-ordination of the services.
(Development of Dominion Air Force)

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C 63216

B

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE ON NAVAL AND MILITARY DEFENCE 1909.

SECOND MEETING, 29th JULY, 1909.

The Conference generally agreed that -

"(1) Each part of the Empire is willing to make its preparations on such lines as will enable it to take its share, should it so desire, in the general defence of the Empire.

(2) The war establishments of units of the Dominion Forces will be assimilated as far as possible to the approved war establishments of units of the Regular Forces.

(3) The Dominions will endeavour to organise their existing forces so as to be capable of mobilising in accordance with the above establishments for a common Imperial object.

(4) The Dominions will adopt, as far as practicable, the field service regulations and training manuals issued to the home regular army as the basis of the organisation, administration and training of their troops.

(5) The Dominions are prepared to adopt, as far as possible, Imperial patterns of arms, equipment, and stores."

.....

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O.D. SKELTON C 63217

O.D. Skelton.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923

NAVAL DEFENCE.

The present policy of the Government of Canada as to naval defence, as expressed by Mr. Graham in the Naval Estimates discussion during the past session, is to retain the nucleus of an organization and to train men for coast defence:

> There are two lines of policy advocated by naval authorities. One is that it is the duty of a nation to prepare for high seas warfare and the other is that its first duty is to develop the defence of its coast. There is a good deal of difference of opinion on this point among the authorities, but the technical officers in my department advise me that the latter is the proper thing for the Dominion of Canada, that is, training for the defence of our coasts.....
>
> The object of the whole navy scheme, as I have tried to point out, is not to begin to try to undertake the defence of the high seas - that is impossible for the Dominion of Canada at the present time - but believing that in years to come as we develop we will require naval protection as we require a militia, it is thought best, at least by the members of the Government, that the present is the time to give our young men that training that will fit them, both as officers and men, to take their place in the naval service of Canada as it develops.
>
> Permanent force, officers and training staff, at Halifax and Esquimalt, 500 men.
>
> Naval reserve, 500 men, professional sailors, to be given annual training in gunnery at Halifax and Esquimalt.
>
> Volunteer naval reserve, 1000 men planned.
>
> A number of officers and men training in the British Navy.
>
> Estimates for current year, $1,500,000.

Under the present circumstances in Canada and in parliament it is unlikely that any important change in this policy is to be expected soon, barring the sudden rise of a clear and menacing emergency. There is some opinion on the Government side, in favour of a somewhat more active and constructive policy (which I share in a measure) but it is doubtless true that the policy

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adopted corresponds to the present mood of the country. It does not, however, correspond to the plans of the British Admiralty or to the conception entertained by our Australasian friends of the danger in the Pacific and the part each Dominion should play in meeting that meanace.

One preliminary question of importance should be considered. The British Admiralty has prepared a memorandum on "Empire Naval Policy and Co-operation, 1923" which has been issued by the Committee of Imperial Defence (Secret 194-C or E 57). It is prefaced as follows:

> As it is desirable that the peoples of the British Empire, on whom the burden of naval effort falls, may understand the principles on which Dominion co-operation is being sought, it will be suggested at the Imperial Conference that this Paper only should, subject to the concurrence of the Dominion representatives, be issued to the press for publication simultaneously in Great Britain and the Dominions.
>
> In order that the published version may be correct and not garbled, it is requested that a copy (marked "For publication eventually") may be retained in each Dominion after the departure of their representatives, so that it may be given to the press after authority to do so is sent by telegram.

The memorandum in question is a statement of the Admiralty conception of Empire policy in naval defence, based on Dominion navies; emphasizing the necessity for a joint One-power standard, the need of a building programme to maintain this standard, which Great Britain alone cannot provide, and a summary of the stages through which the Dominions should pass in the development of an adequate naval force. It is followed by an appendix giving exports and imports of the several Dominions. It is quite distinct from the confidential memoranda following (195 C, etc) which contain the Admiralty's detailed suggestions for the adoption of each Dominion, and which are not for publication.

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These proposals make it clear that while the Admiralty has perforce abandoned the concept of a single Empire fleet supported by Dominion contributions, it expects to attain the same end by a somewhat more circuitous route. Each Dominion is to have its own Naval Force, but the Admiralty is to be a central controlling authority, outlining policy, and fitting the various local units into a mosaic. To work out this policy it will be necessary to develop a common Empire public opinion, and if need be, force the hands of the Dominion governments; hence the Memorandum, the first, doubtless, of a series in the years to come.

It is a question for serious consideration whether the Canadian government is prepared to sanction this policy of appeal from the British Admiralty to the people of Canada. Granted that the Memorandum is moderately phrased, and that many of its positions would be recognized as sound and all at least arguable, the question remains whether a precedent for such action should be set. It may be considered that it is no more the function of the British Admiralty to advise the people of Canada directly as to the policy they should adopt in naval affairs, than it is the function of the British War Office to advise them as to their militia policy or of the British Treasury to advise them as to fiscal policy. Such action is bound to stir up party contention and to force any government not in agreement with the policy outlined to issue a counter statement.

The specific Admiralty proposals for Canada are that she should endeavour to pass now from Phase I (local defence) to Phase II (the first steps in the creation of a sea-going force), by the building in the next twelve years of three fast light cruisers, $10,000,000 each, a squadron oiler and auxiliary patrol vessels, at a total cost of $31,000,000 or $2,500,00

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a year for construction; construct oil tanker and maintain 110,000 tons of oil fuel as a war reserve ($320,000 a year for eight years) etc., no submarines; no estimate given of maintenance cost. The proposals are frankly based on the possibility of war in the Pacific with Japan.

On the technical aspects of these proposals, I am, of course, incompetent to comment, and doubtless Captain Hose has already prepared a memorandum. A few general considerations may be noted, supplementing those contained in the Preliminary Notes.

The criticisms of the Canadian Government's present naval policy which have been voiced or may be expected are as follows:

1. "The present policy is a sheer waste of money; it leads to nothing; why train men for a navy that does not exist?" (Mr. Meighen in debate on Naval Estimates, 1923).

   The policy is a transitional one. It will depend on the developments of the next few years what eventual trend will be taken. Meanwhile, training of personnel is the best course: it does not commit the country to a large capital expenditure, and it does prepare the nucleus of crews if required later.

2. "The policy is unworthy of the Dominion"
   I think we ought to do something worthy of the Dominion. I do not think we ought to expend on a naval service the equal per capita of what the Mother country does. She has responsibilities that are not ours in an equal share. But we ought to do something that is worthy of our standing, of our strength, of our responsibility, of our wealth, of our exposure here on two coasts, worthy of our place in the Empire, the place we have won, and I think the Government would be well advised to come before Parliament with a programme that measures up to these requirements. -- Mr. Meighen, Hansard, March 6, 1923)

   The question what is worthy of the Dominion depends on the situation, the duty or danger that is to be met. The measure of effort desirable cannot be considered apart from the end in view.

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3. "The present Canadian policy ignores the outstanding fact in the world naval situation to-day -- the shifting of the centre of interest to the Pacific, the militant ambitions of Japan, her tendency to expand in the thinly settled lands now held by the Dominions bordering on the Pacific, her great naval strength".

It is true that the centre of naval discussion to-day is the Pacific, but that may mean only that it is so obvious that there is no menace to the British naval position in European waters to-day (whatever French submarine and air development may betoken later), that naval strategists must look elsewhere for a possible enemy. It is not established that Japan cherishes the idea of forcible seizure of any great Pacific territory; the anti-militarist movement in Japan has steadily grown in strength since the war, and the recent calamity, both by the diversion of activity and the international goodwill it has evoked certainly has made war less likely. The Japan of the Twenty-one Demands and the Siberian Expedition was not a comfortable neighbour, but observers agree that Japan has learned a lesson from the downfall of her model, Germany, and that the prevailing spirit of the country to-day is in favour of a much more peaceful and neighbourly policy. The Washington Conference, while it did not remove misunderstanding and rivalry, certainly cleared the air and provided workable machinery for maintaining peace in the Pacific. In any case it is most unlikely that Japan is going to risk tackling both the British Empire and the United States, as would most probably be involved.

4. "Canada is partly responsible for this danger: her Prime Minister in 1921 took the lead in demanding the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance which was a safeguard against hostile action."

The Canadian Prime Minister was active in that policy, but later events justified his stand. In any case he was simply reflecting the United States' attitude. The treaty was a menace to good relations between the British Empire and the

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United States; it has been reflected by the sounder Quadruple Pacific Pact. If Japan had cherished the sinister ambitions attributed to her, no paper alliance would have diverted her in the long run. Against whom was the alliance to be renewed?

5. "Canada is taking shelter ignominiously under the wing of the Monroe doctrine."

The Monroe doctrine, or rather the settled policy of the United States which is thus denoted, is a solid and outstanding fact: it would be ostrich-like to ignore it. Not the Monroe doctrine, but community of interest is our safeguard in this respect.

6. "Canada is sponging on Australia and Great Britain for defence."

Canada is not contributing in any appreciable measure to the sum of risks in which the British Empire may be involved; she is practically immune, or may easily be made so, from any permanent and crippling attack by an overseas power. It is not primarily for her defence that the British and Australian navies are being built. No British or Australian government has ever been involved in a war on Canada's behalf; Canada has given 60,000 men and nearly $2,000,000,000 in money in an Empire war; if there is any sponging it is not on her side.

7. "Canada is failing to prepare to come to the defence of Australia and New Zealand, weak outposts of the British race in the Pacific, threatened with overwhelming Oriental attack. Is she lacking in the 'Ancient chivalry of the race'? - (a New Zealand phrase)

Canada must decide as to the reality and imminence of that danger, and as to whether competitive armament is the best means to avert it. We are now trying to work out a new international system; a new basis of relationship in the Pacific has been proclaimed; it should be given a fair trial. At present, avowed rivalry with Japan, in Singapore bases, etc., might do more to bring on the hostilities anticipated than to avert them.

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8. "In the event of war with Japan, Canadian trade on the Pacific would be in jeopardy and her economic interests seriously affected unless steps are taken to protect it."

True, but (1) in some measure imports could be secured through the United States, if not at war, or from the Atlantic side, and (2) in any case the trade with Japan and China would be blocked, the Pacific trade could not for months be maintained in full: Why pay insurance if the policy will not protect, so far as maintaining trade goes?

9. "It is the duty of the Canadian Government to give a lead and to arouse her people to a recognition of the inadequate part they are playing."

(a) It is not admitted that it is inadequate, under the present circumstances.

(b) The people are war-weary; they are barely recovering from a serious and prolonged business depression; they could not now be brought to support any very substantial action except by a raging tearing propaganda, which would do more to arouse international antipathies than to solve them.

(c) The party and parliamentary situation makes any such proposal not practical politics. The leader of a party resting largely on the support of Quebec and looking to the support of the prairies cannot launch such a campaign, unless convinced of an overwhelming and pressing need, which has not been demonstrated. Incidentally, the Opposition is not raising the question either.

It may be anticipated that the British Admiralty attitude will be supported by Australia and New Zealand and opposed by South Africa. New Zealand has put in its estimates a vote for £100,000 a year for Singapore and strongly supports a common Pacific fleet policy. Australia is more chary of committing herself as to Singapore but will probably agree conditionally on certain pledges as to Pacific action from Great Britain and from the other Dominions. From the Australian accumulated surplus of £7,500,000 (£47,000 this year) one-third has been "set aside for capital works of the Department of Defence, if such works should become necessary owing to failure of the forthcoming Imperial Conference to formulate a scheme for Empire defence that will satisfy Australia." (Dr. Earle Pace, Budget

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speech, July 26, 1923) South Africa (which voted this year £935,000 for defence, of which £71,000 for naval services) and which has ceased the contribution formerly made to the British Navy, is opposed to further action at this time because of the party and racial situation in South Africa, a large deficit, and of Smuts' faith in a peaceful solution of world antagonisms.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

AUSTRALIA.

1. *Object.*

TO summarise the Naval Situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Australia in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is off-set to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Fleet Base and the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming the Suez Canal Route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Far East.

The enemy's obvious and most natural objective during the interval would be Singapore, the seizure of which would deny to our Fleet the control of the Western Pacific and secure the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Australia and New Zealand.

The main task of the Naval Forces of the Empire in the Western Pacific, operating in the face of superior enemy forces, would consequently be to delay and harass the despatch of an expedition against Singapore, or any operation, such as an attack upon Hong Kong, intended to lead up to such an expedition.

For this purpose two classes of vessel are suitable :—

(*a.*) Fast light cruisers of great endurance.
(*b.*) Large overseas submarines.

It is, therefore, recommended that Australia should include both these classes of vessel in any future building programme.

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3. *Composition of Sea-going Dominion Navies (in Peace).*

Light Cruisers are the smallest sea-going ships which can play a part in protecting our ocean trade routes in war or threatening the enemy's sea communications, and which can provide the necessary sea-going training in peace. To obtain and maintain full efficiency a light cruiser squadron should consist of not less than four ships in full commission.

Submarines are particularly suitable for offensive action or scouting in the face of superior enemy forces, and for this reason would be invaluable before the arrival of the Main Fleet.

The true rôle of a submarine is not coast defence. Stationed for the defence of a port, it is unlikely that one or two could prevent a transitory raid or bombardment. If of the right type, however, they would be effective against any prolonged operation.

To obtain and maintain full efficiency a flotilla of submarines should consist of not less than six boats.

Destroyers are essentially a fleet weapon and are uneconomical for local defence or escort duties.

Those which Australia now possesses might well be retained temporarily, used for the peace training of officers and men, and for local defence, but it is not recommended that any more be acquired.

4. *Air-Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the Naval Defence requirements of Australia, as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese Light Cruisers' Building Programme in 1928 as well as the financial and economic position of Australia have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

6. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

AUSTRALIA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—War Plans.

Adequacy of existing R.A.N. War Plans.

The existing arrangements for the disposition of the R.A.N. Light Cruisers, in the event of the squadron being placed at Admiralty disposal in war, are very satisfactory and cannot well be improved upon.

II.—Ships.

(1.) Existing R.A.N. Squadron and their life.
(2.) Types of Ships recommended for R.A.N.
(3.) Suggested Building Programme.

(1.) *Existing R.A.N. Ships and their Life.*

Battle Cruiser "Australia."

By the provisions of the Washington Agreement this vessel must be rendered incapable of further warlike service within six months of the ratification of the Treaty.

So far as can be foreseen the ratification will be completed at an early date; it is recommended that the Australian Government take steps for the disposal of this ship without waiting for the final ratification, in order to allow as much time as possible for her economical disposal. Although the inclusion of this Dominion unit among the ships to be retained was not practicable, and her normal life was thereby somewhat curtailed, it is considered that the vital need for vessels of this type during the war fully repaid the Commonwealth for the outlay incurred on this unit, and that the money could not have been better expended.

Light Cruisers.

Post-war Light Cruisers are assessed to last fifteen years, and those which took part in the war are assessed to last twelve years, but owing to the financial stringency it is considered this must be increased to the normal of fifteen years.

Applying these rules to Australian Light Cruisers they are considered to reach the replacement age as shown hereunder:—

Ship.	Date of Completion.	Estimated Life.	Year due for replacement.
Melbourne	1913	15 years	1928
Sydney	1913	15 „	1928
Brisbane	1916	15 „	1931
Adelaide	1922	15 „	1937

Destroyers.

The useful life of Destroyers is estimated at eight and twelve years, according to whether they took part in the war or not.

As in the case of Light Cruisers it is considered that for financial reasons a life of not less than fifteen years must be accepted for all.

This life may even have to be extended in the case of Destroyers retained for local defence purposes.

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Applying the above to Australian Destroyers :—

T.B.D's.	Date of Completion.	Estimated Life.	Year due for replacement by Auxiliary Patrol Vessels (*vide* paragraph 3 below).
Yarra	1911	15 years	1926
Parramatta	1911	15 „	1926
Warrego	1912	15 „	1927
Huon	1915	15 „	1930
Swan	1915	15 „	1930
Torrens	1915	15 „	1930
Anzac	1918/1919	15 „	1933/1934
Stalwart			
Tasmania			
Swordsman			
Success			
Tattoo			

(2.) *Types of Ships recommended for the R.A.N.*

Light Cruisers.

Displacement ... Limited by the Washington Agreement to 10,000 tons.
Speed ... ... Sufficiently high to avoid action with enemy Battle Cruisers and not less that 33 knots.
Endurance ... 6,500 miles if possible.
Fuel ... ... Oil burning.
Armament ... 7·5-inch or preferably 8-inch, which is the maximum permissible by the Washington Agreement.
Anti-Aircraft Guns.
Torpedo Tubes if obtainable without a reduction in speed or endurance.
Armour ... Protected Deck.
Cost ... ... Approximately £2,000,000.

The above are the sketch outlines for the design of Foreign Service Light Cruisers now being got out in the Admiralty.

Submarines.

The type of Submarine best suited for the Australian Navy is the Overseas Patrol type, of which the following are the main particulars :—

Endurance ... ... 10,000 miles.
Armament ... ... 21-inch torpedoes.
Fitted with a powerful W/T set, and suitable for work in the tropics.
Cost ... ... About £300,000.

The first Submarine of this type for the Royal Navy will be completed in 1925.

Auxiliary Patrol Craft, Minesweepers and Anti-S/M Craft.

The question of a design of vessel or vessels most suitable for the above purpose is under consideration.

(3.) *Suggested Building Programme for the R.A.N.*

Light Cruisers.

It is recommended that Light Cruisers be laid down so as to replace the existing ships in the years in which they are considered due for replacement, or as near those dates as may be practicable.

Submarines.

It is recommended that the Commonwealth Government obtain six Submarines of the overseas patrol type. H.M.A.S. " Platypus " would be a suitable depot ship.

A shore base would be required for the flotilla.

A.P. Craft.

It is recommended that the R.A.N. Destroyers be retained until a satisfactory design of special craft has been evolved.

Summary of Cost of Proposed Building Programme.

—	Approximate Year laid down.	Approximate Cost.
		£
1 Light Cruiser replace " Melbourne " ...	1924	2,000,000
1 Light Cruiser replace " Sydney "	1924	2,000,000
1 Light Cruiser replace " Brisbane " ...	1927	2,000,000
1 Light Cruiser replace " Adelaide " ...	1933	2,000,000
2 S/M's	1924	600,000
1 S/M	1926	300,000
3 S/M's	1928	900,000
Auxiliary Patrol Vessels	...	200,000
		10,000,000

The above programme, if spread over approximately thirteen to fourteen years, making an average cost of, say, £750,000 a year.

The proposed dates for laying down Submarines are based upon the following considerations :—

The building of a Submarine presents many difficulties not experienced with other classes of ship, notably the fitting in of the various components, which calls for considerable experience and very careful overseeing. If the Commonwealth Government decided to build Submarines, the best procedure might be that adopted in the case of the Australian Torpedo Boat Destroyers, the first two of which were completed in England, the third was sent out in sections for erection in Australia, and the remaining three built in Australia.

III.—Repair Ports and Fuelling Ports.

(1.) Outside Australia.
(2.) In Australia.

(1.) *Outside Australia.*

The necessity for a base at Singapore to enable the Main Fleet to operate in the Pacific has been explained above. The completion of this base is considered to be an urgent requirement for the defence of Australia, and it is upon this assumption that the Commonwealth Government is invited to take part in the construction of the Dockyard.

The Commonwealth share may be assessed by estimating the cost of a graving dock suitable for Light Cruisers, together with the necessary workshops and facilities, and this is estimated to be £1,600,000, to be spread over eight years.

This sum could conveniently be employed in the supply of raw and manufactured material from Australia.

(2.) *In Australia.*

(a.) *Repair Ports.*

In view of the changed situation that will be brought about by the creation of a large Naval Dockyard at Singapore, the Admiralty recommend that all idea of developing repair ports at Port Stephens and Cockburn Sound should be definitely abandoned.

As regards Sydney, it is recommended that the existing Dockyard should be kept up to date so as to be able to cope with the refits and docking of modern Light Cruisers and Submarines, but that no money should be spent on establishing, either at Sydney or elsewhere in Australia, docking and repair facilities for Capital Ships.

The Naval and Commercial repair facilities in Australia should keep pace with the growth of a Dominion Navy.

The construction of Singapore will remove any necessity for providing a repair port in Australia for the Capital Ships of the Main Fleet, though if large commercial docks are contemplated, it is desirable that they should be capable of taking the largest Man-of-War.

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(b.) *Fuelling Ports.*

In addition to the Singapore Base, a fuelling port will be required in Australia for the use of forces operating in the Southern exits to the Java, Flores and Banda Seas and in the waters between Timor and Australia. These straits possess great strategical importance, and the denial of their passage to enemy surface raiders will go far to ensure the safety of communications in the Indian Ocean and Australian waters. All available information points to Bynoe Harbour as the most suitable site for such a fuelling port.

If oil tanks are located at Bynoe, the provision of mobile defences would be necessary until such time as it may be practicable to provide the port with fixed defences.

The alternative to a fuelling port in Northern Australia is to maintain the oil reserves at a southern port and to accept the resultant larger carry and increased number of oilers.

It must be realised, however, that the alternative is not of equivalent value to reserves strategically situated in Northern Australia, owing to the inadequacy of the world's tankage tonnage, quite apart from any question of vulnerability and wastage by consumption on passage.

IV.—Trade.

1. The Trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Commonwealth Government under the headings :—

Naval Control Service	...	...	Protection.
Naval Control Service	...	...	Contraband Control.

2. It is recommended that the importance of Albany as a Convoy assembly port be borne in mind in connection with the commercial development of the port.

V.—Personnel.

(1.) Officers.
(2.) Submarine Personnel.
(3.) Interchange of Personnel.
(4.) Personnel for Naval Control Service.

(1.) *Officers.*

The system whereby Officers for the R.A.N. are trained in Australia appears to be entirely sound.

The reports which have been received on Officers who have been trained at the R.A.N. College, whilst serving in ships of the Royal Navy, show that these Officers are of at least as high a standard as those trained in similar Colleges in this country.

It is considered that the expense of maintaining a Naval College for small numbers of Officers, although relatively high, is fully justified by the effect of building up the naval spirit of the country, and the retention of the R.A.N. College is most strongly recommended.

(2.) *S/M Personnel.*

It is recommended that Officers and ratings who have already specialised in S/M's should be sent to the United Kingdom for employment in the S/M Service until required for Australian S/M's. It is recommended that additional personnel be sent to the United Kingdom for S/M training as required, for manning Australian Submarines should it be decided to build this class of vessel.

(3.) *Interchange of Personnel.*

It is recommended that officers and men of the R.A.N. be regarded as interchangeable in all respects with those of the R.N. One of the main drawbacks of a small Navy is that the personnel become stale through long service on one station and in a limited number of ships.

The absence of foreign service must necessarily militate against recruiting.

The antidote is a regular system of exchange, whereby the ships and the personnel of the R.A.N. spend a proportion of their time on other stations.

(4.) *Personnel for Naval Control Service.*

It is recommended that the provision of the Naval crews for Armed Escort Vessels and Defensively equipped Merchant Vessels, together with the personnel and craft for Routeing and Convoy and for Contraband Control, be regarded as an urgent requirement.

VI.—Communications.

(1.) The establishment of a High Power W/T Station in Australia for communication direct or otherwise with Great Britain and other Dominions will not fulfil Naval requirements, because—

(*a.*) The High Power Station could not be constantly available for Naval purposes.

(*b.*) The W/T range of a man-of-war is necessarily limited, and coastal stations are therefore necessary for the transmission of orders and the reception of reports.

(*c.*) It is an accepted principle that it is uneconomical and technically unsound to employ High Power Stations for short and medium range working.

(2.) An examination of the power and position of the existing Australian W/T Stations has shown that Naval requirements in the probable theatre of operations in the event of a war in the Far East would be met by the following :—

(*a.*) The existing coastal stations at Perth, Sydney, Townsville and Rabaul to be modernised with valve apparatus.

(*b.*) A medium Power Station to be established at Port Darwin, with a range of 1,500 miles. This station would form a necessary link in the area :—

Sandakan (projected)
O
Singapore O O Rabaul
O
Darwin

thus facilitating the operations of Naval Forces in the vicinity of this area in war.

This station would be unremunerative in peace time and need not be manned until war is imminent.

The cost of a medium High Power Station is estimated at £50,000.

(3.) Wireless communications are vital in war, and must therefore be exercised in peace, or they will fail when most required. It is recommended that an agreement be reached whereby all commercial W/T Stations in Australia which may be required for Naval purposes be placed under Naval Discipline in war. This might well be effected by arranging that the existing personnel of these stations be enrolled in Naval ranks and ratings on the outbreak of war. In peace, as many as possible should be encouraged to join the R.A.N.V.R., and peace exercises are recommended, especially between the stations mentioned in paragraph 2.

(4.) In the matter of Wireless organisation, it is recommended that the Royal Australian Navy maintain a close liaison with the Naval Staff at Singapore.

(5.) It is very necessary that the High Power Station should be able to broadcast to ships on waves not more than 20,000 metres.

VII.—Stores.

(1.) Fuel.
(2.) Armament Supplies.
(3.) Naval and Victualling Stores.

(1.) *Fuel.*

(*a.*) *War Reserve.*

It is recommended that *200,000* tons of Oil Fuel be maintained in Australia as a War Reserve. This quantity is approximate and has been arrived at as follows :—

	Tons of Oil Fuel.
4 oil-burning Light Cruisers : one year's war consumption	96,000
12 T.B.D's. used as Local Defence Craft : one year's war consumption (equivalent to half ordinary war consumption because of employment)	72,000
6 Submarines (one year's war consumption)	7,200
Armed Escort Vessels, oil tankers, &c.	24,800
say,	200,000

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It is recommended that this oil and the necessary storage be provided during the next eight years at a total cost of approximately £1,000,000, or an annual cost of £125,000.

(*b.*) *Position of Oil Fuel Reserves.*

Assuming that Bynoe or other Northern Port is decided upon as a fuelling port it is recommended that three-quarters of the Light Cruisers' oil reserve be stored there, and that one-quarter be stored at Southern Ports.

As regards oil for Submarines it is suggested that one-half of the oil reserve for Submarines be located at a suitable port in Australia and the remaining half at Singapore, in order that they may be able, in war, to operate from the latter place as soon as the situation permits.

(*c.*) *Peace Requirements.*

It is recommended that the allowance of fuel for vessels in commission should be calculated on a similar basis to that adopted in the Royal Navy.

For example, the provision for the China Squadron for 1923–24 is based on 50 days' steaming. To this is added the estimated consumption for the year for auxiliary purposes, and the necessary provision to permit of the authorised trials at special speeds.

(2.) *Armament Supplies.*

The decision to establish a Naval Base at Singapore places Australia in an ideal position to become the source of Armament supplies for the Main Fleet in War.

The manner in which this can be carried out is well expressed in the report laid before the Commonwealth Government by the Admiralty representative (Commander J. G. McHardy, R.N.) who visited Australia for the purpose in 1921.

It is desirable to lay stress on those portions of the report dealing with independent Naval inspection during manufacture, which is regarded as an indispensable condition.

(3.) *Naval and Victualling Stores.*

In view of the great difficulty in arranging supplies from the United Kingdom for a large Fleet operating abroad in time of war, it is strongly recommended that the general lines of development should be such that Australia should ultimately be able, not only to supply the needs of her own forces, but also to assist in meeting those of a large Fleet.

VIII.—Local Defence.

The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the scales of Defence of British Ports oversea, to examine at the same time the scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence and for defences on land.

IX.—Air Co-operation.

(1.) It is recommended that future Australian Light Cruisers be built to carry one or more amphibians.

(2.) In the meantime, in order to enable the R.A.N. to co-operate in peace time with the Australian Air Force, it is recommended that one existing Light Cruiser be fitted to carry a small seaplane, or alternatively, that the squadron oiler or collier be so fitted.

(3.) It is recommended that plans be prepared with a view to taking up and fitting out a merchant ship as a seaplane carrier in Australia on the outbreak of war.

Admiralty, June 11, 1923.
P.D.01805.

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

NEW ZEALAND.

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Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess and, by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct, Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

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Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with preparations to enable a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Fleet base and the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Far East.

The enemy's obvious and most natural objective during the interval would be Singapore, the seizure of which would deny to our Fleet the control of the Western Pacific and secure the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Australia and New Zealand.

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For this purpose two classes of vessel are suitable :—

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(*b.*) Large Overseas Submarines.

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Submarines are particularly suitable for offensive action or scouting, and for this reason would be invaluable both before and after the arrival of the Main Fleet in the East.

3. *Composition of the New Zealand Division.*

As it appears, however, that New Zealand would not be able for some time to come to maintain both light cruisers and submarines in sufficient numbers to ensure efficiency, it is recommended that she should concentrate on light cruisers.

4. *Air Power.*

The control in war of the sea communications of the Empire can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters such as the Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese light cruiser building programme in 1928, as well as the financial and economic position of New Zealand, have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval Forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counter-balanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

6. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire.

The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

NEW ZEALAND: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

I.—Ships.
II.—Local Defence.
III.—Trade.
IV.—Personnel.
V.—Oil Fuel.
VI.—Repair Ports.
VII.—Communications.

I.—Ships.

During the difficult times through which New Zealand has been passing she has successfully maintained the nucleus of a naval force. It is recommended that this should now be expanded and that she should aim at maintaining a cruiser squadron of three ships, manned by New Zealand personnel. This can be built up gradually, and it is suggested that "Chatham" should be relieved by two D class light cruisers in 1924 and that a third ship should be added as soon as the Dominion is able to bear this additional burden.

Provision of Ships.

2. The arrangement whereby ships are loaned by Great Britain enables New Zealand to maintain a larger effective force than would otherwise be possible, and it is therefore recommended that it should be continued for the present.

It is recognised, however, that a division composed of ships on loan may not fulfil New Zealand's aspirations in the future, and it is therefore suggested that she should take steps to obtain a ship of her own to replace one of those lent as soon as her finances admit. It is considered, however, that the maintenance of three ships should take precedence over any building policy until such time as both are possible.

II.—Local Defence.

3. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports Oversea, to examine at the same time the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for local Naval and Air Defence and for defences on land.

III.—Trade.

4. The trade arrangements recommended have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings "Naval Control Service—Protection," "Naval Control Service—Contraband Control."

IV.—Personnel.

5. The increase in active service personnel rendered necessary by a squadron of three ships can only be made gradually, and until sufficient New Zealand personnel is available British personnel will be loaned when desired to supply the deficiency.

It is recommended that the final total aimed at should allow for a proportion of men undergoing training ashore.

Training.

6. Schools for the higher specialist training of ratings on the small scale necessary for the New Zealand Division would be very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

Interchange.

7. Continuous service in the same squadron on the same station tends to damp enthusiasm, and is not an incentive to recruiting; it is considered that interchange of New Zealand ships and personnel with the British Navy will benefit everybody and will do much to ensure efficient co-operation in war. It is suggested, therefore, that ships of the New Zealand Division should periodically join up with other squadrons and *vice versâ*, which, in the first case, would provide an opportunity for some of the higher ratings to go through the schools in England.

Reserves.

8. To provide the personnel necessary for the Naval Control Service and Local Defence measures it is recommended that the reserves should be increased and a force raised similar to the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.

V.—Oil Fuel.

9. The Admiralty note with satisfaction the decision of New Zealand to establish an oil fuel reserve at Auckland. This is an important step towards rectifying the present unsatisfactory fuelling position in the Pacific.

A war reserve of 10,000 tons is considered necessary in addition to any storage necessitated by the normal requirements of the station in peace,

VI.—Naval Repair Ports.

10. The present arrangements whereby the commercial facilities at Auckland are used for refitting ships of the New Zealand Division have proved so satisfactory and economical in practice that there does not appear to be any necessity to establish a Government Dockyard in the near future.

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Singapore, however, is of vital importance to the scheme of Empire Defence in the Pacific, and therefore to New Zealand in particular. Any assistance, either financial or in material, that she may find herself able to offer towards its development would be welcomed.

VII.—Communications.

11. In order to complete the network of W/T stations necessary to adequately cover the area of the Pacific Islands, the stations at Awanui and Apia should be modernised and made capable of maintaining communication with Sydney.

It is also important that the personnel of these stations should be under Naval discipline in war time, and it is suggested that they should be enrolled in the Volunteer Reserve proposed in paragraph 8.

Admiralty, June 11, 1923.
P.D. 01806.

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Printed for the Committee of Imperial Defence. June 1923.

SECRET.

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E-60.

(*Also C.I.D. No.* 197-C.)

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NAVAL BASE AT SINGAPORE AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE FOREIGN AND NAVAL POLICY OF THE EMPIRE.

(Approved by the Standing Defence Sub-Committee on June 19, 1923, S.S. 33rd Minutes.)

WITH reference to the Minute of the 18th May, 1923, signed on behalf of the South African Government by General Smuts and forwarded by the Governor-General (Appendix), protesting against the announcement of the decision in regard to Singapore pending the discussion of the whole subject by the Imperial Conference, the history of this question, including the facts as to what happened at the Imperial Conference in 1921 and at the Washington Conference, 1921-22, is as follows :—

2. Until the British Fleet was centralised in Home waters in consequence of the development of the German menace, a British Battle Fleet was maintained in the Pacific as well as in the Mediterranean, and the base at Hong Kong was maintained on the scale necessary for a first-class Naval base under the conditions prevailing in those days. During the ten years preceding the war all modern battleships were withdrawn from the China Station in accord with the policy of concentration in Home waters which was forced upon the Admiralty by the development of the German menace. During the nineteen years which have elapsed since this withdrawal began, the increase in the size of battleships, the developments of ordnance and the introduction of oil fuel have rendered Hong Kong in its present state useless as a base for a modern Battle Fleet. The Navy was therefore in the position that, if political circumstances should ever render it desirable again to maintain a Battle Fleet in the Pacific, they would be unable to do so owing to the lack of any Naval base.

3. In the Memorandum on Naval Policy (E. 4 of February 1921), which was prepared by the Admiralty for the Imperial Conference, 1921, reasons were put down why it would be preferable to develop a new Naval base at Singapore rather than to bring the base at Hong Kong up to date.

4. The original decision to create a naval base at Singapore was taken by the late Cabinet on the 16th June, 1921.

5. The reasons for this decision were communicated to the Imperial Conference, in the first instance, by Mr. Balfour on the 28th June, 1921 (E.-8th Meeting). It is interesting to note that the occasion chosen by Mr. Balfour to make this statement was during the discussion on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and that he gave as one of the principal reasons in support of renewing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the necessity of gaining the considerable time required for the creation of a base at Singapore :—

> " In these circumstances, we have come to the conclusion that one of the most pressing needs for Imperial Defence is that Singapore should be made into a place where the British Fleet can concentrate for the defence of the Empire, of our interests in the East, our interests in India, our interests in Australia, our interests in New Zealand, our interests in the smaller Possessions there, and that for that purpose it is absolutely necessary to undertake works at Singapore. Those works cannot be finished in a day. They cannot be finished in a year. They must take some time to complete.

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"*Mr. Massey:* They are going on.

"*Mr. Balfour:* Not yet. This question has only been taken in hand quite recently. Therefore, until Singapore is rendered the place which we think it ought to be made—a place of concentration, a place of refitting and refuelling—until this is done, we are at a relative disadvantage undoubtedly in the Pacific, and that is a very strong strategical reason, putting all wider considerations apart, why we should remain on the most friendly terms with Japan, and why we should continue a policy we have hitherto pursued with such success, that is, of joint action with Japan in the Far East."

6. It should be noted that Mr. Balfour did not suggest that a renewal of the Alliance with Japan would render it unnecessary to proceed with the base at Singapore, although, in an earlier passage, he had recalled that in the past "the fact of the Japanese Alliance was held to relieve the Admiralty of the day of any serious responsibility in regard to the Pacific." On the contrary, he pointed out to the Conference that the substitution of oil for coal for fuel for battleships had rendered it absolutely necessary to create a base at Singapore as an indispensable condition of action by the Fleet in the Far East.

7. The question of Singapore was discussed in greater detail at the Imperial Conference at the meetings devoted to Naval Defence, the record of which, owing to its secrecy, was limited by the Conference itself to a single copy. In those discussions Lord Lee said (E–14th Meeting):—

"The Home Government have therefore come to the decision that Singapore must be developed as the main base for the British Fleet in the Pacific."

Later on, in the same statement, Lord Lee made it quite clear that the proposals of the Admiralty were unaffected by the question of the renewal or otherwise of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, except that if the Alliance were dropped and Japan became hostile, "then undoubtedly there would be increased urgency for the development and "establishment of our bases in the Pacific and our oil reserves."

8. After the preliminary discussion, further conversations took place at the Admiralty with the representatives of the Dominions, and the Admiralty, on the 11th July, circulated a summary of their recommendations (E–32). This included the following:—

"In the Admiralty opinion, Australia, New Zealand and India should be asked to contribute a considerable portion of the expenditure necessary to develop Singapore as a Fleet base, since they are intimately concerned therein."

9. On the 11th July the British Government accepted the invitation to the Washington Conference. It was already clear that a Pacific agreement would be one of our objects at the Conference, for a statement to this effect was included in the announcement made by the Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) in the House of Commons on the 11th July as representing the opinion of all the members of the Conference on the question of the Pacific and also on the question of disarmament.

10. The subject of Naval Defence was again taken up by the full Conference on the 19th July (E–26th Meeting), when Lord Lee again emphasised the importance of Singapore. This statement, it should be noted, was made a week after the announcement referred to above that a Pacific agreement was part of our policy for the Washington Conference. The records of this meeting of the Conference contain no suggestion that the development of Singapore as a naval base should be postponed if a Pacific agreement was achieved.

11. It is quite true, as mentioned in General Smuts' Minute, that the following resolution was passed by the Conference in regard to the naval defence of the Empire:—

"That, while recognising the necessity of co-operation among the various portions of the Empire to provide such naval defence as may prove to be essential for security, and while holding that equality with the naval strength of any other Power is a minimum standard for that purpose, this Conference is of opinion that the method and expense of such co-operation are matters for the full determination of the several Parliaments concerned, and that any recommendations thereon should be deferred until after the coming Conference on Disarmament."

12. The policy set forth in this resolution is that equality with the naval strength of any Power is a minimum standard for the British Empire. It was not the policy, but the method and expense of co-operation among the various portions of the Empire which, by this resolution, was deferred until after the Washington Conference. So long as the British Fleet is entirely unable to operate in the Pacific, it cannot be considered that a one-Power standard is being maintained. In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government felt that the development of the Naval base at Singapore was a matter which should not be further delayed, and they had no reason to believe that any Dominion held a contrary view.

13. The instructions of the British Government to Mr. Balfour and his colleagues for the Washington Conference are contained in a Memorandum drawn up as the result of an enquiry by the Standing Defence Sub-Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Balfour. These instructions, which were fully discussed and approved by the Cabinet include the following in the summary of Conclusions:—

"*Singapore.*

"That no agreement should be reached at the Conference which will in any way interfere with the development of Singapore as a British Naval Base, since such development is purely defensive in character and is already overdue."

14. At the outset of the Conference, Mr. Balfour at an informal meeting gave the British Empire Delegation full particulars as to his instructions and the lines on which he proposed to proceed. It is practically certain that he must have mentioned the decision in regard to Singapore, though no record was kept of what he said. In any event, there is no possible room for doubt that all members of the British Empire Delegation knew what was our policy in regard to Singapore. For example, at a meeting of the British Empire Delegation on the 2nd December, 1921, when the proposal for a limitation in regard to fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific was under discussion, Senator Pearce, the Australian Representative, pointed out the desirability of Singapore being left out of any restricted arrangement as to the construction of fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific, and Mr. Balfour remarked that in none of the conversations he had so far had was the question of Singapore raised, and he preferred to leave it alone.

Again, the question of Singapore was constantly referred to in the telegrams which passed between Mr. Balfour and the Home Government, copies of all of which were circulated to all members of the British Empire Delegation. Thus, a telegram dated the 18th December, from Lord Curzon, included the following:—

"With regard to fortifications in the Pacific, you say Singapore is not mentioned. We presume by this that we are free to develop Singapore as a first-class naval base if we think it necessary to do so. This we regard as indispensable, and we hope you will make sure there is no misunderstanding with the Americans aud still more the Japanese on this point. As you are aware from discussions over which you have presided in the Committee of Imperial Defence, the defence of Australia and New Zealand might in certain circumstances depend entirely on Singapore."

On the 13th January, Mr. Churchill, who was acting as Chairman of the Standing Defence Sub-Committee in Mr. Balfour's absence, sent the following telegram:—

"With reference to your telegram No. 166 of the 15th December and the provision in the 3-Power Agreement on the Naval Ratio that the *status quo* shall be maintained with respect to fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific region, including Hong Kong, it is presumed that our freedom of action in regard to Singapore has been preserved."

15. So far as can be traced, Singapore was only once alluded to in the course of the conversations at Washington. A telegram, dated the 24th January, from Mr. Balfour, includes the following:—

"I introduced certain amendments to place beyond doubt the exclusion of Singapore (in which Baron Kato acquiesced) as well as territories of Australia, according to a formula designed by Senator Pearce; also to limit the *status quo* in fortifications and coast defences. I have since discussed draft with Mr. Hughes, who tells me that American Delegation have accepted all my amendments. During this conversation, Mr. Hughes volunteered the observation that of course Singapore was excluded as it was neither island nor in Pacific."

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16. In the result it was definitely settled at the Washington Conference that no development should be made east of the meridian of 110° east longitude. That decision barred the further development of Hong Kong, but permitted Great Britain to develop Singapore. As shown above, it was not by an oversight that the line was so drawn. The territory specified in Article 19 was a matter of prolonged consideration at Washington, and the other parties to the Treaty fully appreciated that Article 19 as finally drafted left Great Britain to develop Singapore as a Naval base.

17. South Africa did not send a representative to Washington, and the Treaty was signed on behalf of that Dominion by Mr. Balfour, so that these facts are possibly not familiar to General Smuts and the South African Government.

18. Finally, it should be mentioned that, in consequence of the agreements arrived at between the United States, Japan and this country at Washington, the naval situation resulting from the agreements was examined afresh by the Admiralty, and they produced a Memorandum (C.I.D. No. 176–C) showing how the naval policy of the British Empire had been affected by these treaties. In this Memorandum special consideration was given to the question of the development of Singapore, in view of the facts that any further development of Hong Kong would not be in accord with the terms of the Washington Treaty; that no British port in the Western Pacific is capable of serving as a base for a modern fleet, and that the United States are debarred from developing any naval base in the Western Pacific. The Admiralty therefore concluded that "for rapid concentration of the Fleet in the East it is essential that a secure base at Singapore can be counted on. The development of Singapore must take many years, even if substantial assistance is provided by the Dominions. The matter is therefore one of great urgency."

This Memorandum was considered and approved by His Majesty's Government, and copies were forwarded to the Dominions with a request for their remarks on the questions raised. The date of the despatch was the 23rd December.

19. The fifth paragraph of the Union Ministers' Minute contains the statement that "no expenditure on this project is provided during the year 1923/24 and only a very moderate expenditure thereafter during 1924/25." The despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies addressed to the Dominions on the 27th March, 1923, however, stated that, "no considerable expenditure will be incurred during the financial year 1923/24 and only a moderate expenditure during 1924/25." The despatch then went on to say that, "the provision made in the estimates for the financial year 1923/24 is 160,000*l*." To have held the question over for the formal approval of the Imperial Conference would have entailed the omission of this item from the Naval Estimates, and the postponement for a year of the commencement of a work which, as long ago as June 1921 had been described by Mr. Balfour as "one of the most pressing needs for Imperial defence" (paragraph 5 above), and which, as stated in paragraph 33 of C.I.D. Paper No. 176–C is regarded by the Naval Staff as "of great urgency."

20. From the above it is clear that the British Government, at any rate, never conceived it to be the intention of the Imperial Conference, and the Governments represented there, either before, during or after the Washington Conference, that their policy of creating a naval base at Singapore was in any way affected by any of the acts of that Conference. On the contrary, they made it clear at the Imperial Conference that even if the Anglo-Japanese Alliance continued, it would be necessary to carry out their naval programme, which included a base at Singapore; that they instructed their Delegates to the Washington Conference not to agree to anything which would interfere with the development of Singapore as a British naval base, and several times during the Conference reiterated this instruction; that their Delegates faithfully followed these instructions; that this attitude was communicated to and received the full support of the British Empire Delegation, on which all the Dominions except South Africa, as well as India, were represented by specially appointed Delegates.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W* 1,
June 30, 1923.

APPENDIX.

Copy of Despatch from His Royal Highness the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

My Lord Duke, *Governor-General's Office, Cape Town, May* 18, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Grace herewith, with reference to your despatch Dominions No. 119, Secret, of the 27th March, 1923, the document mentioned below (enclosure), on the subject of the establishment of a naval base at Singapore.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR FREDERICK,
Governor-General.

Minute, dated May 18, 1923, *signed on behalf of the South African Government by General Smuts.*

Minute No. 360. *Prime Minister's Office, May* 18, 1923.

MINISTERS have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of His Royal Highness the Governor-General's Minute No. 2/1894 of the 20th April, transmitting a copy of the Secretary of State's despatch No. 119* of the 27th March, on the subject of the expenditure of £11,000,000 upon the establishment of a Naval base at Singapore, such expenditure to be extended over a period of years and without prejudice to any decisions of the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

Ministers desire to take this opportunity of putting on record their views in this matter, and to request that their views may be communicated to the other Dominions for their information.

One of the most beneficent results of the Washington Conference was the signature of the Quadruple Pacific Treaty which replaced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance without disturbing the friendly relations between Great Britain and Japan. The result of the agreement was to minimise for the duration of the pact any danger of war in the Pacific Ocean, and the fact that America joined in this pact at once altered the conditions under which a base at Singapore was considered at the Prime Ministers' Conference in 1921. A reconsideration of the whole Naval policy of the British Empire is therefore rendered necessary.

Attention is drawn to the resolution† adopted in respect of this matter under the heading Imperial Defence (Naval) at the Conference held in London in 1921, when it was resolved that any definite decision in regard to Naval Defence or the manner of co-operation should be deferred until after the Conference at Washington.

Ministers regret that any statements should have been made on the subject of Singapore, in view of the imminence of the Prime Ministers' Conference, especially having in mind the fact that no expenditure on this project is provided during the year 1923/24, and only a very moderate expenditure thereafter during 1924/25.

A great fortified base at Singapore may, in its effect on Japanese opinion, produce far-reaching reactions for the foreign policy, as well as for the Naval policy, of the Empire; and the whole subject, in all its possible bearings, should have received the careful attention of the Imperial Conference before a decision on any detail was announced.

The last review of the Naval position is contained in the Memorandum‡ of the Committee of Imperial Defence, dated the 28th July, 1922, and, if there has been any further development in the views of the Admiralty, Ministers trust that His Majesty's Government will prepare and issue for their consideration a fresh appreciation of the world Naval position, so that, in coming to the Conference in October, they may be advised in advance of the views that the Admiralty may submit.

(Signed) J. C. SMUTS.

* C.I.D. No. 189–C. † Paper No. E–55. ‡ C.I.D. No. 176–C.

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E-61. NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No.* 201-*C.*)

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

CANADA.

Foreword.

THIS paper is written in the belief that the national feeling in Canada does not differ materially from that expressed by Sir Wilfred Laurier in 1909 when the following resolution proposed by him was unanimously agreed to after debate by the Canadian Parliament.

"This House fully recognises the duty of the people of Canada as they "increase in numbers and wealth to assume in larger measure the responsi- "bilities of National Defence. The House is of opinion that under the present "constitutional relations between the Mother Country and the self-governing "Dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the "Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not, so far as "Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of "defence.

"The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed "to promote the speedy organisation of a Canadian Naval Service in co-opera- "tion and close relation with the Imperial Navy, along the lines suggested by "the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the "view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of "commerce, the safety of the Empire and the peace of the world.

"The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises, the "Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that "is required to give the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty "co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and "honour of the Empire."

1. *Object.*

To summarise the Naval Situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Canada in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper No. 194-C.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

It may be assumed that the Empire as a whole might be involved in war in defence of Canada or any other Dominion and that the sea communications in all parts of the Empire would be liable to attack in the event of such a war. It is the duty of the Admiralty to protect these communications, with the available British forces together with any forces placed at its disposal by Dominion Governments, on the outbreak of war.

An enemy would be lacking in the elements of strategy if he failed to reap any advantage which might accrue from the attack of a weakly held area.

Similarly, in time of peace, if it became known that arrangements did not exist to control on the outbreak of war the sea communications of any part of the Empire, foreign diplomacy in relation to such portions of the Empire might become more

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aggressive. It is necessary, in order to advise the Canadian Government as to what Naval forces she should maintain to assist in her own defence, to visualise the quarter from which danger may threaten.

The United States and Japan are the only Naval Powers which need be considered.

A war with the United States is regarded as almost unthinkable. The attitude of the Empire towards the possibility of such a conflict is shown by the fact that Canada has made no defensive preparations along her frontier such as are customary between even the most friendly foreign States, and that similarly the Admiralty has made no attempt to develop in the Western Atlantic any Naval Base, such as would be required if operations by the Main Fleet were contemplated in that area. None the less, in order not to be entirely helpless in the event of possible aggression, Canada does maintain a military organisation at a certain minimum strength and with a considerable capacity for expansion. But if so, then even from the point of view of Canada's southern frontier, it must be pointed out that Canadian Naval forces are no less necessary than Canadian Military forces.

A successful defence of the vital portion of the Canadian frontier depends upon the command in war of Lakes Ontario and Erie and the St. Lawrence River, when open to navigation.

The command of these waterways calls for Naval personnel, which cannot be built up at short notice when emergency arises.

When the projected improvements in the Canal system between the sea and Lake Erie permit the passage of large vessels, the Naval aspects of the defence of the Canadian land frontier will assume greater importance still.

That in such an event the possibility of reinforcements reaching Canada from the United Kingdom, or of Canadian trade being kept alive, will depend wholly upon the general Naval situation, and that any contribution Canada could make in sea-going strength would be invaluable, is obvious and need not be elaborated with reference to so remote a contingency as that of a conflict with the United States.

3. *The Naval Situation in Relation to Japan.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *status quo* Agreement cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific, which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Fleet base and the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming that the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Western Pacific.

In spite of the heavy burden for Naval defence which the people of Great Britain are bearing, it will not be possible, after providing the necessary Light Cruisers for the Main Fleet, to meet the world-wide calls for trade protection. The position of Canadian seaborne trade on the West Coast, in the event of hostilities with Japan, might be precarious under present conditions. The recommendations which have been made are intended partially to remedy the deficiency in Light Cruisers in North American waters.

They represent the minimum that, in the opinion of the Admiralty, is essential for the protection of trade in the Eastern Pacific and to prevent enemy raiders gaining access to the Atlantic.

As Canada has no Light Cruisers for the defence of her trade, the Admiralty war plan in the event of hostilities with Japan, necessitates the despatch of the greater part of the Light Cruiser Squadron maintained on the North America and West Indies Station in time of peace, and which would be urgently required to work with the Main Fleet, through the Panamá Canal to work off the West Coast, based on a Port in British Columbia.

It is intended as soon as possible after the outbreak of war to replace the squadron by older Light Cruisers and armed merchantmen, when the present ships of the North America and West Indies Squadron would proceed to Singapore.

The main task of the Naval Forces of the Empire in the Eastern Pacific will be :—

(*a.*) To assert economic pressure on Japan by preventing her trade with North or South America.
(*b.*) To protect Empire Trade in the Eastern Pacific from attack by raiders.
(*c.*) To prevent enemy raids on British Columbia.
(*d.*) To prevent enemy raiders gaining access to the Atlantic.

4. *Air Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the English Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

5. *Composition of Sea-going Dominion Navies.*

Light Cruisers are the smallest sea-going ships of the Fleet which can play a part in protecting our ocean trade routes in war or threatening the enemy's sea communications, and which can provide the necessary sea-going training in peace. To obtain and maintain full efficiency a Light Cruiser Squadron should consist of not less than four ships in full commission. *Submarines* are particularly suitable for aggressive action in the face of superior enemy forces, but a Light Cruiser Squadron is the more urgent requirement for the Canadian Navy, and for this reason and also to avoid the greater expense consequent upon maintaining two types of vessel in a small Navy, it is not recommended that Canada should acquire any submarines at present.

Destroyers are essentially a fleet weapon and are uneconomical for local defence or escort duties.

Those which Canada now possesses might well be retained for the peace training of officers and men, and for local defence, but it is not recommended that any more be acquired

6. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the Naval Defence requirements of Canada, as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

In framing these recommendations, the expected completion of the Japanese Light Cruiser Building Programme in 1928, as well as the financial and economic position of Canada, have been borne in mind.

Nevertheless, each Dominion cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by other Dominions and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

7. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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CANADA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—General.

1. It is assumed that the Canadian Navy is now ready to pass from Phase 1 into Phase 2, of which the following is a description (C.I.D. Paper No. 194–C):—

"In the second phase, the first definite steps are taken in the creation of "a force for work on the high seas, as opposed to a local defence force. This "phase involves the obtaining of one or more sea-going ships, and in the first "instance, it may be necessary, for financial and other reasons, to obtain both "the ships themselves and a portion, at any rate, of the personnel from the "Royal Navy.

"Throughout this phase the necessary training, repair and fuelling "facilities should gradually be built up for the next phase."

2. The Admiralty is prepared to assist the Canadian Navy during Phase 2, either by the loan of ships and personnel or by receiving Canadian personnel for training in ships of the Royal Navy until a Canadian ship is available.

3. The proposals which follow are intended to enable the Canadian Navy to reach Phase 3 (sea-going squadron) about ten years hence.

II.—Ships.

Existing R.C.N. Ships and their Life.

Light Cruiser "Aurora."

4. Light Cruisers which took part in the war are assessed to last twelve years, but owing to the financial stringency it is considered that this must be increased to the normal of fifteen years.

H.M.C.S. "Aurora" was completed in 1913, and is therefore considered to reach the replacement age in 1928.

It is recommended that this vessel be kept efficient for use in an emergency until replaced.

Destroyers.

5. The useful life of Destroyers is estimated at eight and twelve years respectively, according to whether they took part in the war or not. As in the case of Light Cruisers, it is considered that for financial reasons a life of not less than fifteen years must be accepted for all.

This life may even have to be extended in the case of Destroyers retained for Local Defence purposes.

6. Applying the above to the Canadian Destroyers:—

T.B.D's.	Date of Completion.	Estimated Life.	Year due for replacement by Auxiliary Patrol Vessels (*vide* paragraph 3 below).
Patriot	1916	15 years	1931
Patrician	1916	15 years	1931

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Submarines.

7. For reasons already explained, it is not recommended that the Canadian Navy should include a submarine flotilla at present.

8. Bearing in mind that Submarines C.H. 14 and C.H. 15 have been paid off since the 30th June, 1922, it is not considered that any further expenditure on their maintenance would be justified, and it is therefore recommended that these vessels be disposed of.

Types of Ships recommended for the R.C.N.

Light Cruisers.

9.

Displacement	...	Limited by the Washington Agreement to 10,000 tons.
Speed	...	Sufficiently high to avoid action with enemy Battle Cruisers and not less than 33 knots.
Endurance	...	6,500 miles if possible.
Fuel	...	Oil burning.
Armament	...	7·5-inch or preferably 8-inch, which is the maximum permissible by the Washington Agreement. Anti-aircraft Guns. Torpedo Tubes if obtainable without a reduction in speed or endurance.
Armour	...	Protected Deck.
Cost	...	Approximately 10,000,000 dollars.

The above are the sketch outlines for the design of Foreign Service Light Cruisers now being got out in the Admiralty.

Auxiliary Patrol Craft, Minesweepers and Anti-S/M Craft.

10. The question of the design of vessels most suitable for the above purposes is under consideration.

The R.C.N. trawlers are suitable minesweeping craft.

11. It is recommended that dormant arrangements be made in peace to take up on the outbreak of war the additional craft necessary for the above Services.

Suggested Building Programme for the R.C.N.

Light Cruisers.

12. It is suggested that 3 Light Cruisers be built during the next twelve years.

13. In order to assist the Canadian Navy to pass from Phase 2 to Phase 3 (*vide* C.I.D. Paper 194–C), the Admiralty is prepared to recommend that a fourth Light Cruiser be provided and maintained by Great Britain and lent to the Canadian Navy to form a squadron of 4 ships, as soon as the Canadian Government is prepared to take over the Naval Station.

Squadron Oiler.

14. It is recommended that one oiler be obtained for the use of the squadron.

A.P. Craft.

15. It is recommended that the R.C.N. Destroyers be retained until a satisfactory design of special craft has been evolved.

16. *Summary of Cost of Proposed Building Programme.*

—	Approximate Year laid down.	Approximate Cost.
1 Light Cruiser	1924	$10,000,000
1 Light Cruiser	1928	10,000,000
1 Light Cruiser	1932	10,000,000
1 Squadron Oiler	1925	400,000
Auxiliary Patrol Vessels	...	600,000
		$31,000,000

The above programme, if spread over approximately twelve years, making an average cost of, say, $2,500,000 a year.

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III.—War Plans.

17. The initial disposition of a Canadian Light Cruiser Squadron of 4 ships in the event of war with Japan might well be as follows :—

On the Pacific Coast—
3 Light Cruisers.

On the Atlantic Coast—
1 Light Cruiser.

IV.—Repair Ports and Fuelling Ports.

18. It is recommended that the existing Naval Yards and Armament Depots at Halifax and Esquimalt be kept up to date so as to be able, with the assistance of local commercial facilities, to cope with the refits and docking of modern Light Cruisers. In the event of war with Japan Esquimalt will assume great importance.

V.—Trade.

19. The Trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings :—

Naval Control Service	... ...	Protection.
Naval Control Service	... ...	Contraband Control.

20. It is recommended that the provision of the Naval crews for defensively equipped merchant-vessels, together with the personnel and craft for routeing and convoy and for contraband control, be regarded as an urgent requirement.

VI.—Personnel.

Officers.

21. The first essential for the progressive growth of a Dominion Navy is a constant source of supply of officers, more especially officers of the Military Branch, the extensive and specialised training for which precludes its rapid expansion in time of need.

Any considerable gap in the list of officers causes an uneven flow of promotion, which is most undesirable both for the Services and for the officers themselves. In the past it has been possible for the Dominions to rely on borrowing officers from the Royal Navy when insufficient Dominion officers were available, but the recent reduction in junior officers of the Royal Navy will render it increasingly difficult as time goes on to loan any considerable number of officers to Dominion Navies.

22. To meet the difficulty the following courses appear open to the Canadian Government :—

(*a.*) To reopen the Royal Naval College of Canada.
(*b.*) To send officers overseas for training.
(*c.*) To institute a Naval class in the Royal Military College of Canada, for the training of Cadets entered on a system analogous to the special entry system in force in the Royal Navy.

23. In regard to the second alternative, the Admiralty would willingly train a limited number of Cadets of the Royal Canadian Navy at the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, but the limited accommodation available makes it impossible to guarantee that more than a very small number can be accepted in any one year.

The only other Naval College in the Empire is the R.A.N. College at Jervis Bay, which is three times as far distant from Canada.

Personnel: Men.

24. The building up of personnel to enable a Dominion Navy to pass from Phase 1 to Phase 2 may present difficulties in a country with small maritime

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population. The first essential is to educate public opinion as to the value of sea power, so that the Navy may be regarded by all parties and sections of the community as a national necessity and asset. The political support of all parties and the encouragement of the Canadian Navy League are some of the methods which suggest themselves.

25. The most powerful incentive to recruiting, however, is the prospect of foreign service, and this can be arranged in the following manner :—

During Phases 1 *and* 2.

By carrying out the sea-going training of recruits either in a Dominion ship which cruises abroad or by sending the men to ships of the R.N. on other stations.

During Phase 3.

By arranging the regular exchanges of H.M.C. ships with H.M. ships on other stations.

Specialist Training.

26. Schools for specialist training in the various technical branches on the small scale necessary in a Dominion Navy are very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

VII.—Communications.

27. It is recommended that the high-power stations, which it is understood will be erected at Montreal and Vancouver, be fitted to broadcast to ships on wave-lengths of not more than 20,000 metres.

28. It is recommended that arrangements be made whereby all commercial W/T stations in Canada, which may be required for Naval purposes, be placed under Naval discipline in war. This might well be effected by arranging that the existing personnel of these stations be enrolled as Naval ranks and ratings on the outbreak of war.

In peace, as many as possible should be encouraged to join the R.C.N.V.R.

VIII.—Stores.

Fuel.

29. Experience has shown that it is unsafe to depend upon normal commercial supplies of fuel in time of war, for the following reasons :—

(*a.*) Difficulties of transport.
(*b.*) Difficulty of obtaining commercial supplies owing to abnormal demand.
(*c.*) Grade of commercial oil not necessarily suitable for Naval purposes.

War Reserve.

30. It is recommended that 110,000 tons of oil fuel be maintained in Canada as a war reserve.

This quantity is approximate and has been arrived at as follows :—

	Tons of Oil Fuel.
4 oil-burning Light Cruisers (one year's war consumption)	96,000
2 T.B.D's. used as Local Defence Craft : one year's war consumption (equivalent to half ordinary war consumption because of employment)	12,000
Squadron Oiler	2,000
	110,000

31. It is recommended that this oil and the necessary storage be provided during the next eight years at a total cost of approximately $2,600,000, or an annual cost of $325,000.

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Positioning of Oil Reserves.

32. It is recommended that a reserve of 80,000 tons of oil fuel be established on the Pacific Coast, in the vicinity of Esquimalt, and that 30,000 tons be stored at Halifax, at both places in Government-owned tanks.

Peace Requirements.

33. The basis adopted in the Royal Navy for calculating the allowance of fuel for vessels in commission is to take the probable number of days steaming and add the estimated consumption for auxiliary purposes and for the authorised trials at special speeds.

Armament Supplies.

34. The manufacture of Armament Supplies on a small scale is uneconomical, though on the other hand it is desirable in principle that Dominion Navies should be self-contained in this as in other respects.

For these reasons, it is recommended that Canada should manufacture armament supplies whenever local production would prove economical, but in other cases it appears undesirable to incur expenditure which does not produce additional Naval strength.

35. Independent Naval Inspection during manufacture of armament supplies intended for use on board H.M.C. ships is considered essential.

Naval and Victualling Stores.

36. The fact that nearly all Naval and Victualling Stores required for the R.C.N. are obtainable in Canada is highly satisfactory.

IX.—Local Defence.

37. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports Oversea, to examine at the same time the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence and for defences on land.

X.—Air Co-operation.

38. It is recommended that future Canadian Light Cruisers be built to carry one or more amphibians.

39. An aerial patrol of the Coast of British Columbia would materially assist local Naval Defence Forces in the event of war with Japan.

XI.—Hydrographic.

40. It is suggested that the present system of exchange of publications resulting from the Surveying work undertaken by the Dominion be developed.

The Admiralty has recently ceased to publish charts of the River St. Lawrence above Quebec, thus depending upon the Canadian charts of these pilotage waters.

It is very desirable that charts published by the Hydrographic Departments of the Empire should be co-ordinated as far as possible.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.

P.D. 01843.

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SECRET. Nº 56

E. 62. NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No.* 202–C.)

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *Object.*

TO summarise the Naval situation (1923) and to give in outline Admiralty recommendations to South Africa in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper 194–C.

2. *The Naval Situation: General.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and, by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct, Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations to enable a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, viâ the Suez Canal, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Should the Main Fleet be unable to use the Suez Canal for any reason, it would have to fall back on the far longer Cape route. It is not recommended, however, that the oil supplies on this route should be developed at the present time to the same extent as on the Suez Canal route.

3. *Effect of Air Power.*

The control in war of the sea communications of the Empire can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that, though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters such as the Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can undoubtedly assist by acting in co-operation with surface vessels in keeping open our sea communications.

4. *South Africa.*

South African waters are unlikely to be the sphere of any main operations, and, except for the contingency of the Main Fleet using the Cape route, the Naval problem

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is therefore chiefly one of protecting Empire trade and of interfering with that of the enemy.

South Africa commands trade routes, East and West, on which the prosperity and economic existence of the Union depend. The focal points and terminals of these routes in South African waters invite attack, and with their protection the Union is vitally concerned. Such protection will, of course, be given by the British Fleet so far as resources admit and the requirements of other areas will allow.

It is felt, however, that South Africa will be reluctant always to rely on Great Britain for the protection of her overseas trade, and, as soon as she feels able to emerge from Phase I and take her part with sea-going forces in the Naval Defence of the Empire, it is considered that she can best do so by assisting in the task of safeguarding the Imperial Trade routes in those waters in which she herself is concerned.

5. *Composition of South African Naval Forces.*

In addition to the general protection afforded by the operations of the Main Fleet, trade defence in South African waters involves a convoy system and local defence arrangements (*i.e.*, minesweeping, anti-submarine patrols, &c.) supported by a Light Cruiser force.

South Africa has already undertaken her share in the preparations for a world-wide convoy system and has instituted measures for local defence. It only remains, therefore, for her to take steps to expand her Naval forces so that they may include the necessary Light Cruisers as soon as her finances admit.

Light Cruisers are the smallest type of vessel which can play a part in protecting ocean trade routes and which can supply the necessary sea-going training in peace.

6. *Scale of Forces Recommended.*

While it is recognised that at the moment the economic and financial condition of South Africa may prevent any considerable increase in Naval expenditure, yet it is considered that the size and importance of South Africa call for a development of her Navy from Phase I to Phase II at no distant date.

It has therefore been assumed in framing the following recommendations that South Africa will desire in the near future to take steps to expand her Naval forces.

At the same time, it has not been possible to consider the Naval forces of one Dominion without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one Dominion is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by others and by the Mother Country.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counterbalanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

7. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval Policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire.

The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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I.—Ships.

1. It is recommended that South Africa should aim at maintaining, in the not too distant future, a cruiser force of two ships.

2. The process of working up must be a gradual one, and the composition and development of the South African forces must depend largely on the question of personnel. As a first step, it is recommended that a sloop should be added to the present force, to be followed by a second as soon as circumstances permit. Subsequently these two vessels could be replaced by a Light Cruiser.

The annual cost of maintenance of a British sloop on the South African Station is £38,750, and of a Light Cruiser is £163,100.

Provision of Ships.

3. As it appears that the cost of providing her own ships at this stage would hamper the naval effort of South Africa and hinder the development of sea-going forces, the Admiralty is prepared, in accordance with the principle of assisting the development of Dominion Navies, to recommend that such vessels as the Union may want for this purpose should be provided from the British Fleet and exchanged for others from the same source as necessary.

4. The maintenance by South Africa of seagoing forces is considered of the first importance, and to this end a shipbuilding policy should take second place until such time as both are possible.

II.—Local Defences.

5. The defences of Simonstown will be examined and any requirements that may be found necessary will be put forward in due course.

6. The question has arisen whether the Dominions wish the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee, which is now considering the Scales of Defence of British Ports oversea, to examine, at the same time, the Scales of Defence of Dominion Ports.

Scales of Defence, when complete, will include recommendations for Local Naval and Air Defence, and for defences on land.

7. The minesweeping organisation already instituted is a step of great value in this direction.

III.—Trade.

8. The Trade arrangements recommended have already been communicated to the Dominion Government under the headings: "Naval Control Service—Protection," "Naval Control Service—Contraband Control."

IV.—Personnel.

9. The personnel necessary for the proposed increase in the South African Naval Forces can only be built up gradually, and in doing so it is most desirable that a system should be adopted which will facilitate regular advancement and even distribution in all grades. This can be achieved if a definite number of officers and men are entered yearly on a long-service system.

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10. Until sufficient South African personnel is available, British personnel will be loaned when desired to supply any deficiency. It is probable that some South Africans already in the British Navy would volunteer for this service.

Officers.

11. It is recommended that a few Officers should be entered yearly at Dartmouth as cadets and should receive their early training in the British Navy, but the limited accommodation available makes it impossible to guarantee that more than a very small number can be accepted in any one year. This would be in addition to existing arrangements whereby four cadetships in the British Navy are open to South African candidates.

12. It is recommended that from 25 to 50 men should be entered yearly from the training ship "General Botha."

Until South African Naval Forces are large enough to absorb all of these, they can be trained in the ships of the British Squadron in place of the 25 boys at present entered from the same source.

Training.

13. Schools for the higher specialist training of ratings on the small scale necessary for the South African Naval Forces would be very costly in proportion to the numbers trained, and the alternative, that men should be sent to the schools in England, is recommended for the present.

Reserves.

14. The R.N.V.R. organisation will enable the personnel required for trade protection and Local Defence measures to be provided and the numbers enrolled should be based on these requirements. The period of four years' service might be increased with advantage, in the case of promising men, to provide higher ratings with more sea experience.

15. Any steps that could be taken to encourage the fishing industry and coasting trade would increase the local seafaring population and would be of great value in war.

Interchange.

16. For some time to come the South African Naval Service will be too small to ensure within itself that circulation of personnel and variety of duties which is necessary to prevent stagnation and inefficiency. It has been in existence too short a time at present for such symptoms to develop, but it is considered that a system of interchange of personnel with the British Navy is essential if a healthy growth is to be maintained. Later, when South Africa possesses Light Cruisers, periodical interchange of these with British ships is recommended.

V.—Fuel Supplies.

17. The 24,000 tons of Oil Fuel and Storage which South Africa is providing at Simonstown are of great strategic value in connection with secondary operations in South African waters, as well as forming a reserve to meet part of the requirements for the passage of the Fleet to the East viâ the Cape, should that route have to be used.

18. In the future, when the class of ship now on the station is replaced by an oil-burning type, it may be found necessary to recommend that this reserve be increased.

VI.—Communications.

19. As part of the scheme of Imperial communications in war, the requirements of wireless in South African waters are as follows:—

(1.) Ability to broadcast messages to ships within 2,000 miles of South Africa.
(2.) Ability to communicate direct with His Majesty's Ships within 1,500 miles of South Africa.
(3.) Ability to communicate with Mauritius and the proposed stations at St. Helena and Falkland Islands.

20. The proposed High Power Station will fulfil (1) and (3) of the above, and it is recommended should be able to transmit a wave of not more than 20,000 metres for the purpose.

21. The second requirement will be met if Port Nolloth and Durban (Jacobs) Wireless Telegraphy Stations are modernised and kept ready for use when required, should it be found impossible to keep them in constant use.

It is also important that the personnel of these stations should be under Naval discipline in war time, and it is therefore recommended that they should be enrolled in the R.N.V.R.

VII.—Air Co-operation.

22. Aerial co-operation in reconnaissance and patrol of local waters will be of great value and will lighten the task of the naval forces considerably.

It is recommended that a proportion of the South African Air Force should be suitably equipped and trained for this work.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.

P.D. 01844/23.

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E. 63. **NOT FOR PUBLICATION.**

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No.* 203–C.)

56

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

1. *Object.*

To give in outline Admiralty recommendations to Newfoundland in pursuance of C.I.D. Paper 194–C.

2. *The Position of Newfoundland in regard to Naval Defence.*

Newfoundland differs from other Dominions because her small population will render it difficult, if not impossible, for her naval forces to follow the phases of development of a Dominion Navy as defined in C.I.D. 194–C. On the other hand, Newfoundland has a relatively large maritime population which is capable of providing for more than the numbers necessary for the local defence of the Colony.

It is therefore recommended in her case that the line of development should consist in providing trained seamen for manning in war British light cruisers and armed merchantmen detailed for the defence of the trade of the Empire.

3. *The Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve.*

The value to the Empire of Newfoundland seamen in the late war is well expressed in a report on the blockade of Germany by the 10th Cruiser Squadron in the Atlantic :—

> "The boarding of vessels was a very hazardous undertaking; generally the "boat's crew consisted of Newfoundland fishermen.
>
> "Each ship had a few of these excellent Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve "seamen on board, and they handled the boarding boats with such skill in the heavy "seas that, marvellous to relate, no lives were lost, though in a few instances the "boats got stove in alongside the vessels they were boarding."

The Admiralty decision to withdraw in 1922 H.M.S. "Briton" from her duties as training vessel for the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve was not due to any lack of appreciation of the past work or potential value of the Reserve, but was solely because Their Lordships had no funds at their disposal with which to provide the increased pay and retaining fees necessary to obtain recruits under post-war conditions, or to build and equip a training depot at St. John's. Under present conditions, and owing to the difficulty of providing a suitable berth alongside for a training vessel, it is considered that a shore barracks or armoury would be the most suitable form of training establishment to-day.

4. *Basis of Proposals.*

The outline proposals which follow take into consideration the financial and economic position of Newfoundland and are based upon the Admiralty scheme put forward in 1922 (*vide* Appendix) with certain additions and amendments.

5. *Naval Co-operation.*

Continuity of Naval policy can only be obtained if the various Governments concerned are kept at all times fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire. The question of whether the present arrangements are adequate for ensuring this will be raised at the Imperial Conference.

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Outline Recommendations.

6. *Administration and Command.*

(Reference: Paragraph 11 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

If the Newfoundland Government desired to place the Reserve under the command of the Commander-in Chief, North America and West Indies Station in time of peace, this could be arranged. The Commander-in-Chief could direct the training of the force, and, in conjunction with the local authorities, make the necessary arrangements for mobilisation in time of war or emergency. Under this arrangement the local administration of the Newfoundland Reserve would be carried out by the Newfoundland Government through its Commanding Officer.

7. *Training.*

(Reference: Paragraphs 9 and 10 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

Should the Newfoundland Government agree in principle to these proposals the question of training will require consideration. The cost of a sea-going training ship similar to "Lobelia" would be excessive, and the only alternative appears to be the institution of a drill hall ashore, possibly combined with service afloat in ships of the North America and West Indies squadron.

8. *Numbers Recommended.*

The numbers which can be trained must depend upon the financial provision which the Newfoundland Government is able to make, together with the rates of pay and gratuity which they decide upon.

If the present Admiralty scale is taken, a force of 200 men carrying out the Admiralty schedule of training would cost about $35,000 a year.

The above approximate estimate is inclusive of an administrative and instructional staff, but exclusive of the cost and maintenance of a drill hall.

Two hundred men are considered to be the smallest number that it would be economical to raise, and it is suggested that this number should be increased whenever possible to a maximum of 1,000.

9. *Administrative and Instructional Personnel.*

(Reference: Paragraph 13 of former Admiralty proposals (Appendix II).)

It should be explained that the recommendation to employ a retired officer and pensioned petty officers for this purpose was made with a view to saving the Newfoundland Government the expense of paying the pension contribution that would be necessary, in addition to full pay, in the case of active service personnel.

If the latter is preferred, however, the necessary arrangements can be made, and in either case great care would be taken in their selection.

The Officer in Charge would be responsible to the Government Department concerned for the administration of the Force. He would require the assistance of a registrar, who could combine the duties with that of accountant and victualling officer, with the aid of one clerical assistant.

With a total of 200 men, the numbers under training at one time are not likely to exceed 40, and it is therefore considered that the Instructional Staff of 4 petty officers previously recommended might be reduced by 2, thus compensating in part for the expense of a registrar and clerk.

10. *Admiralty Assistance in the Re-construction of a Newfoundland R.N.R.*

The Admiralty are prepared to render all assistance towards the re-establishment of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve that is within their power. In particular, they are prepared to recommend the provision, free of cost, of a first supply of guns and all equipment necessary for training purposes in a drill hall on shore.

They will also supply on repayment all Naval and victualling stores required by the Force from time to time.

Admiralty, July 21, 1923.
P.D. 01839.

APPENDIX I.

Telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Newfoundland, January 9, 1922.

January 9.

Your telegram, 6th December. Admiralty anxious to assist Newfoundland Government in development of Royal Naval Reserve, but are not in a position to incur any increased expense during financial year as provision not made in Navy Estimates. Definite proposals for future are being drawn up and will be forwarded for consideration as soon as possible. As regards "Briton," Admiralty of opinion that training could be carried out more economically on shore, and new scheme contemplates this. Crew of "Briton" has been withdrawn, and Admiralty would prefer to proceed with sale of vessel, expense of maintenance of which is not justified, in their opinion. Admiralty will reserve from sale guns, mountings and any stores or appliances on board which may be of use for training reserves on shore and transfer them without charge to Newfoundland Government if desired.

APPENDIX II.

Enclosure to Letter from Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Newfoundland, dated April 21, 1922.

(Confidential.)

Sir,

In continuation of Admiralty letter of the 6th January, M. 33039/21, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that they have given careful consideration to the question of the future of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve.

2. This Reserve has hitherto been administered under the Royal Naval Reserve Acts, 1859, 1896 and 1902, and the cost of its maintenance has accordingly fallen upon Imperial funds, except for the annual contribution of £3,000 paid by the Newfoundland Government as long as the numbers borne are not less than 600.

3. It will be recalled that at the time of the inception of the Newfoundland Royal Naval Reserve the existing law precluded the Imperial Government from maintaining a division of the Royal Naval Reserve composed of men not employed in merchant vessels registered in the United Kingdom. It was therefore suggested in Admiralty Letter "N" of the 20th May, 1901, that the Newfoundland Government should introduce legislation to enable them to raise such a force under the Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865. The Newfoundland Government were not prepared, however, to incur the cost of such a scheme, and steps were therefore taken, by the passage of the Royal Naval Reserve Act of 1902, to secure the necessary powers for the Imperial Government.

4. In the present financial situation my Lords do not consider that they would be warranted in incurring further expense in connection with the maintenance of Naval Forces in Dominions and Colonies in cases where the Dominion or Colony is itself able to accept the burden. They suggest, therefore, that any Naval Reserve in Newfoundland should in future be raised and maintained at the charge of the Newfoundland Government, and that steps should be taken by that Government, if willing, to obtain the necessary powers from the Newfoundland Legislature, due provision being made for the application of the Naval Discipline Act to Newfoundland Reservists during periods of drill, training and mobilised service.

5. Assuming that this view is accepted by the Dominion Government, my Lords confine themselves to suggesting the main lines which the future regulations of the Force should follow.

6. The Force should be trained primarily for the defence of Newfoundland. It is desirable, however, on general grounds that the men should be entered on the terms that, in the event of an emergency, they would be liable to general service in the Royal Navy, provided that an offer of their services has been made by the Dominion Government and accepted by His Majesty's Government under Section 7 of the Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865. It is impossible to forecast every situation which may arise in war, and it would be a source of weakness to the defence of the Empire if sections of the Naval Forces were entered without any other liability than to serve defences.

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7. My Lords consider that the period of engagement of Newfoundland Reservists should continue to be for five years, as in the case of the Royal Naval Reserve raised in this country, and that they should be encouraged to re-engage for similar periods of five years each. It is desirable that the periods of drill, details of training and qualifications for advancement in vacancies should follow those of the Royal Naval Reserve in Great Britain as far as possible. A copy of Admiralty Fleet Order 526/21 showing the principal new regulations in force for the latter is enclosed for information.

8. The rates of pay, &c., would be a question for the Newfoundland Government, but it appears desirable that the rates of pay and allowances while under training in His Majesty's ships (if such mode of training should ever be adopted) or when called up on mobilisation should be those in force for the time being in the Royal Navy.

9. Except as stated in the next paragraph, it would be sufficient to confine recruiting to the Seaman Branch as in the past, and the Force should be trained with a view to their performing the following principal duties:—

(*a.*) Examination service and traffic control (for this purpose it would be desirable that a proportion of seaman ratings should be selected for additional instruction in signalling).
(*b.*) Coast watching, signals and manipulation of searchlights.
(*c.*) To man a gun 4·7 and below.
(*d.*) To use a rifle.

The particulars of training contained in the enclosures* to this letter will serve as an indication of the nature and extent of the training required.

10. The desirability of making provision for minesweeping is under consideration; if minesweeping training should prove to be necessary a proportion of chief enginemen and enginemen should be entered.

11. The administration of the Force would be a matter for the Newfoundland Government. If the Newfoundland Government so desire the Admiralty would be prepared to direct the Commander-in-Chief, North America and West Indies Station, to assist by his advice in any way possible.

12. The question of raising officers for the Force is recommended for consideration. If raised, it is desirable that they should take an active part in drilling and instructing the men, so as to gain prestige and acquire executive ability.

13. It would probably be found desirable for the Newfoundland Government to employ for a period of about four years a small professional staff, consisting of one Commissioned Officer R.N. (retired) and four Petty Officers R.N. (pensioners). At the expiration of the four years it is hoped that sufficient instructors, both officers and men, will have been trained from the Newfoundland Force to enable them to carry on the instruction as a self-contained unit.

14. Should the Newfoundland Government concur generally in the foregoing suggestions, my Lords would be ready to advise, if desired, as to the steps necessary to establish the force on a proper legal basis, and also as to mobilisation arrangements.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) CHARLES WALKER.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Colonial Office, S.W. 1.

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* Not printed.

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SECRET. No. 56

E-65. **NOT FOR PUBLICATION**

(*Also C.I.D. Paper No.* 132–*D.*)

With reference to the Minutes of the 36th Meeting of the Standing Defence Sub-Committee (C.I.D. 175th Minutes, 4 (c)), the Secretary of State for India, as leader of the Indian Delegation at the Imperial Conference, has taken note of the views as expressed by the Admiralty in this Memorandum and reserves his opinion on these views for discussion in the Conference.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

INDIA.

1. *Object.*

To summarise the Naval situation (1923) and to give, in outline, Admiralty recommendations to India.

2. *The Naval Situation.*

As a result of the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the strategic situation has changed.

Except for a base in Hawaii, America does not possess, and by the terms of the *Status Quo* Agreement, cannot construct Naval Bases in the Pacific which would enable the American Fleet to be moved across that ocean.

America is therefore precluded from taking effective action in the Western Pacific.

Consequently the British Empire is left as the sole Power, apart from Japan, capable of operating in these waters. The Four-Power Pact between the United States of America, France, the British Empire and Japan cannot eliminate all possibility of war in that area.

The capital ship superiority of the British over the Japanese Fleet (Ratio 5 to 3) is offset to a considerable extent by the great distance at which the Fleet would have to operate from its main bases of supply and repair.

The Main Fleet, therefore, cannot be divided into detachments, but must be ready to move as a whole to any threatened area.

The need for mobility makes it necessary to press on with the preparations for a rapid concentration of our Main Fleet in the Far East, and the keystone of these preparations is the development of Singapore as a fuelling and repair base.

Even after the completion of the Singapore Dockyard and of the intermediate fuelling bases, and assuming that the Suez Canal route is available, the Main Fleet will take from one month to six weeks to reach the Western Pacific.

The enemy's obvious and most natural objective during the interval would be Singapore, the seizure of which would lay Indian ports and Indian trade open to heavy attack by enemy raiders. The resultant loss, both direct and indirect, would amount to a disaster of the first magnitude, not only to India herself, but to the whole Empire, and it is on this account that India is invited to co-operate in the creation of the Singapore Dockyard.

At the present time Naval co-operation by India in the defence of the Empire cannot be said to exist in the strict sense of the term, the Royal Indian Marine being a non-combatant Service. An annual subsidy of £100,000, however, is paid to Naval funds in respect to certain services performed by His Majesty's Ships in Indian waters.

3. *Air-Power.*

The control in war of sea communications can only be maintained by Naval forces. Close investigation has shown that though aeroplanes and seaplanes based on

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the shore will have to be taken into account in narrow waters, such as the English Channel and Mediterranean, the time is not yet in sight when they can take part in the control of ocean communications. Naval forces can, however, make good use of seaborne aircraft as one of their arms.

Airships, if developed and found reliable, can, if used for reconnaissance purposes, and worked in co-operation with surface vessels, assist in keeping open our sea communications.

4. *Form of Future Naval Co-operation by India.*

For offensive action in war, prior to the arrival of the Main Fleet, two classes of vessel are essential:—

(*a.*) Fast Light Cruisers of great endurance.
(*b.*) Large overseas submarines.

At the present time, however, it is not considered possible for India, in view of her relatively small sea-faring population, the undeveloped state of Naval maritime resources and the general dictates of economy, to maintain either of these types of vessel.

The reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine on the lines recommended by the Government of India so as to provide a nucleus of Auxiliary Patrol Craft and Minesweepers will be a first step towards the entry of India into the first phase of the development of her own Navy, though a considerable expansion of both personnel and matériel will be necessary before India will be able to provide and assume responsibility for her Local Defence Services.

5. In this connection the Admiralty desire to reaffirm their views expressed on several occasions to the Secretary of State for India, that if the Royal Indian Marine is to become an efficient combatant force, capable of co-operating in the Naval defence of the Empire, that Service should be placed, in the early stages of its development at any rate, under the control of a Director, who should be a Naval officer of senior rank on the Active List of the Royal Navy, and that the Director, R.I.M., should be given a status commensurate with his rank and the responsibilities which should accrue to him.

6. *Repair Ports and Fuel Reserves.*

Local defences, however perfect, cannot ensure in time of war the safety and prosperity of India. Of far greater immediate importance is the ability to transfer the British Fleet with all speed through the Indian Ocean to the Pacific, and subsequently to maintain it in these waters.

By assisting the transit of the Main Fleet, India can best shoulder part of the burden of Imperial Naval defence.

Repair Ports and fuel reserves are the chief requirements and recommendations under these headings are made subsequently in this paper.

7. *Scale of Naval Forces Recommended.*

The outline recommendations which follow are based on the above considerations and the Naval defence requirements of India as far as can be foreseen for the next few years.

Nevertheless, India cannot be considered without reference to the Empire as a whole. The Naval situation of one part of the Empire is profoundly affected by the Naval effort made by all parts.

It follows that continuity of Naval Policy is vital if the Empire is to remain secure. An unforeseen reduction of its Naval forces by one part of the Empire cannot be counter-balanced at short notice by a corresponding increase elsewhere, even if finance and popular opinion permit.

INDIA: OUTLINE RECOMMENDATIONS.

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I.—Maintenance of Naval Forces.

The Royal Indian Marine.

1. The Admiralty has recently received a copy of the proposals for the reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine. These proposals, if adopted, will constitute a definite change in the status of that Service from the non-combatant to the combatant, and are, in this respect, to be welcomed.

2. It is not proposed to make exhaustive comment on the reorganisation proposals at this stage. The Royal Indian Marine, it is considered, should be so organised and constituted that within a few years it can protect the waters in the vicinity of Indian ports. The requirements in Indian waters as regards A. P. Flotillas, and Minesweeping Units at Indian ports are now under Admiralty consideration, and will be communicated to the Indian Government in due course.

3. The extent to which the air can assist in carrying out the above functions will be examined at the same time.

4. A preliminary examination of the above requirements shows that a very considerable expansion of the proposed peace strength of the R.I.M. both as regards personnel and matériel will be necessary in war.

II.—Local Defences.

5. The defences including Naval and Air Defence and Defences on land at Indian ports are now under consideration by the Defence Sub-Committee of the Joint Defence Committee and their recommendations will be communicated in due course.

III.—Repair Ports.

Singapore.

6. The necessity for a base at Singapore to enable the Main Fleet to operate in the Pacific has been explained above.

The completion of this base is considered to be an urgent requirement for the defence of India, and it is on this assumption that the Indian Government is invited to co-operate with Great Britain in the construction of the Dockyard. The form which such co-operation could take is now under consideration.

Indian Ocean.

7. The primary requirement in this area is to expedite the transit of the Main Fleet to the probable theatre of operations.

8. It has been decided therefore to revive gradually the small repair establishment at Trincomali, the natural strategic centre of this area and the only anchorage suitable to modern requirements on the coasts of India and Ceylon.

In passing, it may be observed that the closing down of the Trincomali establishment in 1904 was necessitated by the concentration of the Main Fleet in Home waters, and its revival marks the return to normal world-wide strategy.

9. The Admiralty also recommend that all idea of developing large Naval repair bases in India should be definitely abandoned. The large commercial repair facilities of Bombay and Calcutta will still be of great value in war time for refitting ships employed in the Indian Ocean, or whose services can be spared for long periods

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from the theatre of operations. Large "after action" repairs could also be undertaken at Bombay. The Admiralty do not, however, consider that strategical reasons justify anything in the nature of a Government subsidy for these establishments.

IV.—Oil Fuel Reserves.

10. The policy of building up oil fuel reserves on the route to the East and of ensuring the mobility of a Fleet stationed in the East has already found expression in the commencement of oil fuel installations at Aden, Colombo, Trincomali, Rangoon and Singapore.

11. Although the British Government has started to erect these installations, they are becoming increasingly sensible of the financial burden that these preparations involve, and have already been forced to curtail considerably the programme of tank construction and to extend the number of years over which this programme is spread.

12. The provision by India by 1931 of 48,000 tons of oil fuel reserve at Aden and 216,000 tons at Rangoon, as recommended in paragraph 42 of C.I.D. Paper 176–C of the 28th July, 1922, would be of very material assistance in rectifying the present disadvantageous strategic position which we now occupy in the East.

V.—Trade.

13. The trade arrangements have already been communicated to the Indian Government under the headings:—

Naval Control Service (Protection).
Naval Control Service (Contraband Control).

VI.—Communications.

14. The W/T Stations of the Indian Empire, which are of Naval importance are:—

Rangoon, Port Blair, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Karachi, Basra.

All these stations would prove of importance in the event of—

(*a.*) Naval operations in their vicinity.
(*b.*) Movements of troops by transport.

Their power plant is considered adequate, but it would be of great advantage if they were modernised with valve transmitting apparatus.

15. At present routine point to point services exist between Bombay, Aden and Matara (Ceylon). These services also would benefit if Bombay were fitted with valve transmitting apparatus.

16. In the event of war in the Far East, efficient intercommunication between Madras, Rangoon, Port Blair, and thence to the medium power stations at Seletar (Singapore) will be a necessity.

17. It is proposed that the Navy should build a high power station at Singapore. In addition to working direct with England, this station will also work with the proposed high power Indian station, and great importance is attached to this service.

VII.—Stores.

18. The supply of Naval and Victualling Stores from the United Kingdom in time of war to satisfy every need of a large fleet operating from Singapore would be difficult and uneconomical. The extent to which India can assist in this respect will be investigated by the Admiralty, and, if found necessary, the co-operation of the Government of India will be sought.

Admiralty, July 18, 1923.
P.D. 01845/23.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

IRISH FREE STATE.

THE terms of the recent Treaty provide that the Naval defence of the Irish Free State should be undertaken by the British Government, subject to a review of this arrangement in 1927.

During the period in which the Imperial Naval Forces are undertaking the sea defence of the Irish Free State, their task will be much simplified and enhanced if the Irish Free State will assist as far as possible within the limits of the Treaty. The Admiralty would be very grateful if the Irish Free State would allow a representative to discuss with them details of the various ways in which this assistance can be given.

Admiralty, July 21, 1923.

P.D. 01837/23.

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COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1923.

MEMORANDUM BY THE ADMIRALTY.

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COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1923.

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1. *Empire Naval Policy and Co-operation*, 1923.

THE British Empire is an Oceanic Commonwealth. The economic and defensive organisation of each nation and community of that Commonwealth has grown up and is based to-day on the presupposition that the use of the sea routes is free to us for mutual co-operation in peaceful development and for mutual assistance against external aggression. The control by a hostile Power of the sea routes which are the arteries of the Empire would involve all of us in economic disaster, and leave us individually isolated in the face of attack or invasion by superior forces.

2. *The Task of the Empire's Naval Forces.*

The task of the Naval Forces of the Empire is to destroy or neutralise Enemy Naval Forces and thereby to keep open the Sea Communications of the Empire.

In doing so they can secure:—

1. The protection of our sea-borne trade.*
2. The destruction of the enemy's sea-borne trade.
3. The free movement by sea of our own Military and Air Forces.
4. The prevention of the despatch overseas of enemy Military or Air Forces.

Wherever this task can be most effectively fulfilled, there, and there alone, the Empire as a whole, and each part of it, however remote from the actual scene of operations, will be effectively defended.

The capacity of the Naval Forces of the Empire to carry out their duties in the actual event of war will enable them to fulfil their primary and continuous function, which is to preserve peace and to enable British interests to be safeguarded by peaceful diplomacy.

* The vital importance of oversea trade is shown in the Appendices.

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3. *The Influence of Air Power on the Naval Problem.*

The development of aviation, while destined to have a great influence on the tactical organisation of our Naval Forces, will not, outside narrow waters such as the English Channel or the Mediterranean, materially affect the problem of the control of the ocean routes, which, in the main, will continue to depend upon surface craft. Airships, if developed and found reliable, may, however, play a considerable part, in co-operation with surface vessels, in carrying out the reconnaissance of the sea routes and the keeping open of sea communication.

4. *The Standard of Naval Strength.*

The definite standard of Naval strength necessary for the peace and security of the Empire must naturally vary with the general political situation, always allowing for the fact that Naval strength and efficiency cannot be improvised, and that it takes several years to build a capital ship and a generation to train a really efficient body of senior officers.

The Imperial Conference of 1921 defined the One-Power Standard of Naval strength as the basis of Imperial defence. This standard was contemplated by the Conference as a minimum. It was subsequently, as far as the main units of the Battle Fleet are concerned, fixed as the maximum by the Washington Agreement. This limitation was accepted by the representatives of the Empire at Washington and by the Admiralty, in the general interest of world peace. But in view of the fact that we depend for our very existence upon the freedom of the seas, it is essential that the Naval Forces of the Empire should, within that limitation, attain the highest point of individual and combined efficiency, and the greatest possible degree of mobility.

5. *The Problem before the Imperial Conference.*

At the forthcoming Imperial Conference the Admiralty will present for discussion with the Dominions the building programmes with which the Empire is faced for the next few years in order to maintain the One-Power Standard, and invite them to consider how they can best co-operate in a task which, even with the substantial relief afforded by the Washington Agreement, involves an unduly heavy burden for Great Britain to bear alone. It is obvious that, in order to secure the necessary minimum of security with the equally necessary minimum of cost, there must not only be the most complete and whole-hearted mutual co-operation between the Governments and Services concerned in peace and war, but that the peace organisation must be such as to fit in with the most effective organisation for war.

6. *Peace Organisation: The Principle of Dominion Navies.*

The maintenance of the Naval Forces of the Empire in peace must depend lutimately on the sustained will of the peoples of the Empire as expressed by their Parliaments and through their responsible Governments. It is not merely approval, but the active and determined support of public opinion in every part of the Empire that is required if the Naval effort is to be adequate to our needs. With the growth of the Dominions in national status and sentiment, the only system of Naval co-operation which can command sufficient permanent good-will and support is one under which each Dominion possesses and controls its own Naval Forces. The Admiralty whole-heartedly endorses this principle, not only on political and constitutional grounds, but also because it will develop new centres of Naval strength, and new bases for the Navy of the Empire which are essential to the strategy of the future.

7. *Organisation in War.*

In war the Naval Forces of the Empire must be considered as a single collective Empire Fleet. From the strategical point of view, that Fleet may conveniently be regarded as falling into *three categories*. These three categories are closely interdependent, but they stand in a very definite order of relative importance.

First and foremost comes the *Main Fleet*. This must be capable of performing its function of destroying or containing the Main Fleet of the enemy. On it rests the fate of the whole Empire.

Secondly, there are the *Detached Forces* which, backed by the power of the Main Fleet, exercise control of the sea communications in areas distant from the main theatre of operations.

Thirdly, there are the *Local Defence Forces* which are necessary in order to free the Main Fleet and the Detached Forces for their proper work on the High Seas. The effort expended upon these Local Defence Forces should only be the minimum necessary to resist such pressure as the enemy may reasonably be expected to exercise in any particular area in view of the general position on the High Seas. It should never be allowed to limit or starve the preparations for the Sea-going Fleet.

8. *Progressive Development of Dominion Navies.*

The Naval Forces of the Dominions can, as they develop, take their part progressively in each of these categories. In the course of their development they will naturally pass through certain distinct but successive phases.

Phase 1.—In the First Phase provision should be made and responsibility assumed for Local Defence Services. At the same time preparations should be made for the next phase by beginning the training of personnel for a sea-going force. Canada and South Africa are in the First Phase.

Phase 2.—In the Second Phase the first definite steps are taken in the creation of a force for work on the High Seas, as opposed to a local defence force. This phase involves the obtaining of one or more seagoing ships, and in the first instance it may be necessary, for financial and other reasons, to obtain both the ships themselves and a portion, at any rate, of the personnel from the Royal Navy. Throughout this phase the necessary training, repair and fuelling facilities should gradually be built up in preparation for the next phase. This Second Phase has been reached by New Zealand.

Phase 3.—The Third Phase is reached when a Dominion is in a position to provide and man a seagoing squadron of its own, and to take over the full control in peace of the station in which its shores are included. That station will be the normal home station of its Squadron, but interchange and co-operation with British Units on other stations should be arranged. Australia is the only Dominion which is now in the Third Phase.

Phase 4.—In the Fourth and final Phase the Dominions should be capable, in addition to the Squadrons for service on their own home stations, to provide, whether in the shape of additional cruiser squadrons or of capital ship units, a substantial part of the general scheme of naval defence and, more particularly, of the Main Fleet.

Throughout the process of development certain general considerations should be kept in view. The fostering of a Mercantile Marine, and with it of a seafaring population and of a national sea sentiment, constitutes an essential foundation for the building up of a Dominion Navy. A small local Navy, with no scope for ambition and no variety of scene, cannot, in the long run, secure the right type of officers or men, or maintain a high standard of efficiency. A good deal can be done to surmount these difficulties during the Second and Third Phases by a free interchange, both of individuals and of ships, with the Royal Navy. But the real solution lies, for the Dominions which can afford it, in reaching the Fourth Phase as soon as possible and being able to provide in their own ships a regular rotation of home and foreign service, as well as regular opportunities for taking part in the Fleet Exercises of the Royal Navy, and a more extended and varied responsibility for their own senior officers. In any case, whatever the stage of development to which the Government of each Dominion considers its naval efforts can attain in the near future, it will be the endeavour of the Admiralty, by whole-hearted co-operation and assistance, to contribute to the success of those efforts.

Admiralty, S.W. 1, *June* 11, 1923.

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APPENDIX I.

AUSTRALIA.

Chart showing Values and Tonnage of Principal Commodities exchanged between Australia and other Countries.

THE accompanying chart* has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance to Australia.

Australia, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to and receive goods from Australia. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 30th June, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable while there are no particular items which justify inclusion. In these cases the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

* Note.—In some instances the figures shown on the chart require correction, and in any case they should not be used without being checked by the figures given in the tables.

AUSTRALIA: IMPORTS. YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1921.

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Bananas	Fiji	4,000
Maize	South Africa	1,000
Molasses	Fiji	9,000
Oats	Argentine	1,000
	Brazil	1,000
Rice	India	8,000
	Hong Kong	5,000
Sugar	Dutch East Indies	79,000
	Cuba	26,000
	Peru	6,000
	Fiji	5,000
Tea	Ceylon	6,000
	India	3,000
	Dutch East Indies	5,000
Raw materials—		
Coal	United Kingdom	9,000
	New Zealand	6,000
Copra	New Guinea	21,000
	Solomon Islands	8,000
	Papua	7,000
Flax and hemp	New Zealand	6,000
	Philippines	2,000
Guano	Pacific Islands	56,000
Gums and resins	United States of America	4,000
Linseed	India	12,000
Manganese	New Caledonia	2,000
Nitrate of soda	Chile	3,000
	Japan	2,000
Oakum	New Zealand	2,000
Petroleum	United States of America	125,000
	Dutch East Indies	85,000
	Straits Settlements	33,000
Phosphates	Pacific Islands	237,000
Salt	United Kingdom	3,000
Soda, carbonate and bi-carbonate	United Kingdom	33,000
Sulphur	United States of America	70,000
Timber	Canada	..
	United States of America	..
	Norway	..
	Sweden	..
	New Zealand	..
Manufactured articles—		
Cement	Japan	9,000
	United Kingdom	6,000
	Denmark	4,000
	Sweden	4,000
Iron and steel	United Kingdom	172,000*
	United States of America	87,000*
	Belgium	12,000*
Jute bags	India	..
Metal manufactures	United Kingdom	..
	United States of America	..
Paper, printing and wrapping	Canada	33,000
	Sweden	26,000
	Norway	16,000
	United States of America	6,000
	United Kingdom	15,000
Textiles, hardware, leather goods	United Kingdom	..

* These figures represent all iron and steel and manufactures thereof as enumerated by weight in the Australian returns. In addition, there are items shown by value only which would probably increase the tonnage figures by 25 per cent. Tinned plates are included with the iron and steel figure.

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AUSTRALIA: EXPORTS. YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1921.

Commodity.	Country to which Exported.	Tons Weight.
Barley	United Kingdom ..	40,000
	Belgium	18,000
	France	7,000
Butter	United Kingdom ..	38,000
	Dutch East Indies ..	1,000
Cheese	United Kingdom ..	4,000
Flour	United Kingdom ..	73,000
	Egypt ..	55,000
	South Africa	37,000
	Dutch East Indies ..	14,000
	Straits Settlements ..	7,000
	Mauritius	3,000
Fruits	United Kingdom ..	25,000
Oats	United Kingdom ..	8,000
	Dutch East Indies ..	3,000
Meat, preserved and refrigerated ..	United Kingdom ..	97,000
	Egypt ..	5,000
Preserved milk	Belgium	4,000
Wheat	United Kingdom ..	1,037,000
	Egypt	281,000
	France	239,000
	Belgium	154,000
	Germany	67,000
	Italy	59,000
	Holland	59,000
	South Africa	31,000
	New Zealand	16,000
Bark	New Zealand	3,000
Coal and coke	New Zealand	740,000
	Dutch East Indies ..	412,000
	Chile	191,000
	Straits Settlements ..	173,000
	Philippines	110,000
	Egypt	104,000
	New Caledonia	72,000
	India	71,000
	Sweden	94,000
	Hawaiian Islands ..	42,000
	Fiji	41,000
	United States of America ..	30,000
	Norway	27,000
	Ceylon	21,000
	Peru	16,000
	Hong Kong	12,000
	China	11,000
Copper	United Kingdom ..	19,000
Copra (not Australian)	Denmark	7,000
	United Kingdom ..	5,000
	United States of America ..	10,000
	Holland	6,000
Fertilisers	New Zealand	37,000
	Dutch East Indies ..	3,000
Iron, pig	New Zealand	8,000
Lead, pig	United Kingdom ..	17,000
Oil-cake	United Kingdom ..	5,000
Salt	New Zealand	11,000
Sandal wood	Hong Kong	7,000
Tallow	United Kingdom ..	13,000
	Japan	7,000
Wool	United Kingdom ..	145,000
	France	15,000
	Belgium	16,000
	Italy	7,000
	Japan	6,000
	Germany	4,000
	United States of America ..	18,000
Zinc concentrates	Belgium	27,000
	United Kingdom ..	15,000

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APPENDIX II.

NEW ZEALAND.

Chart showing Values and Tonnage of Principal Commodities exchanged between New Zealand and other Countries.

THE accompanying chart* has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance to New Zealand.

New Zealand, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to and receive goods from New Zealand. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st December, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table, from which the chart was prepared, shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight, as no such figures are published in the trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases the value of the *total* trade only has been shown, as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

* NOTE.—In some instances the figures shown on the chart require correction, and in any case they should not be used without being checked by the figures given in the tables.

NEW ZEALAND: IMPORTS, YEAR 1921.

Commodity.	Country whence imported.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Maize	Australia	2,000
Oats	Australia	1,000
Onions	Australia	3,000
Rice	Australia	1,000
	China	1,000
Sugar	Fiji	56,000
	Australia	3,000
	Java	4,000
Tea	Ceylon	2,000
Wheat	Australia	8,000
Raw materials—		
Coal and coke	Australia	630,000
	United States of America ..	65,000
	Canada	3,000
	United Kingdom ..	84,000
	Japan	43,000
Fertilisers	United States of America ..	2,000
	Australia	11,000
	Belgium	11,000
	India	2,000
	Pacific Islands	49,000
	Japan	3,000

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Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons Weight.
Raw materials (*continued*)—		
Linseed oil	United Kingdom	1,000
Mineral oil	United States of America	79,000
	Sumatra	6,000
	Australia	1,000
Paraffin wax	Burma	1,000
Salt	United Kingdom	12,000
	Australia	6,000
Sulphur	United States of America	4,000
Tanning materials (bark)	Australia	2,000
Timber	Australia	..
Manufactures—		
Iron and steel	United Kingdom	50,000*
	United States of America	15,000
Machinery	United Kingdom	..
	United States of America	..
Printing paper	Canada	11,000
Textiles	United Kingdom	..

* These figures represent all iron and steel and manufactures thereof as enumerated by weight in the New Zealand returns. In addition there are items shown by value only which would probably increase the tonnage figures by 5 per cent.

NEW ZEALAND EXPORTS. YEAR 1921.

Commodity.	Country to which Exported.	Tons Weight.
Butter	United Kingdom	44,000
Cheese	United Kingdom	68,000
Frozen meat	United Kingdom	211,000
Dried milk	United Kingdom	7,000
Oats	United Kingdom	7,000
Peas	United Kingdom	4,000
Potatoes	Fiji	1,000
Coal	United Kingdom	29,000
	Australia	17,000
	Fiji	3,000
Phormium, tenax and tow	Australia	7,000
	United Kingdom	3,000
Sheep and rabbit	United Kingdom	5,000
	United States of America	6,000
Linseed	Australia	3,000
Timber	Australia	..
Wool	United Kingdom	64,000
	United States of America	3,000

APPENDIX III.

CANADA.

CHART SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXCHANGED BETWEEN CANADA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying Chart* has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to Canada.

Canada, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to, and receive goods from, Canada. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st March, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of Foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the Trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases, the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable, while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases, the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

CANADA: IMPORTS (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921.)

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons of 2,000 lb. Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Butter	United States of America	1,000
Coffee	Brazil	4,000
Corn (Indian)	United States of America	276,000
Fish, excluding canned	Alaska	1,000
	United States of America	2,000
	Newfoundland	9,000
Lard	United States of America	6,000
Mutton	New Zealand	2,000
	United States of America	1,000
Pork	" " "	10,000 / 9,000
Potatoes	" " "	28,000
Rice	British Guiana	4,000
	Hong Kong	10,000
	United States of America	9,000
Sugar	Cuba	156,000
	United States of America	84,000
	British Guiana	32,000
	San Domingo	32,000
	Jamaica	13,000
	Barbadoes	10,000
	Peru	11,000

* NOTE.—In some instances the figures shown on the chart require correction, and in any case they should not be used without being checked by the figures given in the tables.

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Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons of 2,000 lb. Weight.
Foodstuffs—(continued).		
Tea	United Kingdom	6,000
	India	4,000
Tobacco	United States of America	10,000
Raw Materials—		
Alumina	United States of America	59,000
Animal fat	„ „ „	11,000
Asphalt	„ „ „	30,000
Bones and bone dust	„ „ „	4,000
Chloride of lime	„ „ „	19,000
Coal	„ „ „	20,245,000
Coke	„ „ „	549,000
Copper	„ „ „	22,000
Cotton	„ „ „	49,000
Fibre (manila)	„ „ „	4,000
„ (sisal)	„ „ „	17,000
Fire clay	„ „ „	49,000
Gravel and sand	„ „ „	210,000
Resin	„ „ „	13,000
Hides and skins	New Zealand	2,000
	Argentine	2,000
	United States of America	6,000
	Uruguay	1,000
Iron ore	Newfoundland	622,000
	Norway	11,000
	Sweden	11,000
	United States of America	1,305,000
Iron, scrap	„ „ „	139,000
Iron, pig	„ „ „	56,000
Lead, pig and bars	United Kingdom	8,000
	United States of America	1,000
Nitrate of Soda	„ „ „	25,000
	Chile	1,500
Oilcake	United States of America	9,000
Petrol and products	Peru	128,000*
	United States of America	1,753,000*
Phosphate rock	„ „ „	11,000
Potash	Germany	5,000
Rags	United Kingdom	6,000
	United States of America	8,000
Rubber	United Kingdom	2,000
	Straits Settlements	5,000
	United States of America	4,000
Salt	United Kingdom	23,000 12,000
	British West Indies	22,000
	Spain	9,000
	United States of America	15,000 51,000
Sand (silica)	„ „ „	102,000
Soda (excluding Nitrate of Soda)	„ „ „	64,000
Stone (refuse)	„ „ „	445,000
	Newfoundland	32,000
Sulphur	United States of America	119,000
Vegetable oils	„ „ „	14,000
Waste paper	„ „ „	36,000
Wood pulp	„ „ „	25,000
Wool	United Kingdom	1,000
	United States of America	3,000

* These figures represent tonnage of iron and steel and manufactures thereof enumerated by weight in the Canadian returns. The estimated tonnage of items shown by value only would probably add 30 per cent. to the above figures.

Commodity.	Country whence Imported.	Tons of 2,000 lb. Weight.
Manufactured Articles—		
Iron and steel	United States of America	850,000*
	United Kingdom	25,000*
Luxury imports, *e.g.*, wines, silks, &c.	France.	
Textiles	United States of America.	
	United Kingdom.	

CANADA: EXPORTS (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country to which Exported.	Tons of 2,000 lb. Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Bacon	United Kingdom	49,000
Barley	„ „	198,000
Cheese	„ „	61,000
Condensed milk	„ „	11,000
	United States of America	6,000
Fruit—apples	United Kingdom	102,000
Meat—beef and mutton	United States of America	20,000
Oatmeal	United Kingdom	18,000
Oats	„ „	120,000
Potatoes	United States of America	126,000
	Cuba	17,000
Rye	United Kingdom	29,000
	Norway	14,000
	United States of America	19,000
Sugar	„ „ „	25,000
Wheat	United Kingdom	879,000
	Belgium	422,000
	France	152,000
	Germany	55,000
	Greece	140,000
	Italy	631,000
	Netherlands	209,000
	Spain	44,000
	United States of America	1,270,000
Wheat Flour	United Kingdom	270,000
	United States of America	116,000
Raw Materials—		
Aluminium	United Kingdom	2,000
	United States of America	5,000
Asbestos	United Kingdom	12,000
	Belgium	10,000
	United States of America	114,000
	Germany	5,000
Calcium carbide	United States of America	46,000
Coal	United Kingdom	81,000
	South Africa	23,000
	British Guiana	19,000
	Gibraltar	26,000
	Newfoundland	387,000
	Australia	23,000
	New Zealand	20,000
	Argentine	13,000
	China	20,000
	France	168,000
	French Africa	32,000
	Japan	14,000

* These figures represent tonnage of iron and steel and manufactures thereof enumerated by weight in the Canadian returns. The estimated tonnage of items shown by value only would probably add 30 per cent. to the above figures.

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Commodity.	Country to which Exported.	Tons of 2,000 lb. Weight.
Raw materials—(continued).		
Coal—(*continued*)	Netherlands	227,000
	Norway....	36,000
	Sweden....	15,000
	United States of America....	1,031,000
	Alaska	37,000
Coke	United States of America....	37,000
Copper	United Kingdom....	4,000
	United States of America....	14,000 } 17,000 }
Cyanide	„ „ „	44,000
Feldspar	„ „ „	41,000
Hay....	„ „ „	162,000
Hides and skins	„ „ „	13,000
Iron ore	„ „ „	17,000
Iron, pig	„ „ „	51,000
Lime	„ „ „	24,000
Timber	United Kingdom....	—
	United States of America....	—
Sand, gravel	„ „ „	1,503,000
Sulphur	„ „ „	119,000
Wood pulp	„ „ „	535,000
	United Kingdom....	113,000
	France	34,000
	Japan	18,000
Wool....	United States of America....	3,000
Manufactured Articles—		
Abrasives (carborundum, &c.)	United States of America....	27,000
Cement	„ „ „	93,000
Iron and steel bars and rods	United Kingdom....	39,000
Iron and steel rails	United States of America....	40,000
Newspaper	Australia	37,000
	United States of America....	668,000

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APPENDIX IV.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

CHART SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying Chart* has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to the Union of South Africa.

The Union of South Africa, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to, and receive goods from, the Union of South Africa. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st December, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of Foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the Trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases, the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable, while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases, the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: IMPORTS ON PRIVATE ACCOUNT (YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country of Origin.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Coffee	Brazil	12,000
Flour	Australia	19,000
Rice....	China	14,000
	India	8,000
	Cochin China	5,000
Sugar	Portuguese East Africa	11,000
Wheat	Australia	19,000
Raw Materials—		
Nitrate of Soda	Chile	21,000
Petroleum	United States of America....	69,000
	Dutch East Indies	26,000
	Persia	5,000
Phosphates	Egypt	6,000
	South Sea Islands	5,000
Sulphur	United States of America....	8,000
Superphosphates	Holland....	8,000
Timber	Sweden	—
	Finland....	—

* NOTE.—In some instances the figures shown on the chart require correction, and in any case they should not be used without being checked by the figures given in the tables.

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Commodity.	Country of Origin.	Tons Weight.
Manufactured Articles—		
Cement	Demark	6,000
	Germany	6,000
Cotton Goods	United Kingdom	—
Iron and Steel*	,, ,,	47,000
	United States of America	10,000
Leather manufactures	United Kingdom	—
Machinery	,, ,,	—

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: EXPORTS (YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country of Destination.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Maize meal	United Kingdom	92,000
Maize	,, ,,	235,000
	Germany	53,000
	Holland	17,000
	Belgium	15,000
	Portuguese East Africa	4,000
Sugar	United Kingdom	56,000
	India	2,000
Raw Materials—		
Asbestos	United Kingdom	2,000
	Australia	1,000
Coal, cargo	India	759,000
	Ceylon	238,000
	Aden	134,000
	Mauritius	40,000
	Egypt	205,000
	Portuguese East Africa	36,000
	Straits Settlements	17,000
	Madagascar	19,000
	Portuguese India	29,000
	Argentine	16,000
	Turkey	8,000
Diamonds	United Kingdom	
Feathers	,, ,,	
Gold	,, ,,	
Hair, Angora	,, ,,	7,000
Hides and skins	,, ,,	11,000
	Germany	2,000
	France	5,000
	United States of America	2,000
Bark (extract)	United Kingdom	3,000
Bark (wattle)	,, ,,	13,000
	Germany	34,000
	Japan	9,000
	United States of America	6,000
Wool	United Kingdom	45,000
	Germany	22,000
	Belgium	12,000
	France	9,000
	United States of America	7,000
	Japan	3,000

* These figures represent all iron and steel and manufactures thereof as enumerated by weight in the South African returns. In addition, there are items shown by value only which would probably increase the tonnage figures by 60 per cent.

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APPENDIX V.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

TABLES SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT AND IMPORT BETWEEN NEWFOUNDLAND AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying tables have been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to Newfoundland.

Newfoundland, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is, in her turn, under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

Table I shows the imports and exports by countries in values for the year ending the 30th June, 1921.

Table II shows the more bulky and valuable imports and exports by weight (where this is known) for the same year. In the case of textiles, timber and wheat, the total weights could not be ascertained, as they are not published in the trade returns.

TABLE I.—VALUES OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS BY COUNTRIES INTO AND FROM NEWFOUNDLAND FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1921.

	Imports (1,000 Dollars).	Exports (1,000 Dollars).
Canada	14,841	1,976
United States	9,556	1,854
United Kingdom	3,230	6,275
West Indies	794	1,131
Ceylon	149	—
Portugal	105	3,781
Spain	77	2,956
Brazil	2	2,263
Greece	22	814
Italy	3	1,047

TABLE II.—NEWFOUNDLAND: IMPORTS, 1920–21.

Commodity.	Country whence imported.	Tons weight.
Coal	Canada	297,000
	United States of America	18,000
	United Kingdom	8,000
Cotton Textiles	United States of America	—
	United Kingdom	—
Flour	Canada	26,000
Hay	,,	10,000
Meat	,,	Not known
Oats	,,	17,000
Oilcake	Canada	2,000
Petroleum	,,	4,000
	United States of America	3,000
Potatoes	Canada	3,000
Salt	Portugal	15,000
	Spain	13,000
	West Indies	3,000
	Germany	2,000
	United Kingdom	2,000
Sugar	Canada	1,000
Sulphur	United States of America	3,000
Timber	Canada	—
	United States of America	—

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C 63280

NEWFOUNDLAND: EXPORTS, 1920–21.

Commodity.	Country to which Exported.	Tons weight.
Codfish	Portugal	18,000
	Spain	14,000
	Brazil	9,000
	West Indies	5,000
	Italy	5,000
	Greece	4,000
	United Kingdom	3,000
	Canada	3,000
	United States of America	2,000
	French Indies	1,000
Cod oil	United States of America	2,000
Iron ore	Canada	460,000
	United Kingdom	27,000
	Holland	26,000
Limestone	Canada	93,000
Paper	United Kingdom	61,000
Pulp	,, ,,	24,000
	United States of America	2,000
Timber	United Kingdom	—
	United States of America	—

C 63281

APPENDIX VI.

INDIA.

CHART SHOWING VALUES AND TONNAGE OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXCHANGED BETWEEN INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE accompanying Chart* has been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to India.

India, while dependent upon certain commodities which are produced abroad, is in her turn under the necessity of exporting the commodities which she produces to pay for her imports.

This chart shows in graphic form, by black lines for receipts and green lines for exports, the various countries which send goods to, and receive goods from, India. The small circles enclose units of value. The rectangles at the end of the lines show the various commodities in units of weight. The year taken is that ending the 31st March, 1921.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are bound to occur in these figures, but the general trend of Foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

The accompanying table from which the chart was prepared shows a more detailed list of exports and imports by weight than could be conveniently included in the chart. It will be seen that in the case of certain manufactures, *e.g.*, textiles, machinery, &c., it has been found impracticable to show a unit of weight as no such figures are published in the Trade returns. Timber has also presented the same difficulty. In these cases the commodity has been shown without any unit, as value would not form a true standard of comparison.

In some cases, the *total* value of the trade with a country may be considerable, while there are no *particular* items which justify inclusion. In these cases, the value of the *total* trade only has been shown as mention of the items would not afford a true perspective.

INDIA: IMPORTS ON PRIVATE ACCOUNT (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country whence Consigned.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Fruit and vegetables (excluding fresh)	Persian Gulf	31,000
	Muscat	12,000
	Persia	7,000
Sugar and molasses	Mauritius	11,000
	Java	306,000
	Straits Settlements	9,000
	Hong Kong	6,000
	Egypt	4,000
Raw Materials—		
Aluminium	United Kingdom	2,000
Asphalt	,, ,,	4,000
Betel nuts	Straits Settlements	40,000
	Ceylon	6,000
China clay	United Kingdom	22,000
Coal and coke	Australia	33,000
	United Kingdom	10,000
	Natal	7,000
	Straits Settlements	3,000
	Japan	10,000
	Portuguese East Africa	18,000

* NOTE.—In some instances the figures shown on the chart require correction, and in any case they should not be used without being checked by the figures given in the tables.

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Commodity.	Country whence Consigned.	Tons Weight.
Raw materials—(continued).		
Copper	United Kingdom	7,000
	United States of America	6,000
Copra	Ceylon	7,000
Cotton	United Kingdom	5,000
	Kenya	3,000
Lead	United Kingdom	3,000
Oil, mineral	Straits Settlements	40,000
	United Kingdom	7,000
	Borneo (British)	4,000
	Persia	112,000
	Borneo (Dutch)	125,000
	United States of America	186,000
Pitch and tar	United Kingdom	7,000
Salt	" "	93,000
	Aden, &c.	183,000
	Egypt	117,000
	Germany	101,000
	Spain	68,000
	Italian East Africa	54,000
Soda	United Kingdom	42,000
	Kenya	2,000
Sulphur	Japan	4,000
	Italy	3,000
	United States of America	1,000
	United Kingdom	1,000
Timber	Siam	—
	Straits Settlements	—
	United States of America	—
Tin	Straits Settlements	2,000
Woodpulp	Norway	3,000
	Sweden	2,000
Zinc	United Kingdom	3,000
Manufactured Articles—		
Brass, bronze and manufactures	United Kingdom	23,000
	Japan	2,000
Cement	United Kingdom	123,000
Iron and steel	" "	574,000
	United States of America	113,000
	Belgium	69,000
	Germany	15,000
Machinery	United Kingdom	—
	United States of America	—
Paint	United Kingdom	15,000
Soap	" "	15,000
Textiles	" "	—
	Japan	—

INDIA: EXPORTS ON PRIVATE ACCOUNT (YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921).

Commodity.	Country of Final Destination.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—		
Barley	Red Sea	4,000
Beans, pulse, &c.	United Kingdom	7,000
	Germany	9,000
	Belgium	9,000
	Japan	3,000
	Ceylon	9,000
	Straits Settlements	8,000
Coffee	United Kingdom	5,000
	France	2,000

Commodity.	Country of Final Destination.	Tons Weight.
Foodstuffs—(continued).		
Fish	Ceylon	10,000
Rice	United Kingdom	170,000
	Straits Settlements	183,000
	Ceylon	276,000
	Bahrein	29,000
	Federal Malay States	42,000
	Hong Kong	24,000
	Egypt	16,000
	Mauritius	36,000
	Australia	18,000
	Germany	51,000
	Red Sea	22,000
	Java	27,000
	Japan	12,000
	Arabia	36,000
	Belgium	11,000
	Cape Colony	7,000
Rice meal	United Kingdom	6,000
Sugar	" "	12,000
	Ceylon	6,000
	United States of America	2,000
Tea	United Kingdom	111,000
	Canada	3,000
	Australia	3,000
Vegetables and fruit	Ceylon	16,000
	Straits Settlements	13,000
Wheat and wheatflour	United Kingdom	95,000
	Egypt	36,000
	Germany	27,000
	Belgium	22,000
	France	20,000
	Holland	15,000
	Italy	13,000
	Ceylon	15,000
	Aden	6,000
	Straits Settlements	6,000
	Mauritius	6,000
	Red Sea	8,000
	Persian Gulf	7,000
Raw material—		
Bran	Straits Settlements	101,000
	United Kingdom	59,000
	Hong Kong	7,000
Chrome iron ore	United Kingdom	20,000
	Belgium	7,000
	United States of America	5,000
Coal	Ceylon	674,000
	Straits Settlements	194,000
	Aden	76,000
	Egypt	74,000
	Sumatra	53,000
	Java	15,000
	Philippines	14,000
	Algeria	16,000
	Persian Gulf	11,000
	France	6,000
Cotton	United Kingdom	17,000
	Germany	36,000
	Belgium	43,000
	Italy	38,000
	Spain	14,000

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Commodity.	Country of Final Destination.	Tons Weight.
Raw material—(continued).		
Cotton—(*continued*)	Japan	168,000
	China	32,000
Iron, pig	Japan	47,000
Fertilisers	Ceylon	21,000
	United Kingdom....	16,000
	Japan	12,000
	United States of America....	14,000
	Belgium	28,000
	France	8,000
Hemp	United Kingdom....	10,000
	Belgium	6,000
Hides and skins	United Kingdom....	6,000
	United States of America....	10,000
	Italy	3,000
Jute....	United Kingdom....	136,000
	Germany	72,000
	France	50,000
	United States of America....	110,000
	Belgium	26,000
	Spain	24,000
	Italy	23,000
	Brazil	9,000
	Holland....	8,000
	Japan	7,000
Lac	United Kingdom....	3,000
	United States of America....	11,000
Lead	United Kingdom....	8,000
	Ceylon	5,000
	Hong Kong	3,000
	Japan	6,000
Manganese ore	United Kingdom....	331,000
	Belgium	170,000
	France	81,000
	United States of America....	170,000
	Italy	14,000
	Holland....	8,000
Oil-cake	United Kingdom....	50,000
	Ceylon	28,000
	Japan	12,000
Oil-seeds	United Kingdom....	286,000
	Australia	14,000
	Belgium	163,000
	Germany	27,000
	France	71,000
	Italy	32,000
Paraffin wax	United Kingdom....	5,000
	Italy	5,000
	Japan	5,000
Petroleum	United Kingdom....	15,000
	France	50,000
Rubber	United Kingdom....	5,000
Saltpetre	„ „	5,000
	Mauritius	5,000
	United States of America....	3,000
Tanning and dyeing materials	United Kingdom....	19,000
	United States of America....	15,000
Teak	United Kingdom....	—
Vegetable oils	„ „	3,000
	Mauritius	1,000
	Belgium	1,000
Wolfram ore	United Kingdom....	2,000
Wool	„ „	10,000
Zinc....	Belgium	60,000

Commodity.	Country of Final Destination.	Tons Weight.
Manufactured Articles—		
Coir	United Kingdom....	12,000
	United States of America....	4,000
	Holland....	4,000
	Belgium	3,000
Jute manufactures	United Kingdom....	—
	United States of America....	—
	France	—
	Australia	—
	Egypt	—
	Java	—
	Argentine	—
	Chile	—
	Cuba	—

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

THE WORLD

C 63286

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1920-21.

GREAT BRITAIN
GERMANY
BELGIUM
FRANCE
ITALY
SPAIN
U.S.A.
PERSIA
EGYPT
ARABIA
ADEN
ITALIAN E. AFRICA
PORTUGUESE E. AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICA
MAURITIUS
INDIA
CEYLON
CHINA
JAPAN
HONG KONG
SIAM
DUTCH E. INDIES
AUSTRALIA

REFERENCE.

IMPORTS are shown in black
EXPORTS " " " green
The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.
(204) Imports } Values in Crores of Rupees.
(53) Exports }
(—) } Where values fall below 1,00,00,000 Rupees
(—) }
No units are shown for Machinery, Timber, Textiles, Railway materials & Jute bags, weights are not published, and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

CANADA

H.M.S.O. Press Ch.

THE WORLD

C 63287

WOOL 7

U.S.A.

22

86

CHILE

3

ARGENTINE

COAL 16

NITRATES 21

GREAT BRITAIN

51

BELGIUM

1

HOLLAND

·3

GERMANY

24

36

6

13

IRON 26
TEXTILES
MACHINERY
LEATHER GOODS

PETROLEUM ..69
SULPHUR 8

SOUTH AFRICA

EGYPT

·3

SUGAR 11

COAL 205

COAL 36

8

PORTUGUESE E. AFRICA

4

ADEN

COAL 134

COAL 40

MAURITIUS

3

MADAGASCAR

COAL 34

RICE 8

RICE 32

PETROLEUM 26

WHEAT & FLOUR 38

PORTUGUESE INDIA

INDIA

CEYLON

STRAIT SETTLEMENTS

CHINA

DUTCH E. INDIES

AUSTRALIA

2

COAL 758

COAL 28

COAL 238

COAL 172

1

·3

8

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1921.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown in black.
EXPORTS " " " green.

The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.

(36) *Imports* } *Values in Millions of Pounds Sterling.*
(·3) *Exports* }

(—) } *Where values fall below £500,000.*
(—) }

No units are shown for Machinery, Textiles, Leather goods, Gold and Diamonds, weights and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

CANADA

H.M.S.O. Press

THE WORLD

C 63288

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS 1920-21.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown in black.
EXPORTS " " " green.
The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.
(19) *Imports* (27) *Exports* } *Values in Millions of Dollars.*
(—) *Where values fall below 500,000 Dollars.*
No units are shown for Machinery, Timber & Textiles, weights are not published, and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

CANADA

U.S.A. 856 560 U.S.A.

½ ALASKA —

½ CHINA 5

AUSTRALIA 1 18

NEW ZEALAND 4 12

NORWAY 1. 11

GERMANY 1. 8

HOLLAND 4. 20

GREAT BRITAIN 214 314

BELGIUM 5. 40

FRANCE 19. 27

SPAIN 2. 5

ITALY 2. 57

GREECE — 20

GIBRALTAR — —

NEWFOUNDLAND 3 1

PERU 4

CUBA 31 15

W. INDIES 15 8

BRITISH GUIANA 9 3

SOUTH AFRICA — 15

H.M.S.O. Press

C 63289

THE WORLD

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS 1920-21.

REFERENCE.

IMPORTS *are shown in black.*

EXPORTS *" " " green*

The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.

(84) *Imports* } *Values in Millions of*
(67) *Exports* } *Pounds Sterling.*

(–) = *Where values fall below £100,000*

No units are shown for Machinery, Metal manufactures, Timber, Leather goods and Textiles, weights are not published, and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

EGYPT 67 · GERMANY 64 · SCANDINAVIA 7 · ITALY 12 · HOLLAND 25 · BELGIUM – · FRANCE 14 · GREAT BRITAIN 66

INDIA & CEYLON (84) · 4 · 13 · 6 · 6 · 47 · – · –

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS 2 · DUTCH E. INDIES 25

CHINA 2 · PHILIPPINES 4 · JAPAN 3

CANADA – · U.S.A. 10 · CUBA – · PACIFIC 36 · CHILE – · AUSTRALIA 25

NEW ZEALAND 2

SOUTH AFRICA 3 · 5

H.M.S.O. Press, Camberwell

C 63290

THE WORLD

MEAT 211
WOOL 64
CHEESE 10
BUTTER 46

387 GREAT BRITAIN

— BELGIUM

·4 21·4

·4

2·7

— JAPAN

— PACIFIC ISLANDS 2

·6

·6

INDIA

TIMBER 2 AUSTRALIA 6·5

COAL 43 SUGAR 58 FERTILISER 45

FERTILISER 11

CORN 24 JUTE 15 COAL 630 IRON 20 FERTILISER 11 TIMBER

COAL 84 IRON 49 SALT 11 TEXTILES MACHINERY

NEWSPRINT 12

PETROLEUM 79 COAL 69 MACHINERY

1·7 CANADA

1·7 U.S.A.

NEW ZEALAND

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown in black
EXPORTS " " " green
The figures opposite commodities are 1000 Tons weight.

(1·7) Imports
(2) Exports
= Values in Millions of Pounds Sterling.

— Where values fall below £100,000.

No units are shown for Machinery, Timber & Textiles, weights are not published and values afford no satisfactory means of comparison.

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS 1921.

180° 170° West Longitude 160° 150° 140° 130° 120° 110° 100° 90° 80° 70° 60° 50° 40° 30° 20° West Longitude 10° Meridian of Greenwich 10° East Longitude 20° 30° 40° 50° 60° 70° 80° 90° 100° 110° 120° 130° 140° 150° 160° East Longitude 170° 180°

H.M.S.O. Press, Cricklewood

C 63291 W. Mackenzie King.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

NOTICE OF EIGHTH MEETING.

10.

-SECRET-

E. 8th Mtg. (23).

The Eighth Meeting of the Imperial Conference will be held at 10, Downing Street, on Monday, October 15th, at 3.0 p.m.

AGENDA.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

Discussion initiated by Statement from the Lord President of the Council.

In connexion with the discussions on defence, attention is invited to the following papers which have been already circulated.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

Memo. by the Admiralty .....E. 57.
Australia - Memo. by the Admiralty .....E. 58.
New Zealand - Memo. by the Admiralty .....E. 59.
Canada - Memo. by the Admiralty .....E. 61.
South Africa - Memo. by the Admiralty .....E. 62.
Newfoundland - Memo. by the Admiralty.....E. 63.
India - Memo. by the Admiralty .....E. 65.
Irish Free State - Memo. by the Admiralty ....E. 66.

NAVAL BASE AT SINGAPORE AND ITS EFFECT ON FOREIGH AND NAVAL POLICY.

E. 60.

IMPERIAL AIRSHIP SCHEME.

Statement by the Secretary of State for Air in the House of Commons, 26.7.23 ....E. 68.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE AND CO-ORDINATION OF THE SERVICES.

Recommendations of the National and Imperial Defence Committee .....E. 69.

- - -

COPIES OF THIS NOTICE HAVE BEEN SENT TO THE FOLLOWING: -

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Prime Minister.
Lord President of the Council.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Secretary of State for War.
Secretary of State for Air.
First Lord of the Admiralty.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

(P.T.O.)

11 30 am
OCT 12 Recd

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CANADA

CANADA.

The Prime Minister.
Minister of Railways and Canals.
Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Prime Minister.
Honorary Minister (Senator Wilson).

NEW ZEALAND.

The Prime Minister.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The Prime Minister.
Minister of Finance.
Minister of Justice.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Vice-President of the Executive Council.
Minister of External Affairs.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Prime Minister.

INDIA.

Secretary of State for India.
H.H. The Maharajah of Alwar.
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

(Signed) M.P.A. HANKEY.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.,

12th October, 1923.

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Memoranda & Notes

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CANADA

C 63293 M. Mackenzie King -

[This Document is the Property of His Britannic Majesty's Government.]

Printed for the Committee of Imperial Defence. October 1923.

SECRET.

E 70.
(*Also C.I.D. No.* 206–*C.*)

This Memorandum was approved by the Committee of Imperial Defence at their 177th Meeting, held on the 12th October, 1923.

40

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1923.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMINION AIR FORCES.

Introduction.

Note by the Secretary of State for Air.

THE following memorandum prepared by the Air Staff is circulated in continuation of the corresponding paper (C.I.D. No. 132–C),* prepared for the Conference in February 1921.

It will be noticed that this memorandum deals at some length with the present position of the Royal Air Force, and the scheme of expansion that has been authorised by the Imperial Government. It was thought that the representatives of the Dominion Governments might desire to be put in possession of the latest developments in the Royal Air Force, with a view to seeing how far and in what way it is possible to devise a scheme of co-operation between the various Governments of the Empire. I hope, therefore, that the paper will form a basis of discussion, and will lead to an interchange of views between representatives of the Dominions and the Air Staff.

The Air Staff paper deals almost exclusively with the problems of military aviation. It may, however, be noted that I have already circulated to the Economic Conference a paper (I.E.C. (23) 1) upon the Imperial aspects of civil aviation, certain of which, as for instance the carrying of mails and geographical survey, are already being developed to some extent by the air forces of the Empire.

S. H.

Memorandum by the Air Staff.

Preparation in Peace.

It is an essential to success in air operations that the forces employed against the enemy should be based on a secure foundation of peace organisation. Air forces cannot be extemporised. A practical illustration of this is furnished by the experience of the Americans on their entry into the war in 1917. Referring to the matter, the Chief of the United States Air Staff wrote :—

> "Owing to the many technical problems which had to be solved, to the many "difficulties connected with the procurement of equipment which had to be "overcome and to the considerable time that it takes for training, it has been "shown that it takes longer to place an efficient air service in the field than is "the case with any other arm of the Service. In all planning for the future this "fact must be given full consideration."†

2. Adequate preparation in peace is therefore essential to the success of air operations in modern war, the conditions of which make it probable that great events will immediately follow, if they do not actually precede, a formal declaration of hostilities. If organisations have to be improvised, staffs created, aircraft and equipment provided and plans matured after the outbreak of war, the value of air co-operation, however willingly and enthusiastically given, will be greatly lessened.

Policy. Royal Air Force.

3. Since the war the Air Force has been reduced to the absolute minimum compatible with the immediate needs of the Navy and the maintenance of units for overseas garrisons.

* Also Paper No. E. 7.

† Final Report of the Chief of the Air Staff, American Expeditionary Force, February 15, 1921.

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3. Since the war the Air Force has been reduced to the absolute minimum compatible with the immediate needs of the Navy and the maintenance of units for overseas garrisons.

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CANADA

The actual distribution of the Royal Air Force throughout the Empire (exclusive of Home Defence), together with the duties of individual units, is given in Appendix (A) to this paper.

In addition to the above, however, the Government decided in 1922 to institute a small force for the purpose of Home Defence against Air attack. This force was to consist of eighteen squadrons.

Mr. Bonar Law on assuming office appointed a representative Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence to investigate certain aspects of National Defence as affected by the last war and by modern development of mechanical weapons. This Committee recommended the increase of the Home Defence Air Forces to a total of fifty-two squadrons, and this recommendation has been accepted by His Majesty's Government.

In announcing this decision to the House of Commons on the 26th June, 1923, the Prime Minister outlined the policy which would govern the strength of British air forces as follows :—

"The Government have come to the following conclusions with reference to "British Air Power :—

"In addition to meeting the essential Air Power requirements of the Navy, "Army, Indian and Overseas commitments, British Air Power must include a "Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength adequately to protect us against "air attack by the strongest Air Force within striking distance of this country.

"It should be organised in part on a regular and permanent military basis, "and in part on a territorial or reserve basis, but so arranged as to ensure that "sufficient strength will be available immediately for purposes of defence. The "fullest possible use to be made of civilian labour and facilities.

"In the first instance the Home Defence Force should consist of fifty-two "squadrons, to be created with as little delay as possible, and the Secretary of "State for Air has been instructed forthwith to take the preliminary steps for "carrying this decision into effect. The result of this proposal will be to add "thirty-four squadrons to the authorised strength of the Royal Air Force. The "details of the organisation will be arranged with a view to the possibility of "subsequent expansion, but before any further development is put in hand the "question should be re-examined in the light of the then air strength of foreign "Powers.

"In conformity with our obligation under the Covenant of the League of "Nations, His Majesty's Government would gladly co-operate with other "Governments in limiting the strength of air armaments on lines similar to the "Treaty of Washington in the case of the Navy, and any such arrangements, it "is needless to say, would govern the policy of air expansion set out in this "statement."*

Necessity for a Common Doctrine.

4. Meanwhile, however, there appears to be no immediate probability of any general limitation of air armaments. It is, therefore, necessary, not only for this country, but also for the Dominions, to consider the strength of Air Forces which the circumstances of the Empire require and the form of organisation which would best promote their mutual assistance and support if the necessity arose.

THE SITUATION OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE WITH REGARD TO PERSONNEL.

5. It is desirable first to describe briefly the present position as regards the supply of personnel in the Royal Air Force.

(i.) *The Situation of the Royal Air Force with regard to Officer entry and Reserve.*

It has been an accepted principle that the great majority of pilots of the Royal Air Force shall be officers. From this principle and the nature of the work it follows that there must always be in the General Duties Branch of the Royal Air Force a very large number of junior officers for whom it is impossible to provide permanent careers.

* "Hansard," Vol. 165, No. 83.

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Again, owing to the limit in age above which an officer cannot be expected regularly to fly, officers leaving the Air Force in middle life will not be available for the active flying reserve in the event of war.

To counter these two problems two systems of commissioning officers have been adopted in the Royal Air Force, namely :—

(*a.*) A system of permanent commissions granted mainly to boys between 17 and 19 who pass through Cranwell, the Royal Air Force Cadet College, and who look to the Force as a permanent career.

(*b.*) A Short Service system by which commissions are granted for five years, at the end of which period officers are transferred to the Reserve with gratuity.

In addition it is contemplated that a considerable number of Naval and Military officers will be seconded to the Air Force for periods normally of three or four years, returning thereafter to the duties of their parent Service.

The principle in view has been that 50 per cent. of the Flying Officers and Flight Lieutenants in the General Duties Branch should be officers holding short-service commissions. To achieve this at the present strength of the Royal Air Force there is required an annual intake of from 250 to 300 officers. When the expansion foreshadowed in paragraph 4 above has been fully achieved, the required annual intake will be about 400 to 450 short-service officers.

(ii.) *The Situation of the Royal Air Force with regard to Airmen.**

There is a disinclination on the part of the mechanic class of tradesman to offer himself for service under peace conditions in a disciplined force at service rates of pay and with the liability for overseas service. In this respect a country which relies on voluntary enlistment is at a disadvantage compared with one which has compulsory service.

It has, therefore, been found necessary to enlist boys and train them as airmen, in addition to the ordinary enlistment of skilled and semi-skilled mechanics.

The terms of service of these boys are ten years on the active list and two years on the Reserve. The boys are trained on lines similar to those for apprentices in civilian trades, and their training is regarded favourably by the various Trade Unions. They should not, therefore, meet with opposition when they seek employment in skilled trades on discharge from the Service.

Personnel Problems of the Dominions.

6 It is presumed that, in the supply of skilled personnel for their reserve, the Dominions would be confronted with a similar problem. In addition they would have to contend with the maintenance expense of training establishments for their permanent air forces. This expenditure on training may prove to be out of all proportion to the size of the force to be maintained, and it is in this connection that the Royal Air Force and the Dominion Air Forces may be of mutual assistance.

Proposals for Dominion Co-operation.

7. As a basis for discussion it is therefore suggested that a scheme of mutual co-operation might be worked out on the following lines :—

Short Service Officers—

(*a.*) The Dominion authorities to recruit candidates for Short Service Commissions in the Royal Air Force.

(*b.*) The Royal Air Force to grant short service commissions to these selected candidates and to employ them on the active list of the Royal Air Force for five years

(*c.*) On conclusion of their short service engagements these officers to pass into the Reserve of the Dominion concerned to complete their four years' reserve engagement.

* The term "airmen," as used in the Royal Air Force, excludes officers of commissioned rank, who are always termed officers, but includes all warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and men, irrespective of the duties on which they are employed.

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(*d.*) The Dominions to be responsible for the organisation of a system of Reserve training on lines similar to the present Royal Air Force system. This arrangement might also provide training for officers of the Royal Air Force Reserve who have emigrated to the Dominions.
(*e.*) The financial arrangements to be discussed between the representatives of the British and Dominion Governments.

Permanent Commissions—

(*a.*) The Dominions to nominate suitable entrants to Cranwell.
(*b.*) The Royal Air Force to train these entrants at Cranwell and employ them for some four years. They would then be given permanent commissions in the Air Force of the Dominion concerned. The British Government would bear the cost of their pension rights for the period of their service with the Royal Air Force.
(*c.*) Any officer trained under this scheme who, at the end of his four years' service with the Royal Air Force, was found to be surplus to the requirements of the permanent Air Force of the Dominion concerned could be retained in the Royal Air Force.
(*d.*) The financial arrangements to be discussed between the representatives of the British and Dominion Governments.

It will be remembered that the Governors-General of the Dominions have already the privilege of nominating Dominion candidates for entry to the Royal Air Force Cadet College with a view to their making a permanent career in the Royal Air Force. No candidates have, so far, been forthcoming from this source, and it is thought that it may become more attractive to Dominion candidates if it is made to include, as suggested in paragraph (*b*), an ultimate return to service with the Air Force of the parent Dominion.

8. To allow for specialist training it would probably be necessary for some officers to extend the period of their time of service with the Royal Air Force beyond the four years suggested, but the advantage would lie in the fact that these regular long-service officers, when they had reached an age at which they would no longer be of great practical value as pilots, would be in a position to do useful work as Commanders or Instructors in the more specialised branches of air force work.

If a scheme on these lines could be mutually agreed upon, the career of an officer cadet selected by a Dominion for training at Cranwell and subsequent attachment to the Royal Air Force prior to returning to the Dominion Regular Air Force would be somewhat as follows :—

Age.		Employment.
17½–19½ ..	Cranwell.. ..	Disciplinary, educational, general technical and service-type flying training.
19½–21½ ..	Service squadron ..	Continued flying training in service types, general training in bombing, fighting and formation flying, &c, Army or Fleet co-operation course, and/or seaplane training and/or flying instructors' course.
21½–22½ ..	.. ..	If selected as suitable, any of the twelve months' courses detailed in paragraph 16.
22½–23½ ..	.. ..	Service squadron overseas—probably employed on duties in connection with the technical training just completed.
23½ ..	.. ..	Returns to Dominion Regular Air Force.

A scheme on the above lines would confer many advantages; for example :—

(*a.*) It would bring about a constant interchange of personnel and ideas between the Dominions and Great Britain, and would ensure a community of doctrine and method between the various air forces of the Empire which would greatly facilitate their mutual co-operation.
(*b.*) It would provide the Dominions with a reserve of highly-trained pilots at a smaller cost than if each Dominion provided on its own behalf full facilities which would necessarily be elaborate and costly.
(*c.*) It would assist the Royal Air Force in maintaining a flow of temporary junior officers.

The foregoing suggestions would involve charges and liabilities both on the Imperial and the Dominion Exchequers. Should they be accepted in principle the incidence of such charges would require careful consideration by the financial authorities on both sides.

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TRAINING.

9. In order to fit air forces for war, training in peace must be organised to produce the following main categories :—

(i.) Commanders and Staff Officers.
(ii.) Personnel to fly aeroplanes and operate their armament.
(iii.) Personnel to supervise the provision and accounting of stores and pay.
(iv.) Higher technical experts in aircraft, armament and allied technical matters.
(v.) Personnel for the maintenance of aircraft.
(vi.) Reserve for (ii) above.
(vii.) Reserve for (v) above.

All officers of the above categories, with the exception of those in (iii), who belong to a "Stores List," are on a "General List," and are trained pilots, thus ensuring that all concerned with the more technical aspects of equipment have had air experience.

10 *Commanders and Staff Officers* will eventually be drawn from officers who have passed through the Royal Air Force Staff College at Andover.

The subjects taught at this college are as follows :—
Air Strategy and Tactics.
Organisation and Training of the Royal Air Force.
Imperial Strategy.
Elements of Naval and Military Strategy and Tactics.
Organisation of the Army, Navy and Dominion Forces.
Writing Appreciations.
Operation Orders.
Drafting of Letters.
Staff Organisation and Staff Work in General.

There are at present twenty Royal Air Force officers, two military, two naval and one officer from each of the Canadian and Australian Air Forces, undergoing the twelve months' course at Andover. The next course begins on the 1st May, 1924. The attachment of an officer of the Australian Air Force has already been arranged and the attendance of an officer from other Dominion Air Forces as a student will be welcomed.

11. The sources from which are drawn the personnel to fly aeroplanes and operate their armament have been explained under the heading of "Personnel."

The system of training is as follows :—

(a.) *Permanent Commissioned Officers.*—Before receiving their commissions these officers undergo a course of two years as Cadets at the Royal Air Force Cadet College, Cranwell. The course comprises instruction in all the duties of a pilot officer, including the flying of a service aeroplane.

(b.) *Short Service Commissioned Officers.*—These officers are obtained by a system of direct entry from civil life for a period of five years' service in the Regular Air Force followed by four years' service in the Reserve. On appointment to Short Service Commissions they are sent to one of the four Flying Training Schools for a course of one year and are trained in the duties of a pilot officer including the flying of a service aeroplane.

(c.) *Airmen Pilots.*—These are trained on a course of one year at a Flying Training School on lines similar to the Short Service Commissioned Officers above. They are drawn from the "skilled" ranks of the Royal Air Force, and, while under instruction at Flying Training Schools, and subsequently when with a Service Squadron, they keep in touch with their original "trade."

(d.) *Aerial Gunners.*—These are drawn from the non-commissioned and other ranks of the Royal Air Force and are trained both at home and abroad in a course of ground gunnery, and in camera gun practice in the air. Conditions abroad permit of aerial firing being carried out in the unit, but at home this part of the training has to be done at the Armament and Gunnery School at Eastchurch. This school also carries out the elementary training of a certain proportion of the aerial gunners required for home units.

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Service Training.

12 At Cranwell and the Flying Training Schools pilots are taught to fly a service aeroplane, but are not taught to fight in it, still less to fight in flight and squadron formations; this and all the service knowledge necessary for a pilot is obtained in the Service Squadron and is the responsibility of the Service Squadron Commander.

13. The Air Ministry endeavours to keep all pilots for a term of four years with the same squadron in order to enable both pilots and squadrons to become efficient in their own particular duty, and in order to foster "esprit de corps" in Squadrons.

14. There are a number of specialist schools in the Royal Air Force at which pilots during the course of their employment with the service squadrons can attend short courses in the various more technical aspects of flying. These schools are as follows:—

Training School.	Nature of Course.	Duration of Course.
School of Army Co-operation, Old Sarum ..	Army co-operation	3 months.
Seaplane Training School, Lee-on-Solent ..	Fleet spotting and reconnaissance ..	5–6 „
Armament and Gunnery School, Eastchurch ..	Aerial gunnery and bombing ..	2 „
Central Flying School, Upavon	Training of flying instructors ..	3 „
R.A.F. Base, Calshot	Air pilotage	3 „
„ „	Seaplane training	3 „

These courses not only serve to train individual pilots, but also enable certain selected officers to be employed as instructors in service units.

The Air Staff would welcome the attachment of a certain number of Dominion officers to service squadrons, and also to undergo some of the short courses outlined above.

Training of Technical Experts.

15. A number of officers on the General List are selected for training in the higher technical subjects concerning Aircraft, Armament and Equipment. For this purpose there are a number of long courses at Service Specialist Establishments and at the Universities. Details of these courses are as follows:—

Training School.	Nature of Course.	Duration of Course.
School of Photography, Farnborough ..	Aerial photography	40 weeks.
Electrical and Wireless School, Flowerdown ..	Wireless telegraphy	12 months.
Armament and Gunnery School, Eastchurch ..	Armament	11 „
Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough ..	Engineering, A	12 „
Cambridge University	Engineering, B	2 years
Imperial College	Advanced, C	1 year
Cambridge University	Signal officers	2 years
Imperial College	Research course	1 year
„ „	Meteorology	1 „

NOTE.—The three engineering courses follow one upon the other. Officers from Course A provide the engineer officers for squadrons and training units, &c., with the exception of a few of those who pass out highest, who go on to Course B, which provides even more highly qualified officers for the various technical establishments. Again, a few of the best from Course B continue into the advanced Course C, and are available for the higher technical staffs and for research work.

The Air Staff consider that the Dominions would derive considerable advantage from these courses and they recommend that selected officers of the Dominion Air Forces should go through some of them.

Training of Maintenance Personnel.

16. The training of airmen is undertaken at Flowerdown for electrical trades and at Manston and Halton for the remaining skilled trades. Men enlisted as aircraft hands (unskilled) undergo a disciplinary course at Uxbridge, the Royal Air Force Depot, and then are posted direct to units.

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Training in skilled trades at Flowerdown and Manston is completed within a period varying from four to twenty-four months, according to the trades and the initial skill of the individual.

Aircraft Apprentices (Boys) are trained at Cranwell, Halton and Flowerdown, the length of the course being three years.

While in a squadron, unskilled men are encouraged to learn a trade, and if considered likely to progress they are recommended for a course in one of the skilled trades.

With a view to the provision of skilled technical instructors the Dominions would no doubt derive benefit from the attachment of certain non-commissioned officers to these Technical Training Schools.

Training of Reserve Pilots.

17. It is essential that pilots of the Reserve should carry out a certain amount of flying annually. For this purpose four Civilian Training Centres have been formed as follows :—

Location.	Firm	Machines.
Stag Lane, Hendon ..	The De Havilland Aircraft Company	Avros and D.H.9 a's.
Filton, Bristol	The Bristol Aeroplane Company	Bristol Lucifer and Bristol Tourer.
Coventry	Armstrong, Siddeley Company	Avros and Wolf machines.
Renfrew, Glasgow ..	W. Beardmore and Co. ..	Avros and D.H.9 a's.

This system, in addition to relieving the Regular Force of a duty which at present it is too much occupied to carry out, is of direct benefit to the aircraft industry.

Each school can handle seventy pupils per annum. Pilots who have not flown for some time are first instructed on a school type of machine, and subsequently on a service type. In order to qualify as reserve pilots they must each carry out five hours solo flying on a service type machine and also pass certain tests of efficiency.

Pilots with more recent experience of flying are given quarterly training and must carry out three hours solo flying per quarter on a service aeroplane. It should be understood that the direct entry of ex-officers of the war period into the Reserve is a temporary measure to provide an immediate increase in the number of trained reserve pilots. The main source of supply for the Reserve will be the short service officers who have completed the active list portion of their engagements. Officers so entered need only the ordinary quarterly training to keep in practice in flying.

Reserve officers of Class B (technical and observer officers) are liable to be called upon to carry out fourteen days' training per annum with an Air Force unit.

It is suggested that training of Reserve pilots on the lines indicated would prove satisfactory in the Dominions.

Training of Reservists (Airmen).

18. Airmen on the Reserve of the Royal Air Force are liable to be called upon for twelve days' training per annum with an Air Force unit.

EQUIPMENT AND STORES.

19. Aeronautical equipment is one of the most important factors in the efficiency of a flying force, and it will undoubtedly play a large part in assuring the security of the British Empire. It is manifest, therefore, that no opportunity should be lost of improving aeronautical equipment in every way, and of developing the resources of the Empire in this respect.

Aircraft Production.

20. At the present time practically all aircraft production for the equipment of the various air services of the Empire is carried out in the United Kingdom. In time of peace this may not be disadvantageous, but in the event of a serious threat to

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the security of one of the distant dominions this state of affairs might have grave results. From the military point of view it is important that there should be no undue delay or exceptional risks involved in transporting aircraft equipment to any threatened part of the Empire. But so long as practically the whole of aircraft manufacture is carried on in the United Kingdom it is beyond doubt that considerable delay would take place in transporting stores for the defence of a Dominion, even if the maritime risk involved could be satisfactorily overcome. The constant flow of equipment from an assured source would be essential to meet the heavy wastage which would inevitably take place in extended operations. It is a matter of importance therefore that the development of a healthy aircraft industry should be encouraged in the Dominions, or at least that a nucleus industry, capable of expansion in an emergency, should be established and maintained.

Standardisation of Aircraft.

21. In considering the question of the efficient utilisation of the resources of the Empire for the defence of any threatened Dominion, the question immediately arises as to the best method by which the maximum co-operation in the supply of aeronautical equipment could be achieved. If the types of aircraft and aircraft parts could be completely standardised throughout the Empire it would be undoubtedly true to say that a very great stride would be made in this direction. Production would be facilitated and cheapened; the confusion resulting from non-interchangeability of equipment, which so frequently attends combined operations, would be very largely, if not completely, eliminated; pilots from all parts of the Empire would be familiar with all types of machines in use, and one country would be enabled to come to the assistance of another in the supply of equipment without the great preliminary delay which would otherwise almost certainly take place. Standardisation would thus be attended by great military advantages.

There are, however, obvious difficulties in the way of complete standardisation. Local conditions in the Dominions would probably dictate considerable alteration to the design of machines constructed for operation in, for example, the United Kingdom. Moreover, there is always the risk that standardisation may restrict originality in design, and thereby hamper the progress of aviation.

It would seem, therefore, that the realisation of the ideal of complete standardisation might prove to be impracticable; but the advantages of standardisation are so great that the failure to attain this ideal completely should not be allowed to obscure the possibility of achieving some step in its direction. It is for consideration, therefore, whether partial standardisation could not be brought into force with advantageous results, and without acting as a drag on aircraft design. Careful consideration of this matter leads to the conclusion that partial standardisation could undoubtedly be effected.

Partial Standardisation.

22. It is important that only such aeronautical equipment and stores should be standardised as have reached some degree of finality in design. It is most undesirable to standardise equipment which might require to be scrapped owing to obsolescence during its useful life. It is considered that there would be little risk on this account in the standardisation of aircraft spares, such as A.G.S.* parts (bolts, nuts, screws, &c., which are common to all types of machines), wheels and tyres, propeller hubs, bomb racks, &c. Standardisation, it is thought, could also be effected in the matter of photographic equipment, plates, &c., and in the case of machine guns, ammunition, bombs, &c., and perhaps wireless equipment.

It is also desirable that common specifications for materials should be adopted throughout the Empire, *e.g.*, for fabric, dope, metals, petrol and oil.

It is unlikely that any very material advantage would be derived from the standardisation of instruments, such as speedometers, &c.

Nomenclature.

23. Wherever standardisation of equipment is possible it is suggested that standard nomenclature should be adopted in order to obviate confusion.

* Aircraft General Stores—Stores common to all aircraft.

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Supplies of Raw Materials.

24. It is obvious that one of the most important factors in the problem of aeronautical supply at any time of emergency where increased production would be required at short notice is the existence of stocks of the raw materials necessary for aircraft construction. In particular, the supply of spruce would be a difficulty in the event of any great expansion of aircraft manufacture. The development of the all-metal machine may, in the near future, alter the situation, but at present, spruce, which must be of the best grade and well seasoned, is essential to the manufacture of aircraft. There is a shortage of stocks of wood of the right quality, not only in Great Britain, but also in the world markets generally. Measures are being taken by the Air Ministry to build up a small reserve stock, but this far from providing a complete solution to the problem. Further measures are greatly to be desired for the development of stocks of spruce from the potentially abundant supplies which exist in Canada.

RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTAL WORK.

25. The Air Member for Supply and Research at the Air Ministry is responsible, through the Director of Research, both for the direction and co-ordination of pure research in aeronautics and for the conduct of experimental work and the construction and development of experimental equipment, both for the Royal Air Force and Civil Aviation.

26. The Aeronautical Research Committee was set up in 1920 to take the place of the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. Its principal functions are to advise the Air Ministry on scientific and technical problems relating to the construction and navigation of aircraft; to initiate any research work which it considers advisable; to assist the aeronautical industry by scientific advice and research; to prepare for the approval of the Air Council a scheme of work and estimate of expenditure for the year, and to make reports from time to time to the Air Council.

The research work initiated by the Committee is principally carried out at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, and the National Physical Laboratory, Teddington, but in addition there is some research carried out at the universities and at commercial research establishments.

Aerodynamical Research.

27. Pure research in aerodynamics is carried out in the Aerodynamics Department of the National Physical Laboratory (wind channel and theoretical investigations) and at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough (wind channel and full scale investigations). The problems investigated include the plotting of pressure areas on the wings and other parts of the aeroplane, the measurement of the forces exercised by the various controls, questions of stability, the aerodynamic properties of various forms of construction, and the problem of control flight above the stalling angle. For full scale research on many of these problems the development of special instruments is necessary to secure accurate results, and the development of these instruments is carried out entirely at the Royal Aircraft Establishment.

28. There are Sub-Committees of the Aeronautical Research Committee for the more detailed investigation of special problems which may be referred to them, such as the Engine Sub-Committee and the Accidents Sub-Committee.*

Engine Research.

29. Engine Research is carried out under the supervision of the Air Ministry at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, at Messrs. Ricardos, and in some cases at the works of engine constructors. The Air Ministry Laboratory is responsible for research on thermodynamics.

Armament Research.

30. Research on Armament is to a great extent carried out jointly on behalf of the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry by the Ordnance Committee. The

* This must be distinguished from the Accidents Investigation Branch of the Air Ministry whi investigates all accidents however caused. The Accidents Sub-Committee only investigates such accidents as are referred in order that the aerodynamic aspects of the question may be considered.

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Air Ministry is, however, directly concerned in research upon the aerodynamic properties of bombs, the composition of bombs and pyrotechnics, and the development of special guns suited for use in aircraft. Efforts are being made to develop guns of a larger size than have hitherto been used. The question of special ammunition is also continually under investigation.

Wireless Research.

31. Research on wireless telegraphy and radio telephony is carried out by the three services jointly under the supervision of co-ordinating bodies, each service concentrating on the development of apparatus specially designed to meet its peculiar requirements. The Air Ministry has for some years carried out special research on oxygen and oxygen apparatus for use in aircraft, while a great deal of work has been done in the development of special navigating and course-setting instruments, more particularly for use in Naval gunnery work.

32. Considerable work has also been done in connection with the design of other accessories, such as radiators, petrol pipes, tyres and shock-absorbing components, with a view to evolving a type of equipment capable of resisting extremes of temperature ranging from the heat of Iraq, India and Egypt to the intense cold of great heights in northern latitudes.

33. In order that the Dominions may secure the full benefit of the work which is being done by the Air Ministry, the first essential is that there should be some machinery by which the results of this work may be communicated to the technical officers of Dominion Air Forces or to Dominion aviation companies.* To a great extent the results of pure research can be communicated by the transmission of reports and papers such as are produced by the Aeronautical Research Committee; but if the Dominions are to be kept in touch with the experimental work and also with such research work as does not always become the subject of formal reports, it is desirable that Dominion liaison officers should have sufficient technical experience to enable them to select on behalf of the Dominions such points as are likely to be of interest to them. The present difficulty experienced in arranging for the common investigation of certain problems of interest to all concerned or the investigation of special problems by the Dominion whose climatic conditions make such investigation particularly desirable or easy would thus be overcome. Co-ordination of this kind is essential if the best results are to be obtained without unnecessary duplication of effort.

34. If, however, some indication is required as to the type of problem which might be investigated more particularly by the Dominions, the following suggestions are made :—

Canada—

The effect of extreme cold on material of all kinds.
The effect of extreme cold on air-cooled engines.
Air Survey.

Australia—

The effect of extreme heat on materials.
The effect of extreme heat on engines. (This might overlap to some extent with the knowledge already acquired by the Royal Air Force in Iraq and Egypt.)
Effect of heat on dopes, fabrics and glue.
Air Survey.

35. A certain degree of co-operation has already been obtained in the past with regard to Canada and Australia through the medium of the Aeronautical Research Committee. The Secretary of the Committee has been for some time in direct correspondence with both these Dominions, and has until recently sent copies of aeronautical papers direct to the Director of Research on Air Matters in Australia. He has also received copies of the programme of research in hand in Canada and has answered questions referred to the Aeronautical Research Committee by Canada. While this degree of co-ordination has undoubtedly been useful, it clearly cannot be so effective as the maintenance of close touch by the appointment of technical liaison officers.

* In the latter case, subject to such reservations as may be necessary on military grounds.

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Use of Naval and Military Aircraft in Peace.

36. Air forces developed on the lines indicated are not only an insurance against external aggression in time of war, but can also be economically used for other purposes in time of peace. Thus, in the intervals of war training aircraft may be employed with advantage on coastal survey, land survey, forest fires and postal work.

In the United States of America military aircraft are extensively employed on survey duties with most beneficial results.

In Canada, air patrols have been found to be the most efficient and most economical method of locating forest fires. The Canadian Government is now almost entirely dependent on aircraft for this work.

The employment of aircraft in peace on duties of the above nature is not only an excellent method of developing the art of airmanship in the flying personnel of an air force, but may be in many cases an economical method of carrying out certain services of a civil character, especially in undeveloped or unsettled areas. Owing to such causes as the greater distances between centres of population, superior climatic conditions for flying, &c., the Dominions may be expected to have considerable advantage over Great Britain as regards opportunity for useful auxiliary employment of aircraft primarily provided for national defence. It may be observed in this connection that the employment of military aircraft for carrying mails between Cairo and Bagdad has effected an average saving of seventeen days on the time taken for mails between London and Bagdad.

Air Staff, October 4, 1923.

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APPENDIX (A).

Distribution of the Royal Air Force.

(Service Units.)

United Kingdom—
2 squadrons, army co-operation.
2 squadrons, reserve (probably to become army squadrons).
1 squadron, communications.

Navy—
3 flights, reconnaissance.
3 flights, fleet spotters.
3 flights, ships' fighters (for embarkation in three aircraft carriers).
2 flights, torpedo aircraft.
1 flight, flying boats.
(All naval flights comprised of six aircraft each, except the boat flight which is comprised of five.)

Malta, navy—
1 flight, reconnaissance.
1 flight, fleet spotters.
1 flight, ships' fighters (for embarkation in Mediterranean Fleet aircraft carrier).
1 flight, seaplanes.

Egypt—
3 squadrons, under General Officer Commanding, Egypt, for operations.

Palestine—
1 squadron, internal security under Air Ministry.

Transjordania—
1 flight, internal security under Air Ministry

Aden—
1 flight, under General Officer Commanding, Aden, for operations.
(Also available for operations in Somaliland.)

India—
6 squadrons, under Commander-in-chief, India, for operations.
(The expense of these squadrons is borne by the Indian Government.)

Iraq—
8 squadrons, internal security under Air Ministry.

Note.—In addition to the above, there are now authorised a total of 52 squadrons for Home Defence, to be stationed in the United Kingdom. Of these—

3 are already formed.
15 are in process of formation.
34 are recently sanctioned.

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C 63305

Mrs Mackenzie King

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

SECRET. NOTICE.

A Meeting to continue the discussion on Naval Defence will be held in the Board Room, Admiralty, on Thursday, the 18th October, at 3 p.m.

PAPERS.

Attention is invited to the following papers which have been already circulated.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION.

Memo. by the Admiralty E.57
Australia - Memo. by the Admiralty E.58
New Zealand - Memo. by the Admiralty E.59
Canada - Memo. by the Admiralty E.61
South Africa - Memo. by the Admiralty E.62
Newfoundland - Memo. by the Admiralty E.63
India - Memo. by the Admiralty E.65
Irish Free State - Memo. by the Admiralty E.66

NAVAL BASE AT SINGAPORE AND ITS EFFECT ON NAVAL POLICY.

E.60.

Copies of this Notice have been sent to the following:-

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Lord President of the Council.
First Lord of the Admiralty.
Chief of the Naval Staff.
Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence.

CANADA.

The Prime Minister.
Minister of Railways & Canals.
The Director of Naval Service.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Prime Minister.
The First Naval Member of Royal Australian Naval Board.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Prime Minister.
The Naval Adviser.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The Prime Minister.

IRISH

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IRISH FREE STATE.

Vice President of the Executive Council.
Minister of External Affairs.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Prime Minister.

INDIA.

The Secretary of State for India.
H.H. the Maharajah of Alwar.
Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

(Signed) M.P.A. HANKEY.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
17th October, 1923.

NOTE.

Copies of this Notice have been sent also to the following FOR INFORMATION.

The Prime Minister.
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
The Secretary of State for the Colonies.
The Secretary of State for War.
The Secretary of State for Air.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

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W Mackenzie King

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SECRET.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

CORRIGENDUM to Paper No. E.70 entitled "The Development of Dominion Air Forces."

Third paragraph of introductory Note by the Secretary of State for Air.

Line 3 - For (I.E.C. (23) 1)

Read (I.E.C. (23) 10)

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

18th October, 1923.

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C 63308.

W. Mackenzie King

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

COMMITTEE ON IMPERIAL NAVAL DEFENCE.

32

S E C R E T.

E. (N)-(1923) 1st Meeting.

MINUTES of a Meeting held in the Board Room, Admiralty, S.W., on Thursday, 18th October, 1923, at 3.0 p.m.

- - -

P R E S E N T:-

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty. (In the Chair).

The Most Hon. The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., Lord President of the Council.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister of Canada.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The Right Hon. W.F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

The Hon. H. Burton, K.C., Minister of Finance, Union of South Africa.

General R. Mulcahy, Minister of Defence, Irish Free State.

The Hon. W.R. Warren, K.C., Prime Minister of Newfoundland.

The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E., Secretary of State for India.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I.

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:-

Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.

Vice-Admiral Sir Henry F. Oliver, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., M.V.O., Second Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Personnel, Admiralty.

Rear-Admiral Cyril T.M. Fuller, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Third Sea Lord and Controller, Admiralty.

Major-General J.H. MacBrien, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Chief of General Staff, Canada.

Commodore Walter Hose, C.B.E., R.C.N., Director of Naval Service, Canada.

Vice-Admiral Sir Allan F. Everett, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., First Naval Member of the Royal Australian Naval Board.

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Rear-Admiral The Hon. Algernon D. E.H. Boyle, C.B.,C.M.G.,M.V.O., Fourth Sea Lord and Chief of Supplies and Transport, Admiralty.

Vice-Admiral Sir Roger J.B. Keyes, Bart.,K.C.B.,K.C.V.O.,C.M.G., D.S.O., Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.

Rear-Admiral Arthur K. Waistell, C.B., Assistant Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.

Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Captain A.D.P.R. Pound, C.B., Director of Plans Division, Admiralty.

Captain David T. Norris, C.B.,C.M.G., Director of Trade Division, Admiralty.

Commander James W.S. Dorling, Operations Division, Admiralty.

Mr. N.E. Archer, Colonial Office.

Brigadier-General T.A. Blaney, C.B., C.M.G.,D.S.O., Australian Representative on the Imperial General Staff at War Office.

Commodore A.G. Hotham, C.M.G.,R.N., Naval Adviser to the New Zealand Delegation.

General Sean MacMahon, Chief of Staff, Irish Free State.

Major-General J.J. O'Connell, Assistant Chief of Staff, Irish Free State.

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SECRETARIAT:-

UNITED KINGDOM.

Mr. Alex. Flint, C.B.

Commander H.R. Moore, D.S.O.,R.N.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Capt. E.F.C. Lane, C.M.G.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. P. McGilligan.

INDIA.

Professor L.F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E.

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C 63310

This Meeting was held at the Admiralty to consider in more detail the strategic aspect of Imperial Naval Defence, the discussion on which was opened by the First Lord of the Admiralty at the 9th Meeting of the Imperial Conference on Wednesday, 17th October.

The First Sea Lord gave the Conference a review of the strategic requirements for Naval Defence in all parts of the Empire.

A general discussion followed.

In view of the secret nature of the subject under discussion it was decided that the Minutes of the Meeting should not be circulated. Two copies only of the Minutes have been prepared and will be kept for record in the custody of the First Lord of the Admiralty and of the Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence, respectively.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
18th October, 1923.

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CANADIAN RESIDENT SECRETARY
25 OCT 1923
IMPERIAL CONFERENCES (1923)

W. Mackenzie King

C 63311

1.

SECRET.

Ref. Ma I.D. 1/3.

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

The enclosed Memorandum by Colonel a Court Repington, C.M.G., on the subject of the Singapore base, together with the comments of the Admiralty thereon, is forward by direction of the Prime Minister for information.

(Signed) M.P.A. HANKEY.

Copies have been sent to:-

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., M.P.
The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C.
The Right Hon. W.F. Massey.
General the Right Hon. J.C. Smuts, K.C., C.H.
Mr. W.T. Cosgrave, T.D.
The Hon. W.R. Warren, K.C.
The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E.

25th October, 1923.

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CANADIAN RESIDENT SECRETARY
25 OCT 1923
IMPERIAL CONFERENCES (1923)

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Mr. W.T. Cosgrave, T.D.
The Hon. W.R. Warren, K.C.
The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E.

25th October, 1923.

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PACIFIC NAVAL BASES. C 63312

MEMORANDUM BY LT. COL. C. a COURT REPINGTON, C.M.G.

Extract from a letter addressed to the Prime Minister by the First Lord of the Admiralty.

"(1) A fleet at Singapore protects -

(a) India and the Indian Ocean trade:
(b) Singapore itself:
(c) Australia and New Zealand.

(2) A fleet at Sydney may protect (c), but leaves (a) and (b) exposed.

(3) A fleet can only get to Sydney via Singapore (owing to the limited range of the modern battleship). If the enemy gets to Singapore first, it will not get to Sydney at all. If it gets to Singapore first, there is no point in going on to Sydney to be cut off from all contact with home by the enemy taking Singapore behind it."

General Criticisms by the Naval Staff.

The general criticism of the Naval Staff is given in the following terms:-

"Colonel Repington's paper gives one the impression that having made up his mind that it would be a good thing for Australia to create at her entire expense our Main Fleet base in the East - he therefore selects a port in Australia (Sydney) and then sets out to prove that this is sound strategically.

Should this not be the case then the extraordinary conclusions he arrives at can only be accounted for by his ignoring the first principles of naval strategy. Colour is lent to the supposition that the latter explanation may be the true one by the statements he makes on page 9 i.e. "our first object in the Pacific is to protect Australia, New Zealand and Canada from attack". "In the same way the first object of the American Fleet is to protect the Pacific Coast of America". Neither of these statements is correct. The task of the Fleet (whether it be British or American) in the event of war with Japan, is the destruction or neutralisation of the Japanese Fleet.

Now the Japanese Fleet cannot be either destroyed or neutralised by a British Fleet at Sydney or by an American Fleet at Hawaii.

In fact Colonel Repington's strategy is a defensive one of the worst description as it gives the Japanese every opportunity of doing what they wish without giving us an opportunity of counter attacking them."

The Admiralty's detailed criticisms are, for ease of reference, reproduced in parallel columns with Colonel Repington's article.

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C 63313

SECRET

MEMORANDUM
ON
PACIFIC NAVAL BASES.

By Lt. Col. C. à Court Repington
C.M.G.

DETAILED REMARKS BY THE NAVAL STAFF ON COL. REPINGTON'S ARTICLE ON PACIFIC NAVAL BASES.

In principle, the majority of good citizens are prepared to provide a base for our Navy wherever the Sea Lords of the Admiralty are pleased to demand one. A Navy must have a base conveniently adjacent to any theatre of naval war, and this base must not only be able to permit the continuous activity of a Fleet which uses it, but must be able to defend itself vigorously whether the Fleet is present or not. That much is common ground. It cannot be contested.

A base must not only be "conveniently adjacent to any theatre of Naval War" - but it must also be:

(a) as close as possible (within reason) to the base of the enemy's Fleet.

(b) In advance of our lines of communication. Sydney (which is Colonel Repington's choice) fulfils neither of these conditions, neither is it conveniently adjacent to the theatre of the Naval War in the Far East. Singapore fulfils all three conditions, with the exception that it does not cover our lines of communication to Hong Kong.

But in practice, when large sums of money are involved, the taxpayer wishes to be convinced, first that a new base selected answers to strategic requirements, and secondly that the site chosen will offer good facilities for the proposed dockyard and graving dock. Nothing that has been yet said in favour of Singapore as a great naval base has been convincing on either of these counts. We may all hereafter be convinced by arguments yet to be stated, but they have not been stated yet.

Concur - that is why reserves of oil fuel are required at SINGAPORE.
But the base must be so situated geographically that the Fleet can operate from that base in carrying out its task (the defeat or neutralisation of the enemy fleet) i.e. permit the continuous activity of a Fleet which uses it - Singapore by virtue of its geographical position fulfils this condition - Sydney does not because it is not adjacent to the theatre of the Naval War under review, being 12 days steaming from Singapore which would be one of the first objectives of the Japanese Naval Forces.

THE JAPANESE FACTOR.

Now it is certain that a base at Singapore has Japan in view, and that there has been a good deal of diplomatic hypocrisy about the statements to the contrary. It is also known that the scheme is a legacy from the Coalition Government, and it is

All these arguments confirm the wisdom of H.M. Government in creating a base in the Far East.

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accepted that a new Government is quite justified in looking into it. Japan, it is true, at certain periods during the war, shewed an unpleasant disposition, and her presentation of the 21 demands to China in 1915 aimed at the enslavement of that country. We do not forget that. It froze much of our old regard for her, as did the violent anti-British Campaign of the Japanese Press in 1916. But at and after the Washington Conference, largely thanks to the wise statesmanship of Admiral Kato, now Prime Minister, the disposition of the Japanese changed, and they certainly facilitated by every means in their power the policy of the American Government which we backed. That also we do not forget, and I was personally witness of the change on the spot.

Will the Japanese disposition change again? Will the militarists regain control, and if so, what will be the object of their ambitions? It is the old story. It is always China, upon which the Japanese have now a strong hold through Manchuria, while the internal discord in China herself, and the inherent rottenness of that country, may at any moment bring Japan into the field. Has Japan disarmed? Not a bit. There she stands, an Empire of 78 million people, mewed up still to a large extent in her islands with 154 souls to the square kilometre, and longing for the raw materials for grand industry, for the Chinese markets the last and greatest, of the unexploited resources of the world, which China so abundantly provides. Compulsory service of course, and a great contingent as large as Germany's in 1914, though some 120,000 only - but they the pick - are annually enrolled. Twenty-one divisions at home, and other troops in Sakhalien, Siberia, Manchuria, Formosa, Korea, China and so forth. In war, 800,000 trained men, and in all 2,110,000 men mobilisable with as many more behind as may be wanted. A formidable and strongly fortified insular position and a powerful Fleet. The Japanese are about three times more formidable than when they beat Russia in 1904-5.

I have always had the greatest admiration for Japanese ethics, diplomacy and prowess, but I think that some day this compressed people will break out to fulfil their

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destinies. They are as patient as statues and will not move before the hour. It is not given to many Europeans to enter into the minds of the Japanese and to penetrate the thoughts therein.

But move one day they must, and the things which they are likely to do with China will not improbably bring the United States into the Field first and foremost, if the American policy - China for the Chinese - of the Washington Conference survives. Anxiety for their own possessions in the East and for the maintenance of their China trade, will then compel the British Empire, France, and the Netherlands to join America, and the map will be set out for the next great war. Yes, map and chart. That catastrophe it is the duty of statesmanship to avert. | x

Owing to the Status Quo agreement.

(1) America cannot provide herself with defended fuelling bases west of HAWAII.

(2) Undefended fuelling bases could be destroyed by the Japanese before the American Fleet arrived.

(3) Without these reserves of fuel the American Fleet could not cross the Pacific.

(4) Even if they got across the Pacific they would have no guarantee of a secure base on arrival as the Japanese would probably have taken the Philippines.

(5) The result of the above is that if the American Fleet wishes to reach the Western Pacific they must do so via Europe and could hardly do this without the help of our fuelling bases.

x | The best way to avert such a catastrophe is to create an impregnable base at Singapore - it will be the most powerful factor for peace in the East.

An insular power with conscription at its back can usually laugh at attack at home.

A multitude of very fast aircraft carriers launching swarms of airmen within raiding distance of Japan might make the life of Japan's crowded millions exceedingly uncomfortable, even if raids were restricted to centres of war industry, but it is a far cry to Japan, and besides Japan will hit back, so that an expectation of bringing about a decision by such means is exceedingly problematical.

A "multitude" of very fast aircraft carriers launching swarms of airmen on the scale envisaged by Colonel Repington is not a practical proposition. To bring about a decision by such means is quite impossible.

In any case the despatch across the Pacific of an army of invasion capable of attacking Japan at home is a most formidable enterprise which no sound strategist would recommend, after examining all the conditions of such an operation, unless no alternative presented itself.

Concur.

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Therefore, Japan will feel safe at home and free to turn her attention to China. She could wipe out the Bolshevists in Eastern Siberia when she pleased, but it may be that she will keep Russia in countenance, so as not to feel too lonely, and to preserve connection, however bad, with the outside world. Now that the Washington Treaties are to be ratified, it is probable that Japan will seek a treaty with Russia. We must not forget that the Marquis Ito sought an agreement with Russia in 1901 before he dealt with us in the following year. It is in the nature of things, when the Anglo-Japanese Treaty lapses, that Japan will seek a compensation elsewhere.

Japan in her desire to turn her attention to China will be careful not to impair her relations with the British Empire.

It is not likely that Japan wishes to raise up, or to fight, the combination to which I have alluded. She hopes to attain her ends in China by pacific penetration without antagonising the Western Powers and America whose hostility would dry up the trade upon which Japan at present mainly thrives. She may hope, as China splits up and commits excesses, to act as the mandatory of the powers in China, and if she can, gain control of the Chinese markets without losing her other overseas trade, that course would have her preference. In that case, there will be no war, but the danger is that in her dealings with China she may cause an explosion that may lead to war.

Concur - hence the necessity for a base at Singapore.

THE ACTION OF JAPAN.

What would Japan do in such case? She would probably enter China in great force and endeavour to quiet the country and monopolise its trade to make up for the rest of Japan's import and export trade which would be at least temporarily paralysed. She would make China bear the burden of the war, and while ousting America and the Western Powers from their Chinese markets would seek to fight defensively at sea, using her Navy as a wing of her land forces and as guardian of her communications with China, without neglecting chances which the errors of her enemy might offer.

Colonel Repington rightly assigns to the Japanese Fleet their correct function of keeping open the Japanese sea communications. Are the British and American Fleets going to allow this to continue indefinitely, if so, then they are admirably situated (from the Japanese point of view) at SYDNEY and HAWAII (see page 9).

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Until the Navies of the great Powers opposing her have assembled in the Pacific there may be a period during which Japan will be supreme in that ocean, and in this period she may carry out a number of operations such as the attempted capture of the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, Hong Kong, Singapore, Panama, and possibly more important territories.

But unless she could retain such conquests during a long war - and such war may be very long indeed no permanent advantage would be gained except at Panama.

All the same the decisions at Washington which prevent us and the Americans from fortifying Hong Kong and the Philippines as we please were most unfortunate. They were an abridgment of sovereignty due to excellent Japanese bluff. I have written against them here and spoken and written against them in America. But they are final if the Washington Treaty is ratified, and there is nothing more to be said.

The situation of Hong Kong in a war must consequently continue to cause us anxiety and we can do little to rectify the mistake made.

It is no good the Navies of the Great Powers assembling in the Pacific unless they have a base, with the necessary oil fuel supplies, in such a position that they can carry out their task of defeating or neutralising the Japanese Fleet.
SYDNEY and HAWAII are useless for this purpose.

The Japanese Fleet with a great Military expedition cannot cross the Pacific to capture HAWAII or PANAMA any more than the American Fleet can cross the Pacific to attack FORMOSA.

The PHILIPPINES, GUAM, HONG KONG and SINGAPORE are all possible Japanese objectives.

Do not concur.
With SINGAPORE and HONG KONG in Japanese hands, the situation for us would be a disastrous one since

(a) The Fleet would be immobilised for want of oil Fuel.

(b) All our repair facilities for the Fleet would be denied to us.

(c) The line of attack to Australia or New Zealand would be thrown open.

(d) Our trade in the Indian Ocean would be open to attack.

(e) Our prestige in the East would have been destroyed.

(f) India itself would be menaced by Japanese aggression.

We can
(1) Strengthen our sea-going forces in the East.

(2) Provide certain defensive arrangements at SINGAPORE ready to be rushed up to HONG KONG.

(3) Increase the garrison at HONG KONG.

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When the Navies of the Franco-Anglo-American-Dutch combination all concentrate in the Pacific, Japan's strategic offensive at sea will draw towards an end.

It is in the nature of things, given almost a minimum of foresight and combination among the allies, that the supremacy of their navies in the Pacific would come about within a reasonable time after a concentration within supporting distance had been achieved in that ocean. But it is possible that this concentration may take three months, and until Japan is driven out of the Pellew, Caroline, Ladrone, and Marshall Islands she will preserve in these excellent local bases for her ocean going submarines, much power to do harm.

At the end of a first act which may extend to six months, the Japanese would be safe at home and in occupation of the main centres of China and possibly of some of our own possessions, while at sea the allied Navies would have arrested Japanese maritime trade, except in the sea of Japan, and would lord it over most of the waters washing eastern Asia.

If great foresight and energy has been shewn by the Allies, and if their Navies had been concentrated in the Pacific before a break came, then initial naval surprises by Japan might be avoided; but Japan, with the advantage that a single power ever has over allies, would expect to gain this first game of the rubber, and in any case, her movement into China could scarcely be prevented, so narrow is the sea of Japan, and so well provided is she with fixed and mobile defences.

As already explained they cannot concentrate without a base with fuel supplies and repair facilities.

SINGAPORE is an example of foresight.

With the Main Fleet stationed in the Mediterranean (to which Colonel Repington, as will be seen later, is opposed) and the completion of the oil supplies on the route to the East, the British Fleet should reach the East in considerably less than 3 months.

They certainly would be if we made our Main Fleet base at SYDNEY.

Only if we have an adequate base at SINGAPORE.

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One of the first acts would then be to recapture any territory of ours that Japan had overcome.

With no base from which the Fleet could operate and draw its supplies of fuel, this would be a most stupendous and hazardous operation. It could not be done from SYDNEY.

Let us not forget that in 1894 the Japanese struck before a declaration of war, and in 1904 also before the formal declaration of War and only 48 hours after M. Kurito the Japanese Minister to Russia, had broken off diplomatic relations.

In the second act, we should probably endeavour to harrass Japan at home, drawing the Naval net closer in and to organise Chinese and allied forces to contend with her. The war in China might sway one way or might sway another.
To look still further into the misty future, it is not impossible if Japan's plans were well laid that she would invade French Indo-China, Siam and the Malay States and, after a certain period, - say 2 or 3 campaigning seasons - be found knocking at the gates of India possibly in co-operation with Russians, Afghans and the Tribes with the war cry of Asia for the Asiatics. We should then recognise that the permanent hostility of East and West, which was the chief refrain of the father of history, has lost nothing of its force by the lapse of four and twenty centuries since the time of Herodotus.

We could not do this unless we have SINGAPORE as a main base and Hong Kong as an advanced base.

If Japan thought she had a chance of taking SINGAPORE before the arrival of the British Fleet, she would do so in the first act not the second as SINGAPORE is the key to the Western Pacific and with the door closed at SINGAPORE, Japan would have gained much time to do whatever she wished.

Japan's game is to conquer the sea by the land.

Not clear what this means. The despatch of overseas expedition by Japan to the southward would be quite out of the question with SINGAPORE and HONG KONG in our hands flanking the route they would have to follow.

As regards Canada, the United States can be trusted to intervene (if they had not already done so).

Never will she permit, if she can help it, a superior Navy to stand between her own Navy and its home territory.

Concur.

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We can discount an early Japanese Naval irruption into the Indian Ocean which act would be suicidal. I find nothing of the gambling spirit in the Japanese strategy of the past.

Should SINGAPORE be in Japanese hands, our trade in the Indian Ocean would be heavily attacked. There is nothing of the gambling spirit in this.

OUR OBJECTS.

It is not given to any human intelligence to foretell the eventual aspects of a great and lengthy campaign when a nation like Japan breaks loose. I have nearly sketched out a hypothetical course of preliminary events in order to examine what it is that we seek during the first six months of the war before such things as allied armies, or Chinese armies organised by the allies, enter the field. Evidently it is indispensable that the allied navies should have a plan of co-operation at sea; that their initial war stations should be mutually agreed upon so as to meet all cases of a Japanese Naval offensive as near as may be; and that all the allied Fleets should reach these war stations with the least possible delay. But we must also suppose a case - and so must our allies whom I have hypothecated - when any one of us may be acting alone, at least for a time.

No, but it is possible to make preparation for conducting your campaign on sound lines. Without SINGAPORE, a campaign against Japan cannot be undertaken.

There is one and only one method meeting all cases of a Japanese Naval offensive and that is, to defeat or neutralise the Japanese Fleet - SINGAPORE is a necessity for this.

It is of course a grievous disadvantage to us that we are now on a one-power basis at sea, for it means that our Fleet cannot without risk be broken up, and also that when our one and only Fleet is 8,000 miles distant - the distance from Plymouth to Singapore - we are almost defenceless at Home. But, in the case of the war which I am academically considering, the two greatest navies in the world, with the aid of the French and the Dutch, would be fighting the third strongest power, and we could, between us, afford to leave sufficient naval forces behind to safeguard our shores. The case would be harder if we were fighting Japan alone, for then political obstacles would be presented at home to the sailing of the Fleet, but these would be overcome by a call from our Dominions which would only be answered in one way.

Diplomacy, by Alliance or other methods, must safeguard our position at home.

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INITIAL WAR STATIONS.

I would like, in the initial stage, of a war under the conditions assumed, to see our Grand Fleet at Sydney, the American Fleet at Hawaii, the French Fleet at Singapore, the Dutch Naval Forces in their East Indian Islands and light allied forces, in the fringe of islands from Singapore to the Marquesas Islands at Dutch Harbour in the Aleutian Islands, at Midway Island, at Port Darwin, and at important centres like Vancouver and Panama. The best possible wireless communication should be created. It is of course assumed - an assumption justified by comparative strengths - that the British and American Fleets can each separately engage the whole Japanese Fleet with advantage. That is the only condition which authorises a departure from the cardinal principle of concentration. Further it is merely suggested for the sake of the argument that the French, whose naval strength is mainly in small craft, may agree that their ships would be better placed initially at Singapore than at Saigon to defend French Indo China. Where the light scouting squadron should go is a matter that cannot be discussed, but in principle the value of early information would be beyond estimation. If we were acting alone in a war with Japan, I would equally prefer that our Grand Fleet should go to Sydney first and that Singapore and Port Darwin should be strongly defended bases for cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and air forces, for whose activities the points named are eminently suitable. The necessity for an Admiralissimo in the Pacific will jump to the eyes, but this is not to say that we shall get one when acting with Allies.

This would be an ideal arrangement from the Japanese point of view.
Unless we are prepared to allow the Japanese to

(a) Capture HONG KONG.
(b) " SINGAPORE.
(c) " BRITISH NORTH BORNEO with its valuable oil supplies.

(d) Leave our trade in the Indian Ocean open to attack the first thing we should have to do is to send the Fleet to SINGAPORE - therefore why ever send it to SYDNEY.
To send the Fleet to SYDNEY knowing that it has to go to SINGAPORE before it can commence to carry out its task, is like motoring from LONDON to YORK by going to EDINBURGH first.
Colonel Repington may not have realised that in order to reach SYDNEY the Fleet must go via Ceylon and SINGAPORE - it cannot go straight from either Aden or the Cape to Australia.
The Fleet would find itself in a nice fix if whilst it was making a joy ride to SYDNEY the Japanese captured SINGAPORE with its oil supplies.
The Fleet would then be immobilised for want of oil in Australia as the Japanese would be on the flank of our lines of communication to Persia from whence we should have to endeavour to obtain our supplies of oil.

Our first object in the Pacific is to protect Australia, New Zealand, and Canada from attack and Sydney is the port best placed to secure that object, taking all factors into consideration. In the same way the first object of the American Fleet is to protect the Pacific coast of America and Hawaii is the centre indicated for a Fleet charged with that protection.

This has already been dealt with in the opening paragraph.

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We are hypnotised by the large transit trade that visits Singapore in peace, but, in a war of the character suggested, the trade of the assumed allies with China and Japan would be dried up, and Keppel Harbour and the Roads at Singapore would not contain that mass of tonnage that normally frequents them.

The Admiralty challenge this statement. War has to be paid for and so trade must go on wherever possible. East of SINGAPORE, British goods would have to find carriage in neutral bottoms which would involve a good deal of transhipment in Malayan ports.

We must further remember that Japan had only some 600,000 tons of shipping in 1904-5 when she fought Russia, and that she now has a steam merchant fleet of over 3,000,000 gross tons, most of which except for troop transport to China would be available for the despatch of great expeditions oversea.

Only by withdrawing ships from their usual run. This is one of our main sources of information as to Japanese intentions and which is carefully watched.

One cannot exclude the hypothesis that an expedition might be directed to Australia or New Zealand, and in such strength that its subsequent capture or eviction would be a great affair.

The Japanese will not attempt to invade Australia until the British Fleet has been removed from the picture by some means or another.

It is our primary object in such a war to defend these two Dominions, a Navy is a defensive arm which defends by attacking - and in the case of Canada must not be neglected, even though we may consider that, provided that the United States is with us, an American Fleet at Hawaii covers Vancouver and that more than raids against the continent of America are not to be anticipated.

The task of the Navy in such a war, as in all wars with a Maritime Power is to defeat or neutralise the enemy's fleet, by which action Australia and New Zealand will be defended. It is because Col. Repington does not apparently understand what the task of the Navy is that he advocates such unsound strategy.

Strategically Sydney is the right place to be made the initial war station for our Grand Fleet in any war of which the Pacific is the main theatre. It is, unlike Singapore, centrally situated, and has behind it all the immense resources of Australia, not the least of which is a population of our own kith and kin. It is an ocean port, and not, like Singapore, an ideal hunting ground for Japanese submarines.

This has already been dealt with, except that it is not understood how SYDNEY can be considered centrally situated. SYDNEY not SINGAPORE is eccentric.

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It is possible that the Cape route will be the best for the Grand Fleet to take to reach Sydney - though it is not the shortest - unless the political conditions in Europe make the Mediterranean absolutely safe.

To use the Cape Route would treble the time the Fleet would take to reach the East. The free use of the Suez Canal is essential to us and a paper pointing out the necessity of taking all precautions to prevent the Suez Canal being blocked has lately been sent to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

An alternative is the route by Panama. When the Japanese Island to which I have referred are cleared, and any Japanese captures of Allied possessions made good, we could draw forward to the Line Saigon (or Hong Kong) - Manila - Guam, but there is no need to pursue this part of the subject further than by saying that the more we can threaten Japan's home territory, the weaker will be her armies on the continent of Asia.

The Panama route is not a practical proposition. See also remarks (1) to (5) on page 3.

OUR MEDITERRANEAN POLICY.

Here I must make a digression and say that, with all humility, I do not agree with the Admiralty policy which would place our Main Fleet in the Mediterranean in peace time. The Mediterranean is not oceanic but thalassic.

The Mediterranean is the strategical centre at the present time as

(1) The East can be reached quickly.
(2) The Fleet is well situated for dealing with France or Italy.
(3) It is as well situated as if it were in Home Waters in case of a trouble with America.

It is eminently suitable for the successful activity of fast cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and aircraft, but not for that of Capital ships except against Constantinople under the conditions of the present moment,

The Fleet has to operate where the enemy's fleet is.

Our only decent base is Malta where the harbour is not large enough to contain the Grand Fleet entire.

It has never been suggested that the whole Fleet should be based on Malta in the case of a war against France or Italy.

One of the latin powers at least resents our intrusion into the Middle Sea. Things which held good in Victorian days and before them do not hold good now. Since those good old days, Spain, France, and Italy have occupied North Africa which they regard as a prolongation of their European territories and the presence of the Main British Fleet in the midst of their possessions is inconvenient to them and not well seen.

There appears to be no reason why we should subscribe to the idea that the Mediterranean is a French or Italian Lake.

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Moreover, the Suez Canal may be closed, and access to the Mediterranean by Gibraltar or egress, be made difficult by submarines and aircraft. From many points North and South of the Middle Sea if we had an enemy there, aeroplanes could be launched and the situation of Malta's crowded harbour would be most unenviable.

If the Suez Canal is blocked the distance from Malta to the Cape is no greater than England to the Cape. The Air Menace is much overrated.

I agree with that excellent authority Mr. Hector Bywater whose long connection with the Navy League will be remembered that it is disputable whether strength in armoured ships is still the safest criterion of naval power in such comparatively restricted waters as those of the Mediterranean. We should keep our Main Fleet at Home. Then it would have all the support of the territory and of its regular bases and could proceed at full strength to any part of the world by oceanic route, perhaps secretly at first, and without much fear of interruption by the new arms which science has given to war.

There can also be little doubt that a fleet trained in the waters round the British Isles will always beat a Mediterranean - trained Fleet. The preference of the Admiralty for the Mediterranean as the peace station for our chief Fleet must be set down as an injudicious obsession, antagonistic to the conception of an oceanic Navy. The Atlantic is the best training place for a naval campaign in the Pacific if we cannot train in the Pacific itself.

Not concurred in. The Mediterranean is the finest training ground in the world.

SINGAPORE VERSUS SYDNEY.

Few people have ever doubted the need at Singapore of a well defended base for Light ships. But as a great base for the Grand Fleet, with dockyard and graving docks, it is altogether unsuitable. Let us try to recall what a huge organisation the Grand Fleet is, what a vast area it covers, and how great must be the base which has to serve it, successfully. The Admiralty seems suddenly to have discovered that the Singapore Harbour Board and private merchants have already occupied the whole of the sea-front of Keppel Harbour, and that there is no place for a great Naval Base there. So they are looking elsewhere - two

See remarks on page 9 for reasons why Sydney is unsuitable As regards the site for the proposed Naval anchorage and dockyard in the Old Strait, the significance of this enclosed piece of water has been realised for many years, long before the Government definitely decided to establish a base in the neighbourhood.

Detailed surveys undertaken immediately after the war fully confirmed the view that the Old Strait east of Johore Bharu was the only suitable piece of water for a naval

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years after deciding that they must have a great Naval Harbour at Singapore and have fixed on the Old Strait as the site. This announcement was made on June 21st of this year. The Old Strait is the Channel which separates Singapore Island from the Malay Peninsula and any base created there would be a dozen miles from Singapore and outside the present defences. There are no resources of civilisation - absolutely none- along the Singapore Island side of the channel and everything will have to be created from the very beginning - towns, dockyards, graving dock, storehouses, barracks, wharves, hospitals, and the vast and complicated organisation. The western entrance to the Old Strait is so obstructed by sand banks that an immense amount of dredging will have to be undertaken before it can be used, and, while there are depths of only three fathoms on the sand banks, the fairway depths within are in places as little as four fathoms. The Eastern exit has better depths but any Naval base in the Old Strait will be exposed to attack from the mainland if a hostile force lands or marches there, and this will raise a number of new questions and may impose upon us permanent defences on the mainland if the Sultan of Johore approves. The climate of Singapore, whether the town or the Old Strait, is hot, moist, and exceedingly enervating to Europeans, of whom there are not more than 7,000 males of all ages in the Straits Settlements including Americans and the garrison.

anchorage in the vicinity, providing as it does some 12 square miles of anchorage space. The question of the site for anchorage and base was further examined on the spot in 1921 by a strong technical committee from the Admiralty. The entrance to the anchorage is at the eastern end of Singapore Island, and the obstructions at the western end do not matter very much as, in any case, a causeway is being built for the railway at Johore Bharu which will cut off the western and shallow part of the Straits. Dredging will not therefore be essential at the western entrance as this part of the Strait will only be used by light craft vessels.

The disadvantages of creating a protected anchorage off Keppel Harbour were

(a) Defences against attack by light craft would involve the construction of a breakwater which would cost at least £20,000,000.

(b) The seaward defence is complicated by the proximity of Dutch territorial waters.

(c) If the Rhio Islands were temporarily in possession of an enemy the safety of the anchorage would be severely compromised.

The Old Strait was therefore selected and in order to economise defences and for technical geological reasons it was decided that the dockyard should be near the anchorage, i.e. on the north side of Singapore Island. Although the site in the Old Strait would involve increased military commitments, the increased capital expenditure would not be comparable to the enormous overhead cost of a breakwater and boom defence off Keppel Harbour. The enclosed nature of the Old Strait makes the provision of booms etc. comparatively inexpensive.

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Singapore is 6,000 nautical miles from the Hawaii Islands, which are 2,120 miles from Vancouver and 4,520 miles from Sydney. Whether from the point of view of position, climate, resources, hydrography, security, or commodiousness, Singapore has no claim whatever to become the main base for the Grand Fleet in the Pacific. I should add that, as the Dutch East Indian Islands surround Singapore to West, South, and East it would be undesirable to fight there without an arrangement with the Dutch.

How different is Sydney and its great harbour of Port Jackson! It is one of the most magnificent harbours in the world extremely defensible, very secure, with a vast area of water space which could contain the whole of our Grand Fleet without infringing upon the fairway or upon the great trade of Sydney which operates in Woolloomoolloo Bay, Sydney Cove, and Darling Harbour. It is needless to praise the climate. The anchorages, of which a large space is already reserved for naval uses, are good and numerous and the small craft and storeships with a Fleet can select from a dozen or more of the sequestered coves around the harbour that will suit them best. There is deep water usually coming in close to the shores; there are immense lines of wharves and quays, large hospitals and warehouses, extensive factories and foundries and best of all a British population with all the wealth and resources of Australia behind them.

The site selected for the dockyard is on a granite geological formation and is very different to that in Keppel Harbour where the construction of the Singapore commercial docks has presented great difficulties and proved very expensive. Sufficient borings have already been taken on the site to shew that granite exists at a suitable depth for the dock and wharf walls, and the Admiralty are satisfied that the sum inserted in the estimates is sufficient for the works proposed.

The climate of Singapore is no worse than any other place in the tropics and better than Hong Kong in the summer.

Last section, some arrangement with the Dutch would be most desirable on account of proximity of territorial waters. The same difficulty exists in an aggravated form at Gibraltar. This question has been fully realised ever since Singapore has been a defended fuelling base, i.e. for 30 or 40 years.

Climate and local advantages cannot outweigh the strategical unfitness of Sydney as pointed out in remarks on page 9. It is Sydney that is eccentric, not Singapore.

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Every facility is to be found for repairing vessels of every size or description and both stores and supplies of all kinds are abundant. In short, nearly everything that we propose to make at great cost at Singapore already exists at Port Jackson, and there is plenty of space over in case we want anything more. Even were the position of Sydney strategically as poor and eccentric as that of Singapore, the local advantages of Port Jackson would weight the scale, in choice of bases, against the many and fatal disadvantages of Singapore.

MOBILE BASES.

My view is that so long as the Dominions need our Grand Fleet for their protection, these Dominions should provide the bases to which the Fleet is to go when trouble comes. That is a fair division of effort. It is my earnest hope that Anzac statesmen may not manifest a preference for Singapore because it will transfer an Anzac liability to the Mother Country. But there is another side of this question. The initial war station of the Grand Fleet must offer complete resources, but it will not invariably be that which will be alone used by the Navy in the course of operations. Advanced bases nearer to the enemy may also be needed. No one can say in advance where these bases should be, since their position will depend upon the course and the fortunes of war, but it is easy by scanning a chart of the Pacific to suggest points where such bases would be useful or even indispensable. Therefore it seems to be sound policy, for an Empire situated as ours is, for the Mother Country and for every Dominion, Dependency, and Crown Colony of importance to contribute, in actual material, to an organisation of mobile bases which would keep in local stores the guns, shells, booms, mines, floating docks, piers, stores, and provisions of every description for the rapid creation of a mobile base at a selected spot and have men in readiness both for constructing and for manning it.

That the Dominions should only provide bases as their share of Imperial Naval Defence is unsound since

(a) Whole burden of providing the Fleet would fall on British taxpayer.

(b) It would be repugnant to the sentiment of the Dominions which is more and more tending towards the idea of possessing mobile forces. The Dominions would not tolerate being treated in this way.

Mobile Bases - this is in accordance with Admiralty policy.

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We may never again possess the extraordinarily favourable naval conditions, geographical and other, which we enjoyed in the war with Germany, and we must not be disposed to think that what suited us in fighting Germany will do against Japan. The distances in the Pacific are immense, and, while the question of fuel endurance and supplies is of the first importance, the range of scouting vessels and of aircraft must be very great. The hydrography of the Pacific is special and oceanic, while the immense depths and long wash of the seas make the conditions of submarine warfare special also, both for attack and defence. Most of all must the fact be borne in mind that Japan is a real Naval Power and not an artificial one and that her past successes forbid us to make any mistakes if we ever have to fight her.

Certainly.

Such are the directions in which I think the Empire should work in the future development of its sea power, and I hope sincerely that the coming Imperial Conference may lay down the lines upon which this greatest of leagues of nations, the British Empire, should in future proceed in its defensive arrangements.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

RECOMMENDATIONS

OF THE

NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE COMMITTEE

AS APPROVED BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT,

UPON

I.—The Relations of the Navy and the Air Force.
II.—The Co-ordination of the Defence Forces.

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I.—THE RELATIONS OF THE NAVY AND THE AIR FORCE.

The Main Committee observe that the Special Sub-Committee are not altogether satisfied with the term " Seconded " which they have used in describing the status of Naval officers serving in the Fleet Air Arm. It is clear that the actual position of a Naval officer seconded to the Air Service afloat differs from a seconded officer as hitherto understood. For example, he continues to be under the ultimate tactical and disciplinary orders at sea of an officer of the Service to which he permanently belongs, whilst he is serving under the immediate command of an officer of the Service to which he is temporarily attached. Moreover, the work he is called on to do in his temporary Service directly relates to the needs of his parent Service, and he carries it out under the eyes of a commanding officer of his parent Service. The Main Committee therefore consider the term " Seconded " not altogether appropriate. They would prefer the more general term " Attached," provided the conditions ot attachment necessary in this particular case are clearly understood, as follows : These Naval officers belonging to the Fleet Air Arm are therefore to be attached to the Air Service. But whilst after their training under the Air Service they will be posted to units of the Navy by the Air Service on the nomination of the Admiralty and will serve under the immediate command of Air Service officers, yet afloat they will be under the ultimate command of the Naval officers of the Fleet. Though their temporary pay and their acting rank will be determined by the Air Service, after consultation with the Admiralty, yet their permanent rank and promotion will continue to be subject to the regulations of the Navy. Lastly, though they must serve with the Air Service and not be moved from it during the period of their attachment without the consent of the Air Ministry, yet as regards discipline and status afloat they will in all respects be in precisely the same position as officers of the Royal Marines.

With regard to uniform, the officers and men generally of the Fleet Air Arm will wear a distinguishing badge on their uniform. If the Admiralty desire, the Naval officers attached to the Fleet Air Arm will retain their Naval uniform with the same badge.

If any Naval other ranks and ratings are employed in the Fleet Air Arm, the same principle as regards uniform and badges would apply.

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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL SUB-COMMITTEE.

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PART I.

THE GENERAL PROBLEM.

1. Your Sub-Committee were instructed to enquire into the relations of the Navy and the Air Force as regards the control of Fleet air work, and on this point they have taken a great deal of evidence from witnesses representing both Departments.

In addition to this, two of our members, Lord Peel and Lord Weir, accompanied by Sir Maurice Hankey (Secretary), paid a visit to the aerodromes in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth and the Aircraft Carriers " Argus " and " Eagle."

2. In the course of the somewhat acute controversy between the two Departments, a very large number of points have been raised whose importance is subsidiary and illustrative. This was inevitable, and probably desirable; but the broad principles lying at the root of the policies respectively advocated by the contending parties are perfectly intelligible, quite apart from the detailed arguments and counter arguments by which they are supported.

3. To the Air Ministry was given in 1917 control over the air forces of the country. The Department was at one stroke placed on a par with the Admiralty and the War Office, for, though aerial warfare is a growth of yesterday, it was felt that its rapidly increasing importance required an organisation which would ensure its development under the most favourable conditions. In these circumstances it was only natural that the Air Ministry should strongly object to being partially dismembered so soon after it had been brought into existence, the more so as in the early days of this dispute the severance of the Fleet Air Arm from the rest of the Air Force meant an immensely larger proportionate loss than it would mean at the present moment. But though the injury involved in the complete removal from their jurisdiction of the Fleet Air Arm is relatively diminished, it remains in principle the same, and if carried out to its logical conclusions would, in the opinion of the Department, lead to many administrative difficulties and much overlapping, while in the region of supply and research it would hamper progress and increase expense.

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4. The Admiralty case is not less worthy of most serious consideration. In their view a Fleet Air Arm is now as necessary to a Fleet as cruisers, destroyers or submarines. Aerial reconnaissance and aerial " spotting " are as strictly naval operations as gunnery, torpedo work and wireless telegraphy. It seems to them intolerable that, while they are responsible for the safety and success of our Battle Fleets, the air work on which that safety and that success in large measure depend should be performed by persons belonging to another Service, imbued by different traditions, and looking for support and promotion to a different Department.

5. Your Sub-Committee have the greatest sympathy with both these points of view, and they have given much anxious thought to the question of how they can best be dealt with. They do not think that the present system can remain altogether unchanged; neither do they think it possible to sever completely the Air organisation which does work for the Fleet from the Air organisation which is responsible for Home Defence against air attack and for co-operating with the Army in other theatres of operation. A course somewhere between these two extremes is the one we recommend, but before describing our suggestions in detail it seems desirable to give a brief sketch of the system now in course of development along the line where the two Services come into contact.

PART II.

The Present System.

The General System.

6. The general system is that the Air Ministry raises, trains and maintains the Fleet Air Arm. At sea the Fleet Air Arm comes under the operational and disciplinary control of the Admiralty, which designs, builds and maintains the carriers.

The functions of the Fleet Air Arm comprise aerial reconnaissance, naval gunnery spotting, bombing and fighting.

The Fleet Air Arm operates at sea from a carrier, which is a floating aerodrome. In addition, in time of war, capital ships and cruisers will embark aeroplanes, but at present the risk to personnel and *matériel* is too great to justify this in time of peace.

Air Force squadrons also operate over sea from shore bases in co-operation with the Navy, but these are not at present in question.

The numbers of the Royal Air Force personnel at present employed with the Fleet Air Arm are 115 officers and 681 other ranks.

Policy.

7. Naval Air policy is concerted by the Air Staff and Admiralty War Staff. Initiative may come from either side, but Naval officers of high rank do not, under the present system, have many opportunities of obtaining experience or training in air matters to fit them for this work.

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The Coastal Area.

8. Apart from matters of policy, *liaison* is secured between the Navy and the Air Force by a special machinery termed the " Coastal Area " Organisation. This is provided by the Air Ministry for the purpose of administering the Fleet Air Arm on land, subject to the general control of the Air Ministry. The Coastal Area is commanded by a senior Air Force Officer (the present occupant is an ex-naval officer) who is responsible for the maintenance at full strength of the personnel and *matériel* of the Fleet Air Arm, and for its special training for naval purposes. He is the adviser to the Admiralty on Air matters other than policy, and communicates directly with the Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic Fleet, on all matters connected with the Fleet's requirements.

9. Under the Air Officer Commanding the Coastal Area are two Group Captains, with headquarters at Leuchars (the Forth) and Lee-on-Solent respectively. In the case of larger operations involving the embarkation of aircraft or the carrying out of operations from shore bases, the Naval Commander-in-Chief notifies his requirements direct to the Air Officer Commanding Coastal Area. For minor operations he deals directly with one or other of the Group Captains.

10. Corresponding arrangements are made at Malta for the Mediterranean Fleet.

Position on Board Carriers.

11. As soon as the Air Units are on board the carriers they come under the orders of the naval Commander-in-Chief, and are altogether outside the control of the Coastal Area Organisation, which is then, as we have already noted, only responsible for keeping units up to strength in air personnel and *matériel*. The orders for flying are given by the naval Commander-in-Chief (who has an Air Force Officer on his Staff) to the captain of the Aircraft Carrier, who is, of course, a naval officer, and he gives his orders to the senior Air Force Officer on board. The Royal Air Force personnel are responsible for the cleanliness and maintenance of their own quarters and some other parts of the ship, such as the aeroplane deck. They can be employed on the general duties of the ship. Difficulties have, however, been made in regard to the performance of particular duties, such as the training and use of Air Force personnel for passing ammunition to the guns.

12. A certain amount of co-operation is practised between the skilled mechanics of both Services. The Royal Air Force may, for example, utilise the services of the ship's blacksmith for certain repairs to aeroplane engines, and the Royal Air Force may undertake repairs to motor-boat engines. Such co-operation is naturally limited by the highly specialised training which is inevitable in each Service.

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Supply of Personnel.

13. The Air Ministry are responsible for the supply of officers and other ranks for duty with the Fleet Air Arm, with the exception of certain naval officers, who, after training in Air Force establishments, are employed as observers in "spotting" machines and some naval ratings employed as wireless telegraph operators.

14. It is of importance to note that the Royal Air Force possesses a number of officers who were formerly in the Royal Naval Air Service, many of whom were trained as naval officers. The senior positions in the Fleet Air Arm are at present largely filled by these officers. The original intention of the Air Ministry was that, in order to replace these, some 30 per cent. of the officers of the Fleet Air Arm should consist of naval officers seconded for a term of years. Unfortunately, however, only a very few naval officers responded to the invitation to volunteer for this service.

15. It may be worth noting that the general system for the supply of Air Force officers to meet future demands is divided into two classes—

(*a*) Officers holding permanent Commissions, and
(*b*) Officers holding short-service Commissions.

16. Officers holding permanent Commissions, on leaving Cranwell, are given the choice of the particular branch in which they wish to specialise. Those selecting the Naval side will, in the first instance, do four years with the Fleet Air Arm. They may then serve with other branches, including courses of instruction, for a term of years in order to gain wider experience, but will ultimately return to the Naval side again. This practice will ensure that there will always be a proportion of senior officers in the Royal Air Force with Naval experience obtained in the Fleet Air Arm.

17. A proportion of the officers holding short-service Commissions for five years, after receiving their initial training of one year, are posted for duty with the Fleet Air Arm, and do the whole of their service with that branch. On completion of their five years' service they are posted to the Reserve for five years, when they are earmarked as reserves for the Fleet Air Arm in case of emergency.

18. The Air Ministry endeavour to retain the personnel with the Fleet Air Units for the normal term of service (*i.e.*, four years), but exceptional cases arise when it is impossible to allow them to remain for the whole of that period.

Training.

19. The whole of the primary training of flying personnel, whether their future work is to be on sea or on land, is carried out by the Air Ministry. No criticisms of it have been brought to our notice, and we do not propose to refer to it again. The

later and more specialised training of the Fleet Air Arm is partly conducted in the carriers and partly on land at technical schools maintained by the Air Ministry at certain naval ports. Apart from their initial training, before they are embarked, the Air Detachments of Carriers use their establishments for training, when not required by the Naval Commander-in-Chief for exercise. It will be seen therefore that as things are at present these establishments are used entirely for the purposes of the Fleet Air Arm or for shore-based aircraft co-operating with the Navy. The Air Force training schools in the Portsmouth area work in close touch with the naval gunnery and torpedo schools. Behind the establishments devoted exclusively to training for the Fleet Air Arm are a series of technical centres maintained for the Air Force as a whole, the resources of which are available for the Fleet Air Arm.

Design and Research Work.

20. New design, experimental and research work to meet naval requirements are carried out by the Air Ministry after consultation with the Admiralty. The Admiralty, after consultation between the two Departments, put forward their suggestions as to the types of machines which they require, and the Air Ministry design such machines, as far as is practicable from the point of view of aerodynamics and similar technical consideration. The Air Ministry draw up the specification of the type required, and call for designs from the trade, and the Admiralty are kept fully informed of the progress made during the whole process and after the trials have been carried out.

21. The Navy are not directly represented on the design, experimental or research branches at the Air Ministry, but the Air Ministry utilise the services of a certain number of ex-Naval officers, who have now transferred to the Air Force, in these departments, and also receive reports as to defects in design and performance of machines from Air Force officers serving with Fleet Air Units, thus ensuring that due weight is attached to the user's point of view in the modification and improvement of design.

22. There is also in existence an Inter-Departmental Committee called "The Joint Technical Committee on Aviation Arrangements in His Majesty's Ships," which consists of representatives of the Admiralty and the Air Ministry. Its functions are to examine the technical problems which may arise with regard to the suitability of the types of aircraft intended for embarkation on board carriers, and the modifications and improvements which can be effected on board the carriers themselves. It is clear from the evidence that new uses of aircraft involving possibly new types can be proposed either by the Admiralty or the Air Ministry, and that the latter give full consideration to all suggestions which may be put forward by the Navy.

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The Supply of Matériel.

23. At present theAir Ministry are solely responsible for the supply of all matériel connected with aircraft. An establishment of the machines required for the Fleet Air Arm has been agreed upon between the Admiralty and the Air Ministry, and the latter is responsible for maintaining that establishment at full strength with its correct proportion of machines in reserve, the necessary spare parts and the various shore organisations required for its maintenance. This establishment is at present limited by the number of Aircraft Carriers in commission in the Navy, but the Air Ministry have made the necessary arrangements in their programme of construction to increase the number of machines up to the number which will be required when the two new Aircraft Carriers are completed in 1923-24.

PART III.

Recommendations.

24. We have endeavoured to explain, in the first place, the general nature of the objection felt by the Air Department to any important change in the existing system and by the Admiralty to its maintenance. We have also given a full account of the system as it has been developed up to the present moment. We now propose to turn to the future and make certain suggestions which, as we hope, may go far to reconcile the contending parties and to make material improvements in the existing system.

25. Our task is materially lightened by the fact that, in the course of discussions before your Sub-Committee, a larger measure of agreement was found possible on certain aspects of the problem than had at one time seemed likely.

26. In the first place, it appeared that on some important points the practice, though not the written law, of the Air Department was already in conformity with the wishes of the Admiralty. For example, the Admiralty are very desirous that the Group Captains in contact with the Navy should be officers with experience of the Fleet Air Arm.

1st Recommendation

Broadly speaking, the Air Ministry take the same view, and we recommend that it be made part of the settled practice of the Air Ministry to consult with the Admiralty before such appointments are made. We think the same principle should be extended to the Air Officer Commanding the Coast Defence Area and the Senior Air Officer on board a carrier.

27. The Admiralty desire that the Air Ministry shall provide all the matériel which they demand. This, we believe, has always been the intention of the Air Ministry.

2nd Recommendation.

We think it should be formally laid down, and that, in the event of the Air Ministry for one reason or another not carrying into effect the wishes of the Admiralty, there shall be an appeal by either party to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

28. We have no reason to believe that there is any fundamental difference of opinion between the two Services with regard to certain questions of discipline, such, for example, as those which might arise when a member of the Air Force leaves the ship, where he is under the command, for every purpose, of the Captain, and goes for training to the aerodrome, which is under the control of an officer of the Air Force.

3rd Recommendation.

But though there are no differences of principle, there are certain obscurities which it would be desirable to clear up, and we therefore recommend that the two Departments should, in collaboration, draw up a code of regulations which would make clear the relations between them at all points where they come in contact.

29. In all the cases that we have so far enumerated there may have been misunderstanding, but there has not been at any time, so far as we are aware, any difference of principle.

30. We now turn to a class of cases where, as a result of discussion before your Sub-Committee, the Air Department have shown a disposition to meet Admiralty views. The first of these relates to the framing of the Naval Estimates. The Admiralty desire that in these Estimates should be included the cost of the Fleet Air Arm.

4th Recommendation.

The Air Department are of opinion that technically this course would be inconvenient, but have no objection to it in principle. Your Sub-Committee are of opinion that this question should be settled by the Treasury in consultation with the two Fighting Services.

31. The Admiralty require that the Air Force on board ship should be completely under the orders of its Captain. Your Sub-Committee are of opinion that, inasmuch as all the airmen on board ship are under the Naval Discipline Act, this, in theory, is already provided for, but undoubtedly in the minds of those chiefly concerned some obscurity hangs over the subject. This, we think, should be explicitly cleared up.

5th Recommendation.

The position of a member of the Air Force when on board ship does not differ in law, and should not differ in practice, from the position of, say, a Marine.

6th Recommendation.

32. In order fully to carry out the policy laid down in the preceding paragraph, we recommend, and have reason to believe that the Air Ministry will accept the principle, that all reports on officers of the Fleet Air Arm, whether confidential or otherwise, should be signed by the Captain of the ship and passed through the Naval Commander-in-Chief to the Air Officer Commanding the Coastal Area.

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7th Recommendation.

33. A further point which should be dealt with under this heading is one on which the Admiralty have expressed considerable anxiety and on which we have reason to believe that the Air Force are prepared to meet their wishes. The Admiralty are apprehensive lest, in time of war or other emergency, the Air Ministry might withdraw from the Navy units of the Fleet Air Arm, and use them for other purposes. In respect of this we recommend that it should be definitely laid down that the personnel, *matériel* and reserves of the Fleet Air Arm should not be withdrawn by the Air Ministry without either the consent of the Admiralty or a decision of the Cabinet.

34. Before concluding this class of questions we must take note of a complaint made by the Admiralty that on board the Carrier there is a good deal of duplication of effort between the purely Naval Service and the Air Force.

8th Recommendation.

We think this subject should be looked into by the two Departments concerned, and we do not doubt that arrangements can be made by which all overlapping can be effectively avoided.

35. We now come to the last class of questions with which we have to deal, which are at once the most difficult and the most important. We are strongly of opinion, and we have every hope that the two Services share our view, that, since in war the Services may have to co-operate, it is vital that in time of peace they should form an accurate estimate of each others needs and capacities.

9th Recommendation.

We therefore recommend :

(i.) That Naval officers should be appointed to the Air Staff.

(ii.) That Air Force officers should be appointed to the Naval War Staff.

(iii.) That some means should be devised by which the wealth of technical knowledge at the disposal of the Admiralty should be utilised in the technical departments of the Air Ministry, preferably by reinforcement of the staff of these departments by naval technicians.

36. These recommendations refer exclusively to the headquarters of the two Services; but it is perhaps even more important that the junior ranks of the two Services, who will in time occupy responsible positions, should have a considerable sprinkling of persons familiar with the needs and capacities of the other Service.

37. The Air Force look to a system of naval seconding for carrying out half this policy, and we cannot believe that the Admiralty would be averse to having members of the Air Force on board the carriers. Unfortunately, seconding from the Navy to the Air Force, as at present understood, must be deemed to have been hitherto a failure, and we find it difficult to believe that, if the present system remains unchanged and unexplained,

any great improvement is likely to occur. We cannot be surprised that a young officer who has just joined the Navy is reluctant to abandon, even temporarily, the department under which he expected to serve and to exchange it for one which is essentially different. The feeling is natural, and cannot be ignored.

It must, however, be pointed out that if the word " seconding " is thus used this is not what any naval officer under the present scheme is expected to do. In ordinary practice, when we say that an officer is " seconded " to another Service we no doubt intend to express the idea that for the duties which he had to perform and for the authorities he had to obey in the Service which he has temporarily left, will be substituted new duties and new authorities. But this does not really represent the facts in the case of so-called " seconding " from the Navy into the Air Force. The duties of the seconded officer, though carried out in the air, remain, nevertheless, Naval duties, and the Captain whom he has to obey continues to be a Naval Captain.

In order to make this situation perfectly clear, we recommend that no seconded Naval Officer shall be asked to perform non-naval air duties, except with the consent of the Admiralty. We believe the Air Force are prepared to accept this principle. 10th Recommendation.

38. If this recommendation be carried into effect, the most important change involved in the operation of what is (somewhat inaccurately) called " seconding " is the change from the Naval to a Flying uniform—a change which can hardly be said to touch the essence of the situation.

We suggest, however, in order to meet the sentimental, though not on that account unimportant, objection, that the uniform of a Naval flying man who, except for his period of training, is to all intents and purposes still under the Admiralty, should be distinguished from the flying men under the Air Force by some differentiating badge or mark. This would be the outward and visible sign that he still remains a member of the Service which he originally joined. It would be a clear indication that what he proposes to do is to add accomplishments in Naval flying to the other accomplishments which his brother officers are cultivating. If such a plan were found practicable, the objection felt by the Admiralty to the introduction of what they deem an alien element into the domestic life of the ship should be largely mitigated. 11th Recommendation.

39. It might well be that, if this scheme succeeded, the number of officers seconded from the Navy to the Air Force would exceed the 30 per cent. of the total contemplated by the Air Service

We see no reason why 30 per cent. should be regarded as the maximum, and we should propose to leave it to the Admiralty to determine what the proportion should be, subject to the proviso that not less than 30 per cent. of Air Force Officers, whether regular or short service, should serve on board the Carriers. 12th Recommendation.

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40. There is another point of great practical importance on which something must be said. It is agreed that the work of spotting for naval gunnery is one which should be undertaken in all cases by Naval officers, but such investigations as we have been able to make convince us that naval spotting and fleet reconnaissance cannot be sharply divided, and that the officer entrusted with the one may inevitably find himself called upon to perform the other also. We have been unable to discover any objection to this change, which, on the face of it, seems obviously reasonable.

13th Recommendation. We therefore recommend that fleet reconnaissance, as well as naval spotting, should be entrusted to Naval officers seconded or otherwise.

41. If anybody will take the trouble to read the evidence given before us they will, we believe, be impressed by the number of problems for which a solution has been found by the two Departments or suggested in this Report. We earnestly trust that no merely technical difficulties will be allowed to stand in the way of a settlement which in the public interest is most urgently required.

(Signed) BALFOUR (*Chairman*).
PEEL.
WEIR.

M. P. A. HANKEY (*Secretary*).

2, *Whitehall Gardens*,
July 21, 1923.

II.—THE CO-ORDINATION OF THE DEFENCE FORCES.

The following decisions have been taken by His Majesty's Government on the recommendations of the National and Imperial Defence Committee :—

(1.) It is undesirable and impracticable to supersede the Ministerial heads of the three Fighting Services by making them subordinates of a Minister of Defence; the alternative plan for an amalgamation of the three Service Departments is equally impracticable.

(2.) On the other hand, the existing system of co-ordination by the Committee of Imperial Defence is not sufficient to secure full initiative and responsibility for defence as a whole and requires to be defined and strengthened.

(3.) Under the existing system the Committee of Imperial Defence, an advisory and consultative body, enquires into and makes recommendations in regard to the issues of defence policy and organisation which are brought before it. The power of initiative lies with the Government Departments and with the Prime Minister.

(4.) This system, though invaluable up to a point, does not make any authority, except the Prime Minister, who can only devote a small part of his time and attention to defence questions, directly responsible for the initiation of a consistent line of policy directing the common action of the three or any two of the three Services, taking account of the reactions of the three Services upon one another.

(5.) While, therefore, the existing system of departmental initiative will continue, the responsibility for the wider initiative referred to above in Paragraph (4) will also rest with the Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence acting under the general direction of the Committee of Imperial Defence and with the assistance of the three Chiefs of Staff.

(6.) In accordance with the terms of the Treasury Minute of the 4th May, 1904, constituting the Committee of Imperial Defence in its present form, the Committee of Imperial Defence will continue to consist of the Prime Minister, as President, with such other members as, having regard to the nature of the subject to be discussed, he may from time to time summon to assist him. In pursuance of a decision by the Prime Minister, the Committee places on record that the following should be members :—

The Chairman (Deputy to the Prime Minister).
The Secretary of State for War.
The Secretary of State for Air.
The First Lord of the Admiralty.

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The Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Financial Secretary.
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
The Secretary of State for the Colonies.
The Secretary of State for India.
The Chiefs of Staff of the three Fighting Services.
The Permanent Secretary of the Treasury as head of the Civil Service.

In addition to these, other British or Dominion Ministers of the Crown and other officials, or persons having special qualifications, will be summoned as members by the President according to the nature of the business.

(7.) The functions of the Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence will be :—

(i.) To preside over the Committee of Imperial Defence in the absence of the Prime Minister.

(ii.) To report to the Prime Minister (when he himself has not presided) and to the Cabinet the recommendations of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

(iii.) In matters of detail, to interpret the decisions of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet thereupon to the Departments concerned.

(iv.) Assisted by the three Chiefs of Staff, as laid down in paragraph (5) above, to keep the defence situation as a whole constantly under review so as to ensure that defence preparations and plans and the expenditure thereupon, are co-ordinated and framed to meet policy, that full information as to the changing naval, military and air situation may always be available to the Committee of Imperial Defence and that resolutions as to the requisite action thereupon may be submitted for its consideration.

(8.) In addition to the functions of the Chiefs of Staff as advisers on questions of sea, land or air policy respectively, to their own Board or Council, each of the three Chiefs of Staff will have an individual and collective responsibility for advising on defence policy as a whole, the three constituting, as it were, a Super-Chief of a War Staff in Commission. In carrying out this function they will meet together for the discussion of questions which affect their joint responsibilities.

(9.) Questions relating to co-ordination of expenditure may be entertained by the Committee of Imperial Defence when referred to it by the Cabinet. The Committee

(subject to any directions by the Cabinet) will consider such questions in the light of the general defence policy of the Government and of the strategical plans drawn up to give effect to that policy in time of war.

(10.) The Secretariat of the Committee of Imperial Defence will continue to act as liaison officers between the Chairman of the Committee and the Service Departments. The staff of the Committee will be strengthened by the addition of an Assistant Secretary to be nominated by the Prime Minister on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for Air, whose status will be identical with that of the three existing Assistant Secretaries nominated by the Prime Minister on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for War, the Secretary of State for India and the First Lord of the Admiralty.

(11.) The Standing Defence Sub-Committee is suppressed and its past proceedings will be merged into those of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

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C 63344

Naval

MR. BRUCE'S DRAFT AS AMENDED.

(3rd November 1923).

(1) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.

(2) In this connexion the Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire, upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them.

(3) Subject to this provision the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles:-

(a) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(b) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

(c) The provision of Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(d) The desirability of the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely, equality with the Naval Strength of any foreign power, in accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on Limitation of Armaments as approved by Great Britain, all the self-governing Dominions and India.

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(4) In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned the Conference takes note of:-

(a) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and India, in the provision of a Naval Base at Singapore, as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in Eastern Waters.

(b) The necessity for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

(c) The necessity for the maintenance by Great Britain of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

(5) The Conference, while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object.

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Naval.

3

Mr / C 63346

(23)

November 4, 1923

1. The Conference affirms that it is necessary for the several countries comprising the British Empire to provide for the adequate defence of their territories and trade.

2. In this connection the Conference expressly recognizes that it is for the parliaments of the several parts of the Empire, upon the recommendation of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them.

3. Subject to provision No. 2., the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles:-

(a) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(b) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

(c) The provision of naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(d) In accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on limitation of armaments as approved by Great Britain, the British Dominions and India, the maintenance of a minimum standard of naval strength, namely equality with the naval strength of any foreign power.

4. In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned, the Conference takes note of:-

(b) The necessity for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

(c) The necessity for the maintenance by Great Britain of a Home Defence air force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

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(a) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and India in the provision of a naval base at Singapore, as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in Eastern waters.

5. The Conference, while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object.

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C 63348

MR. BRUCE'S DRAFT, AS AMENDED.

(1) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.

This involves -

(a) Provision for local defence of the several parts of the Empire.

(b) Provision for co-operation in general defence, and for the protection of trade routes.

(2) For the accomplishment of this end, the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles:-

(a) In accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on limitation of armaments as approved by Great Britain, the British Dominions and India, the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely equality with the naval strength of any foreign power.

(b) The provision of Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(c) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

(d) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(3) The Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Governments of each part of the Empire to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them, upon the recommendation of their respective Governments, with a view to giving effect to the above guiding principles, and that it is for the Parliaments of the Empire, according to their several capacities and circumstances, to determine the measure of their co-operation.

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(4) In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned the Conference takes note of :-

(a) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and India in the provision of a Naval Base at Singapore, as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in Eastern waters.

(b) The necessity for the ~~provision~~ maintenance by Great Britain of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

(c) The necessity for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

(5) The Conference, while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object.

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C 63350

MR. BRUCE'S DRAFT, as amended

(1) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.

This involves -

(a) Provision for local defence of the several parts of the Empire.

(b) Provision for co-operation in general defence, and for the protection of trade routes.

(2) For the accomplishment of this end, the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles:-

(a) In accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on limitation of armaments as approved by Great Britain and the British Dominions, the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely equality with the naval strength of any foreign power.

(b) Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(c) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which its armed forces and trade pass.

(d) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(3) The Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Governments of each parts of the Empire to decide the nature and extent of any action which they should recommend to their respective Parliaments, with a view to giving effect to the above guiding principles, and that it is for the Parliaments of the Empire, (according to their several capacities and circumstances,) to determine the measure of their co-operation.

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(4) In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned the Conference takes note of:-

(a) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and India in the provision of a Naval Base at Singapore, as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in Eastern waters.

(b) The ~~necessity~~ for the ~~provision~~ by Great Britain of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient ~~strength~~ to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

(c) The ~~necessity~~ for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

(5) The Conference, while ~~recognising~~ the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object.

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20 Secretary's Conference Doc. 1 / after consultation with Legal Advisers

C 63352

MR. BRUCE'S DRAFT - as amended

(1) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.

This involves -

(a) Provision for local defence of the several parts of the Empire.

(b) Provision for co-operation in general defence, and for the protection of trade routes.

(2) For the accomplishment of this end, the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles:-

(a) In accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on limitation of armaments as approved by Great Britain, the British Dominions, and India, the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely equality with the naval strength of any foreign power.

(b) The provision of naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel, so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(c) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire, and the routes and waterways along and through which its armed forces and trade pass.

(d) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(3) The Conference expressly recognizes that it is for the Governments of each part of the Empire to decide the nature and extent of any action which they should recommend to their respective Parliaments, with a view to giving effect to the above guiding principles, and that it is for the Parliaments of the Empire, according to their several capacities and circumstances, to determine the measure of their co-operation.

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(4) In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned the Conference takes note of:-

(a) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and India, in the provision of a Naval Base at Singapore, as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in Eastern waters.

(b) The necessity for the provision by Great Britain of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

(c) The necessity for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

(5) The Conference, while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object.

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(1) Mr Bruce's draft?

C 63354

(1) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territory and trade of the Empire.

This involves -

(a) Provision for local defence of the several parts of the Empire.

(b) Provision for general defence, and for the protection of trade routes.

(2) For the accomplishment of this end, the Conference suggests the following guiding principles :-

(a) The minimum standard of Naval Strength to be equality with the naval strength of any foreign power as provided by the Washington Treaty on limitation of armaments 1922.

(b) Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel to be provided so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(c) The maritime communications of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which its armed forces and trade pass to be kept open and freely available.

(d) Each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference to be primarily responsible for its local defence.

(3) Matters for particular and urgent consideration are :-

(a) The provision of a Naval Base at Singapore, which the Conference considers essential to ensure the necessary mobility to provide for the security of the territory and the trade of the Empire in Eastern waters.

(b) The provision of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of Great Britain.

(c) The maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

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(4) The Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Governments of each part of the Empire to decide the nature and extent of any action which they should recommend to their respective Parliaments, with a view to giving effect to the above principles, and that it is for the Parliaments of the Empire, according to their several capacities and circumstances, to determine the measure of their co-operation.

(5) The Conference, while recognising that in existing circumstances its first duty is to provide for the safety and integrity of the Empire, earnestly desires the further limitation of armaments, and considers that no opportunity should be lost to promote this object.

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C 87356 3rd draft

November 5, 1923

Draft Resolution

AIR DEFENCE

The Conference suggests the following as guiding principles in the development of the Air Forces of the several countries comprising the British Empire, it being understood that the adoption of these principles shall in no way impair the recognized complete control of the respective governments and parliaments as to the time and extent of the application of such principles:-

1. Each part of the Empire to be primarily responsible for its own air defence and so to develop its Air Forces as to permit, in the event of emergency, of immediate and effective co-operation with other parts whenever and to the extent its parliament may determine.

2. As far as possible, the war establishments of Air Force Units of the various parts of the Empire to be similar in character.

3. As far as practicable, a single Manual to be adopted as the basis of the organization, administration and training of the personnel of the various Air Forces.

4. As far as possible, and subject to special needs and circumstances of the different countries of the Empire, the same patterns of arms, equipment and stores (with the exception of the type of air craft) to be adopted by the various Forces.

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C 63357

3rd draft Committee

November 5, 1923

Draft Resolution

AIR DEFENCE

The Conference suggests the following as guiding principles in the development of the Air Forces of the several countries comprising the British Empire, it being understood that the adoption of these principles shall in no way impair the recognized complete control of the respective governments and parliaments as to the time and extent of the application of such principles:-

1. Each part of the Empire so to develop its Air Forces as to permit, in the event of emergency, of immediate and effective co-operation with other parts whenever and to the extent its parliament may determine.

2. As far as possible, the war establishments of air force units of the various parts of the Empire to be similar in character.

3. As far as practicable, a single Manual to be adopted as the basis of the organization, administration and training of the personnel of the various air forces.

4. As far as possible, and subject to special needs and circumstances of the different countries of the Empire, the same patterns of arms, equipment and stores (with the exception of the type of ~~aeroplane~~ air craft) to be adopted by the various forces.

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C 63358 1st draft.

November 4, 1923

Draft Resolution

AIR DEFENCE

Subject to the complete control of their respective governments and parliaments as to the nature, time and extent of any action to be taken, the Conference recommends that the following principles should govern the development of the air forces of the several countries of the Empire:-

1. Each part of the Empire so to develop its air forces as to permit of immediate and effective co-operation with other parts in the event of emergency, ~~whenever and to the extent its parliament may determine.~~

2. The war establishments of air force units of the various parts of the Empire to be ~~assimilated as far as possible.~~

3. As far as practicable, a single Manual to be adopted as the basis of the organization, administration and training of the personnel of the various air forces.

4. As far as possible, and subject to special needs and circumstances of the different countries of the Empire, the same patterns of arms, equipment and stores (with the exception of the type of aeroplane) to be adopted by the various forces.

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~~C~~ 63359

2nd ~~draft~~ draft

November 4, 1923

Draft Resolution

AIR DEFENCE

The Conference suggests the following as guiding principles in the development of the Air Forces of the several countries comprising the British Empire, it being understood that the adoption of these principles shall in no way impair the recognized complete control of the respective governments and parliaments ~~in the matter of~~ as to the time and extent ~~to which~~ of the application of such principles shall be applied:-

1. Each part of the Empire so to develop its Air Forces as to permit, in the event of emergency, of immediate and effective co-operation with other parts whenever and to the extent its parliament may determine.

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C 63360

November 4, 1923

2nd draft -
Draft Resolution Mr King's proposed revisions

AIR DEFENCE

The Conference suggests the following as guiding principles in the development of the Air Forces of the several countries comprising the British Empire, it being understood that the adoption of these principles shall in no way impair the recognized complete control of the respective governments and parliaments in the matter of the time and extent to which such principles shall be applied:-

1. Each part of the Empire so to develop its Air Forces as to permit, in the event of emergency, of immediate and effective co operation with other parts whenever and to the extent its parliament may determine.

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C 63361

Hankey's 1st draft.

Draft Resolution.

AIR DEFENCE.

Subject to the notice time and extent of any action to be taken

The Conference recommends that the following principles should govern the development of the Air Forces of the various parts of the Empire, it being understood that the adoption of these principles would in no way impair the complete control of the Governments and Parliaments:

(1) Each part of the Empire should develop its Air Forces so as to enable it, should it so desire, to take its share in the general defence of the Empire.

(2) The War establishments of Air Force Units of the various parts of the Empire should be assimilated as far as possible.

(3) Endeavour should be made to organise the existing Air Forces of the various parts of the Empire so as to be capable of mobilisation in accordance with the above establishments, with a view to co-operation in the event of emergency.

(4) It is desirable that as far as practicable a single Manual should be adopted as the basis of the organisation, administration and training of the personnel of the various Air Forces.

(5) It is desirable that as far as possible the same patterns of arms equipment and stores (with the exception of the type of aeroplane) should be adopted by the various Forces.

(6) A technical conference on standardisation of equipment and stores should be arranged in 1924.

(7) Officers of the various Air Forces should be exchanged, by agreement between the Governments for periods to suit the circumstances of the different countries.

2nd November, 1923.

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(MACKENZIE KING) C 63362 E-1302-3
January 1. 1923 M.F.

Treaties

Essence of ~~Imperial~~ Treaties relationship – Confederation

Local or internal immediate direct

Matters of Conference

Treaties

where interests both immediate or direct.

Local or internal matters should be referred to Canada Parliament

Parliament should be given Treaty making power

Consent to making of Treaty should be given by Canada & Govt. Canada to consent.

Where interests both immediate or direct.

Matters should be referred

If not referred Canada should not be obliged to sign

Should otherwise an International Treaty become a Treaty

"on matters of this sort"

Consent to subsequent adherence or approval.

Legislation Treaties

re peace & war.

Empire action as one – British nations as against outside powers.

As between Empire – matters of Obligation imposed a matter of arrangement – "matters of this sort"

As to participation in Wars.

Procedure adopted with Treaties

If matters both immediate or direct – participation

" " immediate & direct – participation "on matters of sort"

Admiralty Treaties should include clause

"Nothing in Treaty Dominion bound by Treaty approval"

Govt. must take responsibility of recommending or declaring to Treaty approval

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C 63363

O

22

January 1, 1923

Re TREATIES

Essence of Canada's relationship -
immediate and direct interest.

Where interest immediate and direct -	We should be be represented with full power. We should sign. Parliament should be given opportunity to approve. Assent to ratify if felt approval should be given by Governor-General in Council.
Where interest not immediate or direct -	We need not be represented. If not represented should not be expected to sign. Should approve or not become a party to "on merits of the case". Assent to ratification dependent on approval.

High Political treaties -
re peace and war.

Empire acts as one - British nations as against outside powers.
Within Empire - Extent of obligation imposed, a matter of arrangement - "merits of the case".

As to participation in Wars.

Procedure identical with that of Treaties.
If interest not immediate or direct - no participation.
" " immediate & direct - participation "on merits of case".

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Advisable Treaties should include clause:

"Not to bind Dominions save by their approval".

Government must take responsibility of recommending or declining to recommend approval.

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O.D SKELTON.

Imperial Conference C 63365 5

Committee on Treaties and Territorial Waters.

Canadian Member: The Prime Minister.

First Meeting, Tuesday, Oct 16, 1923 at 5 p.m.
in the Foreign Office.

At the first meeting of the Committee, only the question of Territorial Waters is to be considered.

The United States has requested ~~the Government of Great Britain and~~ the United States the states concerned to conclude a special agreement permitting the extension of territorial waters to 12 miles from shore, for the purposes of search and seizure of vessels engaged in liquor smuggling. The Foreign Secretary hitherto has declined to accede. A British inter-departmental Committee, appointed to report on the question, ~~This Committee~~ has recommends generally the retention of the three-mile limit from low water mark; and the recognition of the same limit of territorial waters for the purposes of belligerency, neutrality, customs, fisheries, control of vessels, and other purposes. Some question has arose as to fishing in bays and inlets rights, the Scottish representatives leaning to the recognition of the practice of drawing the three mile line, not around the contour but parallel to a line drawn between the first points in the bay where the width does not exceed ten miles. On the whole,

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however, it was felt that the British government should at least not take the initiative in making such a proposal.

The Canadian Depts. of National Defence, Customs, Justice, Marine & Fisheries, concur in a memo drawn up by the latter department, approving the three mile limit: the recognition of a ten-mile limit for fishery protection in some of our bays rests on special agreement with the U.S. or may as in the Solomon fisheries be so arranged, so that there does not appear to be a strong case for making a general exception to the three-mile limit so far as any Canadian interests are concerned.

The Foreign Office has summed up the situation very fully in the memorandum E 74 just circulated this morning. Would it be possible to discuss this briefly?

~~This afternoon~~

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C 63367 "accepted" N-1300

1923 (1923)

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

COMMITTEE ON THE POSITION OF THE DOMINIONS AND INDIA IN RELATION TO THE SIGNATURE OF TREATIES AND THE QUESTION OF TERRITORIAL WATERS.

CONCLUSIONS of Meeting October 25th, 1923.

(1) POSITION OF THE DOMINIONS AND INDIA IN RELATION TO THE SIGNATURE OF TREATIES

The Committee decide to recommend for adoption by the Imperial Conference the Draft Resolution relative to the Negotiation, Signature and Ratification of International Agreements (See E (T.C.) 2) subject to the amendment of the last sentence of Part II (c) to read as follows:-

"In the case of treaties negotiated at International Conferences, where there is a British Empire Delegation, on which, in accordance with the new established practice, the Dominions and India are separately represented, such representation should also be utilised to obtain this object."

The Complete Resolution in its amended form appears in Appendix A.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs undertook to circulate to the Committee a short historical memorandum on the position of the Dominions in relation to the signature of treaties (See Appendix B.).

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(2) PROHIBITION AND LIQUOR SMUGGLING IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Committee recognised the importance of no action being taken which might tend to impair the principle that the three-mile limit should be the general limit of territorial jurisdiction. At the same time the sense of the Committee was that it was desirable, first on moral grounds, secondly with a view to maintaining good relations with the United States of America, and thirdly in the interests of British commerce, that action should be taken,,if practicable, to assist the United States Government in suppressing the smuggling of liquor by British vessels.

It was noted that the interdepartmental Committee, which had examined the question in Great Britain, had been unable to recommend any satisfactory method of assistance apart from an agreement with the United States Government on the general lines of Mr. Hughes's proposal. It was felt, however, that the form of Treaty suggested by Mr. Hughes was not wholly suitable and that it would be better to frame a counter proposal on similar lines designed to obtain from the United States Government a formal affirmation of the general principles of the three-mile limit and to ensure their support of that principle at any International Conference on Territorial Waters.

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The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs accordingly proposed that the British Government should take the initiative in suggesting to the United States Government an exchange of notes by which the principle of the three-mile limit of territorial waters would be affirmed on both sides; at the same time it would be arranged on the one hand that no objection would be raised, as a special concession for a limited period, to the search of British vessels engaged in liquor smuggling outside the territorial waters of the United States, and on the other hand that British vessels should be permitted to carry liquor under seal in the territorial waters of the United States.

It was agreed that a draft note to the United States Government should be prepared on these lines and circulated to the Members of the Committee for consideration.

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C 63370 Oct 25/1923.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923

NEGOTIATION AND SIGNATURE OF TREATIES

(MACKENZIE KING)

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C 63371

COPY 159

Thursday, October 25, 1923

Was up shortly after nine o'clock this morning; read the papers and glanced at correspondence before leaving for the Foreign Office to attend a meeting of the Sub-Committee on Signature of Treaties, the increase from Three Mile to Twelve Mile Limit in Territorial Waters discussion.

We assembled at 11.15 o'clock in the office of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon presiding. There were present all the Dominion Prime Ministers, and several of the officials of the Foreign Office and Colonial Office including Sir Cecil J. B. Hurst, legal adviser to the Foreign Office; Sir James Masterton Smith of the Colonial Office; as well as the Duke of Devonshire and Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame.

Lord Curzon opened the discussion by setting forth the genesis of the present consideration of the treaty making discussion which had led to the preparation of the draft submitted for the purpose; he pointed out that it was the Halibut Treaty between Canada and the United States which had brought the matter to the fore. He proposed to distribute, if desired, a memorandum setting out the development in detail. Skelton had carefully gone over the memorandum and found it entirely satisfactory. Hardingof the Colonial Office told Skelton they were going as far as they could to meet my views and intimated that what I had said since reaching London had caused them to go much further than was originally thought possible.

Had I drafted the memorandum, I could not have better expressed the views which were in my own mind. On the first paragraph which had to do with negotiation of treaties, Mr. Massey took the oldfashioned Colonial attitude, very similar to that taken by Mr. Fielding, of wishing to have it understood that all treaty making should be through the British Ministers as advisers to the King. He held that he and his Government were only advisers to the British

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Ministers, who advise the King.

Sir Cecil Hurst pointed out that in his opinion the British Ministers were only the channel through which the advice of the Dominion Ministers reached the Sovereign but that they themselves were His advisers with respect to all matters within their jurisdiction. He admitted that theoretically and to appearances it might be otherwise, but that in reality there could be no doubt that his point of view was right.

Everyone present was of a different point of view to Mr. Massey, including Lord Curzon and the Duke of Devonshire: he was really laughed out of court in the course of the discussion. I asked him whether New Zealand was a Crown Colony or a self-governing Dominion: he talked pretty generally of the prerogative of the Sovereign and of not taking anything from it, and supported his contentions on the legal argument of Professor Berriedale Keith whom he regarded as an authority. Sir Cecil Hurst said he was prepared to concede that Professor Berriedale Keith was a very learned man, but could not admit he was right in the point of view he took.

There was considerable discussion at the outset as to what was the existing practice regarding the negotiation of treaties, and the rights of Dominions to separate representation. Massey was inclined to argue that a different practice had been followed at Washington than had been followed at Versailles. I pointed out that there had been some neglect at the beginning as to the manner in which the invitation had been extended but that this had been set right by subsequent powers being given to the Dominion by the King at the instance of the Canadian Government who requested the same. I produced the statement in Sir Robert Borden's report on the Limitation of Armament Conference in which he set forth what he conceived to be the existing practice to date, and stated that this was the position we wished to hold, and that we could not yield any ground in respect to what it set forth as to existing practice.

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Bruce, Smuts, Fitzgerald and Warren all supported my point of view; indeed, Sir Cecil Hurst was equally emphatic as to its being the correct one and it was plain that Sir Masterton Smith was also with us.

When we were discussing representation at international conferences, Lord Curzon referred to Lauzanne and mentioned that he was representing all the Dominions at Lauzanne. I interrupted him and mentioned that we were not represented; that we took no exception to the fact, but that the reason given had been that Tunis and Morocco would also have to be represented at the instance of France, had we been represented. Accordingly we took the view that we were not represented there. I felt this important in view of what the clause further states with respect to the accepted practice where the Dominions are represented. Sir Cecil Hurst made it clear that they could be represented separately and that in negotiations might not necessarily mean representation by Ministers with plenipotentiary powers, but might mean simply advisers, etc.

During the course of the morning's proceedings, Lord Curzon quoted from the Canadian Order-in-Council appointing Sir Robert Borden to the Washington Conference and did so in entire approval of the method adopted by the Canadian Government. Lord Curzon himself was quite emphatic about the memorandum being a statement by the Foreign Office as to what should be done. It was the state at which we must arrive that we must consider relations of the British Empire, as a group of nations, and the memorandum had been drawn up with a view to making clear procedure in accordance with this point of view. When we came to the part of the memorandum relating to the signature of treaties, in order to help to overcome a difficulty with Mr. Massey, the words "when acting as a British Empire representative" were put in. These words help to strengthen the Canadian position by limiting rather than widening the scope of what was expressed by "representation."

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When we came to the part respecting signing of treaties, the discussion was most interesting as wholly confirming the attitude we took in connection with the Halibut Treaty. Sir Cecil Hurst pointed out that the real test of a by-lateral treaty was in the legislation which might be necessary to carry its provisions into effect. Were legislation necessary in more than the two countries, it would, of course, affect other parts of the Empire.

Bruce set forth his view quite clearly as to autonomous rights of the Dominions, and Lord Curzon said he agreed absolutely with Bruce's statement, which I also agreed with.

Smuts said that he himself had been making treaties with the Portuguese without reference to the other Dominions or the Home Government. He strongly supported the Canadian position.

Amongst other significant remarks made by Sir Cecil Hurst was that the King's Ministers in Great Britain could not be impeached for wrong advice given to the Crown or the Crown's representative by Mr. Massey or one of his Ministers in New Zealand: that the test as to who was really advising the King lay in the liability to impeachment for a wrong done. This made it quite clear that the King's Ministers in Britain were only channels for transmitting the advice of the King's Ministers in the Dominions.

I regard this morning's meeting as most important and I asked Skelton to prepare a memorandum of what was said and took place; this he has done.

The form in which we left the whole matter respecting the memorandum concerning the negotiating and signing of treaties is most satisfactory; I am more than delighted with the result which I think marks a distinct triumph and will prove a mile-stone in the constitutional evolution and devlopment of the Empire.

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C 63375

CANADA AND THE EMPIRE:

Note as to Brief Public Statement of Canadian Position.

It may be considered desirable to make a brief statement in public of the Canadian position. It is not easy to be definite without going into too much detail, and to be firm without being provocative. The following note is suggested as one possible method of approach, particularly the last paragraph:

The British Empire reminds us of the visit of the Kansas farmer to the circus (zoo). For the first time in his life he saw a giraffe; he stared at it, walked all around it, looked it up and down, and finally exclaimed: "There ain't no sich animal". So, many foreign observers, after trying to make out this Empire which now seems one and now seems many, are driven to conclude that 'there ain't no sich animal'. But the British Empire exists, even if it doesn't conform to ancient precedent or fit into ordinary international classifications or consent to be made over on what some of its ardent friends consider to be more logical and simplified lives. We are following precedents, but we are also making precedents. The British Empire is an historical fact; it is the outcome of the will and aspiration of generations of men; it is a living and growing reality. Its form will be shaped by its own nature, by the vital forces at work within it, not by any imposed cast-iron mould.

It is sometimes asserted that Canada or the Canadian Government has latterly put forward new principles of imperial relationship, claimed special privileges in status.

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That is not the case. Canada is not putting forward any new principles, though naturally every new year and every new problem may make it necessary to apply the old principles in somewhat new fashion or in a wider range. Canada stands on the old principle of responsible democracy. She still believes in democracy, in the rule of the people through, in large part, their representatives in parliament. She still believes in responsible government, self-government; the right of each part of the Empire as it attains a fitting degree of strength and capacity and experience to undertake the control of its own affairs. For seventy years Baldwin and Lafontaine, Cartier and Galt, MacDonald and Blake, Laurier and Borden, did what they could to develop that basic principle of responsible government and to apply it in steadily increasing measure to the whole range of domestic and foreign affairs. That principle, which Canadians are proud to remember was in notable measure pioneered and developed by their leaders in the past, has proved itself beyond dispute in the testing times of these later years.

Canada desires no special privilege. The decision of Great Britain on any important public issue, domestic or foreign, will be made by the people of Britain, their representatives in parliament and the government responsible to that parliament. So the decision of Canada on any important issue, domestic or foreign, will be made by the people of Canada, their representatives in parliament, and the government responsible to that parliament. Some of these questions will be of direct concern to more than are part of the Empire, and in that case consultation, in formal conferences like that of

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today or in more informal discussion, is necessary to give the government and parliament and people of each country an understanding of the needs and the point of view of the others, so that their decision can be made in the light of this knowledge and the sympathy that is born of knowledge.

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C 63378

IMPERIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

- Shipping -

Summary.

Certain proposals will be brought before the Conference through the Imperial Shipping Committee:

1. Uniformity of Bills of Lading in the Empire.

   This question has since taken a different turn; an international agreement may be sought, in which case Canada should participate in any conference called for the purpose.

2. Establishment of a Permanent Imperial Shipping Board in London; rejected in the 1921 Conference; not now desirable.

The Canadian Department of Marine and Fisheries has suggested that the very important question of the handicap imposed on Canadian ports by the discrimination in insurance rates against the St. Lawrence route should be taken up through the Imperial Shipping Committee, or preferebly, by the Ministers in London with Lloyds. A ship worth and insured for $500,000. must pay $6,250. to $11,250 more per voyage in insurance if it goes to Montreal than if it goes to New York. Lloyds may be unwilling to change, but the question is important and the prestige attaching to a successful outcome of negotiations would be great. Full data in the Departmental Memorandum "B".

REFERENCES:

1. British Memoranda:
   Imperial Shipping Committee Reports (17)
   Board of Trade Memo: Carriage of goods by sea (17)
2. Memorandum by Department of Marine and Fisheries: "A" general.
3. Memorandum by Department do. do. B - Insurance
4. do. do. do. do. do. C - Bills of Lading
5. do. by O.D.S.,

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C 63379

IMPERIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

- Shipping -

I. Imperial Shipping Committee Proposals

In 1920, the British Government appointed an Imperial Shipping Committee, in accordance with a request made by the Imperial War Conference of 1918. The Committee was empowered to inquire into and report upon ocean rates and facilities, on the principle routes "principally between the heart of the Empire and the Overseas Dominions." It consists of the Chairman, Sir H. J. Mackinder, three representatives of British Government Departments five representatives of British shipping and commerce, and one representative from each Dominion (usually the High Commissioner).

The Committee has carried on a number of inquiries. The specific shipping questions investigated (the Deferred Rebate System and New Zealand rates) deal with the Australasian situation. In addition, the Committee has made proposals as to uniform Bills of Lading and has proposed the appointment of a permanent Imperial Shipping Board.

(1) Uniformity of Bills of Lading: The wide variations in the bills of lading drawn up by shipping companies and the customary insertion of many limitations on carriers' liability have led to legislation in a number of countries in the endeavour to establish a uniform contract basis. The United States led with the Harter Act of 1893, which in modified form, has been adopted by Canada (1910) and Australia. Great Britain had not thought it advisable to enact a similar measure. The Imperial Shipping Committee recommended (1921) the introduction of uniform legislation throughout the Empire, on the basis of the Canadian law, but with some minor variations. Legal and shipping and other interests in the United Kingdom considered that if uniformity were to be sought an international rather than an imperial basis was desirable. Conferences of interested countries were held in the Hague and Brussels (at which Canada was not represented), and

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as a result of their discussions and subsequent conferences between legal, shipping and commercial representatives in the United Kingdom, a bill was introduced in the British House of Commons and passed into law this summer. The question now is not, therefore, whether the U.K. and the rest of the Empire would adopt the Canadian measure, but whether Canada will take part in an international Conference, and whether she will adopt any findings it may recommend.

The Department of Marine and Fisheries has prepared a memorandum on the question. The existing Canadian Act is satisfactory: "an international agreement, is however, eminently desirable if such can be brought about, but not until our interest in the matter has been very fully considered."

The memorandum notes the main differences between the Canadian and the new British act.

It would appear, therefore, that there is no immediate occasion to change the Canadian Act, but that Canada should be prepared to participate in any international conference called to discuss the attainment of international uniformity

(2) Establishment of a Permanent Imperial Shipping Board.

2. The Imperial Shipping Committee urges that a permanent Board be established by Royal Charter, to inquire into complaints as to ocean freights, to exercise conciliation between the interests concerned in inter-imperial shipping, and to promote co-ordination in regard to harbours and other facilities. It would be organized much on the same basis as the present Committee: the Chairman would be a well-paid permanent official.

The same proposals were brought before the Imperial Conference of 1921 and were rejected by Canada and South Africa; Australia deferred reply: only New Zealand and India assented. The reasons against the proposal are at least as strong now as in 1921. The Committee would be dominatingly British. The question of freight rates, while important, it not so serious now as in 1920, and in any

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case might better be investigated by ad hoc committees in each country concerned. Many of the Committee's proposals seem based on a desire to have something to do rather than on practical urgency.

II. Marine Insurance in the St. Lawrence.

Much more important is the question suggested by the Department of Marine and Fisheries: the reduction of the present heavy and unfair discriminating insurance rates on vessels trading to the St. Lawrence.

A vessel worth and insured for $500,000. will in the summer months have to pay $6250. more in insurance if it comes to Montreal than if it comes to New York, and in October-December, $11,250 more. This heavy discrimination is no longer, if it ever was, justified by the greater danger of the St. Lawrence route. The Canadian Government in the last twenty years has spent millions in making that route safe and convenient and it is now claimed to be as safe as the route to northern United States ports.

The Department suggests that this question should either be taken up directly with Lloyds, or referred to the Imperial Shipping Committee for inquiry. At least in the first instant, the former proposal would seem more likely to secure quick action and incidentally bring prestige to any government which could effect a remedy. Full details are contained in the Department's memorandum.

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C 63382

Imperial Economic Conference

State-aided Settlement

British Empire Settlement Act; Canadian Soldier Settlement Plan.

A new step in imperial migration policy was taken by the British Government in 1922 when it secured the passing of the Empire Settlement Act. This Act empowers the British Government to spend a maximum of £3,000,000. a year, for tenyyears, in facilitating settlement of residents of the United Kingdom in any part of His Majesty's Oversea Dominions. The assistance may take the form of a development or land settlement scheme, or aid in passage, training, or other ways. The British Government's share under any agreed scheme shall not in any case exceed half the expenses, and the Treasury must be satisfied that the contributions of the Government or organization which is the other party to the agreement bear a proper relation.

Thus far the Australasian Governments have been most responsive to the proposals. The schemes agreed upon between the British and Australasian governments include:

(1) Passage Agreements for suitable persons (men, women and children), with Australia and New Zealand, involving the free grant of one-third of the passage money and loan of another third, the cost being shared equally between the British and the Dominion Government: estimated cost of United Kingdom in 1927-4, £545,000.

(2) Land Settlement Schemes. The Government of Western Australia has undertaken to settle 75,000 new settlers (men, women and children) from the United Kingdom within three years, and to establish 6000 of these settlers on farms of their own at a cost, excluding passages, of £6,000,000. The Commonwealth Government will raise the necessary loans on behalf of the State government, and the British Government will pay one-third the interest for five years. A similar scheme has been negotiated with Victoria.

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The agreement with New South Wales is far-reaching. It provides for the establishment of 6,000 settlers in five years, at a cost of £6,000,000. The Commonwealth Government is to raise the necessary loan on behalf of the State government, and for five years the interest is to be paid, one-third each, by the Imperial, Commonwealth and New South Wales State governments. Migrants upon arrival in Australia are to be drafted to Government training farms, and be supported during the period of training by advances of £50. to £100. shared equally by the Imperial and State Governments and repayable over twenty years. After training, a bank will advance money for equipment, etc., under joint Imperial and State Government guarantee for fourteen years. The settlement is to be effected on certain areas selected by the State.

South Africa has declined to enter any scheme, considering local conditions unfavourable.

Canada has been more reluctant than Australia to enter into such a scheme for good and obvious reasons:

(1) In the past, great numbers of desirable immigrants have been secured without such state aid.

(2) Canada's nearness to Britain and relatively low fares render it unnecessary to give such passage assistance as Australian Governments offer in these agreements and as they have in fact offered for many years.

(3) Canada's nearness to the United States makes it necessary to consider more carefully the danger of bringing out surplus immigrants who will drift to the southward.

(4) In Canada (as in Australia) it is chiefly land settlers who are wanted, and of these Britain has few to spare.

(5) The country's possibility of absorbing industrial and even agricultural settlers depends fundamentally on the economic conditions of the country, and in the depression of recent years this capacity of absorption has been relatively low.

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In view of such considerations as these, the Canadian Government, far from encouraging immigration on the pre-war scale, had since the beginning of the business depression enforced unprecedented restrictions upon immigration. The regulations, as modified by Order in Council, January 31, 1923, prohibited all immigration except of:

1. Bona fide farmers entering Canada to farm and with sufficient means to begin farming in Canada.
2. Bona fide farm laborer, with reasonable assurance of employment.
3. Female domestic servant do. do. do.
4. Wife or child of resident in Canada able to care for them.
5. Any United States citizen with means to maintain himself till finding employment.
6. Any British subject (born or naturalized in U.K. or Dominions only) with sufficient means to maintain himself until finding employment.

An announcement was made on September 11, by the new Minister of Immigration that this policy would now be modified in view of the improving economic conditions, as follows:

1. Admission of skilled and unskilled labour, other than agricultural, as Canada can absorb it. (apparently the money qualification to be withdrawn or modified).
2. Determination of fitness as far as possible to take place before emigrant sails.
3. British immigration to be given first place, but agricultural immigration to be encouraged from certain areas of Continental Europe and the United States.
4. Machinery of Soldiers Settlement Board to be utilized in helping to place immigrants on the land.
5. Extension of the schemes already arranged with United Kingdom under its Empire Settlement Act to assist farm-worker and house-worker classes from the United Kingdom.

In spite of the difficulties which prevent any great influx of immigrants, the Canadian Government has endeavoured to co-operate with the British authorities in every feasible way, under the

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Empire Settlement Act.

In May, 1923, an Agreement for one year was effected between the British and Canadian Governments, providing for passage assistance - a new development for Canada; Canada and the United Kingdom each appropriate $600,000. Canada's contribution being assigned in three equal parts to the three sections of the Agreement.

A: Passage loan, to nominated agricultural workers, not exceeding 75% of third class ocean and colonist rail from United Kingdom to destination in Canada; includes a man's family if he is already farming in Canada or coming with his family to settle on the land; condition, that a nomination must be made through a branch bank by a responsible British subject settled in Canada.

B. Passage loan to houseworkers up to 100% of cost of third class ocean and colonist rail to Canada; repayable out of wages earned in Canada; open to any experienced worker of good character.

C. Passage grant to juvenile immigrants. Grant of $80. (half from Canada) for juveniles brought out through societies such as Barnado's; applies to boys and girls 8 - 14, and to limited extent 14 - 17 or (200 cases over 17).

As noted previously, proposals for extending these facilities will be considered during the Conference (e.g. possibly assisting juveniles brought out by their familes)

But Canada has not confined herself to the machinery of the Empire Settlement Act. She has encouraged the coming of suitable British immigrants by other means:

(a) The provisions of the Soldiers' Settlement Act are open to British as well as Canadian veterans, on same terms except that 20% instead of 10% of the farm purchase price must be paid down. Few British veterans have taken advantage of this offer (only a few hundreds). It has not been well advertised in the United Kingdom. The initial 20% is a barrier. It is well worth considering whether the British Government should not be asked to provide this 20% or more for qualified British veterans, under its Empire Settlement Act powers.

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(b) The operations of the Canada Colonization Association. Over a million acres of land for sale near railways, on long terms, (usually thirty-two years) have now been liated. Booklets have been prepared describing these lands; and agents are being appointed in the United States.

(c) Homesteads still available for settlement (though we must recognize that our free-homestead land within reach of railways, is practically exhausted).

Immigration on a vast scale and so rapid as to drain off the pool of unemployment in the United Kingdom is neither possible nor desirabde. At the best of times Canada adds 17,000 farms a year to her existing quota (average 10 years). Half of these should come from our farming pupulation. If we get and absorb the other half from abroad (8500 a year) we shall do very well: in fact, we cannot again do as much. In addition, at least as many farm-workers a year 17,000, could be absorbed. In the past, we have briught into the country immigrants by the hundred thousand only to discover at the next census that they had all vanished. We must build solidly in the future, and disregard paper schemes for transfer of millions from the United Kingdom.

In fact, only as the industrial development of Canada expands can we absorb any substantial proportion of Britain's surplus population. In the United States, in Australia, in Canada, as in the United Kingdom, the proportions of rural population necessary to provide food for the urban population is declining every year. In other words, if Great Britain wishes to send us her men, she should send us her capital and her factories.

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C 63387

May 27, 1919

(7)

DOMINIONS' VOICE IN THE EMPIRE.

At this time and in this place all we can say now is that the war has brought about many rapid and drastic changes in the viewpoint of the Dominions concerning their relations with the Motherland. They now believe that it is urgent that a new basis shall be found which will strengthen the British system and which will recognize that certain component parts of the Empire have earned for themselves the status of nations, and they are anxious, among other things, that every suggestion of political inferiority shall be removed. (Cheers). In the many branches of war activities, either in the field or at home, as soldiers or as manufacturers, or in the sweeter realm of mercy, the Dominions have proved themselves second to none, and have earned for themselves a proud place amongst the civilized nations of the world alongside Great Britain. (Cheers).

The national spirit of the Dominions has been matured by the war, but the ties which bind the Empire together have in no way been weakened. On the contrary, I believe there is now a strong feeling that machinery should be erected that would make out of the British Empire a constellation of nations free, equal, united by good will, common ideals, reciprocal confidence, all under one flag and one King. (Cheers). These nations, although enjoying absolute freedom in the working of their particular destinies, should have a voice commensurate with their singular interests in the Empire as a whole. (Cheers).

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Under equal rights, equal privileges, they should, through the medium of the machinery provided, share equal duties one toward the other in the broadest spirit of cooperation, and in the councils of the world should speak definitely under the authority accrying to the combination of power, broad widdom, and high ideals which it would represent. There is no reason why Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand should not be to England inrelation to the Empire what Glasgow, Liverpool, ~~xxx~~ and Manchester are to London in relation to the United Kingdom, and I believe that a political system that would bring about the realization of this ideal would prove an everlasting benefit, not only to the Empire's constituent parts, but to the world at large. (Cheers).

(Extract of speech of Sir Arthur Currie at the Mansion House, London, on May 27, 1919, as reported in London "Times").

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C 63389

Laurier

(b)

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speeches.

Excerpt from Sir Wilfrid's speech at the Constitutional Club on July 7, 1902, as reported in London "Times":

"The British Empire is a galaxy of free nations. The bond of the British Empire is allegiance to the King without distinction of race or colour".

Sir Arthur Currie. May 27, 1919
Imperial Conference Nov. 1927

2 5 yrs
talk

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C 63390

QUESTIONS OF AIR POLICY FOR DISCUSSION AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. (Dept of Nat. Defence)

With reference to Memorandum E.97 "Outline of Questions of Air Policy for Discussion at the Imperial Conference, 1926":-

1. The main obstacle to the further development of Air Services in Canada is the expense. Doubtless complete co-operation throughout the Empire would bring about a reduction in cost. Canada is attempting to assist civil aviation by doing pioneer work; by establishing Air Harbours and Aerodromes; by training all civilian pilots; by design and manufacture of new types of machines and by the training of mechanics in technical schools. The extent to which Canada is carrying out civilian aviation work is indicated in the last Annual Report on Civil Air Operations, a copy of which is attached.

2. Progress in Canada is necessarily bound to be slow because of the sparsely settled nature of the country. Naturally, as time goes on the personnel of the Military Air Force will be used to develop civil aviation.

3. Canada, of course, would be interested in the development of Air Bases for both airships and aeroplanes and is ready to co-operate to the best of her ability, having regard to the expense involved and other factors.

4. We have a Research Committee under Colonel Tory, as Chairman. We are particularly interested in Research and Development in connection with Aircraft and Aerial Photography. We are also doing a certain amount of research work in aerial dynamics at the Toronto University, where a wind channel has been built.

5. Canada has developed Air Survey work to a greater extent, probably, than any other nation, and a great deal of mapping of undeveloped and unexplored country has been accomplished or is included in the programme for future work. In the use of aircraft for the protection of forests against fire

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Canada is also ahead of any other nation. The provinces of Ontario and Quebec have taken over their own Forestry patrol work and it is understood that they intend also to do certain aerial survey work.

6. In regard to the use of aircraft for transportation of passengers and freight Canada is not at present favourably situated. Transportation facilities by air are chiefly restricted to affording access to remote points in the interior across undeveloped country, where roads and railways do not exist.

7. Nothing has been done in the way of airship development. Airships are enormously expensive and have not yet established their entire reliability. They have not been considered for service in Canada but if their practicability for regular work were established and a trans-Atlantic service instituted doubtless Canada would do her share by providing landing grounds and mooring masts.

8. With regard to the Military Air Service, we possess at present a certain number of machines which are mainly used for training pilots and carrying out work for civil departments of the Government. We have developed machines specially suitable to Canadian conditions and are co-operating with the Air Ministry by the interchange of officers. The question of the grant of commissions in the Royal Air Force to graduates of the Royal Military College at Kingston is now under discussion with the Air Ministry and the Ministry consider that the subject could be usefully discussed during the forthcoming Imperial Conference between themselves and Canadian representatives. There are certain details to be settled which it is not necessary to enter into in this general memorandum.

9. The Canadian Air Force also conducts flying courses for students at the different Universities, including the Royal Military College. At present, graduates of Canadian Universities

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may be nominated for Royal Air Force commissions on the recommendation of the Governor General. This arrangement was based, however, on the assumption that such nominees would not have had any previous flying experience and they are only granted short service commissions for six months. It is thought that in view of the courses they now undergo at Borden this limitation to six months might be modified. It is another matter which might usefully be discussed with the Air Ministry at the forthcoming Conference, when the question of the extent and type of training required of such entrants would also be taken up.

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W.L.M.K.

C 63393

Altitude
Sun-dial
1926

In the sessions of our Conferences, we have been endeavouring to see things as they are; we have been dealing with facts and figures of every description, statistics of inter-imperial trade, production, the redistribution of population, and a multitude of other related subjects - and out of it all we are hoping that much good will come. May I be permitted to observe that whatever good ultimately comes from these conferences, and whatever strength the links of Empire may continue to have, will depend as much upon the attitudes toward each other of the peoples of our different countries and their representatives as upon the understandings and conclusions and agreements of the statisticians and the trade experts with respect to the questions we have been considering. Once assured of an attitude of good-will ~~rather than of ill-will~~, a readiness to emphasize the things which we hold in common rather than our differences, our problems of Empire are certain to find solution. It is a question, first of all, of attitude and spirit rather than primarily of facts and figures.

The sun dial seems to suggest to us thoughts such as these.

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Marvellous as is the precision with which this little instrument records the hours of the day, more wonderful still is the fact that it simultaneously discloses with accuracy the points of the compass in an exact relationship to the hours. At mid-day, the sun's shadow is directly over the hour XII. The line made by the shadow points like a slender arrow with equal precision to the north. Once in true position, the dial not only suggests, but is irrefutable evidence of a perfect order and a complete harmony in all that pertains to Time and Space throughout the physical universe.

If such an order exists in Nature; if, looking upon the face of a dial, we are able to know at a glance the hour of the day, the points of the compass, the direction of the earth's axis, and the latitude of the place in which we stand; if all material things of the heavens and of the earth are thus related in a perfect harmony which the human intelligence is able to grasp; is it conceivable, is it rational to believe that underlying the social relations of men and nations, an order is not discoverable somewhere, obedience to which will bring as perfect a harmony?

In the chaos which envelops human relations throughout

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the world today, has the time not come for search after such an order? When the War is over, if reconstruction is to be in accordance with methods which afford promise of enduring results, will it suffice to return to attitudes and practices which have brought unparalleled suffering to mankind? Is not all that Humanity has been called upon to endure, evidence of a wanton departure somewhere from the purpose of God among men? We know whence the deviation has arisen. It is in our industrial and international relations. ~~We have turned the dials of human conduct to commercial uses when they were intended as guides to the divinity which lies everywhere about us.~~ Consecrated as we now are to a higher service, can we not begin anew, this time with belief in Divinity, and accepting some law which evidences a divine order, seek out the rules of conduct and methods of organization which accord with the principles it suggests. The sun-dial reveals to us that, in the physical universe, <u>position</u> is the secret to the discovery of design. Why should we not commence with what in human relations corresponds to position in Nature, and try first of all <u>a new attitude</u>, an attitude of Faith instead of the time-worn attitude of Fear. The conception of Industry as in the nature of social service affords us the foundations of such an attitude. A belief in our fellow men equal to that which we

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have in ourselves is all that is necessary to remove the human blindness which for so long has made us strangers to one another, and ofttimes enemies as well.

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(Mackenzie King) C 63397 (1926)

P. 33 4. AIR COMMUNICATIONS.

A chapter of fascinating possibilities; clear on eve of great advance in distant flights; recognition of distinctive part Canada playing in development of civil aviation in surveying, forest protection, etc.; proposal by Canada to co-operate in inter-Empire airship service by erecting mooring masts and making meteorological surveys; invitation by Canada to have Imperial Air Conference meet here in year or two.

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P. 34 5. MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT. C 63398

Most important of economic questions considered: very fully threshed out. Some disappointment with fact that British immigration to Canada is much smaller than before the war, and frequently criticism of Canadian Government as being responsible. Fact is, decline in overseas migration is world-wide, due to increased ocean fares, to development of social insurance and similar schemes in Europe, as well as to quota restrictions or disturbed economic conditions of the overseas countries: in the case of Canada, due also th the passing of free homestead land. Not due to any lack of justifiable encouragement on part of the government: the present government has gone further than any other in giving passage assistance to farm laborers, domestic servants and juveniles, and in co-operation with Empire Settlement Board in the 3000-family scheme, which was recognized on all sides as the most successful Dominion scheme. Of course, not prepared to accept advice of some enthusiasts and pay out millions to flood our cities and either drive our own people to the United States or else ~~xxpxiy~~ simply

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transfer the problem of unemployment from Britain to Canada; nor are we prepared to regard it as our duty to train Englishmen for work on Canadian farms. Nor, for that matter, was any other Dominion. Any Briton of sound mind and body is admitted and welcomed; and certain classes are helped in their passage. The Canadian Government is anxious to help in every possible way. During the Conference arrangements were made by Canada:

1. To establish in Great Britain a medical service to conduct free of charge the medical examination of prospective settlers, and thus substantially remove the danger of rejection on medical grounds after arriving at a Canadian port.

2. To consider the extension of the family settlement scheme.

3. To renew at a lower figure the provision for assisted passages.

4. To aid the British centres for training farm workers by providing instructors, implements and equipment; and by urging a shorter and more practical course.

A practical and reasonable programme.

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6. OTHER ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

The question of imperial preferance, which occupied so much attention at previous Conferences, was barred by the outcome of the British general elections of 1923 and the undertakings of the present Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1924 as to further taxation on foodstuffs.

Much useful work done in committee and sub-committee on such questions as co-operation in research, industrial standardization, statistical co-operation, and the inquiries of the Imperial Shipping Committee and of the Imperial Economic Committee. The question of increased exhibit within the Empire of Empire-made films was also fully explored. The complete reports of these committees and sub-committees are found in the Appendices to the Summary of Proceedings, recently printed and distributed.

7. NATURALIZATION

The committee on this subject succeeded in reaching agreement on several minor issues, on which legislation amending the Naturalization Act will probably be introduced next session. They were not able, however, to come to agreement on the main question, the nationality of married women. At present the rule throughout the Empire is that the wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed an alien. It has been urged by women's organizations that the law should be changed in both respects, to make the nationality of a married woman follow her own wishes. A number of the governments represented, including Canada, were prepared to support a change in the law which would give the

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British woman marrying a foreigner the opportunity of retaining her British nationality, or an amendment providing that a British woman marrying an alien should become an alien except where by the law of her husband's country she does not acquire his nationality, with certain further qualifications. Other governments, however, were not prepared to accept either change, and it was not possible to come to any conclusion. The whole question is likely to be dealt with in an international conference shortly; it was believed that international action might remove some difficulties, and that the interimperial phase might then be taken up with more prospect of success.

8. PACIFIC CABLE.

Not primarily a Conference matter, but settled during the Conference. The partner governments reached an agreement which vindicated the position taken by Canada in its opposition to the procedure of the Cable Board in duplicating the Fiji-Bamfield cable, and affords effective guarantees against a recurrence of the policy of building up huge reserves and of applying them to new projects without unanimous consent. Provision is made for division of profits and disposition of reserve, and for the reorganization of the Board.

A bill to amend the Pacific Cable Act accordingly has been introduced into the British Parliament.

Query: why not in Canada?

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C 63402 (1926)

(Mackenzie King)
pc.

Imperial Conference 1926

Extract from Mr. King's statement on Canada's co-operation in Air Communication scheme:

"As Civil aviation has a direct relation to the creation of a Military Air Force and serves to create a reserve thereto, in this field Canada may be in a position to lend very great assistance in Imperial Defence. By the Air Force Regulations an individual who obtains a pilot's certificate automatically becomes a Reservist.

Regulations have been prepared governing the formation of an Air Force Reserve and outlining the organization of an Aviation Association with branches in each Province.

Finally, when it is desired to extend an airship service to Canada the Canadian Government will be ready to consider methods of co-operation, as for example, as I have already mentioned, by the establishment of air bases. Possibly Canada will also be able to assist by the provision of helium gas, which can be extracted in the Dominion."

(Summary of Proceedings, p. 158)

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Characteristics of Conference (O.D. Skelton?) C 63403 (1926)

Notes on Imperial Conference, 1926.

Conference of representatives of governments, not a cabinet or parliament; no power to legislate or to determine policy; an opportunity for exchanging views, for discussing problems, for canvassing solutions, but all subject to approval of governments and parliaments and peoples at home.

One value of Conference, the understanding that comes from personal contact, understanding of the backgrounds, the difficulties, the personalities in the equation, and the flexibility in adjustment that comes from talking around a table instead of from the ends of the earth. The marked development in the settlement of international affairs since the war has been the growth of the conference method: so in inter-empire affairs.

Remarkable diversity in historic background, in racial composition, in economic development, in geographical situation: yet also surprising the extent to which discussion revealed common traditions, common standards, common values.

Incidentally, a mistaken perspective, and the source of much lingering colonialism, to speak always of "Great Britain and the Dominions," as if all the Dominions were in the same position. This common practice rightly emphasizes the common bond of inheritance (whether of blood or of tradition), but it tends to make us overlook the distinctive individualities of the Dominions and the broad differences between them. There is a greater difference in population, wealth, and trade between some of the Dominions than between Great Britain and the larger Dominions. The problems and outlook of Australia, an island continent in the South Pacific, far from any other white

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man's land, are inevitably different from those of Canada, fortunate in its position in the heart of the world of to-morrow, fronting on both Atlantic and Pacific, a week's sail from the Motherland and the Continent of Europe and sharing a common boundary for 3,000 miles with a great and friendly state. South Africa, with its two white races and its overshadowing black population, has inevitably a different outlook from New Zealand, with its homogeneous population and its Pacific isolation. The Irish Free State is not a colony, not a daughter state, but itself rather a mother of peoples. India is a continent, a world in itself, an ancient civilization. Australia with its dependencies of Papua and German New Guinea, New Zealand with its mandate over Western Samoa, South Africa with its mandate over German South-West Africa, are themselves empires, Canada alone sharing or seeking no mandates and no dependencies. Let us think concretely of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the vast colonies and dependencies it rules, of Australia, of New Zealand, of South Africa, of Newfoundland, of the Free State, of the Empire of India, and in so doing the situation will be clearer.

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Work of the Conference: — Main elements

Quote Amery, House of Commons, 29th November:

"Basing ourselves on the two cardinal principles which govern the relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions, namely, their (1) complete equality of status and (2) their unity under a common Crown, we have (a) succeeded in giving clearer expression to that equality in matters of constitutional procedure, (b) while we have arrived at practical conclusions in our methods of co-operation in foreign affairs, in defence, in migration, in trade and communications, and in scientific research, which will, I believe, contribute greatly to the strengthening of our unity."

Chief achievements:

1. Restatement of the present constitutional relationship between the various self-governing units of the British Commonwealth as one of equality in all essentials, proposals for immediate removal of certain anomalies, and provision for removal of others as and when the Dominion in question by the usual constitutional procedure determines.

2. Discussion of the most effective means of consultation between His Majesty's seven governments, and constructive proposal by Canada of appointment of a High Commissioner or similar representative of Great Britain in each Dominion as required and similar exchange of representatives between Dominions as occasion determines.

3. Consideration of the appropriate form and method of relations with foreign countries arising out of this new imperial relationship, in international conferences, in diplomatic representation, in treaty-making, and in League of Nations operations.

4. Discussion of defence, interchange of views as to the present provision or future outlook in the countries represented, and demonstrations of recent advances in airships, aircraft, warships, tanks.

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5. Survey of interimperial migration problems, recent progress and possible further action.

6. Trade: review of situation, recognition British government barred by pledges from considering further preference on foodstuffs, review of advertising plans of Empire Marketing Board established by Government of Great Britain in lieu of preference, and study of various Dominion plans of trade encouragement.

7. Air communications, striking evidence of achievements and prospects of rapid development of interimperial communication by airship and plane; invitation by Canada to hold Imperial Air Conference here in 1928 or 1929.

8. Pacific Cable (not full Conference matter, concerning four partner states only): settlement of vexed and difficult question, substantially on lines contended for by Canada.

9. Many technical subjects, research, etc.

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3. OPERATION OF DOMINION LEGISLATION. C 63407

(Disallowance and reservation of Dominion Statutes; extra-territorial limitations; control by Colonial Laws Validity Act).

The greater part of these questions were raised by the Irish Free State; in Canada's case, no practical difficulty about disallowance or reservation, as these practices are absolete, but in view of the peculiar provision of the Irish Constitution previously noted, it became necessary to clear them up. The extra-territorial anomaly had been raised by Canada earlier, in Sir Robert Borden's day and by the present

administration . . .

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administration, and an amendment to the B.N.A.Act to make it clear that Canada has extra-territorial jurisdiction within its sphere has been before parliament. A recent decision by the Privy Council in an Irish land case raised the issue of the appeal in civil cases and its decision in the Canadian NADAN case made it necessary to consider whether a statute passed by the parliament forty years ago in Sir John Macdonald's day and never questioned since, is now to be ruled out, and whether the Colonial Laws Validity Act, on which the NADAN decision was based, is consistent with modern imperial relationship.

ACTION OF CONFERENCE:

(i) Statement of Principle on behalf of British Government: not to tender advice on Dominion matter contrary to view of Dominion Government: and British parliament not to legislate for any Dominion except by its consent.

(ii) Provision for Committee to study and report on above questions, which involve many points of detail and procedure.

CRITICISM:

Cf. Guthrie and Cahan; and Bourassa's reply.

Removes safeguard of minorities; majority free to pass any legislation unchecked and abolish special rights of minority as to language or education.

REPLY:

Mr. K. & Mr. C. at Toronto.

(1) as to disallowance and reservation, no change in practice, so far as Canada concerned, for then powers obsolete since 1873 and 1886 respectively: - of Sir Robert Borden: "The power or disallowance has not been exercised by the British Government for more than fifty years, and while it still has a legal existence, it may be regarded as constitutionally dead." If

dead . . .

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dead, why not destroy it?

(2) No change in Canadian Constitution made by Conference; simply a statement by British Government as to its policy in regard to certain powers which it legally possesses; no proposal to amend any provision of the B.N.A.Act affording minority certain rights: further, no proposal for change in the present method of amending the B.N.A.Act.

(3) Statement that it is "the right of the government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs" is expressly qualified by the clause, "apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes providing for reservation."

(4) If and when time comes for more definite and self-respecting method of amending our Constitution, no question ways and means can be found of safeguarding minority rights: Britain cannot do it.

p. 16.

PRIVY COUNCIL APPEAL:

General principle stated that it is for each Dominion to decide whether the appeal should be continued in its case. - Irish Free State did not press matter for present, pending further experience as to any further intervention by Privy Council; as to Canada, no proposal to alter appeal in civil cases, but steps will be taken to restore the previous position as to finalty of decision of Canadian courts in Criminal cases,
?
Mr.Lapointe a matter within federal jurisdiction.

p.16. MERCHANT SHIPPING:

Dominion shipping at present in certain important matters controlled by British Acts; agreed should be changed, but by special Sub-Conference which can consider carefully the technical points involved, and suggest means of

earning . . .

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earning a reasonable measure of similarity in the laws passed by the different Dominions on this subject.

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Australia is the only part of the Empire which has formally approved of this or other resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1923. On March 27,1924,Mr.Bruce moved that the House approve of the conclusions of the Imperial Conference relating to foreign relations, negotiation,signature, and ratification of treaties, and defence, and the resolutions of the Imperial Economic Conference relating to imperial preference and the Imperial Economic Committee. His motion was accepted after a debate which covers thirty pages of the Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire of July,1924,(pp.565-594). The reference to treaty negotiation was very brief - a dozen lines (p.582). A similar motion was introduced and passed in the Australian Senate (p.594).

In South Africa General Smuts,shortly after his return from the Conference, attacked the Labour Government of Great Britain for refusing to accept the imperial preference programme of the defeated Conservative Government. Colonel Creswell,Leader of the Labour Party,therefore moved "that this House holds that no promises made by a Government at an Imperial Conference impose any binding obligation on the country concerned until ratified by its Parliament." This was defeated on a purely party vote after General Smuts had expressed his concurrence with the main principle.

In New Zealand, before leaving for the 1923 Conference, Premier Massey introduced a resolution which was accepted, providing "that resolutions passed at Imperial Conferences are only obligatory upon any Dominion of the Empire if and when they are approved by the Parliament of that Dominion."

No action in the way of endorsement or acceptance appears to have been taken in any Parliament of the Empire after the Conference, except in the case of Australia.

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p.22. SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION AND CONSULTATION: C 63412

Important question. How are His Majesty's various governments to keep in touch with one another, and to consult effectively when a matter of interest arises? - Recognised great improvement in recent years in regularity and extent of the reciprocal exchange of information by letter and cable, but not enough. Imperial Conferences and visits of individual Ministers of value, but not enough. Necessary to develop closer and more permanent personal touch, where details can be threshed out, misunderstandings cleared up, decisions expedited, and an impression of the atmosphere conveyed to the government overseas.

As between the United Kingdom and each Dominion, this involves fuller development of the High Commissioner's office, and, if the British authorities decide, the appointment of a temporary or permanent British representative in some or all Dominion Capitals, The Governor General is no longer an agent of the British government. It is anomalous that it should have no representative in Canada or Australia when it has one in Greece or Peru. It was felt to be a matter for the British Government to decide, in consultation with the government of any Dominion concerned, whether it would decide to make such new arrangements, and how to carry them out, and when and where. Similarly it is for any Dominion, as the importance of relations requires, to consider sending a representative to any other Dominion.

A constructive step, mainly of Canadian initiative.

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C 63413

Notes, Imperial Conference, 1926.

Change in personnel since 1923: emphasizes one value of Conference, in making it possible for members of the King's several governments to learn at first hand something of the special problems, difficulties and opportunities of the other British communities, and something of the personal equation in their governing. (Appendices, p. 13).

Diversity of the gathering in 10 Downing Street.

"In this hostoric room are gathered representatives from every continent and all the Seven Seas, owing allegiance to a common King. Such a gathering makes one realise how great an error it would be to over-look in our plans and forecasts either the differences in situation and outlook of these several nations or the deep and lasting things they share in common. This diversity is sometimes left out of account in the habit we have formed of speaking of all the countries of the Empire whose representatives sit on this side of the table under the collective term of "the Dominions," as if they were not individual countries so much as examples of a type, and the differences between them were unimportant in comparison with the distinction between them all and the Mother Country. And yet a moment's reflection indicates how distinct they are in historical background, in racial composition, in economic organisation, in neighbours and neighbourhood relations, and perhaps increasingly in national character. On the other hand, our very presence here indicates that we share in common many great problems, many commanding opportunities, many proud memories - the moving ceremony we witnessed this morning commemorates the greatest of those common memories - and, not least, common standards of public life and private conduct. In more senses than one, we speak the same language. In countless ways, in trade, in markets, in migration, one part needs and complements the other."

Inevitable that in such a gathering many different angles would be presented; yet remarkable what a great measure of common agreement the goodwill and common standards of the Conference revealed. Of course, not possible and not desirable to secure absolute identity of view. Some compromises or inconsistencies in the proceedings inevitable; undoubtedly the Report of the Conference presents some ambiguities and incompleteness, but on the whole believe a very substantial advance

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toward clear understanding both as among ourselves and by foreign states, and toward practical effectiveness in the relations of the different parts of His Majesty's Realm.

Chief Topics:

1. Constitutional relations between the different self-governing parts of the Empire.
2. Relations with foreign powers.
3. Defence developments.
4. Air Communications.
5. Migration and Settlement.
6. Other Economic Questions
7. Naturalization.
8. Pacific Cable (not full Conference matter).

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Collateral Imp Conf 1926 S.3.c
C 63415

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE (1926)

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

Oversea settlement was fully discussed by the Committee appointed by the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923. The Report of this Committee, which was subsequently approved by the whole Conference, will be found on pages 136 to 150 of the Record of Proceedings of the Imperial Economic Conference, (Cmd.2009).

The Committee examined the results achieved since the passing in May, 1922, of the Empire Settlement Act, and they regarded those results as incommensurate with the needs of the situation, both in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions, more especially in Australia and Canada. They considered the "causes partly political, partly economic" which had checked the development of migration and Empire settlement and they recommended that the Governments of those parts of the Empire suitable to Settlement should endeavour to ensure the progressive enlargement of the policy in their respective territories.

Considerable developments have taken place since these problems were considered by the Imperial Economic Con-

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ference. Much progress has been made in cheapening the cost of assisted passages, the assisted rates to Australia, New Zealand and Canada now being as shown in Appendix 1 to this Memorandum. The cheapest rates are those to Canada, and assisted settlers can now proceed to the Eastern ports of the Dominion for £3, to Vancouver for £9 and at proportionate rates to intermediate destinations.

Two important settlement schemes have been arranged - (1) with the Government of the Dominion of Canada in August, 1924, under which His Majesty's Government and the Dominion Government agree to advance funds sufficient for the settlement of 3,000 British families on farms of their own in Canada. Families to the number of 480 went out under this scheme during 1925, and with few exceptions, are in process of successful settlement. It is expected that some 1,200 families will go out under this scheme during 1926. (2) With the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia in April 1925. Under this scheme the Commonwealth Government undertakes to raise loans not exceeding £34,000,000 for issue to State Governments at a low rate of interest, fixed for the first five years at 1%, and His Majesty's Government will contribute £130,000 for every £750,000 issued by the Commonwealth and expended by the State Governments on development and settlement. The scheme aims at the settlement in Australia within the next ten years of 450,000 assisted

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migrants from the United Kingdom, including 34,000 families. Mr. W. Bankes Amery, C.B.E., has been appointed as British Government representative in Australia for migration, to act with the Commonwealth Government in connection with all undertakings proposed under the Agreement. Mr. Bankes Amery took up his duties in August, 1925.

11. General Observations.

The successive Governments which have held office in the United Kingdom since the war, have unanimously pursued a policy of encouraging Empire Settlement, which receives the support of all political parties. The Oversea Settlement Committee, which advises the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs upon all matters connected with migration, is a representative and non-political body composed partly of official and partly of unofficial members. It is at present constituted as follows:-

The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., (Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs), President.
The Earl of Clarendon, (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs), Chairman.
H. B. Betterton, C.B.E.,M.P., (Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour).
T. C. Macnaghten, C.M.G.,C.B.E., (Dominions Office), Vice-Chairman.
J. Ambrose, (Liverpool Steamship Owner's Association).
G. E. Baker, C.B.E., (Board of Trade).
Mrs. Harrison Bell, (Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations).
Miss Margaret Bondfield, J.P., (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in the late Government.

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Viscount Burnham, C.H., (Chairman, Empire Press Union).
Sir Wm. Clark, K.C.S.I.,C.M.G.,(Department of Overseas Trade).
L. Cuthbertson, (Treasury).
C. W. G. Eady, (Ministry of Labour).
Sir Francis Floud, K.C.B., (Ministry of Agriculture).
Colonel, G.C. Jebb, C.M.G., (War Office).
A. B. Lowry, C.B., (Ministry of Health).
W. Lunn, M.P., (late Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee).
Dame Meriel Talbot, D.B.E., (Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women).
Oscar Thompson, (Chamber of Shipping).
Christopher Turner, (Unofficial representative of agricultural interests).
Miss Gladys Pott, (Executive Officer of the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women), also attends Committee meetings.

The members are appointed by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, the representatives of the various Government Departments being nominated by the Ministers in charge of those Departments.

The object of the policy of oversea settlement is the distribution of the white population to the best advantage of the whole Empire, thus promoting the development, trade and general security of all the nations comprised within the Empire. The problem must be regarded from the standpoint of the Dominions no less than from that of the United Kingdom. To the Dominions a more rapid rate of increase in their population is of capital importance. On the other hand, the density of population in the United Kingdom admits of migration on a large scale.

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As a matter of fact, experience has shown that there are generally coming forward to the United Kingdom more persons who desire to proceed to the Dominions under State assisted schemes for migration under the Empire Settlement Act than the Dominions are able to absorb, and that the slow rate of absorption of would-be migrants is re-acting unfavourably on the prospects of migration in the United Kingdom. The Conference will afford an opportunity for discussing the difficulties which the Dominions experience in absorbing larger numbers of migrants and the prospects for the future.

His Majesty's Government desire to establish closer relations with the Dominion Governments with a view to a fuller investigation of the possibilities of oversea settlement in all its aspects. In particular, they hope to arrange that the members of the Government who are specially concerned with this problem should visit the Dominions periodically with a view to personal discussions with oversea Governments and oversea authorities, and they consider it no less important that similar visits should be paid to this country by Ministers of the various oversea Governments.

There is also evidence that interchanges of visits by delegations of Members of Parliament and Newspaper Press Conferences are of great value with a view to closer co-operation and should be encouraged to the utmost possible extent.

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Generally speaking, in spite of all that has been done, progress under the policy of State-aided Empire Settlement still seems "incommensurate with the needs of the situation, both in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions, specially in Canada and Australia." It is submitted, therefore, that the time is ripe for the adoption of a bolder policy, especially in connection with training and development. Training will increase the numbers of settlers available and the development of new areas will afford opportunities for successful settlement overseas.

It is suggested that the following are among the principal subjects which might usefully be discussed at the Imperial Conference:-

A - Advisory Commissions Overseas:

Much interest has been aroused in the United Kingdom by the decision of the Commonwealth Government of Australia to appoint a Commission to advise that Government in connection with migration. It is understood that the new Commission, like the Oversea Settlement Committee in the United Kingdom, will be thoroughly representative in character.

It is hoped that other oversea Governments will consider the desirability of appointing a similar Commission or Board, and it is suggested that the policy of oversea settlement would be facilitated and furthered if arrangements could be made for direct

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communication between the Oversea Settlement Committee and any such Commissions or Boards which may be established overseas.

B - Training:

In their Annual Report for the year 1921, the Oversea Settlement Committee expressed the view that:-

> "The Problem of State-aided Empire Settlement is that of training sufficient numbers of the population of this country, which is in the main town-bred and industrial, in such a manner as to fit them for life in the Dominions, where the population is largely country-bred and agricultural and where the principal openings lie in the direction of agricultural development. The provision of suitable training is the key to the whole problem."

The Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 dealt with training as follows:

> "The Committee have come to the conclusion that such training (apart from any brief period of testing in order to ensure suitability) as may be required by persons in the United Kingdom who contemplate settlement upon the land overseas should be undertaken overseas and not in this country. It was admitted that a brief period of testing in this country might conduce to the elimination of unfit persons, but the Committee felt that if such an experiment were to be tried, the cost could not be shared by the oversea Governments. The Canadian representative intimated, however, that his Government would be prepared to supply free of charge instructors familiar with Canadian conditions".

The views of the Oversea Settlement Committee in regard to training have advanced since 1923, and they have come to the conclusion that the policy of establishing training centres in this country for men and women who wish to settle overseas is sound and right, and they desire to see it extended.

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In arriving at this conclusion, they have been much influenced by the training schemes which have been carried out in this country during the last three years, and especially by the admirable systems of training provided at the Army Training Centre at Catterick and more recently by the Ministry of Labour at Claydon, new Ipswich, and at Brandon in Norfolk. These centres have been visited and inspected by representatives of the various Dominion Governments who have expressed very favourable opinions regarding the nature of the training and the results achieved. These schemes have, however, not been financed from Oversea Settlement funds.

It is felt by the oversea Settlement Committee that training in this country for land work should be a means of preparing and fitting the industrial population for land work in this country, and, by enabling the Dominions to accept larger numbers of migrants from this country, should also provide a bridge whereby a section of that population may pass over to a healthy life on the land overseas.

In view of the importance of women in oversea settlement, the Oversea Settlement Committee would also wish to see provided training in Domestic work and the lighter forms of agriculture for the wives of married settlers and for single women who, though proceeding to the Dominions as domestic helps, are likely to become the wives of farmers overseas.

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In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government is examining the whole question of agricultural training for work on the land both in this country and in the Dominions. It is hoped that the Dominion Governments for their part may be willing to reconsider their previous decision as to sharing in the cost of training in this country.

C - Passages:

Attention has been called above to the reductions made in the cost of passages of settlers assisted to proceed to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It is hoped that the Governments of Australia and New Zealand may find it possible to co-operate with His Majesty's Government in still further reducing the present rates for assisted settlers proceeding to those Dominions, and thus assimilate the present rates more closely to the rates available for settlers assisted to proceed to Canada.

The Dominion Governments have up to the present found it necessary to restrict the grant of assisted passages to certain limited classes of settlers, viz., to single men and boys proceeding to farm work, to single women proceeding to domestic service and to nominated persons. In the case of Canada, none can be nominated except those proceeding to farm work, but other classes, including industrial workers, may be nominated for Australia and New Zealand.

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It is hoped that means may be found by the adoption of a bolder settlement policy to increase the power of the Dominions to absorb settlers, thus enabling them to extend the privilege of assisted passages to larger numbers than at present. In this connection, the Oversea Settlement Committee welcomes recent developments in the nomination system - bulk nomination, collective nomination by Churches, etc., and hopes that further progress may be made in this direction.

Restrictions on the grant of assisted passages are dealt with at some length in the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee to consider the effect on migration of schemes of social insurance (Cmd. 2608) which forms the subject of a separate Memorandum.

Both that Report and the Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee for 1925, (Cmd.2640), also draw attention to the high cost of unassisted passages which severely limits the numbers of those who are able to proceed overseas at their own expense.

D - Land Settlement:

One of the chief obstacles towards development of settlement upon the land in the Dominions is the very high cost. This is largely due to the high prices obtainable for land and to the cost of clearing.

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It is felt that the load of debt imposed upon settlers owing to the capital charges incurred in the process of settlement under certain existing schemes is so large as to make it doubtful whether the settlers can earn a reasonable living, and at the same time discharge their obligations. For example, under the Western Australian Group Settlement Scheme, it is estimated that each settler will commence farming on his own account with a liability to the Government of from £1,500 to £1,800. Under two schemes recently submitted by the Victorian Government, the estimated charge to the settler will be £2,500 and £2,200 respectively.

Experience in connection with almost all schemes for the resettlement of ex-soldiers upon the land, both in this country and in the Dominions, has shown that sooner or later it becomes necessary to afford the settler some relief by writing off a portion of the debt charges. It is a matter for consideration whether it is not desirable to avoid the necessity for this course by fixing the initial burden on the settler at an amount which he can reasonably be expected to meet. This would not only tend to spare the individual settler considerable anxiety, but would probably prevent a proportion of those abandonments which at present take place owing to the settler's fear that he will not be able to make farming pay.

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His Majesty's Government would welcome any suggestions from the Governments of the Dominions with a view to dealing with this situation.

One method which has been suggested is that all necessary preliminary work antecedent to actual settlement should be carried out at Government expense without cost to the settler, i.e., that the land should be cleared and made ready for farming operations, and that the roads and other developmental work should be carried out at Government expense. The benefits derived from successful settlement accrue not only to the settlers themselves but to the whole community, and it, therefore, seems unreasonable that the settler should be expected to repay the whole expense of development as well as settlement.

In this connection, it will be remembered that at the Conference on State-aided Empire Settlement in January-February, 1921 (see Appendix 5 of the Report of the Conference of Prime Ministers, 1921, Cmd.14/74), Senator Millen, on behalf of the Commonwealth Government, stated:

> "There are considerable areas in Australia suitable for settlement but at present entirely undeveloped, which could be developed by comprehensive settlement schemes at considerably less cost than would be involved in the purchase of land in districts already opened up. Such schemes would have the further advantage that the work of opening up an area by railways and roads, the construction of other public works, and the clearing of the land, etc., would find employment for many of the intending settlers as well as an opportunity for getting acclimatised to Australian conditions".

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Under a scheme of this nature the work of opening up a new area could be undertaken at Government expense, it being arranged that men should go out to the Dominions for the period of the work of development with an option, on the completion of the work of settling on the land which they have cleared or returning to Great Britain at Government expense.

Actual settlement, after the preliminary stage, including the building of a house and the stocking of a farm, would in any case be chargeable to the settlers themselves, though it would be necessary, in most cases, to make advances to the settlers for this purpose, such advances being made from loan moneys. Possibly also the cost of organisation and supervision might be borne by the Government.

If schemes of land settlement were organized on this basis, it would be only reasonable that local residents should have the benefit of similar terms.

The proportion of the settlement costs which the settler can bear depends very largely on the organisation of the business side of agriculture. It is deserving of consideration whether this cannot be done most effectively by the establishment of an efficient system of co-operation.

In some parts of the Dominions, the co-operative movement is thoroughly established, and co-operative societies have been formed amongst groups of farmers for the purchase of

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implements, fertilisers, seeds, etc., and the marketing of all varieties of produce.

Besides the advantages of relieving the farmer from much of the responsibility of buying and selling, co-operation can do a great deal in the direction of organising the social side of the settler's life. In many instances too, it has been found possible to arrange on a co-operative basis for home industries which provide employment for the leisure time of the farmer's family.

For these reasons, it is suggested that co-operation should be adopted as far as possible in connection with all schemes of land settlement.

E - Welfare Arrangements:

The arrangements for the reception, placing and subsequent welfare of assisted migrants have been largely developed in all the Oversea Dominions, and continued attention is being given to the subject. Special reference may be made, however, to the desirability of further improvement in the arrangements for the aftercare of juveniles and to the desirability of doing more in the matter of aftercare on behalf of unassisted migrants, i.e., migrants who have paid their own way to the Dominions.

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On the latter point, information has been received to the effect that unassisted migrants who were desirous of obtaining advice and help on arrival have either not known to whom they should apply, or have gained the impression that the existing reception and welfare organisation was not available to them.

The Oversea Settlement Committee are aware that a good deal is already being done for unassisted migrants by various voluntary organisations, and it is possible that the reports referred to are due to some misunderstanding. At the same time, it seems desirable that where the Dominion Governments are taking so close an interest in settlement generally, it should be made quite clear that the Government machinery is available to advise and help the unassisted migrant no less than the migrant who has already received an assisted passage and has been assured of definite Government assistance in other directions.

F - Juvenile Migration and Settlement:

The Oversea Settlement Committee are aware that many parents in the United Kingdom would look to oversea settlement as affording a definite career for their sons, if they could be assured that their sons will not remain agricultural labourers and will have an adequate opportunity of becoming independent farmers when they have gained the necessary

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experience. It is observed that one of the oversea Governments has passed legislation under which assisted juvenile migrants who have qualified will be eligible for advances from State Funds to a maximum of £300 to enable them to take up land on their own account. It is suggested that the possibility of providing similar facilities in other parts of the Dominions should receive careful consideration.

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APPENDIX 1.

Assisted Passage Rates.

1. DOMINION OF CANADA.

(Ordinary third-class ocean fare approximately £18.15.0).

Class of Settler.	Rate to Settler.
Nominates and proceeding to farm work - or women proceeding to take up house-hold work.	Children up to 17 ..... Free Adults on a scale based on the rates to certain centres, e.g.
Experienced farm workers (single or married).	Halifax, St. John or Quebec ..... £3.
Women (18-48) for house-hold work, and	Montreal ..... £4.
Single men (20-35) without previous farming experience, nominates by relatives in Canada, or by the Canadian Government or by some or-ganisation approved by that Government.	Toronto ..... £4.10s. Winnipeg ..... £5.10s. Regina, Moose Jaw or Saskatoon ..... £6. Calgary or Edmonton ..... £6.10s. Vancouver ..... £9.

Loans may be made to families and household workers in certain cases.

Juveniles (14-17 years of age) under the auspices of approved migration societies.	A free grant of 80 dollars.

11. AUSTRALIA.

(Ordinary third-class ocean fare £37 - £40).

Australia - Persons selected by the Director of Migration and Settlement for the Commonwealth of Australia or nominated by residents in Australia may be given assisted passages at the following rates:-

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Married couples (including widows or widowers with at least one child under 19 years of age ..... £11 each parent.

Household workers ..... £16.10s.

Other adults ..... £11.

Juveniles of 17 and 18 years of age ..... £11.

Boys and girls from 12 years up to their seventeenth birthday ..... £5.10s.

Children who have not reached their twelfth birthday at the date of sailing ..... Free.

Loans of the above-mentioned sums may be granted in approved cases.

III. NEW ZEALAND:

(Ordinary third-class ocean fare £37-£40.)

New Zealand - Persons selected by the High Commissioner or nominated by residents of New Zealand may be given assisted passages at the following rates:-

Class of Settler.	Rate to Settler.
Married couples (With or without children)	£11 each adult.
Single men	£13.15.
Single women	£11.
Household workers	Free passage.
Boys 17 to 19 years of age travelling alone	£5.10.
Travelling with parents	Free passage.
Boys up to 17 years of age ...	Free passage.
Girls up to 19 years of age ..	Free passage.

Loans of the above-mentioned sums may be granted in exceptional and necessitous cases.

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APPENDIX 11.

British Migration Movement for the years 1923, 1924 & 1925.

	Outward	Inward	Balance.
British North America:			
1923	88,290	12,424	75,866
1924	63,016	15,822	47,194
1925	38,662	13,939	24,723
Australia:			
1923	39,967	8,384	38,599
1924	38,599	8,205	30,304
1925	35,006	7,737	27,269
New Zealand:			
1923	9,392	2,204	7,188
1924	11,061	2,321	8,740
1925	11,730	1,964	9,766
British South Africa:			
1923	7,629	7,103	526
1924	7,568	6,919	649
1925	7,004	5,412	1,592
Other Parts of Empire:			
1923	11,784	14,323	2,539[1]
1924	11,973	13,999	2,026
1925	12,823	13,287	464[1]
Total British Empire:			
1923	157,062	44,438	113,624
1924	132,217	47,356	84,861
1925	105,225	42,339	62,886
United States of American			
1923	93,075	7,042	86,034
1924	17,315	10,880	6,435
1925	29,549	8,045	21,504
Other Foreign Countries:			
1923	6,146	6,126	20
1924	5,842	5,876	34[1]
1925	5,820	5,951	593[1]

[1] Balance inward.

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	Outward	Inward	Balance
Total Foreign Countries:			
1923	99,222	13,168	86,054.
1924	23,157	16,756	6,401.
1925	35,369	13,996	21,373.
Total All Countries:			
1923	256,284	57,606	198,678.
1924	155,374	64,112	91,262.
1925	140,594	56,335	84,259.

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C 63435

BRITISH MIGRANTS UNDER EMPIRE SETTLEMENT ACT, 1922.

	1923	1924	1925
Australia.....	31,235	24,449	23,427
New Zealand.....	6,839	7,737	8,051
Canada	6,261	9,379	11,442
South Africa.....			115
Total	44,335	41,565	43,057

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C 63436

CONFIDENTIAL NOTE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA
SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE MEMORANDUM PREPARED FOR THE CONFERENCE.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT

Oversea Settlement has been dealt with in the general Memorandum prepared as a basis for discussion at the Imperial Conference. This subject is, in the judgement of His Majesty's Government, one of such far-reaching importance, both to the United Kingdom and to the Dominions, that they think it desirable to invite attention to certain of its aspects in this confidential note addressed to the Canadian Government. In their view, th problem of the re-distribution of population between the densely populated and the thinly populated countries of the world is one which is likely to assume increasing importance, both internationally and also within the British Commonwealth.

The problem, in so far as it relates to the movement of population from one foreign country to another, is usually spoken of as "emigration" in reference to the country of departure, and "immigration" in relation to the country of settlement. In the case of a movement of population within the Empire, a general prepference is felt for the use of the word "settlement" instead of the somewhat invidious phrases "emigration" and "immigration".

Recent events such as the conference on Emigration and Immigration at Rome in May, 1924, the new quota policy of the Government of the United States, where there appears to be a tendency to

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admit a larger quota of British and North European migrants and to dominish the quota from other countries, the passing of the Empire Settlement Act, 1922, and the schemes for co-operation under the Act which are being arranged between the Dominions and the United Kingdom, are indications of increasing recognition of the importance of the re-distribution of population.

His Majesty's Government believe that the attainment of this end is of the greatest importance to the whole Empire.

They are aware of the difficulties, political and economic which have hitherto prevented a re- distribution of population on a sufficient scale.

In regard to the political difficulties, it is not insignificant that oversea settlement now receives the support of all political parties in this country, including Labour. It has been indicated in the General Memorandum on Oversea Settlement that the Labour Party has three representatives on the Oversea Settlement Committee. It may be mentioned that in a recent debate on this subject in the House of Commons, a Member of the late Government stated that if a workable practicable scheme of Empire migration could be evolved, it would be ungrudgingly supported by the Labour Party in Parliament. There are grounds for thinking that the representatives of Labour in this country are prepared to co-operate in any endeavours to remove the opposition and secure the sympathy of Labour Organisations overseas.

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It is unnecessary to refer at length to the economic difficulties, but it is to be hoped that every effort may be made to remove them. These difficulties may be [illegible] by the assistance which is being granted for the marketing of Empire products and by a general improvement of trade.

The chief object of the present Memorandum is to express the hope that this problem may be fully considered by the Dominion Governments in anticipation of the forthcoming Imperial Conference and that their representatives at that Conference may be prepared to submit proposals for the adoption of a bolder policy than has hitherto been found possible, especially, as is urged in the general Memorandum, in connection with training and also in connection with new developmental works overseas.

There are certain other matters connected with this subject which appear more suitable for inclusion in a confidential note than in the General Memorandum, prepared for the Conference and have reference to one Dominion only. The following have reference to Canada.

Immigration from Europe to Canada.

The following figures published by the Canadian Government Department of Immigration and Colonisation show the total immigration from Europe to Canada during recent years, indicating the number of British migrants and the number of migrants from the Continent of Europe, viz:-

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	British.	Other European Countries.	Total.	Percentage British Migrants.
1911-12	150,542	112,881	263,423	60%
1912-13	142,622	134,720	277,342	52%
1920-21	74,262	26,156	100,418	75%
1921-22	39,020	21,624	60,644	64%
1922-23	34,508	22,007	56,515	62%
1923-24	72,919	55,120	128,039	57%
1924-25	53,178	42,366	95,544	55%
1925-26				

It will be observed that the percentage of British migrants was as high as 75% in 1920-1, but has since decreased, in spite of the fact that His Majesty's Government, and the Government of the Dominion have recently co-operated in a policy of granting State assistance to suitable settlers.

The policy of Canada differs in this respect from the policy of Australia and New Zealand, inasmuch as those two Dominions discourage all migration other than that from the United Kingdom. It is hoped that the Dominion Government may be willing to explore all possible means of stimulating British settlement.

(a) Assisted Passage Scheme - "Bulk" nomination.

In connection with the arrangements for 'bulk' nomination

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the Dominion Government has agreed that 25% of those accepted for settlement may be men without experience in farm work. The number of exprienced agricultural workers in the United States is not more than suffices to carry on the agricultural work of the country, and the continued depletion of the land population of this country is a serious danger. The number of persons without farming experience who can be accepted under the assisted passage scheme is, however, as is pointed out above, limited by the number of experienced farm workers who can be recruited. At the same time, it has often proved that men of sound physique and the right temperament, even though they have had no previous experience, are readily adaptable to farm work, and it is understood that many Canadian farmers have expressed a preference for suitable though inexperienced men from the United Kingdom as against experienced men from other European countries.

His Majesty's Government may find themselves in a position of some difficulty if future recruiting efforts are confined chiefly to persons with agricultural experience. It is therefore hoped that the Dominion Government may be prepared to consider the possibility of increasing the proportion of inexperienced to experienced men accepted under the Assisted Passage Scheme.

Reunion of Families.

The system under which persons domiciled in Canada can nominate friends or relatives in this country for reduced passages

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only applies to those proceeding to land work and a man in work in Canada, whose dependents are still in this country, can only secure for them the benefits of the assisted passage scheme if he himself is working upon the land. It would be a very considerable advantage if any such persons, who are engaged in any satisfactory employment in the Dominion, could be allowed to nominate their dependents for the reduced passages.

It will be remembered that this subject formed the subject of conversation in June, 1924, between Mr. W. Lunn, M.P., (then Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee) and the High Commissioner for Canada. Mr. Larkin was sympathetically disposed towards the suggestion that assisted passages should be available for the dependents of men not settled on the land, although he saw certain difficulties in the way of its adoption. The matter was referred to the Dominion Government for consideration and was discussed with the Hon. Mr. Robb when he visited London in August, 1924. It was understood at that time that the Dominion Government might be able to concur in the proposal. Negotiations were accordingly opened for the signature of an agreement between the two Governments but were not concluded. The matter was again discussed between the Deputy Minister of Immigration and the former Finance Officer of the Oversea Settlement Committee in Ottawa in July last, but the Dominion Government were unable at that time to sanction such an arrangement.

It will be readily understood that a British settler in

Canada

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Canada who is obliged to remit money to this country for the maintenance of his dependents must have much difficulty in saving sufficient money to pay for the paasage of his dependents. The only means by which such families can at present meet the cost of the journey to Canada is by obtaining assistance in the shape of a loan from some philanthropic organisation. The funds of these societies, are, however, very limited, and they are able to assist only a comparatively small proportion of those concerned.

It is hoped that the Dominion Government may be able to reconsider their attitude in regard to the re-union of families.

Selection Arrangements in United Kingdom.

It has been represented to the Oversea Settlement Committee that applicants for assisted settlement in Canada are compelled, in certain cases, to incur considerable expense in travelling from their homes for personal interview with the Canadian representatives. It is felt that this difficulty might in large measure be obviated if the Dominion Authorities were to increase the facilities at present afforded by availing themselves of the machinery of local Employment Exchanges for the purpose of interviews with applicants. This machinery is already made use of by the Australian Authorities, whose official agents visit the larger Employment Exchanges at stated times, and there interview the intending applicants.

Land Settlement

The Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonisation for Canada, whilst on a visit to this country in February last, outlined proposals for the continuation of family settlement in Canada after the

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closing of the 3,000 Families Scheme. The proposal was that His Majesty's Government should agree to provide the same facilities as under the 3,000 Families Scheme, viz., an advance up to $300 per family for the purchase of stock and equipment for 1,000 families yearly, these families to be settled on areas of land owned by land companies in Canada.

Success has undoubtedly attended the initial stages of the 3,000 Families Scheme, and His Majesty's Government would welcome some arrangement under which the settlement of British families on the land would become a permanent feature of the joint settlement policy of the two Governments. It was accordingly arranged with Mr. Egan that on the termination of the 3,000 Families Scheme, and subject to its success, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to participate in a scheme on the lines proposed by him, subject to suitable financial arrangements. On this aspect of the scheme, the Committee have expressed the view that they would regard the proposals as much more satisfactory if the Dominion Government had some financial interest in the settlement arrangements, apart from administrative expenses.

Juveniles.

It is hoped that the Dominion Government may be able to establish under Government auspices some scheme for the Settlement and supervision of juveniles of 14-17 years of age, who wish to proceed to Canada for the purpose of farm work. At present (with the exception of a scheme recently arranged with the Government of the Province of Ont.) such juveniles proceed to Canada under the auspices of voluntary

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societies. These societies are performing excellent work, but it is felt that if the Dominion Government were able to undertake official responsibility in the matter of the placing of boys, the terms of employment, etc., confidence on the part of parents in this country would be increased and recruiting of boys encouraged. Definite schemes for boys are already in operation in Australia under the supervision of the various State Governments.

It is also suggested that some arrangement should be made under which suitable boy settlers who have gained the necessary experience and saved a prescribed minimum of money might obtain further Government advances to enable them to set up as farmers on their own account.

It is contemplated that the Earl of Clarendon, Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee, should visit Canada in July 1926, accompanied by the Vice-Chairman. It is hoped that Lord Clarendon may be able to discuss with Dominion Ministers the subject of oversea settlement, including those matters which are to be brought before the Conference, and that he will also have an opportunity of seeing for himself the progress of the British families under the 3,000 Families Scheme.

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C 63445

Defence
Aviation

Imperial Conference 1926

Extract from Mr. King's statement on Canada's co-operation in Air Communication scheme:

"As Civil aviation has a direct relation to the creation of a Military Air Force and serves to create a reserve thereto, in this field Canada may be in a position to lend very great assistance in Imperial Defence. By the Air Force Regulations an individual who obtains a pilot's certificate automatically becomes a Reservist.

Regulations have been prepared governing the formation of an Air Force Reserve and outlining the organization of an Aviation Association with branches in each Province.

Finally, when it is desired to extend an airship service to Canada the Canadian Government will be ready to consider methods of co-operation, as for example, as I have already mentioned, by the establishment of air bases. Possibly Canada will also be able to assist by the provision of helium gas, which can be extracted in the Dominion."

(Summary of Proceedings, p. 158)

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CANADA

Imperial Conf 1926-47. E-1302-3
Vol. 3A

C 63446

CORRESPONDENCE SENT BACK TO CANADA.

Name & Address.	Date.	Date of Reply.
Thos. Allen, Esq., 366, Adelaide St. West, Toronto.	Card & Book	Oct.13th
Madame G.H.Boivin, Granby, Quebec.	Sept.20th	" 11th
Arthur Bettez, Esq., M.P., Three Rivers, Quebec.	" 24th	" 11th
W.K. Baldwin, Esq., M.P., Baldwin's Mills, Quebec.	" 29th	" 11th
Hon. J.E. Brownlee, Edmonton, Alberta.	Oct. 8th	" 11th
Mrs. Blygh, Suite 207, St.Julian Apts., Vancouver, B.C.	Sept.21st	" 10th
N.A. Belcourt, Esq., The Senate, Canada.	Oct. 5th	
His Excellency Baron Byng of Vimy, Government House, Ottawa.		Sept.10th
Yvonne Couter, 155, Wilbroth, Ottawa.	Oct.8th	
R.O. Campney, Esq., Prime Minister's Office, Ottawa.		Oct. 13th
Mrs. Fred Carling, 6, Range Rd., Ottawa.	No date	" 11th
J.E. Charbonneau Fils, M.P.P., Napierville.	Sept.15th	
J. Stanley Cook, Esq., Secretary, Montreal Board of Trade, Montreal.	" 23rd	" 11th
Hon.J.P.B. Casgrain, Montreal Herald	" 25th	
R.O. CAmpney, Esq., Prime Minister's Office, Ottawa.		" 10th

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CANADA

Imperial Conf 1926 #7. E-1302-3
Vol. 2A

C 63446

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Name & Address.	Date.	Date of Reply.
Thos. Allen, Esq., 366, Adelaide St. West, Toronto.	Card & Book	Oct.13th
Madame G.H.Boivin, Granby, Quebec.	Sept.20th	" 11th
Arthur Bettez, Esq., M.P., Three Rivers, Quebec.	" 24th	" 11th
W.K. Baldwin, Esq., M.P., Baldwin's Mills, Quebec.	" 29th	" 11th
Hon. J.E. Brownlee, Edmonton, Alberta.	Oct. 8th	" 11th
Mrs. Blygh, Suite 207, St.Julian Apts., Vancouver, B.C.	Sept.21st	" 10th
N.A. Belcourt, Esq., The Senate, Canada.	Oct. 5th	
His Excellency Baron Byng of Vimy, Government House, Ottawa.		Sept.10th
Yvonne Couter, 155, Wilbroth, Ottawa.	Oct.8th	
R.O. Campney, Esq., Prime Minister's Office, Ottawa.		Oct. 13th
Mrs. Fred Carling, 6, Range Rd., Ottawa.	No date	" 11th
J.E. Charbonneau Fils, M.P.P., Napierville.	Sept.15th	
J. Stanley Cook, Esq., Secretary, Montreal Board of Trade, Montreal.	" 23rd	" 11th
Hon.J.P.B. Casgrain, Montreal Herald	" 25th	
R.O. CAmpney, Esq., Prime Minister's Office, Ottawa.		" 10th

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C 63447

Name & Address.	Date	Date of Reply.
D.R. Cameron, Esq., Oshawa, Ontario.	Sept.12th	Oct.11th
R.J. Cromie, Esq., The Vancoiver Sun, Vancouver.	" 22nd	" 11th
R.O. Campney, Esq., Secretary, Prime Minister's Office, Ottawa.		" 11th
P.J.A. Cardin, Esq., Office of the Minister of Marine & Fisheries, Ottawa.	Oct. 7th	
Hon. J.P.B. Casgrain, Montreal Herald	Sept.16th	
Mon. Bernard Denis, 164, 10e Rue, Limoilou, Quebec	Oct. 7th	Oct.15th
Mrs. de Villers, 670, Sherbrooke West, Montreal	Sept.25th Oct.4th	" 11th
M.J.F. Descoteaux, M.P., Sainte-Monique, P.Q.	Sept.26th	" 11th
Rev. Dr.Thomas Eakin, Knox College, Toronto.	" 19th	" 11th
Gustave Evanturel, Esq., Alfred, Ontario.	Oct.2nd	" 11th
Miss K. Fraser, "Skreigh", North Lonsdale, B.C.	" 2nd	" 13th
D.M.F. Fraser, Esq., New Glasgow, Nova Scotia.	Sept.16th	" 11th
David Forsyth, Esq., B.A., Beamsville, Ontario.	" 25th	" 11th
Mrs. H.W. Gundy, 173, Spadina Road, Toronto.	" 21st	" 11th
J.J. Greelman, Esq., K.C., 145, St. James St., Montreal.	Oct.4th	" 11th

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C 63448

Name & Address.	Date.	Date of Reply.
Hon.Sir John Gibson, K.C., Hamilton, Canada	Sept.25th	Oct.11th
Hon.George P. Graham, LL.D., Ottawa.	Oct.4th	" 11th
J.B. Harkin, Esq., Commissioner of Parks, Dept. of the Interior, Ottawa.		" 15th
E.G. Hofman, Esq., 30, St. Francois Xavier St., Montreal	Oct.7th	" 13th
Dr.Milton Hersey, Harbour Commissioners of Montreal, President's Office, Montreal.	Sept.23rd	" 11th
Mrs. Hubbell, 366, Waverley St., Ottawa.	" 16th	" 11th
Leslie R. Jackson, Esq., Camrose Alberta.	" 24th	" 11th
L.G. Jackson, Esq., The Newmarket Era, Newmarket, Ont.	" 25th	" 11th
Thomas G. King, Esq., Sec., Preliminary Executive for Diamond Jubilee Celebration, Orillia, Canada.	" 25th	" 11th
G.W. Kyte, Esq., K.C., St. Peters, Nova Scotia.		" 10th
Mrs. G.G.S. Lindsey, 145, Tyndall Avenue, Toronto.	Sept.15th	" 11th
Madame Lemieux, Ottawa, Canada.		" 11th
Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Speaker of the House of Commons, Ottawa.	Oct.7th	" 11th
Hon. John Lewis, 237, Silver Birch Avenue, Toronto.	" 6th	" 10th
Marie L.L. Matouin, Chateau St. Louis, Quebec.	Sept.17th	

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Name & Address.	Date.	Date of Reply.
Marconi International Marine Communication Co.Ltd., Marconi House, Strand,W.C.2.		Oct.16th
W.H. Measures	Aug.9th (Cable)	
Chairman, Malcolm Banquet Committee, Kincardine, Ontario	(Cable)	" 15th
Dorothy L. Mackintosh, s.s. "Megantic"	No date	
Hon. Vincent Massey, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Montreal.	Oct.6th	
The Mayor Mederic Martin, Montreal.		Oct.13th
W.F. Maclean, Esq., Lawrence Avenue East, Toronto.	Sept.15th " 30th	" 10th
Walter Mills, Esq., K.C., P.O.Box 520, Moose Jaw, Sask.	" 22nd	" 11th
Frank G.J.McDonagh, Esq., Sec., Toronto Men's Liberal Executive,Toronto	Oct. 6th	" 11th
J.D. McArthur, Esq., Winnipeg, Manitoba.	Sept.28th	" 11th
CF. MacIsaac, Esq., Antigonish, New Brunswick.	" 17th (Cable)	" 11th
W.H. Moore, Esq., 43, Victoria St., Toronto.	Sept.21st	
Joan A. Morrison	No date	
Mrs. Frank McKenna, Medical Arts Hospital, Guy St., Montreal.	Oct. 8th	Oct. 2nd
F. Orford, Esq., 45, Adelaide St. East, Toronto.	Aug. 25th	" 11th
L.V. O'Connor, Esq., B.A., Lindsay, Ontario	Sept.27th	" 11th

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Name & Address.	Date.	Date of Reply.
T.J. Pugh, Esq., 48-42, Clifford Street, Toronto.	Sept.20th	Oct.11th
E.L. Powers, Esq., Box 634, Cranbrook, B.C.	Oct. 3rd	" 11th
W.R.P.Parling, 1511-20 Bank of Hamilton Bldgs., Toronto.	" 4th " 5th	
W.R.P. Parker, Toronto.	" 7th (Cable)	
Mrs. B.M. Ritchie, St. Anne de la Perade, Quebec.	Oct.3rd	Oct.11th
Hon. J.L. Ralston, K.C.,C.M.G.,D.S.O., Minister of National Defence,Ottawa.		" 11th
James A. Robb, Esq., Alma Lodge, Valleyfield, Que.	Sept.14th	
W.M. Rossie, Esq., "The London Advertiser", London, Ontario.		" 10th
Henry E. Spencer,Esq., M.P., Warwick Farm, Edgerton, Alberta.	Sept.23rd	" 11th
Mrs. Peter Sims, 26, Ahrens St. West, Kitchener, ONT.	No date	" 11th
Mrs. J.A. Seybold, 232, Metcalfe St., Ottawa.	" "	" 11th
Campbell Stuart, Esq., The Mount Royal Club, Montreal.	" "	
H.J. Sims, Esq., K.C., Ahrens Street, Kitchener, Ontario.	Sept.17th	" 10th
Harry Sifton, Esq., 18, East Wellington St., Toronto.	" 24th	" 10th
P.A. Seguin, Esq., M.P., L'Assomption, Quebec.	" 30th	" 11th
W.M. Southam, Esq., The Citizen, Ottawa.		" 11th

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Name & Address.	Date	Date of Reply.
Joseph T. Shaw, Esq.,M.C.?L.L.B., Calgary, Alberta.	Sept.17th	Oct.13th
J.T. Thorson, Esq., M.P., 129, Niagara St., Winnipeg, Manitoba.	" 29th	" 11th
Mrs. S.C. Van Dusen, 226, Argyle Avenue, Ottawa.		" 11th
Lawrence A. Wilson, Esq., M.P., Coteau du Lac, Quebec.	" 28th	" 10th
J.S. Woodsworth, Esq., M.P., 76, Chestnut St., Winnipeg.	" 16th	" 11th
Sir Frederick Whyte, Woods Hole, Massachusetts.	" 25th	" 15th
R.M. Wolvin, Esq., President, British Empire Steel Corporation Ltd., Montreal.	" 25th " 27th (Telegram)	" 11th
Lawrence A. Wilson, Esq., M.P., Coteau du Lac, Quebec	Sept.13th	
James Haughton Woods, Esq., Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 6th (Telegram)	

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2. POSITION OF GOVERNOR GENERAL. C 63452

The action of the Conference is twofold:

(a) Statement of opinion as to present position, emphasizing fact that the Governor General is essentially a viceroy, representative of His Majesty and not agent of any other government.

(b) Application of this principle to method of communication between His Majesty's several governments: hereafter to be direct from government to government, not through Governor-General.

Arrangements are now being made for putting the new system into force at an early date, not definitely decided what date. No doubt more convenient and direct, and more consistent with recognised principle.

Criticism . . .

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CRITICISM:

Statement unnecessary; as already clear Governor General not Colonial Office agent. Powers of Governor-General set by B.N.A.Act and cannot be changed by Conference (Cahan); true, but Conference did not attempt to change powers, merely made it clear on whose advice he should exercise those powers, and through what channels governments should communicate | Duties of Governor-General set by British Instructions and letters Patent, (Mr. Cahan's Order for Return); true and the present instructions, issued in 1905, may require revision at future date.

Probably comment on Mr. King's advice to Lord Byng to consult British Government in cricis, as inconsistent with above principle.

From opposite quarter: Why not provide for appointment of Governor-General on advice of Canadian Ministers? Why leave it to British? (Perhaps might be replied that in fact, if not in form, a decided advance in recent years in extent to which advice of Canadian Ministers is made the basis of His Majesty's decision).

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C 63454

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. June 1926.

SECRET.

Copy No. 2

E 83.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.

ALLOCATION OF QUOTAS TO THE SEVERAL PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

1. THE discussions at Geneva of the "Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference" may well lead to an attempt to apportion the strength of armaments permissible to each participant in the Conference. The question will then arise as to whether the British Empire should be allotted its quota of armaments as one single unit or as seven separate and distinct entities.

2. The majority of foreign Powers represented at Geneva have no real understanding of the relationship which exists between the component parts of the British Empire, and may assert that the experience of the last war proves that the Empire is in reality one and indivisible, and that any argument to the effect that Great Britain, or the Dominions or India, are entitled to a separate apportionment of armaments is inadmissible.

3. At the same time the fact remains that each of these parts of the Empire participate in membership of the League of Nations separately from the other parts. It is, therefore, highly desirable that the constituent elements of the British Empire should arrive at an agreement on the question before it is raised at Geneva. The meeting of the Imperial Conference in October next affords an admirable opportunity for its consideration with a view to the adoption of a common line of policy.

4. The question for decision is not a simple choice between the adoption of one single Imperial quota or of seven separate quotas. A perusal of the attached Memoranda on the subject by the Naval, General and Air Staffs (Appendices I, II and III respectively) will show that, while the first advocates the adoption of a single quota, the second supports the adoption of seven separate quotas and the third favours the adoption of seven quotas in the immediate future with a reservation that, with the development of aviation, the precedent established at Washington for naval forces might well prove to be the best solution in course of time. This variation in the policy advocated by the Three Services is not, however, merely a divergence of opinion on the general issue, but is founded on a careful examination of the principles governing Imperial Defence in the three elements, and is due to fundamental differences inherent in the nature of the forces with which each staff is concerned.

5. Thus, the Naval Staff base their advocacy of a single Imperial unit for Naval Forces on the principle of the "oneness" of the sea, and the fact that "a fleet suitably disposed geographically in relation to an enemy fleet provides 'cover' under which security is given to widely dispersed territories and trade routes."

6. Where land forces are concerned, the element on which they operate does not possess the same unifying quality. The Territories which constitute the British Empire are widely scattered and the principle that the forces of the several parts of the Empire can only be used to the extent authorised by the respective Governments has, as the General Staff points out, a special application in the case of land forces.

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7. The element in which Air Forces operate is admittedly all pervading, but at the present stage of development it is not possible for the aircraft of each portion of the Empire to concentrate and operate as one unit in the same way as it is possible for the Navy. For the time being, therefore, the Air Staff consider that each component part of the Empire should be allotted its own particular quota for aerial defence. Should, however, air routes be opened in some more or less distant future and air bases be established, which would enable the Air Forces to operate with the same freedom of movement as is enjoyed by the Naval Forces, then the time will have arrived to reconsider the question.

8. In the circumstances, therefore, it seems inevitable that the discussion should proceed on the basis that a distinction should be drawn between the Three Fighting Services and that each should be treated in a different manner. For the reasons given in the Memorandum by the Naval Staff, it would appear that the Navy should be considered and treated as one unit. The only Dominions sensibly affected at present would be Australia and New Zealand and the view of the Naval Staff is that any naval quota assigned to the British Empire would be sufficient to afford to both these Dominions ample opportunity to develop their own naval programmes. A further justification for this course lies in the precedent established at Washington which, as the greatest measure of disarmament by agreement hitherto accomplished, seems, it appears, best to leave undisturbed by any attempt at reconstruction on a different basis. As regards land and Air Forces, on account of the particular limitations inherent in their nature, it would appear that a quota should be allocated separately to each component part of the Empire, but a reservation made that as soon as developments in aviation render rapid inter-communication by air between the widely scattered portions of the Empire practicable, the question as regards Air Forces might be considered further on strategic grounds.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
May 1926.

APPENDIX I.

Memoranda by the Admiralty.

(A.)

Allocation of Quotas.—Admiralty Proposals.

1. The decision of the Council of the League of Nations to call a conference, at an early date, for the purpose of considering the reduction and limitation of armaments, makes it incumbent on the representatives of the Dominions, India and Great Britain to reach agreement on the important questions that will arise in connection with any further limitation of naval armaments.

2. The general proposals of the Admiralty are given in a separate memorandum (B) entitled "Admiralty proposals," but a first essential is that agreement should be reached as to whether, in the endeavour that will be made either to fix a ratio for naval armaments between individual States, or to assign a quota, the armaments maintained by each Dominion, by India, and by Great Britain, should be considered separately from one another, or whether, on the analogy of the procedure adopted at Washington, the armaments of the British Empire should, for disarmament purposes, be considered collectively as one force, the allocation of forces as between the several Dominions, India and Great Britain being treated as domestic concern.

3. In this connection it is well to remember that, at Washington, naval armaments only were considered, whereas, at any conference under the auspices of the League of Nations, the intention is that sea, land and air armaments shall be considered. The importance of this lies in the fact that land and air armaments can be classified as "Metropolitan Forces," but that navies cannot be so classified. The self-contained nature of men-of-war confers so great a power of mobility that, given suitable bases, Fleets can operate in any area, in fact the "seas are all one."

4. A Fleet suitably disposed geographically in relation to an enemy fleet provides the "cover" under which security is given to widely dispersed territories and trade routes. This security cannot be given by the same strength of fleet dispersed to afford local protection to particular territories or trade routes; such dispersion merely invites destruction of those local forces by an enemy concentration.

5. An essential condition to this strategic conception is that this main fleet, which provides the "cover," must be ready at all times to fight any concentration of Naval Forces that the enemy can bring against it.

6. Whilst, however, the main fleet is the basis upon which the naval strategy of the Empire rests, naval requirements are not satisfied solely by its provision. The "cover" it can provide is never complete, and cases have occurred in all wars of units, detached by the enemy, evading the main fleet and carrying out attacks of a sporadic nature on territories or trade. An Empire, such as the British Empire, has, therefore, of necessity to maintain both local naval defence forces and seagoing cruiser squadrons for the protection of its people and its trade against the menace of these sporadic attacks.

7. In regard to small craft employed locally in mine-sweeping and anti-submarine and local patrol work, it is an accepted principle that each Dominion and India makes its own provision for this service. It is not intended that such forces should be taken into account in connection with the limitation of armaments, either separately or collectively.

8. The defence of territories and trade against sporadic naval attack is carried out mainly by cruisers. The disposition of these cruisers must depend on the conditions of each particular war, and it is probable that in any particular war any quota allocated to any one Dominion or India would be either insufficient or too great for the local needs that might arise. It is, however, quite possible to form an estimate of the total number of cruisers required by the Empire collectively in any particular war and, by agreement, to dispose of them to the best advantage.

9. The possibility of the Dominions, India and Great Britain each being given a separate quota raises some disquieting reflections. In fixing the quotas of different nations the Disarmament Conference will be influenced presumably by—

(*a.*) The existing strength of naval forces maintained by each State, and
(*b.*) The degree of security claimed by each State.

As regards many of the smaller Powers (*b*) would have little relationship to (*a*).

In the British Empire, omitting local defence forces, (*a*) could be applied only to Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain. Under (*b*) it seems certain that the Dominions and India would have to apply for reasonable quotas even though there was no immediate intention of building up to their quotas, just as France and Italy show little intention at present of building up to the quotas allowed them at Washington.

10. There appears little doubt that Foreign States will continue to regard the British Empire as a single Power, even though separate quotas are given to each of its components. It seems also likely that the tendency would be to reduce the present strength of the naval forces maintained by Great Britain by the sum of the quotas allocated to the Dominions and India. Thus the British Empire might exchange a real strength for a paper one.

Conclusion.

11. To ensure the allocation of sufficient naval force to the British Empire as a whole without involving any part of it in greatly increased commitments for naval defence, it is recommended that at the Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments the precedent created at the Washington Conference should be adhered to, and that the naval armaments, excluding local defence forces, of the Dominions, of India, and of Great Britain should be considered collectively as one quota for the British Empire.

12. The proposals contained in the Memorandum entitled "Limitation and Reduction of Armaments—Admiralty Proposals" are based on the assumption that this principle is concurred in.

Admiralty, April 28, 1926.

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(B.)

REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.—ADMIRALTY PROPOSALS.

Comparison of Armaments.

1. The only practical standard of comparison between navies is one based on material, *i.e.*, numbers and types of ships of war maintained in peace time. The expression "maintained in peace time" includes all warships maintained in reserve.

Method of Limitation.

2. The best forms which reduction and limitation of the size of naval forces can take are—

(*a.*) Fix the numbers of each class of vessel to be allowed to each country.
(*b.*) Fix a maximum tonnage for individual ships in each class of vessel.
(*c.*) Fix a maximum size of gun and torpedo to be carried in each class of vessel.

Washington Agreement.

3. At Washington the principal naval Powers, so far as the strength of their naval forces was concerned, agreed on certain principles. Any new plan for limiting naval armaments formulated at Geneva should follow the principles laid down at Washington, and thus render it possible to superimpose a Geneva Pact on the Washington Agreement. Failing such an arrangement there would be a danger of destroying the Washington Agreement without gaining anything from Geneva.

It is considered, therefore, that the British attitude at Geneva should aim at—

(*a.*) The maintenance of the Washington Agreement in principle.
(*b.*) The extension of the Washington Agreement so as to include all nations possessing naval forces, whether members of the League or not.
(*c.*) Such modification of details of the Washington Agreement as will lead to a reduction and limitation of naval armaments, without endangering the security of the British Empire.

Possible modifications are discussed below.

Capital Ships.

4. It is not considered that the time is ripe to discuss any modifications of the Washington Agreement as regards capital ships. This agreement has only been in force for two years; its limitations for capital ships are the one great achievement in disarmament which has been effected since the War, and its replacement programme is perfectly well understood by all nations, and in itself eliminates the suspicions among nations as to the reasons for their building programme.

The dangers for the British Empire in any reduction in numbers of capital ships are self-evident. If the Washington ratios remain, any general reduction will result in a *greater numerical reduction* for the British Empire *vis-à-vis* all other Powers except United States of America. Also further reductions will necessitate consideration of the fact that a combination of smaller Powers will be able to threaten our naval position.

5. A reduction in size and armament of individual ships would enable smaller Powers to build capital ships, as it is chiefly expense which prevents them doing so at the present moment. A reduction in size is, moreover, not a practical proposition, as investigation has shown that it is not possible to combine the necessary offensive Power with adequate defence against the torpedo and the air menace in a ship much smaller than 35,000 tons.

6. It is not considered possible, therefore, to put forward any alteration in the Washington Agreement as regards capital ships at the present time.

Aircraft Carriers.

7. The tonnage limitation of individual Aircraft Carriers agreed to at Washington was 27,000 tons, this figure being determined principally by considerations of safety for the personnel of aircraft when flying off or landing on these vessels.

Investigations are being carried out to ascertain whether it may be practicable to accept a smaller tonnage for the individual ship. It is probable that some definite conclusions on this subject will be arrived at before October next.

Subject to these investigations proving satisfactory the Admiralty would welcome a reduction in the individual ship tonnage of Aircraft Carriers.

8. The Admiralty would welcome, in addition, a reduction in the size of gun allowed to be carried by vessels of this type. At present it is limited to guns of 8-inch calibre.

Cruisers.

9. The question of cruisers in relation to the problem of limiting naval armaments is intimately connected with the defence of seaborne trade, upon which no other Power is so dependent for its existence as the British Empire. In consequence, the need for cruisers by the British Empire is proportionately greater than is the case of any other Power.

This was generally recognised at Washington and was the principal reason why no serious attempt was made to limit the number of cruisers to be retained by the Powers.

Subject to the recognition of the special needs of the British Empire for an adequate number of cruisers to protect the trade routes, the Admiralty would, however, welcome further discussion on the limitation of cruiser tonnage.

10. In addition, some further limitation of the size of individual cruisers could be accepted if, but only if, accompanied by a further restriction of the size of guns allowed to be carried in this type of vessel.

Submarines.

11. At Washington the British Empire delegation proposed the abolition of the submarine without success; subsequently, an attempt was made to impose a limitation on the total tonnage to be allowed in this type of vessel.

This latter proposal was stultified because France would not accept less than 90,000 tons as her quota, which, on the 5 : 3 : 1·7 basis, would have implied a large increase and not a decrease in armaments. Since, however, all the other Powers at Washington were in agreement with the principle, and were ready to accept quotas on the basis of 90,000 tons for the United States of America and the British Empire, it is possible that at a future conference France would come to an agreement.

12. The total abolition of submarine warfare is greatly in the interests of the British Empire, and it is considered that we should continue to press strongly for this end. A factor which might assist in the abolition of the submarine is the fact that by the Treaty of Versailles Germany is debarred from building this type of vessel.

It must be admitted, however, that the chances of abolishing submarine warfare are not great, as all the smaller Powers consider that the submarine is their main Naval weapon of defence.

Failing abolition, it is considered we should press strongly for a limitation in the size and armament of these vessels, and fix the total numbers of submarines to be allowed to each nation.

Destroyers.

13. Should the abolition of submarine warfare be found possible, a very large reduction in numbers of destroyers—the main anti-submarine weapon—could be effected.

Failing this, and assuming a reduction in the size of submarines, it is considered that an attempt should be made to agree to a limitation of the size and armament of individual destroyers, both of which show a tendency to increase.

14. SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS.

Capital Ships.

No action.

Aircraft Carriers.

(i.) Tonnage of Individual Ships. Dependent on investigations now taking place.

(ii.) Armament. The Admiralty would welcome further restriction in the size of armaments carried.

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(B.)

REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS.—ADMIRALTY PROPOSALS.

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The dangers for the British Empire in any reduction in numbers of capital ships are self-evident. If the Washington ratios remain, any general reduction will result in a *greater numerical reduction* for the British Empire *vis-à-vis* all other Powers except United States of America. Also further reductions will necessitate consideration of the fact that a combination of smaller Powers will be able to threaten our naval position.

5. A reduction in size and armament of individual ships would enable smaller Powers to build capital ships, as it is chiefly expense which prevents them doing so at the present moment. A reduction in size is, moreover, not a practical proposition, as investigation has shown that it is not possible to combine the necessary offensive Power with adequate defence against the torpedo and the air menace in a ship much smaller than 35,000 tons.

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Cruisers.

9. The question of cruisers in relation to the problem of limiting naval armaments is intimately connected with the defence of seaborne trade, upon which no other Power is so dependent for its existence as the British Empire. In consequence, the need for cruisers by the British Empire is proportionately greater than is the case of any other Power.

This was generally recognised at Washington and was the principal reason why no serious attempt was made to limit the number of cruisers to be retained by the Powers.

Subject to the recognition of the special needs of the British Empire for an adequate number of cruisers to protect the trade routes, the Admiralty would, however, welcome further discussion on the limitation of cruiser tonnage.

10. In addition, some further limitation of the size of individual cruisers could be accepted if, but only if, accompanied by a further restriction of the size of guns allowed to be carried in this type of vessel.

Submarines.

11. At Washington the British Empire delegation proposed the abolition of the submarine without success; subsequently, an attempt was made to impose a limitation on the total tonnage to be allowed in this type of vessel.

This latter proposal was stultified because France would not accept less than 90,000 tons as her quota, which, on the 5 : 3 : 1·7 basis, would have implied a large increase and not a decrease in armaments. Since, however, all the other Powers at Washington were in agreement with the principle, and were ready to accept quotas on the basis of 90,000 tons for the United States of America and the British Empire, it is possible that at a future conference France would come to an agreement.

12. The total abolition of submarine warfare is greatly in the interests of the British Empire, and it is considered that we should continue to press strongly for this end. A factor which might assist in the abolition of the submarine is the fact that by the Treaty of Versailles Germany is debarred from building this type of vessel.

It must be admitted, however, that the chances of abolishing submarine warfare are not great, as all the smaller Powers consider that the submarine is their main Naval weapon of defence.

Failing abolition, it is considered we should press strongly for a limitation in the size and armament of these vessels, and fix the total numbers of submarines to be allowed to each nation.

Destroyers.

13. Should the abolition of submarine warfare be found possible, a very large reduction in numbers of destroyers—the main anti-submarine weapon—could be effected.

Failing this, and assuming a reduction in the size of submarines, it is considered that an attempt should be made to agree to a limitation of the size and armament of individual destroyers, both of which show a tendency to increase.

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Cruisers.

Subject to recognition of the special needs of the British Empire, consider some restriction of cruiser tonnage.

Attempt to obtain agreement for an armament of less than 8-inch calibre, and, if successful, further restrict individual ship tonnage.

Submarines.

Make a further effort to abolish submarines.

Failing abolition of the type impose a limitation on the tonnage and armament of the individual vessel, and fix the total numbers of submarines to be allowed to each nation.

Destroyers.

In the unlikely event of submarines being abolished, fix the total numbers of destroyers to be allowed to each nation.

In any event, place a limit on the size and armament of individual destroyers.

Admiralty, April 28, 1926.

APPENDIX II.

Memorandum by the General Staff.

1. As the result of discussions at the Assembly of the League of Nations in September 1925 it was agreed that, until a considerable measure of security had been achieved, it was obviously impossible to summon a Disarmament Conference. At the same time it was thought that a good deal of the preparatory work for such a conference might be undertaken now in order that, when the time was ripe for a conference, it should not be delayed because the preliminary work had not been done. It was accordingly decided that a preparatory Commission should be set up for this purpose.

2. It is apparent, therefore, that some time must elapse before any concrete proposals as to disarmament can be put forward for actual application. However, it is considered that advantage should be taken of the forthcoming Imperial Conference to deal with one aspect of the disarmament problem, owing to the long interval likely to elapse before another Conference will meet.

3. The question requiring consideration is whether the armed forces of the Empire are to be considered as one unit, for the purpose of limitation of armaments, or as seven.

4. The only precedent is that of the Washington Conference. The Dominions were included in the quota allotted to the British Empire, and H.M.S. "Australia" was one of the ships scrapped in accordance with the terms of the Treaty.

The precedent, however, is not exact, because the question was a naval one only and of the Dominion navies only that of Australia was specially concerned. Furthermore, at the Washington Conference the British Empire voted as a unit, whereas at a Disarmament Conference at Geneva, Great Britain, each Dominion and India will have its own vote.

5. It should, however, be remembered that to many foreign States at Geneva the relations between Great Britain, the Dominions and India are quite incomprehensible. They may be expected to contend that all parts of the Empire are under the Sovereignty of the Crown, that they have never hesitated to put all their resources into the common fund, and that they should be included in a single quota for all practical purposes.

6. The General Staff feel bound to draw attention to the military risks that the principle of a single unit would entail. The quota allotted to the British Empire would be on a scale presumed to be sufficient for its needs, on the assumption that the forces maintained were available in any contingency and for any purpose. This is not, in fact, the case. Each portion of the quota could be employed only when and to the extent to which the Government concerned decided that it should be available. It is unlikely that such a decision would be forthcoming until the emergency actually arose. Each Government would be gravely embarrassed by the fact that it would be assessed on the basis of the availability of forces, a considerable proportion of which it could not rely upon with absolute certainty.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, under the Treaty of Locarno its obligations have been increased. In addition to its obligations under the Covenant of the League, which the Dominions and India have also—as being individual members of the League—it is now compelled to intervene in a conflict arising out of the Locarno Treaty, whereas no intervention is required on the part of the Dominions or India, unless their respective Governments definitely accept the treaty.

Furthermore, the British Empire would be placed at a double disadvantage *vis-à-vis* any group of Powers allied for defensive purposes under a military convention. These Powers would be allotted their appropriate quotas as separate units, and yet they would be able to count absolutely upon the co-operation of their allies in all circumstances provided for in the convention. On the other hand, the British Empire would be allotted a quota as one unit and not as several units, and yet there would be no absolute certainty of immediate and complete availability of all the forces allotted.

7. The General Staff recognise to the full the ready and whole-hearted co-operation of the several parts of the Empire in every grave emergency in the past. They do not wish it to be thought that they have any misgivings as to the extent of that co-operation in the future. But, in weighing military risks and in considering present military commitments, they feel bound to point out that this lack of absolute certainty exists, and in calculating a risk the most unfavourable possibility must necessarily be considered.

General Staff, War Office,
April 27, 1926.

APPENDIX III.

Memorandum by the Air Staff.

IN view of the forthcoming preparatory conference at Geneva on Reduction and Limitation of Armaments and also of the Imperial Conference which it is proposed to hold next October, it becomes desirable to consider the position of the various Air Forces maintained in the Empire with regard to each other and, in particular, to the air strength of Great Britain.

It is apparent that there are two alternatives :—

(1.) To regard Air Forces maintained throughout the Empire as one;
(2.) To regard separately from each other the Air Forces maintained by Great Britain and by the Dominions.

In the present stage of aircraft development, the Air Staff recommend the latter of these alternatives ; their reasons are as follows :—

1. *Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.*

The necessity for the consideration of the broad basis on which the various Air Forces should be considered arises largely from the Preparatory Commission on Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

The Air Staff have two main reasons in connection with the above for adhering to the "Metropolitan" definition (C.I.D. 682-B, paragraph 32) :—

(a.) *Operation.*—Any definition which would take into account Air Forces not actually in this country would certainly lead to a false impression as to our own special requirements, for the paramount air requirement of this country is a force sufficiently strong to give adequate protection against the strongest striking force within reach of our shores, and this defensive force, in view of the rapidity in which air attack may be expected to develop, must be stationed actually in the country.

(b.) *Procedure.*—In order to make any limitation of aircraft practicable, the Air Staff consider that some standard of strength which can easily be understood and applied is essential, and that the "Metropolitan" basis is open to fewer misconceptions than any other.

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2. *The Present Stage of Aircraft Development.*

It is understood that the Admiralty advocate the Naval Forces of the Empire being considered as a unit, and that the fundamental reason for this is that once sufficient bases are provided the "Seas are all one" for the Fleet.

The Air Staff are far from dissociating themselves from a similar conception for the Air Service when certain conditions are fulfilled.

The first of these conditions is the realisation of various important, but quite practical, improvements in the design, construction and reliability of aircraft. The second is the provision of those air bases throughout the world which are as essential to the Air Service as Naval bases are to the Naval Service. Substantial progress in both these directions may well be achieved in the next few years, but as a matter of immediate and practical policy, it is essential to adhere to the more conservative definition.

3. *Imperial Policy.*

From the point of view of encouraging the growth of aviation throughout the Empire, it will probably be found that the policy of a definite allotment to Great Britain and to each Dominion as opposed to an Empire quota will be found to be more efficacious.

Many factors must be considered. The requirements (largely identical) of security and commerce will probably be found to be more sympathetically considered under a system which leaves each part of the Empire unfettered. A premature attempt at a collective consideration of the various air forces of the different parts of the Empire might produce friction as regards the contribution from each part and differences of opinion as to their allocation or administrative control.

From the point of view of the League of Nations, the adoption of a "Metropolitan" standard for Great Britain and for each of the Dominions is obviously appropriate, in that the Dominions have separate representation from Great Britain in the Assembly. So far as the Dominions are concerned, their Air Forces are in a very early stage of development and should separate quotas be allotted under any Convention for the regulation of armaments, these quotas would be very markedly in excess of their present standard of strength.

From every point of view, therefore—from that of national security, prestige, development of Imperial aviation—it seems to the Air Staff that the best results can be achieved by the recognition of an independent Air Force in Great Britain and each of the Dominions which will be fostered and encouraged in every way possible by mutual experience, liaison and technical advice.

Conclusion.

The Air Staff are therefore of opinion that, in the interests of national defence, of Imperial policy and of the development of air transport, any scheme for the reduction of air armaments should be on the basis of separate ratios for Great Britain and for each of the Dominions.

Air Ministry, May 12, 1926.

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. June 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

BRITISH POLICY IN THE ANTARCTIC.

MEMORANDUM PREPARED FOR THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

THE first step taken to assert British control over any part of the Antarctic mainland was the creation, by Letters Patent of the 21st July, 1908, of the Falkland Islands Dependencies. The region thus annexed was originally defined as follows:—

". . . . the groups of islands known as South Georgia, the South Orkneys, the South Shetlands, and the Sandwich Islands, and the territory known as Graham's Land, situated in the South Atlantic Ocean to the south of the fiftieth parallel of south latitude, and lying between the twentieth and eightieth degrees of west longitude, ..."

These Letters Patent, which were first published in the "Falkland Islands Government Gazette" on the 1st September, 1908, do not appear to have evoked any protest from other Powers, although the greater part of the coast of Graham Land (the name originally applied to the west coast of the mainland lying southward of the South Shetland Islands) had been discovered by explorers of alien nationality.

In 1917, amending Letters Patent were issued, dated the 23rd March, 1917, in which the definition of the Dependencies was modified into its present form, as follows:—

". . . . all islands and territories whatsoever between the twentieth degree of west longitude and the fiftieth degree of west longitude which are situated south of the fiftieth parallel of south latitude; and all islands and territories whatsoever between the fiftieth degree of west longitude and the eightieth degree of west longitude which are situated south of the fifty-eight parallel of south latitude."

The preamble to these Letters Patent stated that doubts had arisen as to the limits of the groups of islands and the territory specified in the Letters Patent of 1908, and that it was expedient to include "certain other our islands and territories adjacent thereto as Dependencies of our Colony of the Falkland Islands." It will be observed that the terms of the Letters Patent of 1917 are of a more sweeping character than those of 1908, since, instead of claiming various specified territories, they asserted a claim to all territories lying within certain limits of latitude and longitude.

As regards the mainland, the effect of this amended definition was to assert a claim to the whole of the mainland lying southward of the South Shetland Islands (thus removing any difficulties arising from uncertainty as to the extent of the region to which the term "Graham Land" could properly be applied) to the south-west portion of the "Coats Land" discovered by Bruce in 1904, and presumably to any territory which might subsequently be discovered lying between these two. Such territories were, in fact, discovered by Filchner ("Luitpold Land") in 1912, and by Shackleton ("Caird Coast") in 1915. Their names, however, do not now

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appear on the Admiralty charts, since these portions of territory are, geographically considered, merely a south-westward extension of Coats Land.

The annexation of the Falkland Islands Dependencies was effected on account of the information which had become available as to the importance of the whaling industry in these waters. Subsequent experience, especially during the war, confirmed the opinions held as to the value of the whaling industry and as to the desirability of ensuring that it should be as far as possible conducted under British auspices.

Further consideration was accordingly given in 1919 to the question of extending British control over the Antarctic regions. A detailed monograph reviewing the whole position in regard to Territorial Claims in the Antarctic Regions was prepared by the Hydrographer of the Navy (now printed as Dominions No. 99), and in 1920 the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand were informed that His Majesty's Government had come to the conclusion that the whole of the Antarctic should ultimately be included within the British Empire, and that, while the time had not yet arrived when a claim to all the continental territories should be put forward, a definite and consistent policy should be followed of extending and asserting British control. It was considered that the most important practical step at the time was the assertion of British sovereignty over the Ross Sea coasts and their hinterland. After discussion with the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, it was decided that Australia and New Zealand should have separate spheres of control which might conveniently be divided by the meridian 160° E. In June, 1922, a Norwegian firm applied for a whaling licence for the Ross Sea, and after consultation with the New Zealand Government a licence was issued on the 21st December, 1922, granting the use, in connection with the proposed whaling operations, of the territorial waters in the Ross Sea and Antarctic Ocean between longitude 160° E. and longitude 150° W. An Order in Council was issued on the 30th July, 1923, establishing the Ross Dependency and placing it under the Government of New Zealand. The Dependency was described in the Order as—

> "that part of His Majesty's Dominions in the Antarctic Seas which comprises all the islands and territories between the 160th degree of east longitude and the 150th degree of west longitude which are situated south of the 60th degree of south latitude."

The whole of the coast of the Ross Dependency was British by discovery, and there has been no comment by any foreign Government except for the correspondence with Norway, which forms Appendix (I). It has been suggested that, for the purpose of the control of whaling in the Ross Dependency, the ice barrier should, in practice, be treated as land. The question whether the limits of territorial maritime jurisdiction should be drawn from fixed ice is now under consideration.

In 1924 the French Government took steps to assert their claim to Adélie Land by the issue of formal decrees, dated the 26th March and the 21st November. The texts of these are given in Appendix (II). The issue of the French Decree of the 26th March, 1924, led the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia to raise the question of taking action to establish British sovereignty with Australian control over the Antarctic regions from 160° E. to 90° E. longitude (the Australian sector). A full statement of the views of the Commonwealth Government is given in the despatch of the 16th September, 1925 (Appendix (III)). They may be summarised as follows:—

1. Any efforts made by France to extend her control over regions to which she cannot adduce good title by effective discovery accompanied by exploration work should be most strongly resisted.
2. It was desirable that the control and administration of Antarctic lands should be in the hands of those countries whose territories are situated nearest them.
3. If the French Government were prepared to consider the application of this principle to the Australian sector, it might be possible to obtain the surrender of the French claim to Adélie Land by allowing France the control of a certain portion of the Antarctic mainland south o Kerguelen Island, the Crozets and Madagascar.
4. The general object of the Commonwealth Government was to prevent the establishment by any other country of a considerable enclave in the Australian sector.

A note on the French claim to Adélie Land forms Appendix (IV) (with Annexes). It will be seen that, in view of certain diplomatic communications to the French Government greatly exaggerating the extent of the coast line which France could claim, the position as regards the extent of the area covered by the French claim is not altogether satisfactory; but, while the French Government naturally did not correct the exaggeration, they have never advanced any such far-reaching claim for themselves, and the Admiralty are satisfied that the French claim should not be allowed to extend beyond the area actually sighted and charted by d'Urville in 1840, viz., the area between 136½° E. and 142° E. If the claim does not exceed these limits, the Admiralty regard it as indisputable. It is not possible to contest it on any ground which would not affect the validity of British claims. It is true that there has been complete absence of occupation, but this objection might be raised with equal effect against any territorial claim in any part of the Antarctic mainland.

It is considered doubtful whether the French Government would be prepared to accept in exchange for Adélie Land an area approximately south of Madagascar and the French islands in the Southern Indian Ocean. Enderby Land and Kemp Land, which are British by discovery, might be available for the purpose, but they have never been sighted since their discovery was originally reported nearly a century ago. In any case, it is felt that, if the principle advocated by the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia were applied to the Antarctic Continent, it would give an opening to the Argentine Republic, which has never abandoned its claim to the Falkland Islands themselves, and has, of recent years, indicated that this claim extends to the Island Dependencies, to urge with more show of reason its claims in those regions.

It follows from the above that a foreign enclave is inevitable in the Australian sector.

After further careful consideration, the Admiralty, on the assumption that the French claim to Adélie Land is confined to the area 136½° E.–142° E., hold the view that the following territories, with their off-lying islands, between the Falkland Islands and Ross Dependencies could be reasonably annexed:—

1. The north-eastern part of *Coats Land*, namely, that lying between longitude 20° W. (the eastern limit of the Falkland Islands Dependencies) and longitude 16½° W.
2. *Enderby Land*, lying between longitude 45° E. and longitude 53° E.
3. *Kemp Land*, lying between longitude 58½° E. and longitude 60° E.
4. *Queen Mary Land*, lying between longitude 86° E. and longitude 101° E.
5. *Wilkes Land*, lying between longitude 131° E. and longitude 135½° E.

   (NOTE.—This stretch of coast was so named by the Mawson Expedition of 1911–1914, which discovered and charted it.)

6. *King George V Land*, lying between longitude 142° E. and longitude 153° E.
7. *Oates Land*, lying between longitude 157° E. and longitude 159° E.

Apart from the Ross and Falkland Islands Dependencies, the above list comprises, with the exception of Adélie Land and Peter I Island, all portions of Antarctic territory whose existence is (*a*) definitely known (1, 4, 5, 6 and 7), or (*b*) considered reasonably probable (2 and 3).

So far as is known, no claim has ever been put forward by any foreign Power to any of these territories, nor, indeed, with the exception of the French claim to Adélie Land, to any portion of the Antarctic regions.

When the question of the limits of the French claim to Adélie Land was first discussed after the issue of the French Decree of March 1924 the Admiralty pointed out that the restriction of territorial claims in the Antarctic to the actual extent of coast line sighted by each individual explorer might weaken our claims in the Falkland Islands Dependencies, where, as already stated, the greater part of the main-land was discovered by the explorers of foreign countries. But they consider that, in any event, the course followed with regard to those Dependencies, while tacitly accepted by other Powers, and not likely now to be disputed, is not applicable to the regions now in question, where the position and extent of the coast line are still so largely doubtful. Should a large and practically blank sector be formally annexed, any subsequent substantial discovery of land within that sector by another Power might prove embarrassing.

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On the other hand, by confining action to the specific territories mentioned by the Admiralty, we should be enabled both to claim all known or presumed portions of the Antarctic regions outside the Ross and Falkland Islands Dependencies, except Adélie Land, and at the same time to confine the French claim to that land within the narrowest practicable limits. The Admiralty consider that in this part of the Antarctic no other course is open, since if discovery of any land is once admitted to confer a right to the ownership of all land which may later be found to be contiguous with it, France would, on this ground, be able to claim at least the whole of King George V Land and Victoria Land.

The proposal, therefore, is that the action to be taken should be confined to the actual territories specified by the Admiralty. This will leave, in addition to Adélie Land, a gap of 30° in the Australian sector between Queen Mary Land and Wilkes Land, but, in view of the interest taken by Australia in the exploration of the Antarctic, it is not improbable that this gap will ultimately be filled by British discoveries.

The English sealer Balleny, in 1839, reported having sighted land, which he named "Sabrina Land," in about the centre of this gap, and appearances of land between his position and Queen Mary Land were also reported in 1840 by Wilkes' expedition. Subsequent exploration, however, has shown that these reports of land must be regarded as doubtful. Should the existence of land in this vicinity be ultimately established, Balleny's work as the pioneer explorer of this region would afford strong ground for claiming it as a British Possession. A chapter in D'Urville's "Voyage to the South Pole," written by M. Vincendon-Dumoulin, one of his officers during the voyage, who took over the editing of this work after the sudden death of his chief, affords valuable contemporary evidence of the fact that the French explorers themselves recognised that Balleny's discovery of "Sabrina Land," if substantiated, must be regarded as taking precedence of both their own discoveries in the same region and those reported by Wilkes.

The limits of the Ross and Falkland Islands Dependencies are so defined as to extend to the South Pole. The same plan should be followed in regard to the territories specified by the Admiralty. This will involve regarding Adélie Land as similarly extending to the Pole, but as the practical value of the hinterland appears at present negligible this need not be regarded as entailing any inconvenient consequences. It seems clear from the French Decree of the 26th March, 1924, that the French Government do in fact contemplate defining the limits of Adélie Land with reference to meridians of longitude. It may be mentioned here that Canada claims, in the Arctic regions, all land known or unknown between the meridian of 141° W. and a line passing midway between Greenland and Baffin, Devon and Ellesmere Islands and thence northward as far as the Pole (see Appendix (V)).

It would be undesirable to approach the French Government with a view to obtaining an exact definition of the limits of Adélie Land and it is also thought that we should refrain from assigning to it any definite limits when asserting our claims to the areas specified by the Admiralty. We could, for instance, assert our right to all land within the sector 131° E. to 160° E. other than Adélie Land. This might have the desired effect of procuring a precise statement of the French claims, but in any case it would leave the door open for any discussion with the French Government that might become necessary. In the interval the French rights to Adélie Land could in practice be treated as not extending beyond the limits to which the Admiralty think that they should be confined.

The question arises in what manner the British claim to the territories specified by the Admiralty shoul dbe formally asserted. Graham Land and the Ross Dependency were dealt with by the issue of instruments by the Crown providing for their administration by the Government of the Falkland Islands in the one case and by the Government of New Zealand in the other. The territories claimed within the Australian sector would fall to be placed under the authority of the Commonwealth of Australia and the north-east portion of Coats Land could be added to the Falkland Islands Dependencies, but it would not be possible to deal in such a manner with Enderby Land and Kemp Land. Any public assertion of the British rights over these territories would have to be of an executive character, and it is to be noted in this connection that the French Government, before placing Adélie Land under the Government of Madagascar, allowed an interval to elapse during which they were content with a notice that it had been

placed under the supervision of the French Naval Forces in the Pacific. A notice on analogous lines could be issued for Kemp Land and Enderby Land, and it has been suggested that a similar notice might be issued in respect of the areas in the Australian sector, and a reasonable period allowed to pass before the definitive step was taken annexing them by means of a formal instrument from the Crown providing for their future government, so as to afford time for foreign Governments to make any protests. As already stated, no claims by foreign Governments have been put forward to any land in the sector now under consideration, except Adélie Land, and there is nothing on record to indicate that any pretensions to territorial sovereignty are entertained by foreign Governments. The United States Government, for example, has not shown any sign of founding any claims on the discoveries reported by Wilkes. Subsequent investigation has, as a matter of fact, shown that Wilkes' own "land," except in one or two doubtful cases, is non-existent. The only indisputable portion of his discoveries is Adélie Land, but here he was anticipated by d'Urville. This question has been fully discussed in the Admiralty monograph (Dominions No. 99) previously referred to. Queen Mary Land includes the area formerly known as Kaiser Wilhelm II Land on account of its discovery by a German expedition in 1902. If any claims could have been put forward by Germany to King Wilhelm II Land, they have now passed to the Principal and Allied Powers under the Treaty of Peace, but the Admiralty regard the discoveries made by this expedition as of comparatively minor importance, on account of their limited extent, and the fact that they have been entirely superseded by the explorations of the Australian Expedition of 1911–14. They are accordingly removing the name Kaiser Wilhelm II Land from the Admiralty charts of the Antarctic.

Provided that no specific limits are assigned to Adélie Land, it is considered unlikely that any effective opposition will be offered by other Powers to the annexation of the territories in the Australian sector, enumerated by the Admiralty, but as a measure of precaution it is recommended that the formal act of annexation should be preceded by some executive notice of the nature suggested for Kemp Land and Enderby Land.

It is necessary to bear in mind, in any action contemplated in regard to the Antarctic, the claim of Canada to which reference has already been made. The considerations, both general and special, on which this claim rests are set out in the despatch from the Governor-General of Canada to His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington of the 4th June, 1925 (Appendix (V)). It would not appear that the adoption of the proposals put forward in this memorandum would prejudice the rights of Canada in the Arctic.

Summary of Conclusions.

1. The French claim to Adélie Land within the limits laid down by the Admiralty must be regarded as indisputable, and there seems to be no prospect at present of disposing of the French claim by means of an exchange of territory.
2. Action should be taken to assert the British claim to the seven territories specified by the Admiralty; the first step to be the issue of a notice in suitable terms which would make it clear that we claim these territories as British and a reasonable interval to be allowed to elapse before the issue of formal instruments of annexation of the north-east portion of Coats Land and the territories within the Australian sector.
3. No attempt should be made to assign limits to Adélie Land, but in practice the limits prescribed by the Admiralty should be accepted.
4. No attempt should be made to assert any claim to land outside the limits specified by the Admiralty.
5. As in the cases of the Falkland Islands and Ross Dependencies the British claims should be defined so as to include the whole of the land lying within the various prescribed meridians and between the coast and the South Pole, and the French claim to Adélie Land should be regarded as having the same extension to the South Pole.

May 1926.

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APPENDIX I.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT.

Norwegian Legation, London,
February 24, 1925.

Sir,

IT has come to the notice of the Norwegian Government that the British Government by " Order in Council " of the 30th July, 1923, has declared all islands and territories between the 160th degree of East Longitude and the 150th degree of West Longitude, which are situated south of the 60th degree of South Latitude, to be a British settlement under the name of the Ross Dependency, and that the administrative authority as regards the said settlement has been vested in the Governor of New Zealand, who is to be also the Governor of the new Dependency.

In view of the said Order in Council I have the honour, acting under instructions from my Government, to call your attention to the fact that although, as regards certain provisions, it does not at the present moment appear quite clear to my Government what the Order implies, my Government cannot overlook the fact that the annexation in question may have the effect of jeopardizing present or future Norwegian interests and rights.

In this connexion my Government have requested me to point out to you that they take it for granted—

1. That, apart from such islands which may be situated within territorial waters of Victoria Land and Edward VII's Land, the annexation is meant to comprise such islands only the existence of which is at present known and which have been discovered by British citizens or by expeditions under the British flag.
2. That the southern boundaries of the Dependency—of which nothing is said in the Order in Council referred to—and its eastern boundaries south of Edward VII's Land, are meant to be drawn in such a way as not to make the annexation comprise any part of the territory immediately circumjacent to the South Pole, which, as will be known, was taken possession of in the name of the King of Norway by Captain Roald Amundsen in December 1911, under the name of Haakon VII's Plateau, nor to comprise the territories on both sides of Captain Amundsen's route to the South Pole south of the said Edward VII's Land and including i.a., Queen Maud's Range.

My Government have instructed me to add that, while it is not their intention at the present time to claim Sovereignty to the territories referred to under 2 above, they consider that the said discovery and annexation constitute a valid basis for a claim of priority to acquire such territories whenever the requirements of international law as to effective occupation of a new territory shall have been fulfilled.

I have, &c.
B. VOGT.

The Right Honourable
Austen Chamberlain, P.C., M.P.,
&c., &c., &c.

Foreign Office, S.W. 1,
November 3, 1925.

Sir,

HIS Majesty's Government have given most careful consideration to your note of the 24th February last on the subject of the Ross Dependency, and I have the honour to reply as follows, to the points specifically raised therein by the Norwegian Government.

2. With regard to point 1 in your note, His Majesty's Government desire to observe that there is no coast or island known to exist within the Dependency which is not, indisputably, a British discovery, and that, except possibly in the region immediately northward of King Edward the Seventh Land, there seems to be no likelihood of any fresh discoveries of islands within the limits of the Dependency.

3. With regard to 2, no southern boundary of the Ross Dependency was specified in the Order in Council because the western and eastern boundaries

mentioned in the Order, viz., the 160th degree of east longitude and the 150th degree of west longitude, meet at a point at the South Pole.

4. His Majesty's Government take note that it is not the intention of the Norwegian Government at the present time to claim sovereignty over the territories referred to under 2 of your note, but while they most gladly bear their testimony to the value from the geographical and scientific points of view of the work performed by Captain Roald Amundsen, they cannot admit that the facts referred to constitute a valid basis for a claim of the nature of that indicated in the last paragraph of your note. The existence of the plateau on which the South Pole is situated had already been determined by the late Sir Ernest Shackleton, who, in January 1909, reached a point on it less than 100 miles from the Pole itself and on that occasion took formal possession of the plateau for Great Britain.

I have, &c.
(For the Secretary of State),
G. H. VILLIERS.

M. Benjamin Vogt, &c.

APPENDIX II.

FRENCH DECREES RELATING TO ADÉLIE LAND.

(i.) *Decree of March* 26, 1924.

Paris, le 26 *mars* 1924.

PAR décision du Ministre de la Marine en date du

1. Les îles Crozet, Kerguelen, Saint-Paul et Amsterdam ont été placées dans la zone de surveillance des bâtiments faisant partie des forces navales de l'Océan Indien.
2. La terre Adélie ou Wilkes (de la longitude‡ . . . à la longitude . . . ‡a été placée dans la zone de surveillance des bâtiments faisant partie des forces navales de l'Océan Pacifique.

‡ Ces longitudes seront celles indiquées dans le décret préparé par le Département des Colonies.

(ii.) *Report and Decree of November* 21, 1924.

Extract from the "Journal officiel de la République française" of November 27, 1924.

Ministère des Colonies.

Rapport au Président de la République française.

M. le Président,

Paris, le 21 *novembre* 1924.

J'AI l'honneur de soumettre à votre haute sanction un projet de décret rattachant administrativement les îles Saint-Paul et Amsterdam, les archipels Kerguelen et Crozet et la terre Adélie au gouvernement général de Madagascar.

Ces lointaines parties de notre domaine colonial n'avaient fait jusqu'ici l'objet d'aucune organisation administrative permanente. Dans l'ignorance où l'on fut longtemps de la valeur économique de ces terres inhabitées, situées à l'écart des grandes routes maritimes, il n'avait point paru indispensable, en effet, de confirmer, par l'établissement d'une autorité effective, les droits de souveraineté que, de longue date, la France s'était acquis sur les archipels et sur les parties du continent antarctique reconnues par nos navigateurs.

Les missions scientifiques effectuées au début de ce siècle dans les mers australes ont établi que ces dépendances longtemps négligées de notre domaine d'outre-mer pouvaient offrir à l'industrie des grandes pêches des ressources extrêmement précieuses : les baleines, les phoques et les éléphants de mer sont en effet très abondants dans ces parages et la grande valeur industrielle des produits fournis par ces espèces animales n'a pas tardé à provoquer la création d'entreprises de pêche et de chasse dont les premières campagnes se sont révélées des plus fructueuses.

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En vue d'exercer sur l'exploitation de ces richesses nationales le contrôle effectif et suivi qui s'impose, il a paru nécessaire de pourvoir à l'organisation administrative de ces îles et terres australes et d'envisager à cet effet leur rattachement à un gouvernement colonial déjà constitué : celui de Madagascar m'a semblé naturellement désigné, par la situation géographique de cette colonie et par les moyens d'action dont il peut disposer, pour assurer l'autorité souveraine de la France sur cette partie de notre domaine colonial. Consulté sur le principe de ce rattachement, M. le gouverneur général de Madagascar s'est déclaré favorable à cette mesure et vient de faire connaître à mon département qu'il décidait l'inscription au budget de la colonie d'un premier crédit représentant la participation de Madagascar aux dépenses d'organisation de ces nouvelles dépendances de la Grande Ile.

Dans ces conditions, j'ai l'honneur de vous prier, M. le Président, de vouloir bien revêtir de votre signature le projet de décret ci-joint qui place les îles Saint-Paul et Amsterdam, les archipels Kerguelen et Crozet et la terre Adélie sous l'autorité du gouverneur général de Madagascar et confie à ce haut fonctionnaire le soin d'organiser, sous le contrôle de mon département, l'administration effective de ces territoires.

Je vous prie d'agréer, &c.
Le Ministre des Colonies,
DALADIER.

Le Président de la République française,

Vu le Sénatus-consulte du 3 mai 1854,

Sur le rapport du Ministre des Colonies,

Décrète :

Art. 1er.—Les îles Saint-Paul et Amsterdam, les archipels Kerguelen et Crozet et la terre Adélie sont rattachés au gouvernement général de Madagascar et constituent l'une des dépendances administratives de cette colonie.

Art. 2.—Des arrêtés du gouverneur général de Madagascar soumis à l'approbation du Ministre des Colonies fixeront les conditions d'application du présent décret.

Art. 3.—Le Ministre des Colonies est chargé de l'exécution du présent décret qui sera publié aux "Journaux officiels" de la République française et de la colonie de Madagascar et inséré au Bulletin des Lois et au Bulletin officiel du Ministère des Colonies.

Fait à Paris, le 21 novembre, 1924.

Par le Président de la République,
GASTON DOUMERGUE.
Le Ministre des Colonies,
DALADIER.

APPENDIX III.

DESPATCH OF SEPTEMBER 16, 1925, FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

(No. 233.) *Governor-General's Office,*
Sir, *Melbourne, September* 16, 1925.

WITH reference to your despatch dated the 21st March, 1925, No. 97, and to previous correspondence relative to the Antarctic, I have the honour to inform you that a deputation of members of the Australian National Research Council recently waited on my Prime Minister for the purpose of urging the British claims to that part of the Antarctic known as the Australian quadrant lying between meridian 90° east and 160° east. For this purpose the National Research Council prepared and printed a memorandum, a copy of which is enclosed herewith, setting forth its views on the whole subject.

It seems to my Ministers to be evident that any present claims to this part of the Antarctic must primarily be based on exploration work done by the nationals of the country claiming control. In this respect it will be observed that the memorandum referred to above lays stress on the fact that d'Urville's discovery of 1840 was

restricted to a very small coast line of about 110 miles, of which nothing but a rough survey was made, and that no landing was made on the mainland. From that day till this no French exploration work has been carried out in the Australian sector of the Antarctic, and it is therefore apparent, even in the absence of any prior discovery by British subjects to which allusion is made in the communication from the Admiralty to the Commonwealth Navy Board, Melbourne, on the 10th October of last year, that the French claim to-day is no stronger than it first was in 1840. So far as the Commonwealth Government is aware, the only attempts made since that date by France to keep alive her title to Adélie Land was the declaration made by M. Poincaré in his note of the 16th April, 1912, to His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris, and the two Decrees of the 27th March and the 21st November of last year.

The Commonwealth Government holds firmly that any efforts made by France to extend her control over regions to which she cannot adduce a good title by effective discovery, accompanied by exploration work, should be most strongly resisted, and it believes that this view is shared equally by His Majesty's Government.

A further point that is raised in the memorandum is that the control and administration of Arctic and Antarctic lands should be in the hands of those countries whose territories are situated nearest to them. The Commonwealth Government had already given some consideration to this idea, and, whilst my Ministers believe that it would be desirable to make this a recognized principle in dealing with Antarctic territories and territorial waters, and that it should be urged as strongly as possible, they recognize that difficulties will doubtless be encountered in securing the assent of France to its acceptance in the Antarctic. The Commonwealth Government is not aware in detail of the international position resulting from discovery and exploration of the quadrant adjoining the so-called Australian quadrant, but should the French Government be prepared to consider the application of the above-mentioned principle, it is apparent that France would receive control of a certain portion of this region, to the north of which are situated Kerguelen Island, Crozet Island and Madagascar. My Ministers think it may be possible to obtain the surrender of the French claim to Adélie Land on this basis, and they would be favourable to this course.

The Commonwealth Government has given some consideration to the formal steps which it thinks might be taken to safeguard British rights in the Australian quadrant. One course of action which has occurred to it in this respect is that, as soon as the present indeterminate extent of the French claim is known with some degree of exactness, and it is found impossible to dispose of it in any manner, British control could be asserted in the customary manner by the issue of an Order in Council over the rest of the sector, leaving any further negotiations with the French Government to the future. It is recognized, however, that such a procedure is not altogether free from objection, and that it could only be adopted as a last resort. The question of securing the recognition of the Powers to British control of the Australian quadrant, with the exercise of such control by Australia, by conferring on their nationals equal economic and other rights to those enjoyed by British subjects, has also been considered by the Commonwealth Government, which, however, is not favourable to such a policy.

My Ministers desire me to add that in making these representations and suggestions they are, of course, actuated by the one desire of preventing the establishment by any other country of a considerable enclave in the Australian quadrant, and they believe that His Majesty's Government share equally in their anxiety, and will spare no efforts to achieve this purpose.

I have, &c.
FORSTER, *Governor-General.*

Enclosure.

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL.

Memorandum in re *the "Australian Sector" of the Antarctic and the recent French claim to administer Adélie Land.*

1. THE news recently published in the daily Press that France is claiming as a French possession Adélie Land, which is a portion of what may be called the Australian sector of the Antarctic Continent, has surprised and alarmed those who have the interests of Australia at heart and have followed the scientific and economic

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development of the Antarctic regions. The Australian National Research Council is convinced that the position thus created is one which calls for immediate action by the Commonwealth Government; for, failing such action, there is danger that Australia will lose not only Adélie Land, but all that much larger southern region, of which it is a part and which, on geographical and historical grounds, it is thought, should belong to Australia. The Council, therefore, respectfully urges for the consideration of the Commonwealth Government :—

(i) That the French claim to administer Adélie Land should be challenged and the Australian claim to administer it formally established;

(ii) That international sanction be sought for the administration by Australia of the whole of that part of the Antarctic Continent which lies between the meridians of 90 degrees E. and 160 degrees E.

In support of this recommendation, the Australian National Research Council has the honour to submit the following facts and matters for consideration :—

2. The public announcement of France's new claim was made by a Presidential decree of the 24th November, 1924. It specified the Indian Ocean Islands, the Crozets, Amsterdam, St. Paul and Kerguelen, which are outside of the Australian zone, and also Adélie Land, which lies to the south of Australia, on the Antarctic Continent, and proclaimed them as dependencies of Madagascar. This sudden display of interest in the Antarctic calls for special attention; for, though Adélie Land was first sighted and named by a French navigator, Dumont d'Urville, in 1840, it has received, as far as one can learn, no attention whatever from France since then, nor has France contributed to the later exploration of any neighbouring part of the Antarctic Continent in any way whatsoever.

The ostensible reason for the decree is the proposal to frame and administer laws regulating the exploitation of seals, whales and other life in the neighbouring seas. There is, indeed, urgent need for such action; but the more immediate question for consideration is whether France or Australia is the proper authority to take it.

French interest in Adélie Land has, no doubt, reawakened owing to the great financial success which has resulted from the whaling and sealing operations in the portions of the Antarctic waters already under British control. A perusal of the "Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Research and Development in the Dependencies of the Falkland Islands," London, April, 1920, leaves no doubt of the remunerative character of the whaling industry carried out from these Dependencies, which is greater than that of the rest of the world combined. Thirteen companies (two British, eleven Norwegian) caught 6,955 whales in the 1921–22 season, the landed value of the oil being £2,244,390. Indeed, so important have the fisheries become, that the British Government, at a cost of £300,000, has now equipped the ship "Discovery" to be employed under the Falkland Islands' administration in exploring the adjacent seas and coastlines, with a view to maintaining and extending the industry. Moreover in the Ross Sea area, now a Dependency of New Zealand, a very successful whaling industry is already established and regulated by the New Zealand Government, which receive a substantial royalty on every barrel of oil won. That there is likely enough prospect of similar rewards to the west of Cape Adare is obvious; but, again, the immediate question is whether this is really the concern of France or of Australia.

3. As far as we are aware, international law does not lay down any general rule for deciding the ownership of uninhabited or savage lands. Only actual continuous occupation or exploitation seems to give a generally recognized claim. The raising of a national flag by first discoverers or later visitors does not, it appears, of itself ensure such recognition. Thus Captain Cook discovered New Caledonia and the New Hebrides and hoisted the British flag there long before they became French possessions; and other cases might be cited.

4. But, in 1886, the Canadian Government applied a new principle in the Arctic regions, which does not appear to have been disputed there, and which seems equally applicable also to the Antarctic, where, indeed, it is already partly in operation. It was announced officially in that year that all unoccupied lands already discovered or to be discovered by future exploration, situated northwards of Canada as far as the North Pole and lying within the meridians of longitude bounding Canada itself to east and west, were to be Canadian territory. There has been universal recognition of Canada's claim. The principle obviously commends itself, for in such cases the

most closely adjacent civilized Government is likely to be best placed and best informed and also most interested in establishing a good administration. The same principle has been followed elsewhere in the Arctic, as witness the recent assignment of Spitzbergen to Norway and the recognition of Russia's claim to Wrangel Island. And, in the Antarctic, the establishments of the Falkland Island Dependency under British rule and of the Ross Dependency, placed under New Zealand (the 30th July, 1923), are also entirely in accord with the Canadian principle. These two are, as yet, the only portions of the Antarctic which have been definitely disposed of.

5. The term "Australian Quadrant" has long been applied by geographers to that quarter of the Antarctic region which lies between 90 degrees E. and the 180 degrees meridian. It might more properly have been called the "Australasian Quadrant," for both Australia and New Zealand lie immediately to the north of it. But the recent creation of the Ross Dependency (which extends from 160 degrees E. to 150 degrees W.) under the New Zealand Government has now disposed properly of a part of the "Australian Quadrant," and there remains what we may now call the "Australian Sector" (90 degrees E. to 160 degrees E.), which lies entirely to the south of Australia itself.

6. Adélie Land lies well within this area, with King George V. Land to the east and Wilkes Land to the west. Its extent is not exactly defined, but its coastline measures not more than 150 miles, that of the whole Australian Sector being over 2,000 miles. It is thus only a small, though an important, part of the territory, which, we maintain, should be controlled by Australia. Its control by another Power not only would create an immediate breach of continuity there, but would form a dangerous precedent that might possibly lead later to the loss of the whole.

7. The French claim has no geographical justification whatever, as a glance at the remoteness of Madagascar, her nearest colony, shows, and, historically, it rests on a very inadequate foundation. Geographically, France has better claim to the Crozets, St. Paul, Amsterdam and Kerguelen, which are also specified in the edict, for they lie far to the west and might, by stretching the Canadian principle, be regarded, together with a suitable part of the Antarctic coast, as appertaining to Madagascar and, therefore, to France. But here, of course, South Africa might interpose also an even stronger claim.

It appears that the French claim to Adélie Land can be based only on the fact that its coast was first sighted in 1840 by the Frenchman, Dumont d'Urville, who gave it its name and raised the French flag on a small, adjacent, rocky island, taking possession in the name of his country, as was the fashion of explorers in those days. He did not land on the mainland, nor make any detailed survey of the coast; he merely sighted about 110 miles of it, made a sketch survey, and then headed northwards. From that day to this the French have not visited Adélie Land, nor has any step been taken by France to follow up d'Urville's act until the edict of last November. The French expeditions of 1903 and 1908, under Charcot, operated in the American Quadrant of the Antarctic.

8. The Australian claim, on the other hand, is supported strongly by both geographical and historical considerations.

Geographically, Adélie Land lies due south of Adelaide, and is only 1,467 nautical miles distant from Hobart, nearer, in fact, to Hobart than Hobart is to Perth. It is, indeed, but a short voyage there from Southern Australian ports, and there is no other land between. Macquarie Island, to the north of the eastern border of the sector, is already Australian and would be a valuable half-way house for administrative operations.

Historically, the chief fact is that the Australian Antarctic Expedition (1911–14), under Sir Douglas Mawson, which had for its object the further exploration of the Australian Sector, made its main base in Adélie Land. It added a thousand miles of coastline to the map, and collected physical and biological scientific information over a wide field. The Adélie Land of d'Urville was sledged over and delineated for the first time, and, in the maps compiled by the expedition, new territory, unseen by d'Urville, was charted and still called Adélie Land in his honour. Adélie Land, as it now appears on the map, is, therefore, extended considerably beyond the short coastline that d'Urville saw for a few hours in 1840. Sir Douglas Mawson raised the British and Australian flags and, in the name of his country, took possession of the mainland itself, which d'Urville was never successful in doing. The elaboration and publication of the scientific results of this expedition are still in progress, and the printed volumes continue to issue from the New South Wales Government Printing Office. The whole work of the expedition, which involved some loss of life

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and much personal sacrifice, and of the publication of results, has cost Australia some £70,000.

No other country has contributed since 1840 to our knowledge of Adélie Land, or, indeed, of any other part of the Australian Sector of the Antarctic. A part of its coast further to the west, however, was sighted by the American navigator, Wilkes, whose voyage was contemporaneous with d'Urville's. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that, if the French claim to the one part be allowed, America could, if it wished, put forward a claim to the other, thus still further cutting into the territory that should be Australia's by right of its geographical position and its exploration work.

It is noteworthy also that, even apart from Mawson's Australian expedition, Australia has taken active part in many of the chief British Antarctic explorations, and has thus done much more to extend the knowledge of the regions than has France. Thus, a Melbourne resident, Mr. H. J. Bull, in 1895, visited Cape Adare and the Ross Sea, and to him and his party is due the honour of first setting human foot on any part of the Antarctic mainland. Again, in 1898, Mr. C. E. Borchgrevink sailed from Australia, and wintered at Cape Adare, and his party was the first ever to spend a winter on the Antarctic Continent. Australian men and money contributed largely to the work of both of Scott's and both of Shackleton's expeditions; and it was Australian members of the first Shackleton expedition who first ascended Mount Erebus and first visited and located the South Magnetic Pole.

9. While, for the above reasons, the strength of Australia's claim must be admitted, it is possible that some may doubt the existence of sufficient practical reasons for pressing it. There are such reasons, however, and they are weighty. In the first place, it may be pointed out that the early Dutch explorers condemned Australia as a barren wilderness. It should be remembered also that a similar mistaken doubt prevented the British Government from purchasing Alaska when it was offered by Russia, and that the United States, with greater faith in the future, stepped in and afterwards reaped a rich reward from the exploitation of that frozen northern land. No one knows yet what mineral potentialities may lie in Adélie Land and other parts of the Australian Sector of the Antarctic, though it is known that coal exists there. On the other hand, there is very definite prospect of wealth in the neighbouring seas, as the facts already mentioned (in paragraph 2) about the phenomenal success of whaling in other Antarctic waters clearly show. The Falkland Islands administration and New Zealand already profit largely by the industry. France obviously aspires to do so. Why should not Australia?

Another profitable economic development may arise from the establishment of fur farming; for the Antarctic coast, with its natural refrigeration and unlimited supply of food at next to no cost, offers an apparently ideal locality for this very valuable modern industry.

But there are other reasons which should weigh, based partly on faith in the future of science and its economic applications and partly on a very proper national sentiment. As to the former, the progress of meteorological science, of wireless communication and of aviation, foreshadows results that may render the possession of these southern lands specially important. And, as to the latter, it seems not unreasonable to hope that Australia, which already extends its government over such a wide range of latitude and climate, will go still further to the south and thus definitely claim control from the Equator to the Pole.

On behalf of the Australian National Research Council,

D. ORME MASSON,
President.

APPENDIX IV.

Note on Adélie Land.

AN application having been received in 1911 for the grant of whaling licences in respect of various parts of the Antarctic Regions, including "Wilkes Land," the Admiralty were consulted. They reported that "Wilkes Land is the name given generally to the Antarctic Continent lying between Enderby Land in about longitude 52° E. and the western limits of South Victoria Land situated approximately in longitude 160° E." and after alluding to the expeditions of Commander Wilkes, of the United States Navy, and of Captain d'Urville, of the

French Navy, advised with particular reference to the landing made by the latter in about latitude 66½° S., longitude 140° E., that "the French right of possession undoubtedly covers this vicinity" (*i.e.* that of d'Urville's landing).

Thereupon His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, in a despatch dated the 18th December, 1911 (Annex (A)), was instructed "to enquire of the French Government whether they claim that portion of the Antarctic Continent known as Wilkes Land." He communicated with the French Government in a Note dated the 20th December, 1911 (Annex (B)). The French Government replied in a Note dated the 16th April, 1912 (Annex (C)), to the effect that the part of the Antarctic Continent known as Adélie Land or Wilkes Land had been taken possession of on behalf of France by Commandant d'Urville on the 2nd January, 1840, and referred to various publications on the subject.

In 1913, when the question of giving the title of "King George V Land" to a large area of land discovered by the Mawson Expedition lying between Victoria and Adélie Land was under consideration, it was thought advisable, in view of the terms of the French Note of the 16th April, 1912, to communicate with the French Government, and this was done by a Note from His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, dated the 29th March, 1913 (Annex (D)). No reply to this Note was received.

It will be observed that in the Note of the 29th March, 1913, (1) Adélie Land was described as extending about 150 miles between 136° and 147° E. longitude; and (2) the land to be called King George V Land was described as extending from about 65° to 75° S. latitude, and from about 150° to 160° E. longitude. The description of the extent of "Adélie Land" was taken from an account in the "Hobart Town Review." It will also be noted that the limits of latitude and longitude given for King George V Land by no means agree with its actual position and extent, which were unknown in this country when the Note of the 29th March, 1913, was addressed to the French Government.

Of the publications quoted in the French Note of the 16th April, 1912 (Annex (C)), it has not been possible to refer to the "Moniteur" or to the "Annales Maritimes et Coloniales." The issues of the "Sydney Herald" for March 1840 and the official account of Captain d'Urville's voyage have been examined. The Admiralty also possess a copy of an account by d'Urville of his discovery extracted from the "Annales Maritimes et Coloniales," dated July 1840. Extracts from the "Sydney Herald" of the 12th, 16th and 20th March, 1840, have been made (Annexes (E) and (F)). It will be observed that the issue for the 20th March, 1840, contained the description of the extent of Adélie Land reproduced in the despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris of the 29th March, 1913 (Annex (A)). The account in the "Annales Maritimes et Coloniales," dated July 1840, is in the form of an Official Report to the Minister of Marine. It agrees verbatim with the account forming part of d'Urville's "pièces justificatives" referred to by the French Government in the Note of the 16th April, 1912, and contains the two charts afterwards reproduced in his atlas.

It is on d'Urville's own chart, as published by the French Government in 1840 and reproduced in atlas form in 1847, that the Admiralty rely in restricting the limits of Adélie Land to the sector between 136½° E. and 142° E. These are the limits of the land shown on d'Urville's chart and they represent the extreme extent of coast line discovered by him. His chart is still issued by the French Ministry of Marine (French Chart Catalogue, 1922) in its original form. This official cartographic material should, in the opinion of the Admiralty, be treated as indicating the real nature of the French claim, and entitles His Majesty's Government to regard themselves as not in any way committed to the wider limits contained in the note addressed to the French Government in 1913. The restriction of the French claim to the limits advocated by the Admiralty would not in any way affect the claims of this country to the various territories lying westward of the Ross Dependency which the Admiralty regard as British by discovery. The British claims to these rest on precisely the same basis as the French claim to Adélie Land as defined by the Admiralty.

The part of the French Decree of the 26th March, 1924 (Appendix (II)), which related to Adélie Land ran as follows:—

> "La terre Adélie ou Wilkes (de la longitude . . . . à la longitude . . . .) a été placée dans la zone de surveillance des bâtiments faisant partie des forces navales de l'Océan Pacifique."

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The limits were left blank and there was a footnote:—

"Les longitudes seront celles indiquées dans le décret préparé par le Département des Colonies."

No such definition appears in fact to have been issued and the Report and Decree published in the "Journal Officiel" of the 27th November, 1924 (Appendix (II)), referred to "Adélie Land" without any reference to Wilkes Land. The Report described the Decree as intended to "confirmer par l'établissement d'une autorité effective les droits de souveraineté que, de longue date, la France s'était acquis sur les archipels et sur les parties du continent antarctique *reconnues par nos navigateurs*."

Annex (A).

Despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, December 18, 1911.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 18, 1911.

A question has arisen in regard to the issue of licences to whale on certain parts of the Antarctic continent, including Wilkes Land.

Wilkes Land appears to be the name given generally to that part of the continent lying between Enderby Land, in about longitude 52° E., and the western limits of South Victoria Land, situated approximately in longitude 160° E. This "land," the continuity of which remains to be proved, was reported to have been seen by Commander Wilkes, United States Navy, and his squadron of United States ships during the years 1839–40 at various stages of their course along the supposed direction of its coast; no landing was effected at any place. During the same period, Captain d'Urville, in command of the French ships "Astrolabe" and "Zélée," also carried out exploration in the eastern portion of the same area, and on the 21st January, 1840, a landing was effected in latitude 66½° S., longitude 140° E., the French flag hoisted, and possession of "Adélie Land" was formally taken.

I have to request your Excellency to enquire of the French Government whether they claim that portion of the Antarctic continent known as "Wilkes Land."

I am, &c.
(For the Secretary of State),
LOUIS MALLET.

Annex (B).

Note to French Government, December 20, 1911.

British Embassy, Paris, December 20, 1911.

The attention of His Majesty's Government has been called to a question which has arisen in regard to the issue of licences to whale on certain parts of the Antarctic Continent, including Wilkes Land.

Wilkes Land appears to be the name given generally to that part of the continent lying between Enderby Land in about longitude 52° E. and the western limits of South Victoria Land situated approximately in longitude 160° E. This "land," the continuity of which remains to be proved, was reported to have been seen by Commander Wilkes, United States Navy, and his squadron of United States ships during the years 1839–40 at various stages of their course along the supposed direction of its coast; no landing was effected at any place. During the same period, Captain d'Urville, in command of the French ships "Astrolabe" and "Zélée," also carried out exploration in the eastern portion of the same area, and on the 21st January, 1840, a landing was effected in latitude 66½° S., longitude 140° E., the French flag was hoisted and possession of "Adélie Land" was formally taken.

His Majesty's Ambassador has the honour to enquire of his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs, under instructions from Sir E. Grey, whether the French Government make any claim to that portion of the Antarctic Continent known as "Wilkes Land."

Annex (C).

Note from French Government, April 16, 1912.

Le 16 *avril* 1912.

Par une note du 20 décembre dernier, votre Excellence a bien voulu exprimer à M. de Selves le désir de savoir si le Gouvernement de la République revendiquait pour la France la souveraineté de la partie du continent antarctique connue sous le nom de "Terre Adélie" ou "Terre de Wilkes."

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître que le Commandant Dumont d'Urville a pris possession de cette terre au nom de la France, le 2 janvier 1840, dans les formes usitées à l'époque. Publication en a été faite à diverses reprises, notamment :

1. Dans le "Sydney Herald" du 13 mars 1840;
2. Dans le "Moniteur";
3. Dans les "Annales maritimes et coloniales," 25e année, 2e série, 1840, tome II, p. 860; 25e année, 2e série, 1841, tome Ier, pp. 915–917;
4. Dans le "Voyage au Pôle sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes l' 'Astrolabe' et la 'Zélée,'" exécuté par ordre du Roi en 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, sous le commandement de M. J. Dumont d'Urville, capitaine de vaisseau, publié par ordonnance du Roi (C.V., ch. XV, t. 1, 2e partie, p. 140 et suivantes et notes 112 à 132, p. 324 du même volume), tome X (pièces justificatives), p. 181, tome VIII, ch. LXI.

J'ajoute que le Gouvernement de la République n'a pas l'intention de renoncer aux droits que la France a acquis sur les terres dont il s'agit. M. le Ministre des Colonies examine actuellement s'il serait utile d'y installer un dépot de vivres pour les marins naufragés.

Agréez, &c.
R. POINCARÉ.

Annex (D).

Note to French Government, March 29, 1913.

M. le Ministre, *Paris, March* 29, 1913.

I have the honour to acquaint you, under instructions from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that it is intended to give the name of "King George V Land" to a tract of land in the Antarctic region recently discovered by Dr. Mawson, and that a formal submission is being made to the King requesting His Majesty's authority to take the necessary steps to give effect forthwith to this intention.

The tract of territory in question lies to the north of Victoria Land and extends from about 65° to 75° south latitude and about 150° to 160° east longitude.

His Majesty's Government are aware from the note from your Excellency's Department of the 16th April last, which I duly brought to their knowledge, of the claims of the French Government in respect of the territories in the Antarctic region known under the name of Wilkes Land and Adélie Land. I am to add that His Majesty's Government understand that the extent of the land named by Commodore Dumont d'Urville, as seen, to have been about 150 miles, lying between 66° and 67° south latitude and 136° and 147° east longitude, so that the district now to be named will not touch on such French claims.

I avail myself, &c.
F. BERTIE.

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Annex (E).

Extracts from the "Sydney Herald," March 12 and March 16, 1840.

DISCOVERY.

(*March* 12, 1840.)

We have to acknowledge the receipt of a French letter containing a succinct account of the expedition of the two French corvettes, the "Astrolabe" and "Zélée," under the command of Commodore D'Urville, which, from its length and the late hour at which it reached our office, we are unable to give in type this week. Our readers will be pleased to learn that the exertions of the French Commodore have been crowned with success. On the evening of the 19th January, in latitude 66° S., and about 130° E. longitude, land was descried; and on the 21st the two corvettes approached to within five or six miles, and two boats' crews put off to collect specimens of rock from a point which was clear of ice. The land is described as stretching from the south to the W.S.W. as far as the eye could discern. Commodore d'Urville was desirous of continuing his discoveries, but was stopped on the 23rd by a bank of ice stretching out from the land directly north to an immense distance, and was consequently compelled to alter his course. The following day the vessels encountered a most furious gale of wind, during which the "Zélée" very narrowly escaped being wrecked. Further progress was prevented by "la banquise," which hindered any further progress towards the south. Although not much will have been gained by this enterprise in point of utility, it will add greatly to our geographical and scientific knowledge. It does not appear that any living beings or animals exist in these cold and dreary regions, not even a seal was seen, nor any very useful kind of whale. Captain Dumont D'Urville has, by this discovery, earned an additional title to the honours of his country, distinguished as his name has already been in scientific navigation—"Hobart Town Courier." (The "Astrolabe" and "Zélée" had arrived at Hobart Town.)

(*March* 16, 1840.)

In our notice of the Antarctic Continent, inserted in our last, a typographical error occurred which we are desirous to rectify. The latitude of the land first discovered should have been 66° 20′ instead of 64° 20′ south.

Annex (F).

Extract from the "Sydney Herald," March 20, 1840.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

(*March* 20, 1840.)

We have received Hobart town papers to the 6th instant. We subjoin a few extracts, although they are not of much interest:—

[From the "Review," March 3.]

We have been favoured with a detail of the recent proceedings of the French Discovery ships "L'Astrolabe" and "Zélée," under Commodore D'Urville. The following is the amount thereof: They sailed on the 2nd January from the port, leaving behind a number of men in hospital with fever, the whole of whom, we lament to say, have found here their last home. The object was to discover the actual position of the Southern Magnetic Pole; and, on the 1st February, they passed the meridian without declination in 65° 20′ S. latitude, 131° E. longitude, whereupon having considered their object accomplished they returned to this port on the 17th February. The commodore named the newly-discovered land "Terre Adélie." Its extent as seen was about 150 miles, between 66° and 67° latitude, 136° and 147° longitude. Its shores were high and precipitous, the mean 1,300 feet above the sea—covered with snow and ice, and environed with numberless icebergs of the most formidable description—a perfect desert without

a trace of vegetation. The only living creatures seen were whales, porpoises, seals, penguins, petrels and albatrosses. Progress to the west seems precluded by the interminable fields of ice, but to the eastward it appeared practicable. The commodore closes with a very handsome acknowledgment of the kindness and hospitality with which the expedition has been treated here by Sir John and Lady Franklin, the public officers and the colonists in general, a repetition of what he had received on his former visit twelve years ago.

APPENDIX V.

DESPATCH OF JUNE 4, 1925, FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON.

(No. 104. Secret.)

Sir, *Government House, Ottawa, June* 4, 1925.

WITH further reference to my Secret despatch No. 103, of even date, on the subject of the Macmillan Arctic Expedition, it has been considered advisable to set forth some of the grounds which have caused the Canadian Government apprehension as to the purposes of the expedition, and also the grounds of its claims to certain Arctic territory which may be questioned.

The expedition is under the leadership of Dr. Macmillan, a Newfoundlander by birth but now a citizen of the United States, who is widely experienced in Arctic exploration. In his earlier expeditions he was disposed to work closely with the Canadian Government, and when giving evidence before the Canadian Royal Commission on the Musk Ox and Reindeer Industries, in 1920, he advised that all explorers going into Canadian Arctic territory be required to secure licences. Of late, perhaps because of the exigencies of popular lecture tours in the United States and campaigns there for financing his new expedition, he has tended to emphasize the advantages to the United States of the discoveries he may make in the Arctic, and also to ignore the Canadian authorities. The Director of the North-West Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior wrote him in June, 1923, prior to his last trip north, asking for information as to his plans, and calling his attention to the hunting and trading licence requirements. The letter, though received, was not acknowledged. On Macmillan's return, the Director wrote again in October, 1924, calling attention to press reports of killing of musk ox on Ellesmere Island. Macmillan replied, stating that the objects of the expedition were purely scientific, and adding that "nothing in Canadian territory was trapped or killed or traded for by me or by a single member of my personnel, else you would have received notice immediately upon my return and check forwarded for hunting and trading licence," a reply which was considered in the light of Royal Canadian Mounted Police reports as to killing of musk ox at least evasive.

On the 14th January, 1925, the Director wrote Macmillan calling attention to press reports of the new expedition, enclosing copies of Game Act and other regulations, and suggesting that application be made for a migratory game permit. No answer has been received to this letter.

The United States Department of the Navy, to judge by the "Shenandoah" and other incidents, is not adverse to securing whatever prestige may attach to adding territory and possibly air bases in the North. It is providing planes and also lending pilots and mechanics. No intimation whatever as to the expedition has been received from the United States Government.

Given this persistent ignoring of Canadian authority, special significance attaches to the reported route of the expedition. While it is proposed to make airplane exploration through Baffin Land, as to which no question of sovereignty could possibly be raised, this is apparently to be left to the return trip and is not an essential feature. On the northward journey, the expedition, after coaling at a Canadian port, and possibly touching at a Labrador port, is to coast along Greenland to Etah; permission to make use of Etah as a base and make certain scientific enquiries there has been sought and secured from the Danish Government. From Etah the planes are to fly across Ellesmere Island to the northern end of Axel Heiberg Island, there to establish a base for exploring the large unknown area to the north-eastward. As it happens that the two portions of Canadian territory thus to be visited, or flown over, Ellesmere Island and Axel Heiberg, are precisely the two areas

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in the north as to which some question as to our sovereignty might be raised (by the United States and Norway respectively), it is apprehended that this choice of route is not wholly accidental or based wholly on technical grounds, and that it may foreshadow claims not merely to any new territory discovered to the eastward, but to part or all of Ellesmere Island itself.

The grounds upon which Canada rests her claim to these, as well as to the other Arctic islands north of her mainland territory, may be summarised briefly.

In 1880, Great Britain, by Imperial Order in Council of the 31st July, 1880, transferred the Arctic archipelago to Canada. The Order provided that "all British territories and possessions in North America and the islands adjacent to such territories and possessions, which are not already included in the Dominion of Canada, should (with the exception of the colony of Newfoundland and its dependencies) be annexed to and form part of the said Dominion."

The Dominion of Canada claims as its "hinterland" the area bounded on the east by a line passing midway between Greenland and Baffin, Devon and Ellesmere islands and thence northward to the Pole. On the west, Canada claims, as her western boundary, the 141st meridian from the mainland of North America indefinitely northward "without limitation."*

The various grounds on which title may be based will be taken up in turn:—

1. *Discovery.*

So far as discovery goes, the title of Great Britain, and thus of Canada, to the whole Arctic Archipelago is beyond question, except possibly in the case of certain Ellesmere and Axel Heiberg areas. With the exception of Heiberg, Ringnes, Meighen, Borden, Brock and some smaller islands, all the known insular areas in the Canadian Arctic archipelago were discovered and formally taken possession of by British commissioned navigators from a century to three-quarters of a century ago, and such acts of possession were formally announced to the world in British Government blue books. Of these islands, Meighen, Borden and Brock were discovered and formally taken possession of by a Canadian expedition in 1914–17. Consideration will, therefore, be confined to the areas which may be questioned.

In 1616, Bylot and Baffin, English navigators, discovered Ellesmere Island and named Smith Sound to the east of it and Jones Sound to the south.

In 1818, an official expedition, formally commissioned by Great Britain and commanded by Captain John Ross, R.N., explored the south-eastern portion of Ellesmere Island.

In 1852, Commander Inglefield, R.N., commanding one of the Franklin Relief vessels despatched by the British Admiralty, surveyed the south shore to longitude 84° W. and the eastern shore to Princess Marie Bay in latitude 79° 30′.

In 1853–1855 and 1860–1861, two citizens of the United States, Kane and Hayes, explored the shore of Ellesmere Island from Princess Marie Bay northward to latitude 81° 30′. In 1871, Hall, also a citizen of the United States, explored a small portion of the north-eastern coast of Ellesmere Island between latitudes 81° 45′ N. and 82° 30′ N.

In 1875–1876, Captain Nares, R.N., commanding an expedition despatched by the British Admiralty, surveyed accurately and in detail the coasts explored by Kane, Hayes and Hall, which, in large part, had been so inaccurately mapped that it was difficult to recognize many of the salient points indicated on their plans. Nares also explored the northern and western coasts from Hall's "farthest" to Cape Alfred Ernest in latitude 82° N.

* There is at least one precedent for the claim to the 141st meridian, namely, the Russian-United States Treaty of the 30th March, 1867, whereby the present territory of Alaska was ceded to the United States. It provides that:—

> "The western limit, within which the territories and dominion conveyed (to the United States) are contained, passes through a point in Behring's Straits on the parallel of sixty degrees thirty minutes north latitude . . . . and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the Frozen (Arctic) Ocean."

This, in terms, is a claim by the United States that the western boundary of Alaska is a due north line passing through the middle of Behring Strait and thence due north to the North Pole.

In 1867, this contention received the recognition and support of the Russian Government and, so far as the Government of Canada is aware, it has never been protested by any other Power, nor has the United States ever indicated that she does not propose to maintain it in its entirety.

Inferentially, the United States would make a similar contention respecting its Eastern boundary—the 141st meridian. Such claim, if formulated, would, of course, receive the support of the Government of Canada.

In 1881–1884, Lieutenant A. W. Greely, U.S.N., commanded an International Circumpolar station "for the purpose of scientific observation," particularly in developing meteorology and extending the knowledge of terrestrial magnetism. Greely crossed Ellesmere Island and explored the shores of Greely Fiord, an inlet in the west coast.

In 1900–1902, Sverdrup, commanding an expedition which was financed, in large part, by citizens of Norway, explored nearly all the remainder of the south-western and western coasts of Ellesmere Island, and also discovered Axel Heiberg, Amund Ringnes, Ellef Ringnes and King Christian Islands.

In 1913–1918, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, commanding an expedition, formally commissioned by the Dominion of Canada, made further explorations in the Canadian Arctic archipelago. He discovered Meighan, Borden, Brock, and some smaller islands, and made further surveys of Amund Ringnes, Ellef Ringnes and King Christian Islands. He found that the last named, instead of being the northern portion of Findlay Island, as Sverdrup supposed, was a separate island.

To illustrate the result of the foregoing activities a map,* a copy of which is attached, has been prepared, which shows in red, blue and yellow, the areas explored by British, United States and Norwegian nationals respectively.

The exact extent of the coasts discovered or explored by nationals of these countries is indicated on the "Explorations in Northern Canada" map* which also accompanies this despatch.

It is thus clear that this island was *discovered* over three centuries ago by an English expedition; that a century ago, a part of the shore-line was surveyed by an expedition formally commissioned by Great Britain, and that three-quarters of a century ago another officer of the British Navy *explored and surveyed* 300 miles of its shore-line.

By progressive steps the remainder of the shore-line of Ellesmere Island was *surveyed* between 1853 and 1902 by British, United States and Norwegian explorers, but it is to be noted that, with the exception of the Greely expedition, which accomplished but little in the way of exploration, neither the United States expeditions nor the Norwegian were commissioned by their respective Governments.

At this point, it seems pertinent to state that there can only be one *discovery* of an island. Subsequent individuals or expeditions can only *explore* or *survey*, though they may claim to have *discovered* specific topographical features, such as capes, bays, mountains, rivers, &c.†

The fact of discovery, therefore, was completed when Bylot and Baffin discovered it 309 years ago.

Had the United States subsequently occupied portions of the coast of Ellesmere Island, which had been discovered by citizens of that country, such occupation would have formed the basis of a strong claim, but upon the facts, as set forth above, it is evident that she has no claim except such attenuated claim as could be founded upon exploration by her nationals upon part of the coast of an island discovered by an English expedition two and one-half centuries earlier, and surveyed to the extent of 300 miles by officers of the Royal Navy, prior to the advent of any citizen of the United States.

The portions of the coast of Ellesmere Island which were first explored by citizens of the United States have been coloured as United States territory by some map-makers in that country, and the coast-line first sighted by the Sverdrup expedition has been coloured as Norwegian, though, so far as known, neither the Government of the United States nor the Government of Norway has made a "public assertion of ownership" of the areas explored by their nationals, and, in the case of the United States, the lapse of a half-century should bar such claim at the present time.

Similarly, in the case of Norway, the lapse of over twenty years should also bar any claim by that nation.

Again, Kane, Hayes, Hall and Sverdrup were uncommissioned navigators. The money appropriated for the Greely expedition was for "observation and exploration in the Arctic seas," but neither he nor Kane, Hayes or Hall was commissioned to

* Not reproduced.

† While Great Britain has never conceded such sweeping claims, it is noteworthy that, in 1827, during the Oregon Territory negotiations, the United States plenipotentiaries claimed all the country between the 42nd and 49th parallels of latitude, basing their claim upon the mere entrance into the mouth of the Columbia by a private citizen of the United States. Further, these extraordinary pretensions were put forward, although it was a matter of common knowledge that Cook and Vancouver took possession of, or touched at, various points of this portion of the mainland.

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take possession of lands in the name of the United States. Nor was Sverdrup similarly commissioned on behalf of Norway.

This clearly negatives any claim by the United States or Norway which is based upon discovery by their respective nationals.

> Hall says that: "if an uncommissioned navigator takes possession of lands in the name of his sovereign, and then sails away without forming a settlement, the fact of possession has ceased, and a confirmation of his act only amounts to a bare assertion of intention to possess, which, being neither declared upon the spot nor supported by local acts, is of no legal value."

2. *Contiguity.*

The importance of the principle of contiguity, and its applicability to the present situation, may appropriately be indicated by quotations from United States authorities:—

In 1824, Mr. Rush, United States Minister at London, wrote: "It will not be denied that the extent of contiguous territory to which an actual settlement gives a prior right must depend in a considerable degree on the magnitude and population of that settlement, and on the facility with which the vacant adjoining land may within a short time be occupied, settled and cultivated by such population, as compared with the probability of its being thus occupied and settled from another quarter" (quoted by Westlake, I, pp. 116–117).

In 1844, Mr. Calhoun, United States Secretary of State, wrote Mr. Pakenham, British Minister at Washington: "That contiguity furnishes a just foundation for a claim of territory, in connexion with those of discovery and occupation would seem unquestionable. It is admitted by all, that neither of them is limited by the precise spot discovered or occupied. It is evident that, in order to make either available, it must extend at least some distance beyond that actually discovered or occupied; but how far, as an abstract question, is a matter of uncertainty . . . . How far the claim of contiguity may extend . . . . can be settled only by reference to the circumstances attending each."

In 1826, Mr. Callatin, negotiator on behalf of the United States, said:—

> "The actual possession and populous settlements of the valley of the Mississippi, including Louisiana, and now under one sovereignty, constitutes a strong claim to the westwardly extension of that province over the contiguous vacant territory, and to the occupation and sovereignty of the country as far as the Pacific Ocean.
>
> "It will not be denied that the extent of contiguous territory, to which an actual settlement gives a prior right must depend, in a considerable degree, on the magnitude and population of that settlement, and on the facility with which the vacant adjoining land may, within a short time, be occupied, settled, and cultivated by such population, as compared with the probability of its being thus occupied and settled from another quarter."

As to the relative probability of settlement or control by the United States or Norway—as compared with Canada—there can be no question. Further, when the difficulties of control in the Arctic, as compared with temperate and torrid regions, are considered and when due weight has been given to such considerations, Canada's title may be claimed to be, if not unquestionable, at least much superior to that of any other nation.

The islands discovered by Sverdrup, namely, Axel Heiberg, Amund Ringnes and Ellef Ringnes, are six, eight and twenty-five miles distant, respectively, from islands which have been acknowledged as British for three-quarters of a century. In addition, they are, as already stated, simply portions of the geographical entity, known as the Canadian Arctic archipelago.

3. *Occupation and Control.*

The decision of the arbitrators respecting the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela recognized a principle which materially strengthens the claims of Canada. In this case, British Guiana was awarded the larger portion of the area in dispute because the British and their predecessors in title, the Dutch, had exercised a *control* over the native inhabitants of that area. The same principle was also

recognized in determining the boundary between British Guiana and Brazil which was in dispute for many years.

The awards in each case recognized the principle that such control constitutes effective occupation.

Similarly, Great Britain and Canada have exercised control over the natives of the mainland of Canada and of the Arctic islands between Greenland and the 141st parallel. It is true that Ellesmere, Heiberg and the Ringnes Islands are not inhabited by natives or white men, but it is highly probable that they were so occupied by the Eskimo even in historic times and, since then, have not been occupied by any one else.

In 1670, King Charles II granted a charter to the Hudson Bay Company. By virtue thereof, the Company for two centuries exercised a proprietary government over the area covered by its charter and established posts throughout the Arctic drainage basin of the mainland. Since the sale of its rights and privileges to the British Crown, and the transfer thereof to Canada over a half-century ago, the Hudson Bay Company and other fur-trading companies have extended their operations to the Arctic islands and have established posts therein thus exercising a control over practically the whole of the native population.

The Canadian Government has established police posts on Ellesmere, Devon and Baffin Islands in the eastern portion of the archipelago and at other points in the western portion of the area, these posts being so placed as to dominate the whole of the archipelago, thus furnishing all the control required to maintain its title.

4. *Prescription.*

The taking possession of Melville, Cornwallis and other islands of the Canadian Arctic archipelago was formally notified to the world, and for three-quarters of a century and more has been unprotested.

Reference may be made to a despatch of Lord Salisbury of the 18th March, 1896:—

> "There is no enactment or usage or accepted doctrine which lays down the length of time required for international prescription, and no full definition of the degree of control which will confer territorial property on a nation, has been attempted. It certainly does not depend solely on occupation or the exercise of any clearly defined acts. All the great nations in both hemispheres claim, and are prepared to defend, their rights to vast tracts of territory which they have in no sense occupied, and often have not fully explored. The modern doctrine of 'Hinterland,' with its inevitable contradictions, indicates the unformed and unstable condition of international law as applied to territorial claims resting on constructive occupation or control."

In 1904, the Government of Canada published a map showing "Explorations in Northern Canada." On that map* (copy enclosed) the boundary of the Canadian Arctic archipelago, on the east, is delineated by a line passing through the middle of Robeson channel—waters separating the Canadian islands from Greenland—and thence northward to the Pole, and, on the west, by the 141st meridian from the mainland northward to the Pole.

This official map was published twenty-one years ago and obviously, a tacit acquiescence, during over a fifth of a century, on the part of Norway and all other nations, bars their claim to protest the Canadian claim.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that it is obvious that the specific rules of international law that are considered by the best authorities to be applicable to the torrid and temperate zones are, in such cases as the Canadian Arctic archipelago, not applicable with the same strictness. The effect of measures of control, of contiguity and of settlement must be given very much greater weight than would normally be attached to similar measures in more temperate and habitable regions.

Against any claims by the United States or Norway to territory in the Arctic archipelago, it may be urged that, collectively, these islands form a geographic entity and that discoveries by the nationals of other nations of hitherto unknown units in this entity do not impair the title of Canada. Canada would not necessarily regard the undertaking of such explorations with disfavour any more than she would so regard explorations made on the mainland of Canada in areas that are still unexplored, provided that they be undertaken in such a way as to form an acknowledgment of her sovereignty. But Canada does not contend that the nationals of other nations

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should conform to the regulations and laws of Canada, particularly as such conforming does not impose any hardship upon such nationals.

The following summary of the various regulations in force in Canada applicable to explorers and others visiting northern Canadian territory has been compiled by the Department of the Interior:

1. *Customs Laws and Regulations.*—Foreign Expeditions visiting Canadian Territory are subject to the usual provisions of the Customs Laws and Regulations.

(*a.*) Before landing supplies at a place other than Canadian Customs port of entry, all foreign goods should be reported and entered at Customs port short of destination, *i.e.*, Sydney, Cape Breton.
(*b.*) Coasting regulations—clearance from one Canadian port to another.

2. *Air Regulations.*—Foreign Expeditions bringing Air Craft into Canada are subject to the regulations of the Royal Canadian Air Force.

(*a.*) Application must be made for permission to enter Canada.
(*b.*) Detailed information concerning the nature of the expedition.
(*c.*) Plans and other information dealing with the machine, showing strength, &c., for the purpose of providing certificate of air worthiness.
(*d.*) Name and qualifications of the pilot. Registration and markings painted on the machine, &c.

3. *Immigration.*—Section 33 of the Immigration Act requires that every passenger or other person seeking entry to Canada shall first appear before, and make application to, an Immigration officer at a port of entry, and shall answer truly all questions put to him by any Immigration officer. Foreign scientists and explorers may not be Immigrants, but the Act does not exempt non-immigrants from the necessity of examination on entry, and it is within the power of the Immigration Department to compel foreign explorers to apply for entry (Extract from letter—Assistant Deputy Minister, Immigration, the 29th May, 1925—file 4427).

4. *Importation of Intoxicants under the N.W.T. Act*—

(*a.*) Special permission in writing from the Commissioner must first be obtained before intoxicants can be manufactured, compounded or imported into the North-West Territories.
(*b.*) Such intoxicants are subject to the Customs and Excise Laws of Canada.
(*c.*) The penalties of such manufacture or importation are set out in part 3, chapter 62, R.S.C.—1906. (North-West Territories Act.)

5. *Game Regulations.*—Under the North-West Territories Game Act and Regulations—

(*a.*) No person except a *bonâ fide* resident of the North-West Territories shall hunt or trap game without securing a license.
(*b.*) No person shall engage in the business of trading or traffiking in game in the North-West Territories without first securing a license.
(*c.*) Game license holders are subject to the provisions of the North-West Game Act and regulations thereunder.

6. *Permits under the Migratory Birds Convention Act.*—

Migratory game, migratory insectivorous or migratory non-game birds or parts thereof or their eggs or nests may be taken, bought, sold, shipped, transported or possessed for scientific purposes, but only on the issue of a permit by the Minister of the Interior, or by any person duly authorized by him. Such permits may, upon application, be granted to recognized museums, or scientific societies, and to any person furnishing written testimonials from two well-known ornithologists. A return of specimens taken under such a permit shall be made to the Minister of the Interior upon the expiration of the permit.

7. *Licences or permits required by foreign scientists and explorers before entering the North-West Territories.*—

An amendment by adding the following paragraph after paragraph (p) of Section 8, of the North-West Territories Act, has passed the Commons and is now (the 4th June, 1925) before the Senate:—

(q.) The issuing of licences or permits to scientists or explorers who wish to enter the said Territories and the prescribing of the conditions under which such licences or permits may be granted in each case, and the penalties for infractions of such conditions.

This paragraph is intended to make it necessary for foreign scientists and explorers to obtain a permit or licence from the Commissioner in Council before entering the North-West Territories.

I have, &c.
BYNG OF VIMY.

His Excellency
The Right Honourable
Sir Esmé Howard, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., C.V.O.

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. June 1926.

SECRET. Copy No. 2

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

NATIONALITY QUESTIONS.

Memorandum prepared in the Home Office.

CERTAIN amendments of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, were recommended at the Imperial Conference, 1923, viz.: (1) An amendment providing for the grant of Certificates of Imperial Naturalization to persons resident in Mandated Territories and in Protectorates; and (2) an amendment giving power to re-admit a woman to British nationality in cases where the married state, though subsisting in law, has to all practical purposes come to an end. A draft Bill incorporating these proposed amendments was submitted to the Dominion Governments at the end of 1924. In the despatch of the 6th November, 1924,* which accompanied the draft Bill reference was made to two additional proposals for the amendment of the Act of 1914 which were explained in a memorandum accompanying the despatch. These proposals, which came under consideration during 1924, were as follows:—

(3.) That facilities should be given for the acquisition of British Nationality by children of the third generation born abroad of British parents during the war.

(4.) That a British-born woman should not on marriage to an alien lose her British Nationality if and so long as she does not acquire the nationality of her husband under the law of his country.

2. In the despatch of the 6th November, 1924, His Majesty's Government invited the Dominion Governments to offer their observations on the draft Bill and to express their views on the third and fourth proposals enumerated above. To this despatch replies have been received from all the Dominion Governments with the exception of the Government of the Dominion of Canada. The replies received indicated concurrence with the draft Bill and with the third proposal, but disclosed some difference of opinion with regard to the fourth proposal. In particular, the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia considered that this proposal should not be adopted and the Government of the Union of South Africa were only prepared to agree with the proposal provided it is clear that the principle that a woman acquires the national status of her husband is upheld and that the proposed legislation is intended only to provide a nationality for a woman who would otherwise become Stateless. In the circumstances indicated above it has not been possible to introduce the Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Conference, 1923.

3. A further development in connection with the question of the nationality of married women has contributed to the difficulty of proceeding with legislation as

* See Annex.

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originally contemplated, viz., that, on the 18th February, 1925, the following Resolution was passed in the House of Commons:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, a British woman should not lose or be deemed to lose her nationality by the mere act of marriage with an alien, but that it should be open to her to make a declaration of alienage."

It will be seen that this Resolution contemplates a departure from the general principle of the existing law which the Imperial Conference, 1923, was in favour of maintaining; His Majesty's Government recognise the great importance of securing the concurrence of all the Self-Governing Dominions before any such alteration of British nationality law is made, and they accordingly felt it necessary to draw the attention of the Dominion Governments to the Resolution and to invite their observations thereon. A despatch in this sense was sent to all the Dominion Governments on the 18th August, 1925. To this despatch replies have now been received from all the Governments except the Governments of Canada and the Union of South Africa. The Commonwealth Government of Australia in their reply desired to offer no further observations, *i.e.*, they considered that the principle of the existing law should be maintained; and they have recently intimated that they desire that the subject of the nationality of married women should be discussed at the forthcoming Conference.

4. Steps will, therefore, be taken to bring this question of the nationality of married women before the Conference in October with a view to a full discussion of the various outstanding proposals for the amendments of the law, including the proposal contained in the House of Commons Resolution which re-opens the general question. Memoranda dealing in detail with the issues involved will be circulated before the Conference.

5. In addition to issues raised in connection with the nationality of married women, His Majesty's Government propose to invite the Conference to consider the following proposals for the amendment of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914:—

Proposal to provide facilities for the acquisition of British Nationality by Children of the third generation born abroad of British Parents during the war.

As mentioned above, this proposal was made subsequent to the Imperial Conference, 1923, but was included in the despatch to the Dominions of the 6th November, 1924.

Certain considerations affecting this proposal are set out in enclosure II to that despatch. The Canadian Government has not yet expressed any view on the subject, but the replies of the other Dominions are favourable to its adoption. His Majesty's Government recognise that there is a strong demand by members of British Communities established in various foreign Countries for an amendment of the law to give effect to this proposal, but it appears desirable that the Conference should have an opportunity of discussing the matter before it is finally decided to proceed with the necessary amendment of the Act.

Revocation of Certificates of Naturalization.

Since the Imperial Conference, 1923, the Certificates of Naturalization Revocation Committee, constituted under Section 7 (4) of the Act of 1914, have, in advisory reports submitted to the Secretary of State, expressed the view that—

(*a.*) The revocation provisions of the Act of 1914 contain no power to revoke or terminate the British nationality of the widow of a British subject by naturalization; and

(*b.*) There is no power in the Act to revoke or terminate the British nationality of a person who became naturalized by residence during minority with his father in the United Kingdom pursuant to Section 10 (5) of the Naturalization Act, 1870.

6. The absence of these powers is possibly a matter which affects the administration of the Act in the United Kingdom more than in the Self-Governing Dominions. Attention may, however, be directed to Section 7 (5) of the Imperial Act, the effect of which, read in conjunction with Sections 8 and 9, is that a certificate of naturalization may be revoked in that part of His Majesty's Dominions in

which the person concerned is resident. Assuming, therefore, that it should be decided to take power to bring persons in the above categories within the scope of the revocation provisions, the power is one which in certain cases may be exercisable by a Dominion Government.

7. As regards (*a*) (widows of British subjects by naturalization), the existing state of the law appears to involve undue discrimination in favour of the widow who, upon the death of her husband, obtains an indefeasible title to British nationality, notwithstanding that she may have been long resident abroad without maintaining any connection with His Majesty's Dominions. There appears to be no sufficient reason, so long as the principle of the law relating to the revocation of Certificates of Naturalization is maintained, why such widows—at any rate if they were aliens prior to marriage and acquired British nationality by reason of their marriage—should be immune from the revocation provisions; and an amendment of the Imperial Act to bring them within the scope of Sections 7 and 7A will be proposed for discussion at the Conference. The subject is one which may conveniently be considered in relation to the general question of the nationality of married women.

As regards (*b*). It is somewhat inequitable that the child who is deemed to be a naturalized British subject under Section 10 (5) of the Naturalization Act, 1870, and "a person to whom a certificate of naturalization has been granted" (Section 27 (2) of the Imperial Act of 1914) should be in a more secure position than his parent as regards the retention of his British nationality, notwithstanding prolonged absence from His Majesty's Dominions (Section 7 (2) (*d*) of the Imperial Act), or notwithstanding that he may have been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in His Majesty's Dominions (Section 7 (2) (*b*)), or that he may have unlawfully traded with the Enemy in wartime (Section 7 (2) (*a*)).

At the same time it has to be remembered that the children born abroad since the 1st January, 1915, of British subjects by naturalization are natural-born British subjects by virtue of Section 1 (1) of the Imperial Act and are outside the scope of the revocation provisions.

8. In addition to the above points it may be mentioned that a revision of the Bill as originally drafted for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the Imperial Conference, 1923, and submitted to the Dominion Governments, is under consideration, and it is hoped to place before the Conference for the approval of the Dominion representatives a revised draft Bill which will give effect to those recommendations in a simpler and shorter form—more especially the recommendation relating to the naturalization of persons resident in mandated Territories and Protectorates. It is possible that certain minor amendments of the Imperial Act may also be brought forward for consideration.

Memoranda dealing in detail with all the subjects proposed for discussion will be prepared later.

ANNEX.

The Secretary of State to the Governors-General and Governor.

(Dominions No. 526.)

Canada.
Commonwealth of Australia.
New Zealand.
Union of South Africa.
Irish Free State
Newfoundland.

[My Lord, [Sir,] *Downing Street, November* 6, 1924.

AS [your Excellency's] [your] Ministers are aware, the Imperial Conference of 1923 considered certain questions connected with the law of British nationality, which were referred to a Committee of the Conference under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Home Affairs. These questions included:—

(*a.*) The grant of Certificates of Naturalization to persons resident in Mandated Territories.

(*b.*) The nationality of married women.

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2. As regards the former question, the Committee recommended that the power of granting Certificates of Imperial Naturalization should be extended so as to cover persons resident in "B" and "C" Mandated Territories and also in Protectorates. As regards the latter question, it adopted the following resolution :—

> "The Committee are of opinion that the principle of the existing law that the nationality of a married woman depends on that of her husband should be maintained. They nevertheless recommend that power should be taken to readmit a woman to British nationality in cases where the married state, though subsisting in law, has to all practical purposes come to an end."

These recommendations were approved by the Conference.

3. I enclose the draft of a Bill* which has been prepared in order to give effect to the conclusions of the Imperial Conference on the above matters, together with an explanatory memorandum. Should your Ministers have any observations to offer on the provision of the draft Bill, His Majesty's Government would be glad to receive them.

4. I take this opportunity to state that two further proposals for the amendment of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, have recently been under consideration. These are :—

(1.) That facilities should be given for the acquisition of British nationality by children of the third generation born abroad of British parents during the War.

(2.) That a British-born woman should not on marriage lose her British nationality if and so long as she does not acquire the nationality of her husband under the law of his country.

5. I enclose a memorandum dealing with these two proposals. His Majesty's Government would be glad to learn your Ministers' views on these proposals, and to know whether they would concur in the amendment of the Act of 1914 in the manner indicated in the memorandum.

I have, &c.
J. H. THOMAS.

Enclosure No. 1.

Memorandum on the draft Bill to amend the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Acts, 1914–1922.

THE accompanying draft of a Bill* to amend the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, is designed to give effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Conference, 1923, as regards the naturalization of persons in Mandated Territories and as regards the naturalization of women married to aliens and living apart from their husbands.

2. The recommendation of the Conference with regard to naturalization in Mandated Territories was to the effect that the power of granting Certificates of Imperial Naturalization should be extended so as to cover persons resident in "B" and "C" Mandated Territories. The Conference further recommended that similar facilities should be extended to persons resident in Protectorates. It has been thought desirable that the requisite amendment should take the form of a new section to be inserted at the end of Part II of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914 (herein called the Principal Act). It is accordingly provided in Clause 1 (1) of the Bill that a new section called Section 9 A shall be added to Part II of the Principal Act. The effect of the new Clause is to give power to His Majesty by Order in Council to extend Part II of the Principal Act to the Mandated Territories named in Part I of a new (4th) Schedule which is to be added to the Principal Act, and to the Protectorates named in Part II of the 4th Schedule.

Similarly in the case of a Mandated Territory which is administered by a self-governing Dominion provision is made in sub-section (3) of the new Section 9 (A), which will enable the Governor-General in Council of the Dominion (if the legislature of the Dominion has adopted Part II of the Principal Act) to make an Order in Council extending Part II of the Act to the territory administered by

* Not reprinted.

that Dominion. The self-governing Dominions concerned and the territories administered by them are named in a 5th Schedule which is added to the Principal Act by the Bill.

The effect of the application of Part II of the Principal Act as provided in the new Section 9 A (1) will be that residence in the territory to which the Order in Council applies will be treated for the purpose of qualification for Imperial naturalization as if it were residence in His Majesty's Dominions. It is to be observed that such residence will count whether it took place before or after the date when the Order in Council comes into operation. Further, an intention to continue to reside in such territory is, as provided by Section 9 A (1) to be regarded as if it were as intention to reside in His Majesty's Dominions.

The provisions described in the foregoing paragraph are necessarily of a somewhat technical character, but there appears to be no reason why the provisions of the Bill should give rise to difficulties in administration. The necessary modifications of the Principal Act for the purpose of applying the provisions of Part II to the territory in question will, as provided in sub-section 2 of the new Section 9 A, be contained in the Order of His Majesty in Council or the Order of the Governor-General in Council as the case may be; and a draft of a form of Order in Council which (subject to any amendment which on consideration may appear desirable) would appear suitable for cases falling under sub-section (1) of Section 9 A is attached. (Appendix (A).)

4. As regards the further recommendation of the Imperial Conference on the subject of the nationality of married women, it will be recalled that the Conference, while of opinion that the existing law that the nationality of a married woman depends on that of her husband should be maintained, nevertheless recommended that power should be taken to readmit a woman to British nationality in cases where the marriage state, though subsisting in law, has to all practical purposes come to an end. For the purposes of giving effect to this recommendation it is proposed in Clause 2 of the draft Bill to add an additional proviso at the end of Section 10 of the Principal Act. It is thought that this provision as drafted, for the grant of a Certificate of Naturalization to a woman whose separation from her husband is presumed to be permanent, substantially meets the intention of the recommendation by the Conference. The authority granting the Certificate will have power in his discretion to decide whether or not the separation in any particular case may be presumed to be permanent, and whether the circumstances are such that a Certificate should be granted to the woman apart from her husband.

APPENDIX (A).

Draft Form of Order in Council.

1.—(1.) THIS Order may be cited as the British Nationality and Status of Aliens ( ) Order, 1924.

(2.) In this Order the expression "the territory" means ( ).

(3.) The Interpretation Act, 1889, applies to the interpretation of this Order in like manner as it applies to the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

2. The principal Act shall extend to the territory subject to the modifications hereinafter expressed.

3. In Section 2 and in sub-sections (2) and (5) of Section 7 of the Principal Act the expression "His Majesty's Dominions" and in sub-section (2) of Section 19 of the same Act, the expression "British possession" shall respectively be construed as including the territory.

4. Section 8 of the Principal Act (which relates to the power of Governments of British Possessions to grant Certificates of Imperial Naturalization) shall in its application to the territory be adapted so as to read as follows :—

> "8.—(1.) Subject as hereinafter provided the Governor of the territory or a person acting under his authority shall have the same power to grant a Certificate of Naturalization as the Secretary of State has under this Act, and the provisions of this Act as to the grant and revocation of such a Certificate shall apply accordingly with the substitution of :—
>
> "(*a.*) 'The Governor or a person authorized by him' for 'the Secretary of State';
>
> "(*b.*) 'The territory' for 'the United Kingdom';

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"(*c.*) 'The Court of the territory' for 'the High Court'; and
"(*d.*) 'The English language or the language' for 'the English language'; and with the omission of any reference to the Lord Chancellor.

"Provided that the exercise of powers under this section by the Governor or a person authorized by him shall be subject in each case to the approval of the Secretary of State, and any Certificate proposed to be granted and any proposal to revoke any such Certificate shall be submitted to the Secretary of State for his approval.

"(2.) Any Certificate of Naturalization granted under this section shall have the same effect as a Certificate of Naturalization granted by the Secretary of State under this Act."

Enclosure No. 2.

Memorandum on Proposed further Amendments to the Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914.

IN addition to the proposals discussed at the Imperial Conference of 1923, His Majesty's Government have at the present time under consideration further proposals for the amendment of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, and it seems desirable to take this opportunity of explaining these further proposals with a view to obtaining any observations which the Dominion Governments may desire to make. The proposals and certain points which arise for consideration in connexion therewith are as follows:—

(A.) *That facilities should be given for the acquisition of British nationality by children of the third generation born abroad of British parents during the late War.*

(i.) His Majesty's Government have taken this proposal into consideration in consequence of representations which have been made to them that there are children in the above category who would have been born on British territory (and would thus have become British subjects at birth) if their mothers had not been prevented by the circumstances of the War from leaving the foreign country in which they were resident. While, however, the grievance involved arouses sympathy, it requires careful examination before it is attempted to apply a remedy by legislation.

(ii.) It would not be practicable to attempt to confine the necessary legislation to the comparatively small number of individuals who are the subject of the special grievance which His Majesty's Government have been asked to remove; and any facilities provided must extend to the whole class of children of the third generation born during the War period. The question arises whether in these circumstances the proposal is one which ought to be adopted.

(iii.) It will be recollected that with the approval of the Conference of Prime Ministers held in 1921, an amendment of the Principal Act was introduced by the Act of 1922, under which facilities were provided for the acquisition of British nationality by registration at British Consulates of the birth of children born abroad of British parents. The operation of this Act was with two exceptions confined to children born after the passing of the Act of 1922. The exceptions are (1) children of the second generation born abroad of British parents since the Act of 1914 came into force. As regards these children—who it is to be remembered would have been British subjects under the pre-1914 law—the Act of 1922 was expressly made retrospective, and gave facilities for the registration of their births within the year after the first of August, 1922. (2) Children of the third generation who were born within the year (or in special cases two years) before the Act of 1922 was passed, and who could accordingly still be registered within the time which the Act allowed.

The present proposal could be carried out by an amendment of the registration provisions introduced by the Act of 1922 into the Principal Act (paragraph (v) of Section 1 (1) (*b*)) so as to extend the retrospective operation of these provisions by providing facilities for the registration within a certain time, say one year, after the passing of the amending enactment, of the births of all children of the third generation born abroad during the War. It may be mentioned, however, that the circumstances which have given rise to the present demand for these facilities were

not lost sight of at the time when the Act of 1922 was formulated, and it was decided at that time that as the children of the third generation born abroad had not at any time had any claim to British nationality under our law there would be no justification for including within the scope of the new registration scheme any of such children who were born before the time when the Act began to operate.

Further information, which has recently reached His Majesty's Government as to the satisfaction given by the Act of 1922 to the great majority of members of the important British Communities in the South American Republics, who had pressed for remedial legislation, shows that there is reason to fear that the present proposal might revive or create a grievance among the small minority of persons of the third generation who, having been born before the War, would not come within its scope.

It was thought, moreover, that in many instances the difficulty might be overcome by means of the facilities provided by Section 5 (2) of the Principal Act for the grant of certificates of naturalization to minors; and His Majesty's Government accordingly promised that favourable consideration would be given to applications by children in this category in the event of their visiting this country for the purpose of education or otherwise.

(iv.) His Majesty's Government, in entertaining the present proposal, have been moved by the arguments that the interference with travelling facilities during the War involves a special hardship which ought, if possible, to be remedied, and is not fully met by the offer to consider favourably applications by the children concerned for naturalization as minors.

(v.) Before proceeding any further in the matter it would be of advantage to His Majesty's Government to receive any observations which the Dominion Governments may desire to offer; and in particular to be informed whether they would be prepared to concur in an amendment of paragraph (v) of Section 1 (1) (*b*)) of the Principal Act (as amended by the Act of 1922) for the purpose of enabling the birth of a child of the third generation born abroad of British parents during the period between the date of the commencement of the War (the 4th August, 1914) and the date when the Act of 1922 was passed (the 4th August, 1922), to be registered.

(B.) *That a British-born woman shall not on marriage lose her British nationality if and so long as she does not acquire the nationality of her husband under the law of his country.*

(i.) It has been represented to His Majesty's Government that inconvenience and hardship have been suffered, in particular, by women of British birth married to citizens of the United States of America in consequence of the operation of the United States law known as the Cable Act, which was passed on the 22nd September, 1922. Under that Act a woman who, after the passing of the Act marries a citizen of the United States of America, does not acquire American citizenship and has to wait until she has been resident in the United States for a period of at least a year before she can acquire her husband's nationality by naturalization. In the meantime, as she has lost her British nationality by marriage to an alien, she is without any nationality.

In consequence of the operation of the Cable Act difficulties have been experienced in regard to the grant of passport facilities to such women, and in a few instances permission to land in the United States of America has been refused or delayed by reason of the fact that the women concerned do not possess American citizenship. The above proposal to amend the Principal Act has been suggested as a remedy to meet the case, and attention has been drawn to the recommendation to the same effect in the draft report of the House of Lords members of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses which deliberated in 1923, on the subject of the Nationality of Married Women.

(ii.) It must be observed that the above proposal, under which a women who is a British subject would not lose her British nationality on marriage to an American citizen or to a citizen of any other foreign country which possesses a law similar to Section 2 of the Cable Act, is open to the objections that the nationality of a person in contemplation of British law ought not to be dependent on foreign law, and that the adoption of this proposal may introduce uncertainty into the position of British-born women who marry aliens, by reason of the fact that it will be necessary to ascertain in each case whether the woman in question has acquired her husband's nationality—a point which might not be easy to establish definitely.

(iii.) Further, the difficulties experienced by women who have married citizens of the United States of America in securing passport facilities have been partly

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(iv.) The present position cannot, however, be regarded as wholly satisfactory and it is desirable to ascertain whether the Dominion Governments are disposed to agree that without reopening the decision of the Imperial Conference, 1923, not to adopt the sweeping change which was under consideration at that time, and to maintain the principle of the existing law that the nationality of a married woman depends on that of her husband—the minor concession involved in the present proposal should be granted.

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E. 75.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1926.

Memorandum by the Admiralty.

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COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1926.

Memorandum by the Admiralty.

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RESOLUTIONS OF IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

1. The Imperial Conference of 1923, after reviewing the whole field of Defence, recorded the following resolutions on Empire Naval Policy:—

(i.) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.

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(ii.) In this connection the Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire, upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them.

(iii.) Subject to this provision, the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles :—

(*a.*) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(*b.*) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communication of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

(*c.*) The provision of Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the Fleets.

(*d.*) The desirability of the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely, equality with the Naval strength of any foreign Power, in accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on Limitation of Armament as approved by Great Britain, all the self-governing Dominions and India.

2. These resolutions confirm in general terms the policy recommended by *His Majesty's Government in* 1923, *which policy it is now desired to re-affirm and amplify.*

Preamble.

3. The British Empire is a Commonwealth of Nations linked together by the sea. The economic and defensive organisation of each nation and community of that Commonwealth has grown up and is based to-day on the presupposition that the use of the sea routes is free to us for mutual co-operation in peaceful development and for mutual assistance against external aggression. The control by a hostile power of the sea routes which are the arteries of the Empire would involve all of us in economic disaster, and leave us individually isolated in the face of attack or invasion.

The Task of the Empire's Naval Forces.

4. In war, the task of the Naval Forces of the Empire is to destroy or neutralise Enemy Naval Forces, and thereby to keep open the sea communications of the Empire.

Wherever this task can be most effectively fulfilled, there, and there alone, the Empire as a whole, and each part of it, however remote from the actual scene of operations, will be effectively defended.

The destruction or neutralisation of Enemy Naval Forces will ensure—

(*a.*) The protection of our seaborne trade.
(*b.*) The destruction of the enemy's seaborne trade.
(*c.*) The free movement by sea of our own Military and Air Forces.
(*d.*) The prevention of the despatch overseas of enemy Military or Air Forces.

5. The ability of the Naval Forces of the Empire to carry out their duties in war will enable them *at all times* to fulfil their traditional function, which is to enable the Empire's interests to be safeguarded by diplomacy, and thus to preserve peace.

The Influence of Shore-Based Air Power on the Naval Problem.

6. No new developments since 1923 can be said to have in any way modified the view that the development of aviation, while destined to have a great influence on the tactical organisation of our Naval Forces, will not, outside narrow waters such as the English Channel or the Mediterranean, materially affect the problem of the control of the Ocean routes, which, in the main, will continue to depend upon surface craft, assisted by sea-borne aircraft.

7. Airships may, however, play a considerable part in co-operation with surface vessels, in carrying out the reconnaissance of the sea routes and the keeping open of sea communications. This, however, is a problem of the future on which the Admiralty are unable to pronounce until airships have been tested thoroughly in all climates and under all normal weather conditions.

The Standard of Naval Strength.

8. The definite standard of Naval strength necessary for the peace and security of the Empire must naturally vary with the general political situation, always allowing for the fact that Naval strength and efficiency cannot be improvised and that it takes several years to build a capital ship, and a generation to train a really efficient body of senior officers.

9. Since the Imperial Conference of 1921 the One Power standard of Naval strength has been accepted as the basis of Imperial Defence. So far as the main units of the Battle Fleet are concernd this standard, which when adopted was regarded as a minimum, is now a maximum as a result of the Washington Agreement.

10. Due, however, to the unique position of the Empire by virtue of the world-wide distribution of its component parts, it is essential that the Empire should maintain a cruiser force of sufficient strength to ensure equality with any one nation in any sea which may be the main theatre of operations, and in addition sufficient cruisers must be available to provide local protection to our vital world-wide trade routes, the importance of which to the Empire are shown in Appendix No. 2.

It is, therefore, the opinion of the Admiralty *that the British Empire should agree to no proposals for disarmament which do not recognise its special need for cruisers.*

Future Naval Construction.

11. A statement has been prepared (*vide* Appendix No. 1) showing—

(*a.*) The minimum number of ships of the principal types which, in the opinion of the Admiralty, it is necessary for the Empire to maintain for its security.
(*b.*) Present strength of the Empire Naval Forces, built, and building.
(*c.*) Projected building programme of Great Britain from 1st April, 1927, to 1st April, 1930.
(*d.*) Number of vessels of each type that it will be necessary to lay down over and above the projected programme to maintain the standard referred to in (*a*) above.

It will be noted that His Majesty's Government, in the interests of economy, have with some misgiving increased the serviceable life of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines from 15, 12, 10 years respectively to 20, 16, 12 years respectively.

12. It is to be hoped that some relief to this burden may be afforded by the forthcoming conference on Disarmament, but until agreement is reached among the Nations, the Empire cannot afford to diminish the programme which has already been reduced to the very lowest estimate compatible with safety. It is obvious that if the guiding principle suggested by the Imperial Conference, 1923, is to be followed, and "adequate provision is to be made for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass" then, in order to do this effectively and with the minimum of cost, there must be whole-hearted co-operation between the Governments and Services concerned.

It is therefore proposed to invite the Conference to consider to what extent the States which form the Empire can assist towards provision and maintenance of the Naval Forces necessary for Imperial Defence.

Submarine Policy.

13. It will be remembered that the Empire representatives at Washington advocated the total abolition of the submarine.

The abolition of submarines has been the consistent policy of Great Britain since the war, as it is considered that the advantage arising out of the employment of submarines for legitimate naval operations is totally outweighed by the disadvantages of the unscrupulous use of submarines against seaborne commerce by an adversary who has decided to risk the odium likely to be entailed by such operations.

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Moreover, two strong incentives for a policy of total abolition of submarine warfare remain :—

(i.) The grave extent of the submarine menace in the late war.
(ii.) The fact that the Root Resolutions, in regard to submarine warfare, have not yet been ratified by all the nations concerned, and therefore cannot be relied upon when formulating war plans for the defence of commerce.

14. The Naval Staff are convinced, however, of the great capabilities of submarines for legitimate naval operations, and this opinion based on war experience, has been confirmed in fleet exercises which have since been carried out.

Nor is a submarine service one which can be suddenly organised on the outbreak of war or when relations become strained.

15. For the above reasons, the Admiralty still adhere to their previous recommendations regarding the construction of submarines and the maintenance of flotillas of this type of vessel by the Dominions.

Appendix No. 1 contains proposals for the construction of submarines for the Empire which the Admiralty consider the minimum necessary for safety.

Peace Organisation. The Principle of Dominion Navies.

16. The Imperial Conference 1923 expressly recognised that it is for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them. For this reason and because by this means new centres of Naval strength, and new bases for the Navy of the Empire which are essential to the strategy of the future will develop, the Admiralty wholeheartedly endorse the principle of Dominion Navies, and in this respect they warmly welcome the step recently taken by India in recreating the Royal Indian Navy.

17. To allow each Navy to preserve its individuality and to develop in accordance with the views of its own Government, but at the same time to be capable of combining with other Units of the Empire and becoming a homogeneous whole, close co-operation in training, organisation and staff work is necessary, and this implies the closest liaison in peace time and a free interchange of personnel and ideas.

18. A paper* dealing with this subject was circulated to all the Dominions in February 1924, and the proposals contained therein have received the concurrence of the Dominion Governments. A slight alteration to paragraph 8 has been made at the suggestion of the Government of Canada, and the paper so amended is attached as Appendix 5.

It is proposed that should the Dominion Representatives concur, the proposals contained in this paper should now be put into effect.

Organisation in War.

19. In war the Naval Forces of the Empire must be considered as a single collective Empire Fleet. From the strategical point of view, that Fleet may conveniently be regarded as falling into *three categories*. These three categories are closely interdependent, but they stand in a very definite order of relative importance.

First and foremost comes the Main Fleet. This must be capable of performing its function of destroying or containing the Main Fleet of the enemy. On it rests the fate of the whole Empire.

Secondly, there are the *Detached Forces* which, backed by the power of the Main Fleet, exercise control of the sea communications in areas distant from the main theatre of operations.

Thirdly, there are the *Local Defence Forces* which are necessary in order to free the Main Fleet and the detached Forces for their proper work on the High Seas. The effort expended upon these Local Defence Forces should only be the minimum necessary to resist such pressure as the enemy may reasonably be expected to exercise in any particular areas in view of the general position on the High Seas. It should never be allowed to limit or starve the preparations for the Sea-going Fleet.

* C.I.D. Paper No. 221-C.

Progressive Development of the Empire Navies.

20. The several Navies can, as they develop, take their part progressively in each of these categories. In the course of development they will naturally pass through certain distinct but successive phases :—

Phase 1.—In the First Phase Local Defence Forces are provided and responsibility is assumed for Local Defence. At the same time preparations are made for the next phase by beginning the training of personnel for a seagoing force.

Phase 2.—In the Second Phase, the first definite steps are taken in the creation of a force for work on the High Seas, as opposed to Local Defence. This Phase involves the obtaining of one or more seagoing ships, and in the first instance it may be necessary, for financial or other reasons, to obtain both the ships themselves and a portion, at any rate, of the personnel from Great Britain. Throughout this Phase the necessary training, repair and fuelling facilities should gradually be built up in preparation for the next phase.

Phase 3.—The Third Phase is reached when, in addition to the Local Defence Force, a seagoing squadron is provided and manned, and the squadron takes over under its own Government the control in peace of its own Home station. That station will be the normal home station of the Squadron, but interchange of units with units from other stations should be arranged, and close co-operation maintained with other squadrons.

Phase 4.—In the Fourth and Final Phase each State forming part of the Empire should be capable, in addition to the Local Defence Force and the Squadrons for service in peace on its own home station, to provide, whether in the shape of additional Cruiser Squadrons or of Capital ship units, a substantial part of the general scheme of Naval defence, and more particularly of the Main Fleet.

21. While Great Britain is in Phase 4, none of the Dominions has as yet reached this phase of naval development. Australia and New Zealand are in Phases 3 and 2 respectively, each having made substantial progress in that phase since 1923. Otherwise, the position has not materially altered since the last Imperial Conference except that India is about to enter Phase 1.

22. Throughout the process of development certain general considerations should be kept in view :—

(*a*.) The importance of fostering the mercantile marine, and with it the seafaring population and a national sea sentiment.
(*b*.) A small local Navy, which offers no scope for ambition and no variety of scene to its personnel, will not, in the long run, secure the right type of officers and men, or maintain a high standard of efficiency.

23. A good deal can be done to surmount these difficulties during the second and third Phase by a free interchange, both of individuals and ships. But the real solution of them lies in reaching the fourth Phase as soon as possible, and being able to provide in each Navy a regular rotation of home and foreign service, as well as regular opportunities for taking part in general Fleet exercises, whereby alone can senior officers be provided with a more extended and varied responsibility and experience, and the ships' companies obtain by healthy competition the stimulus which leads to efficiency.

24. It will be the endeavour of the Admiralty by whole-hearted co-operation to assist in the development of the various navies, and by maintaining a close touch with the various Naval Boards to ensure a homogeneous whole.

Admiralty, *May* 10, 1926.

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APPENDIX No. 1.

Empire Naval Strength.

The number of effective ships is based on an age limit for—

Battleships and Battle Cruisers	... 20 years or as laid down by Washington Agreement.
Aircraft Carriers...	20 years.
Cruisers	20 years.
Flotilla Leaders and Destroyers	... 16 years.
Submarines	12 years.

Table No. 1.

—	Battleships and Battle Cruisers.	Aircraft Carriers over 10,000 tons.	Cruisers.	Flotilla Leaders and Destroyers.	Submarines.
1. Minimum number required for Empire Defence	**16** (See Note I)	**7** (See Note II)	**70** (See Note III)	**162** (See Note IV)	**78** (See Note V)
2. Present strength (see Table No. 2)	22	4	48	172	55
3. Vessels building or those to be laid down in 1926	2	2 under reconstruction	14	2	10
4. Strength on April 1, 1930 (Line 2 *plus* Line 3 *minus* ships reaching age limit)	20	6	62	173	57
5. Numbers of vessels reaching age limit between April 1, 1930, and April 1, 1936	8	Nil	15	161	42
6. Strength on April 1, 1936 (Line 4 *minus* Line 5) allowing for no further building	12	6	47	12	15
7. Numbers that should be laid down between April 1, 1927, and April 1, 1933, to provide on April 1, 1936, the numbers specified in Line 1 (Line 1 *minus* Line 6)	4	1	23	150	63
8. Projected British programme from April 1, 1927, to April 1, 1930	..	1	9	27	18
9. Deficiency to be made good by additional construction commenced before April 1, 1933 (Line 7 *minus* Line 8)	**Governed by terms of Washington Agreement**	**Nil**	**14**	**123**	**45**

Notes.

I.—Governed by terms of the Washington Treaty. The number 16 is the number fixed for April 1, 1936. The number allowed finally reduces to 15 on completion of the 1933 programme.

II.—Corresponding to the tonnage allowed by Washington Treaty.

III.—Equality with Japan so far as her programme is known with in addition 45 for Defence of Trade Routes. This number may have to be increased in the event of an increase in Japanese Cruiser strength.

IV.—16 Flotillas of 9 boats each *plus* 2 flotillas on the stocks for replacement purposes. 9 flotillas are required with the main fleet. 7 additional flotillas are considered the minimum necessary for Submarine hunting, &c.

V.—The minimum number required for either an Eastern or a European war.

Table No. 2.—Present strength of Empire Naval Forces, 1926 (see Line 2 in Table 1).

—	Battleships and Battle Cruisers.	Aircraft Carriers over 10,000 tons.	Cruisers.	Flotilla Leaders and Destroyers.	Submarines.
Australia	—	—	4	10	—
Canada	—	—	—	2	—
Great Britain	22	4	42	160	55
New Zealand	—	—	2	—	—
Total Empire Strength .. (Line 2 in Table 1)	22	4	48	172	55

APPENDIX No. 2.

Charts showing Values of Trade exchanged between the Dominions and Other Countries, and the Principal Commodities concerned.

The accompanying charts have been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, India and the Union of South Africa.

These charts show in graphic form, by full black lines for imports and open lines for exports, the various countries which share to any considerable extent in the foreign trade of the Dominions. The small circles enclose units of value; the rectangles at the end of the lines show the principal commodities, in either value or bulk concerned.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are possible, but the general trend of foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

APPENDIX No. 3.

The Situation in regard to Oil Fuel Installations throughout the British Empire.

Australia.

Five 8,000-ton tanks and 32,000 tons of oil fuel is provided for in the Five-Year Defence Programme commencing 1924–1925.

The first two tanks are being constructed at Port Darwin, and one will be ready in 1927.

Canada.

There is no Naval Tankage in Canada, but the Canadian Government hold stocks of approximately 2,500 tons at Esquimalt and 1,000 tons at Halifax.

Great Britain.

The approved programme of oil fuel tankage which will be completed in 1928 gives a total of 4,997,690 tons.

By the end of 1926 Great Britain will have erected 4½ million tons of tankage situated in various strategic positions, and will have provided a war reserve of approximately 3¾ million tons of oil fuel.

New Zealand.

One 5,000-ton tank at Auckland is completed, and another is under construction and will be completed early in 1927. Present stock of oil is 2,000 tons, and the completed tank is being filled.

South Africa.

Two 12,000-ton tanks have been erected at Simonstown and filled.

Imperial War Reserve of Oil Fuel.—The Admiralty are of opinion that this reserve should be based on the needs of all Naval Forces during the first year of war, and this has been calculated as being 7½ million tons.

APPENDIX No. 4.

Interchange of R.N. and R.A.N. Cruisers.

1. The first interchange of R.N. and R.A.N. cruisers took place after the conference of Commanders-in-Chief, which was held at Singapore in March 1925. When the squadrons dispersed at the conclusion of the conference, H.M.S.

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"Concord" was placed under the orders of the Commodore Commanding Australian Fleet, and sailed for Australia in company with the Australian Squadron. At the same time H.M.A.S. "Brisbane" was placed under the orders of Commander-in-Chief, China.

2. During the period of service in the Australian Fleet, H.M.S. "Concord" visited a number of Australian ports and carried out exercises with the Australian Cruiser Squadron. H.M.S. "Concord" left Australian waters to rejoin China Squadron in July 1925.

3. H.M.A.S. "Brisbane" was prevented from gaining the full benefit of her service with the China Squadron owing to the fact that, during a large part of this period, the routine of the squadron was disorganised by the disturbances in China, which necessitated individual ships being stationed at various ports for the protection of British interests.

4. In this connection, the question arose as to how far a Commander-in-Chief should be authorised to use one of H.M.A. ships attached to his command. With the concurrence of the Commonwealth Government, it was decided that in cases of emergency Commanders-in-Chief should be authorised to use H.M.A. ships in operations designed solely for the protection of British life and property, without reference to the Commonwealth Government, but that, if possible, the sanction of the Government should be previously obtained. For operations, other than those specified above, H.M.A. ships should not, however, be used until the assent of the Commonwealth Government had been received.

5. H.M.A.S. "Brisbane" left Hong Kong for Australia in August 1925.

6. In November 1925 H.M.S. "Delhi" left Malta for Australia, and is at present attached to the Australian Fleet. She will leave Australia to rejoin the Mediterranean Fleet in July.

7. H.M.A.S. "Melbourne" left Sydney in November 1925 for Malta and joined the Mediterranean Fleet in January 1926. She took part in the Combined Fleet Exercises early in March 1926. In order to give the officers and men an opportunity to visit the United Kingdom, "Melbourne" was attached to the Atlantic Fleet on conclusion of these exercises, and sailed for England in company with them, arriving at Portsmouth at the end of March. She will return to the Mediterranean Station early in May and sail for Australia in July.

8. It is intended that in future this interchange of cruisers should take place every year on the lines of the programme now being carried out by "Delhi" and "Melbourne." It is considered that the results of these interchanges have been very satisfactory equally to Great Britain and Australia and to the personnel concerned.

APPENDIX No. 5.

Memorandum by the Naval Staff.

1. The question whether the present arrangements are adequate for keeping the various Dominion Governments fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire with a view to obtaining continuity of Naval policy has already been brought to the notice of the Dominion Representatives in the various Committee of Imperial Defence Papers forwarded to them on the subject of Empire Naval Defence.

2. Any arrangements which are come to should be such as to require only a minimum of adjustment to enable a supreme Naval authority to function in time of war, and it is also fully recognised that the Dominions, unless they have decided otherwise, will continue to retain in their own hands, not only the development and disposition of their own forces in peace, but also the right of decision whether or not these forces are to be placed at the disposal of the Admiralty in time of war.

3. Arrangements for co-operation between the Naval Services and Forces of the Dominions of Canada and Australia and the British Navy were agreed to at the 1911 Imperial Conference, and arrangements have, as the services of other Dominions developed, been made with those Dominions.

4. The arrangements were severely tested during the war and they proved a fairly satisfactory basis for co-operation, but, in view of the recent reductions of the British Fleet and the possible further extension of Dominion Fleets, it is considered that they now require some elaboration and amendment; the question of staff co-operation in particular seems to require further consideration.

5. On paper, the Empire Navy of one-power Standard, as contemplated by the Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1923, and made up of the various Dominion Navies, together with that of Great Britain, might well appear equal to that of another Power, but there is a grave danger that its collective efficiency might fall short of that required to safeguard the Empire unless suitable arrangements exist for all parts to be trained and prepared so that they can act as one in war. The problem which has to be faced by each Government is how best to organise, train and prepare its Navy in peace so that in war all the various portions of the combined Empire Navy may be able to act together for the defence of the Empire with an efficiency and striking power at least equal to that of any foreign fleet.

6. In all matters affecting naval fighting efficiency a Government is advised by its Naval Board or Admiralty, which, in giving advice is in turn assisted by its Naval Staff. The Naval Staff at the Admiralty is an organisation apart from the Administrative and Technical Departments, and is solely charged with questions of Naval policy, war plans and training for war. The British Naval Staff is at present composed of seven divisions, attached to which are a total of some fifty-six Naval and Marine Officers. The divisions and a summary of their functions are shown in the attached table :—

Intelligence Division	...	Collection and distribution of intelligence (world wide).
Plans Division ...	...	Preparation of plans and policy.
Operations Division	...	Movements of ships, &c.
Trade Division ...	...	Plans for protection of shipping.
T. and S. D. Division	...	Principle of training generally. Principles of staff organisation and co-ordination between the divisions of the staff.
Gunnery Division	...	Use of weapons.
Torpedo Division	...	Use of weapons.

In addition, there are two small sections, an Air Section and a Tactical Section, to advise on these particular subjects.

7. It is felt that the setting up of a Naval Staff comparable with the above by each Dominion in the early stages of its naval development would be hardly practicable, as overhead expenses would be out of all proportion to the size of the Navy maintained. At the same time it seems clear that a Dominion Navy will require its own Naval Staff, and it is most important that the separate staffs should not work in watertight compartments.

8. These difficulties can perhaps best be overcome by the appointment of Dominion Naval Officers to the Admiralty Naval Staff and British Naval Officers to the Dominions Naval Staffs, and by arranging for a free interchange of advice being maintained between the Naval Advisers at the Admiralty on the one hand and the Naval Advisers of the Dominions on the other. The organisation would be analogous to the Imperial General Staff, agreed to in principle at the 1907 Imperial Conference, when it was pointed out that this function of advice was performed by the general staff "without in the least interfering in questions connected with command and administration."

[*Note.*—It has been proposed by Canada that the last sentence of paragraph 8 should read as follows :—

"The organisation would be one of frequent interchange of individual officers and continual close co-operation of the respective British and Dominion staffs, which would, however, be distinct entities under their several Governments."]

9. It will be recognised, however, that, in order that suitable officers may be available to fill the appointments on the several Naval Staffs, Staff training will be essential, and it seems desirable that this Staff training should be uniform. The setting up of separate Naval Staff Colleges by the Dominions would be expensive, but, as a Staff College has already been established in Great Britain, it is suggested that, as each Dominion Navy develops selected Dominion Officers should be trained at this College with a view to their subsequent employment on the British and Dominion Naval Staffs. The actual strength of the several naval staffs would be a matter to be settled by the Governments concerned.

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10. To sum up, it is proposed that the following general principles should now be adopted :—

(*a.*) In order to obtain continuity of Naval policy and to ensure that the best advice on questions concerning the Naval defence of the Empire is always available for the British and Dominion Governments, the several Naval Staffs should be built up by uniform Staff training and a free interchange of officers between the British and Dominion Naval Staffs.

(*b.*) A free interchange of advice should be established between the British and Dominion Naval Staffs.

11. It is suggested that this development of the Staff aspect of Naval organisation should be marked by adding the title of Chief of Naval Staff to those of the first Naval Members in Australia and New Zealand and of the Director of Naval Services in Canada, and that the Chief of the Naval Staff, Admiralty, should, on the analogy of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, be described as the Chief of the Imperial Naval Staff.

Admiralty, February 1924.

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PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1923-24.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown thus ▬▶

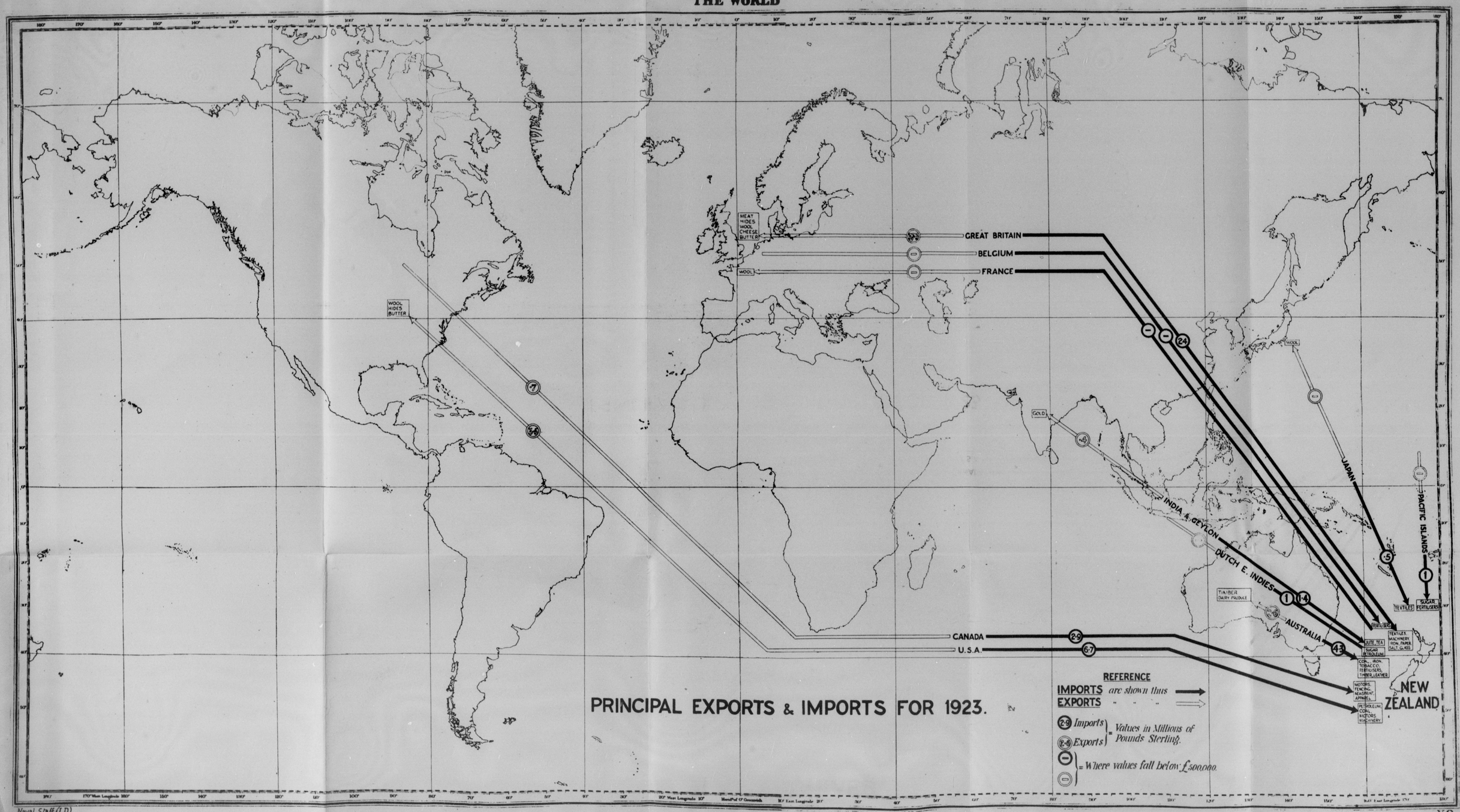
EXPORTS " " " ▭▷

(1·2) Imports } = Values in Millions of Pounds Sterling.
(3·4) Exports }

(—) = Where values fall below £500,000.

EGYPT
GERMANY
SCANDINAVIA
ITALY
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN
INDIA & CEYLON
MALAYA
DUTCH E. INDIES
CHINA
PHILIPPINES
JAPAN
CANADA
U.S.A.
CUBA
PACIFIC Is.
SOUTH AFRICA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND

THE WORLD



PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1923.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown thus →

EXPORTS " " " ⇒

(2·9) Imports, (2·6) Exports } = Values in Millions of Pounds Sterling.

(−), (▭) = Where values fall below £500,000.

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CANADA

SCANDINAVIA 2 / 18
GERMANY 5 / 16
HOLLAND 5 / 9
GREAT BRITAIN 54 / 36
BELGIUM 5 / 17
FRANCE 16 / 14
SPAIN 2 / 1
ITALY 2 / 18
GREECE 1 / 6
GIBRALTAR – / –
SOUTH AFRICA – / 9

ALASKA – COAL
CHINA 3 / 13
JAPAN 6 / 27
BR. EAST INDIES 14 / 5
AUSTRALIA 1 / 20
NEW ZEALAND 2 / 13
NEWFOUNDLAND 1 / 10
USA 30 / 44
USA
PERU 4
CUBA 11
W.INDIES 14
BRITISH GUIANA 6 / 3

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown thus ⟶

EXPORTS - - - ⟹

19 Imports
23 Exports
} Values in Millions of Dollars.

– –
– –
} Where values fall below 500000 Dollars

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1923-24.

X.9.

Naval Staff I.D

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THE WORLD

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1924-25.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS *are shown thus* →

EXPORTS " " " ⇨

(17) *Imports* } = *Values in Crores of Rupees.*
(8) *Exports* }

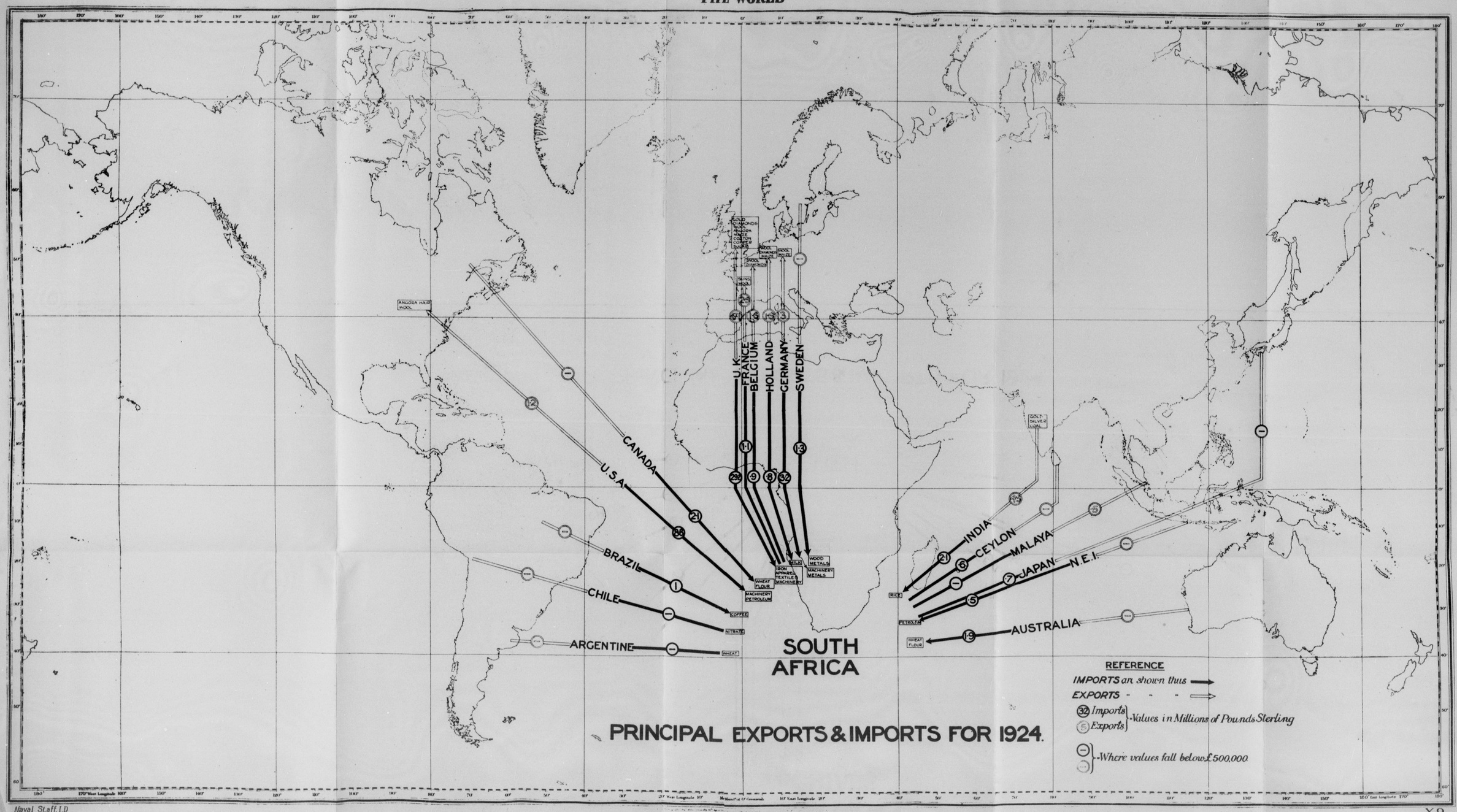
(–) } = *Where values fall below 1,00,00,000 Rupees.*
(–)

GREAT BRITAIN (53) — GERMANY (26) — BELGIUM (14) — FRANCE (20) — ITALY (12) — SPAIN (5) — U.S.A. (34) — PERSIA (2) — EGYPT (–) — ARABIA (–) — ADEN (–) — ITALIAN E. AFRICA (–) — PORTUGESE E. AFRICA (1) — SOUTH AFRICA (3) — MAURITIUS (2) — INDIA (153) — CEYLON (14) — CHINA (3) — JAPAN (17) — HONG-KONG (1) — SIAM (2) — MALAY (5) — DUTCH E. INDIES (16) — AUSTRALIA (8)

Naval Staff (I.D)

X.9.

THE WORLD



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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1926.

Memorandum by the Admiralty.

May 10/26

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Printed for the Committee of Imperial Defence. May 1926.

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(*Also Papers Nos. I.C. (F.P.D.)—6 and I.C.D.* (26)—2.)

COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

EMPIRE NAVAL POLICY AND CO-OPERATION, 1926.

Memorandum by the Admiralty.

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RESOLUTIONS OF IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1923.

1. The Imperial Conference of 1923, after reviewing the whole field of Defence, recorded the following resolutions on Empire Naval Policy:—

(i.) The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.

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(ii.) In this connection the Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire, upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them.

(iii.) Subject to this provision, the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles :—

(*a.*) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(*b.*) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communication of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

(*c.*) The provision of Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the Fleets.

(*d.*) The desirability of the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely, equality with the Naval strength of any foreign Power, in accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on Limitation of Armament as approved by Great Britain, all the self-governing Dominions and India.

2. These resolutions confirm in general terms the policy recommended by *His Majesty's Government in* 1923, *which policy it is now desired to re-affirm and amplify.*

Preamble.

3. The British Empire is a Commonwealth of Nations linked together by the sea. The economic and defensive organisation of each nation and community of that Commonwealth has grown up and is based to-day on the presupposition that the use of the sea routes is free to us for mutual co-operation in peaceful development and for mutual assistance against external aggression. The control by a hostile power of the sea routes which are the arteries of the Empire would involve all of us in economic disaster, and leave us individually isolated in the face of attack or invasion.

The Task of the Empire's Naval Forces.

4. In war, the task of the Naval Forces of the Empire is to destroy or neutralise Enemy Naval Forces, and thereby to keep open the sea communications of the Empire.

Wherever this task can be most effectively fulfilled, there, and there alone, the Empire as a whole, and each part of it, however remote from the actual scene of operations, will be effectively defended.

The destruction or neutralisation of Enemy Naval Forces will ensure—

(*a.*) The protection of our seaborne trade.
(*b.*) The destruction of the enemy's seaborne trade.
(*c.*) The free movement by sea of our own Military and Air Forces.
(*d.*) The prevention of the despatch overseas of enemy Military or Air Forces.

5. The ability of the Naval Forces of the Empire to carry out their duties in war will enable them *at all times* to fulfil their traditional function, which is to enable the Empire's interests to be safeguarded by diplomacy, and thus to preserve peace.

The Influence of Shore-Based Air Power on the Naval Problem.

6. No new developments since 1923 can be said to have in any way modified the view that the development of aviation, while destined to have a great influence on the tactical organisation of our Naval Forces, will not, outside narrow waters such as the English Channel or the Mediterranean, materially affect the problem of the control of the Ocean routes, which, in the main, will continue to depend upon surface craft, assisted by sea-borne aircraft.

7. Airships may, however, play a considerable part in co-operation with surface vessels, in carrying out the reconnaissance of the sea routes and the keeping open of sea communications. This, however, is a problem of the future on which the Admiralty are unable to pronounce until airships have been tested thoroughly in all climates and under all normal weather conditions.

The Standard of Naval Strength.

8. The definite standard of Naval strength necessary for the peace and security of the Empire must naturally vary with the general political situation, always allowing for the fact that Naval strength and efficiency cannot be improvised and that it takes several years to build a capital ship, and a generation to train a really efficient body of senior officers.

9. Since the Imperial Conference of 1921 the One Power standard of Naval strength has been accepted as the basis of Imperial Defence. So far as the main units of the Battle Fleet are concernd this standard, which when adopted was regarded as a minimum, is now a maximum as a result of the Washington Agreement.

10. Due, however, to the unique position of the Empire by virtue of the world-wide distribution of its component parts, it is essential that the Empire should maintain a cruiser force of sufficient strength to ensure equality with any one nation in any sea which may be the main theatre of operations, and in addition sufficient cruisers must be available to provide local protection to our vital world-wide trade routes, the importance of which to the Empire are shown in Appendix No. 2.

It is, therefore, the opinion of the Admiralty *that the British Empire should agree to no proposals for disarmament which do not recognise its special need for cruisers.*

Future Naval Construction.

11. A statement has been prepared (*vide* Appendix No. 1) showing—

(*a.*) The minimum number of ships of the principal types which, in the opinion of the Admiralty, it is necessary for the Empire to maintain for its security.
(*b.*) Present strength of the Empire Naval Forces, built, and building.
(*c.*) Projected building programme of Great Britain from 1st April, 1927, to 1st April, 1930.
(*d.*) Number of vessels of each type that it will be necessary to lay down over and above the projected programme to maintain the standard referred to in (*a*) above.

It will be noted that His Majesty's Government, in the interests of economy, have with some misgiving increased the serviceable life of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines from 15, 12, 10 years respectively to 20, 16, 12 years respectively.

12. It is to be hoped that some relief to this burden may be afforded by the forthcoming conference on Disarmament, but until agreement is reached among the Nations, the Empire cannot afford to diminish the programme which has already been reduced to the very lowest estimate compatible with safety. It is obvious that if the guiding principle suggested by the Imperial Conference, 1923, is to be followed, and "adequate provision is to be made for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass" then, in order to do this effectively and with the minimum of cost, there must be whole-hearted co-operation between the Governments and Services concerned.

It is therefore proposed to invite the Conference to consider to what extent the States which form the Empire can assist towards provision and maintenance of the Naval Forces necessary for Imperial Defence.

Submarine Policy.

13. It will be remembered that the Empire representatives at Washington advocated the total abolition of the submarine.

The abolition of submarines has been the consistent policy of Great Britain since the war, as it is considered that the advantage arising out of the employment of submarines for legitimate naval operations is totally outweighed by the disadvantages of the unscrupulous use of submarines against seaborne commerce by an adversary who has decided to risk the odium likely to be entailed by such operations.

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Moreover, two strong incentives for a policy of total abolition of submarine warfare remain :—

(i.) The grave extent of the submarine menace in the late war.
(ii.) The fact that the Root Resolutions, in regard to submarine warfare, have not yet been ratified by all the nations concerned, and therefore cannot be relied upon when formulating war plans for the defence of commerce.

14. The Naval Staff are convinced, however, of the great capabilities of submarines for legitimate naval operations, and this opinion based on war experience, has been confirmed in fleet exercises which have since been carried out.

Nor is a submarine service one which can be suddenly organised on the outbreak of war or when relations become strained.

15. For the above reasons, the Admiralty still adhere to their previous recommendations regarding the construction of submarines and the maintenance of flotillas of this type of vessel by the Dominions.

Appendix No. 1 contains proposals for the construction of submarines for the Empire which the Admiralty consider the minimum necessary for safety.

Peace Organisation. The Principle of Dominion Navies.

16. The Imperial Conference 1923 expressly recognised that it is for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them. For this reason and because by this means new centres of Naval strength, and new bases for the Navy of the Empire which are essential to the strategy of the future will develop, the Admiralty wholeheartedly endorse the principle of Dominion Navies, and in this respect they warmly welcome the step recently taken by India in recreating the Royal Indian Navy.

17. To allow each Navy to preserve its individuality and to develop in accordance with the views of its own Government, but at the same time to be capable of combining with other Units of the Empire and becoming a homogeneous whole, close co-operation in training, organisation and staff work is necessary, and this implies the closest liaison in peace time and a free interchange of personnel and ideas.

18. A paper* dealing with this subject was circulated to all the Dominions in February 1924, and the proposals contained therein have received the concurrence of the Dominion Governments. A slight alteration to paragraph 8 has been made at the suggestion of the Government of Canada, and the paper so amended is attached as Appendix 5.

It is proposed that should the Dominion Representatives concur, the proposals contained in this paper should now be put into effect.

Organisation in War.

19. In war the Naval Forces of the Empire must be considered as a single collective Empire Fleet. From the strategical point of view, that Fleet may conveniently be regarded as falling into *three categories*. These three categories are closely interdependent, but they stand in a very definite order of relative importance.

First and foremost comes the Main Fleet. This must be capable of performing its function of destroying or containing the Main Fleet of the enemy. On it rests the fate of the whole Empire.

Secondly, there are the *Detached Forces* which, backed by the power of the Main Fleet, exercise control of the sea communications in areas distant from the main theatre of operations.

Thirdly, there are the *Local Defence Forces* which are necessary in order to free the Main Fleet and the detached Forces for their proper work on the High Seas. The effort expended upon these Local Defence Forces should only be the minimum necessary to resist such pressure as the enemy may reasonably be expected to exercise in any particular areas in view of the general position on the High Seas. It should never be allowed to limit or starve the preparations for the Sea-going Fleet.

* C.I.D. Paper No. 221-C.

Progressive Development of the Empire Navies.

20. The several Navies can, as they develop, take their part progressively in each of these categories. In the course of development they will naturally pass through certain distinct but successive phases :—

Phase 1.—In the First Phase Local Defence Forces are provided and responsibility is assumed for Local Defence. At the same time preparations are made for the next phase by beginning the training of personnel for a seagoing force.

Phase 2.—In the Second Phase, the first definite steps are taken in the creation of a force for work on the High Seas, as opposed to Local Defence. This Phase involves the obtaining of one or more seagoing ships, and in the first instance it may be necessary, for financial or other reasons, to obtain both the ships themselves and a portion, at any rate, of the personnel from Great Britain. Throughout this Phase the necessary training, repair and fuelling facilities should gradually be built up in preparation for the next phase.

Phase 3.—The Third Phase is reached when, in addition to the Local Defence Force, a seagoing squadron is provided and manned, and the squadron takes over under its own Government the control in peace of its own Home station. That station will be the normal home station of the Squadron, but interchange of units with units from other stations should be arranged, and close co-operation maintained with other squadrons.

Phase 4.—In the Fourth and Final Phase each State forming part of the Empire should be capable, in addition to the Local Defence Force and the Squadrons for service in peace on its own home station, to provide, whether in the shape of additional Cruiser Squadrons or of Capital ship units, a substantial part of the general scheme of Naval defence, and more particularly of the Main Fleet.

21. While Great Britain is in Phase 4, none of the Dominions has as yet reached this phase of naval development. Australia and New Zealand are in Phases 3 and 2 respectively, each having made substantial progress in that phase since 1923. Otherwise, the position has not materially altered since the last Imperial Conference except that India is about to enter Phase 1.

22. Throughout the process of development certain general considerations should be kept in view :—

(*a.*) The importance of fostering the mercantile marine, and with it the seafaring population and a national sea sentiment.
(*b.*) A small local Navy, which offers no scope for ambition and no variety of scene to its personnel, will not, in the long run, secure the right type of officers and men, or maintain a high standard of efficiency.

23. A good deal can be done to surmount these difficulties during the second and third Phase by a free interchange, both of individuals and ships. But the real solution of them lies in reaching the fourth Phase as soon as possible, and being able to provide in each Navy a regular rotation of home and foreign service, as well as regular opportunities for taking part in general Fleet exercises, whereby alone can senior officers be provided with a more extended and varied responsibility and experience, and the ships' companies obtain by healthy competition the stimulus which leads to efficiency.

24. It will be the endeavour of the Admiralty by whole-hearted co-operation to assist in the development of the various navies, and by maintaining a close touch with the various Naval Boards to ensure a homogeneous whole.

Admiralty, May 10, 1926.

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APPENDIX No. 1.

Empire Naval Strength.

The number of effective ships is based on an age limit for—

Battleships and Battle Cruisers ...	20 years or as laid down by Washington Agreement.
Aircraft Carriers	20 years.
Cruisers	20 years.
Flotilla Leaders and Destroyers ...	16 years.
Submarines	12 years.

Table No. 1.

—	Battleships and Battle Cruisers.	Aircraft Carriers over 10,000 tons.	Cruisers.	Flotilla Leaders and Destroyers.	Submarines.
1. Minimum number required for Empire Defence	**16** (See Note I)	**7** (See Note II)	**70** (See Note III)	**162** (See Note IV)	**78** (See Note V)
2. Present strength (see Table No. 2)	22	4	48	172	55
3. Vessels building or those to be laid down in 1926	2	2 under reconstruction	14	2	10
4. Strength on April 1, 1930 (Line 2 *plus* Line 3 *minus* ships reaching age limit)	20	6	62	173	57
5. Numbers of vessels reaching age limit between April 1, 1930, and April 1, 1936	8	Nil	15	161	42
6. Strength on April 1, 1936 (Line 4 *minus* Line 5) allowing for no further building	12	6	47	12	15
7. Numbers that should be laid down between April 1, 1927, and April 1, 1933, to provide on April 1, 1936, the numbers specified in Line 1 (Line 1 *minus* Line 6)	4	1	23	150	63
8. Projected British programme from April 1, 1927, to April 1, 1930	..	1	9	27	18
9. Deficiency to be made good by additional construction commenced before April 1, 1933 (Line 7 *minus* Line 8)	**Governed by terms of Washington Agreement**	**Nil**	**14**	**123**	**45**

Notes.

I.—Governed by terms of the Washington Treaty. The number 16 is the number fixed for April 1, 1936. The number allowed finally reduces to 15 on completion of the 1933 programme.

II.—Corresponding to the tonnage allowed by Washington Treaty.

III.—Equality with Japan so far as her programme is known with in addition 45 for Defence of Trade Routes. This number may have to be increased in the event of an increase in Japanese Cruiser strength.

IV.—16 Flotillas of 9 boats each *plus* 2 flotillas on the stocks for replacement purposes. 9 flotillas are required with the main fleet. 7 additional flotillas are considered the minimum necessary for Submarine hunting, &c.

V.—The minimum number required for either an Eastern or a European war.

Table No. 2.—Present strength of Empire Naval Forces, 1926 (see Line 2 in Table 1).

—	Battleships and Battle Cruisers.	Aircraft Carriers over 10,000 tons.	Cruisers.	Flotilla Leaders and Destroyers.	Submarines.
Australia	—	—	4	10	—
Canada	—	—	—	2	—
Great Britain	22	4	42	160	55
New Zealand	—	—	2	—	—
Total Empire Strength .. (Line 2 in Table 1)	22	4	48	172	55

APPENDIX No. 2.

Charts showing Values of Trade exchanged between the Dominions and Other Countries, and the Principal Commodities concerned.

The accompanying charts have been prepared in order to show the importance of Oversea communications, their protection and maintenance, to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, India and the Union of South Africa.

These charts show in graphic form, by full black lines for imports and open lines for exports, the various countries which share to any considerable extent in the foreign trade of the Dominions. The small circles enclose units of value; the rectangles at the end of the lines show the principal commodities, in either value or bulk concerned.

It is realised that in selecting the statistics for any one year certain abnormalities are possible, but the general trend of foreign trade will be sufficiently indicated.

APPENDIX No. 3.

The Situation in regard to Oil Fuel Installations throughout the British Empire.

Australia.

Five 8,000-ton tanks and 32,000 tons of oil fuel is provided for in the Five-Year Defence Programme commencing 1924–1925.

The first two tanks are being constructed at Port Darwin, and one will be ready in 1927.

Canada.

There is no Naval Tankage in Canada, but the Canadian Government hold stocks of approximately 2,500 tons at Esquimalt and 1,000 tons at Halifax.

Great Britain.

The approved programme of oil fuel tankage which will be completed in 1928 gives a total of 4,997,690 tons.

By the end of 1926 Great Britain will have erected 4½ million tons of tankage situated in various strategic positions, and will have provided a war reserve of approximately 3¾ million tons of oil fuel.

New Zealand.

One 5,000-ton tank at Auckland is completed, and another is under construction and will be completed early in 1927. Present stock of oil is 2,000 tons, and the completed tank is being filled.

South Africa.

Two 12,000-ton tanks have been erected at Simonstown and filled.

Imperial War Reserve of Oil Fuel.—The Admiralty are of opinion that this reserve should be based on the needs of all Naval Forces during the first year of war, and this has been calculated as being 7½ million tons.

APPENDIX No. 4.

Interchange of R.N. and R.A.N. Cruisers.

1. The first interchange of R.N. and R.A.N. cruisers took place after the conference of Commanders-in-Chief, which was held at Singapore in March 1925. When the squadrons dispersed at the conclusion of the conference, H.M.S.

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"Concord" was placed under the orders of the Commodore Commanding Australian Fleet, and sailed for Australia in company with the Australian Squadron. At the same time H.M.A.S. "Brisbane" was placed under the orders of Commander-in-Chief, China.

2. During the period of service in the Australian Fleet, H.M.S. "Concord" visited a number of Australian ports and carried out exercises with the Australian Cruiser Squadron. H.M.S. "Concord" left Australian waters to rejoin China Squadron in July 1925.

3. H.M.A.S. "Brisbane" was prevented from gaining the full benefit of her service with the China Squadron owing to the fact that, during a large part of this period, the routine of the squadron was disorganised by the disturbances in China, which necessitated individual ships being stationed at various ports for the protection of British interests.

4. In this connection, the question arose as to how far a Commander-in-Chief should be authorised to use one of H.M.A. ships attached to his command. With the concurrence of the Commonwealth Government, it was decided that in cases of emergency Commanders-in-Chief should be authorised to use H.M.A. ships in operations designed solely for the protection of British life and property, without reference to the Commonwealth Government, but that, if possible, the sanction of the Government should be previously obtained. For operations, other than those specified above, H.M.A. ships should not, however, be used until the assent of the Commonwealth Government had been received.

5. H.M.A.S. "Brisbane" left Hong Kong for Australia in August 1925.

6. In November 1925 H.M.S. "Delhi" left Malta for Australia, and is at present attached to the Australian Fleet. She will leave Australia to rejoin the Mediterranean Fleet in July.

7. H.M.A.S. "Melbourne" left Sydney in November 1925 for Malta and joined the Mediterranean Fleet in January 1926. She took part in the Combined Fleet Exercises early in March 1926. In order to give the officers and men an opportunity to visit the United Kingdom, "Melbourne" was attached to the Atlantic Fleet on conclusion of these exercises, and sailed for England in company with them, arriving at Portsmouth at the end of March. She will return to the Mediterranean Station early in May and sail for Australia in July.

8. It is intended that in future this interchange of cruisers should take place every year on the lines of the programme now being carried out by "Delhi" and "Melbourne." It is considered that the results of these interchanges have been very satisfactory equally to Great Britain and Australia and to the personnel concerned.

APPENDIX No. 5.

Memorandum by the Naval Staff.

1. The question whether the present arrangements are adequate for keeping the various Dominion Governments fully advised as to the Naval needs of the Empire with a view to obtaining continuity of Naval policy has already been brought to the notice of the Dominion Representatives in the various Committee of Imperial Defence Papers forwarded to them on the subject of Empire Naval Defence.

2. Any arrangements which are come to should be such as to require only a minimum of adjustment to enable a supreme Naval authority to function in time of war, and it is also fully recognised that the Dominions, unless they have decided otherwise, will continue to retain in their own hands, not only the development and disposition of their own forces in peace, but also the right of decision whether or not these forces are to be placed at the disposal of the Admiralty in time of war.

3. Arrangements for co-operation between the Naval Services and Forces of the Dominions of Canada and Australia and the British Navy were agreed to at the 1911 Imperial Conference, and arrangements have, as the services of other Dominions developed, been made with those Dominions.

4. The arrangements were severely tested during the war and they proved a fairly satisfactory basis for co-operation, but, in view of the recent reductions of the British Fleet and the possible further extension of Dominion Fleets, it is considered that they now require some elaboration and amendment; the question of staff co-operation in particular seems to require further consideration.

5. On paper, the Empire Navy of one-power Standard, as contemplated by the Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1923, and made up of the various Dominion Navies, together with that of Great Britain, might well appear equal to that of another Power, but there is a grave danger that its collective efficiency might fall short of that required to safeguard the Empire unless suitable arrangements exist for all parts to be trained and prepared so that they can act as one in war. The problem which has to be faced by each Government is how best to organise, train and prepare its Navy in peace so that in war all the various portions of the combined Empire Navy may be able to act together for the defence of the Empire with an efficiency and striking power at least equal to that of any foreign fleet.

6. In all matters affecting naval fighting efficiency a Government is advised by its Naval Board or Admiralty, which, in giving advice is in turn assisted by its Naval Staff. The Naval Staff at the Admiralty is an organisation apart from the Administrative and Technical Departments, and is solely charged with questions of Naval policy, war plans and training for war. The British Naval Staff is at present composed of seven divisions, attached to which are a total of some fifty-six Naval and Marine Officers. The divisions and a summary of their functions are shown in the attached table :—

Intelligence Division	...	Collection and distribution of intelligence (world wide).
Plans Division ...	...	Preparation of plans and policy.
Operations Division	...	Movements of ships, &c.
Trade Division ...	...	Plans for protection of shipping.
T. and S. D. Division	...	Principle of training generally. Principles of staff organisation and co-ordination between the divisions of the staff.
Gunnery Division	...	Use of weapons.
Torpedo Division	...	Use of weapons.

In addition, there are two small sections, an Air Section and a Tactical Section, to advise on these particular subjects.

7. It is felt that the setting up of a Naval Staff comparable with the above by each Dominion in the early stages of its naval development would be hardly practicable, as overhead expenses would be out of all proportion to the size of the Navy maintained. At the same time it seems clear that a Dominion Navy will require its own Naval Staff, and it is most important that the separate staffs should not work in watertight compartments.

8. These difficulties can perhaps best be overcome by the appointment of Dominion Naval Officers to the Admiralty Naval Staff and British Naval Officers to the Dominions Naval Staffs, and by arranging for a free interchange of advice being maintained between the Naval Advisers at the Admiralty on the one hand and the Naval Advisers of the Dominions on the other. [The organisation would be analogous to the Imperial General Staff, agreed to in principle at the 1907 Imperial Conference, when it was pointed out that this function of advice was performed by the general staff "without in the least interfering in questions connected with command and administration."]

[*Note.*—It has been proposed by Canada that the last sentence of paragraph 8 should read as follows :—

"The organisation would be one of frequent interchange of individual officers and continual close co-operation of the respective British and Dominion staffs, which would, however, be distinct entities under their several Governments."]

9. It will be recognised, however, that, in order that suitable officers may be available to fill the appointments on the several Naval Staffs, Staff training will be essential, and it seems desirable that this Staff training should be uniform. The setting up of separate Naval Staff Colleges by the Dominions would be expensive, but, as a Staff College has already been established in Great Britain, it is suggested that, as each Dominion Navy develops selected Dominion Officers should be trained at this College with a view to their subsequent employment on the British and Dominion Naval Staffs. The actual strength of the several naval staffs would be a matter to be settled by the Governments concerned.

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10. To sum up, it is proposed that the following general principles should now be adopted :—

(*a.*) In order to obtain continuity of Naval policy and to ensure that the best advice on questions concerning the Naval defence of the Empire is always available for the British and Dominion Governments, the several Naval Staffs should be built up by uniform Staff training and a free interchange of officers between the British and Dominion Naval Staffs.

(*b.*) A free interchange of advice should be established between the British and Dominion Naval Staffs.

11. It is suggested that this development of the Staff aspect of Naval organisation should be marked by adding the title of Chief of Naval Staff to those of the first Naval Members in Australia and New Zealand and of the Director of Naval Services in Canada, and that the Chief of the Naval Staff, Admiralty, should, on the analogy of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, be described as the Chief of the Imperial Naval Staff.

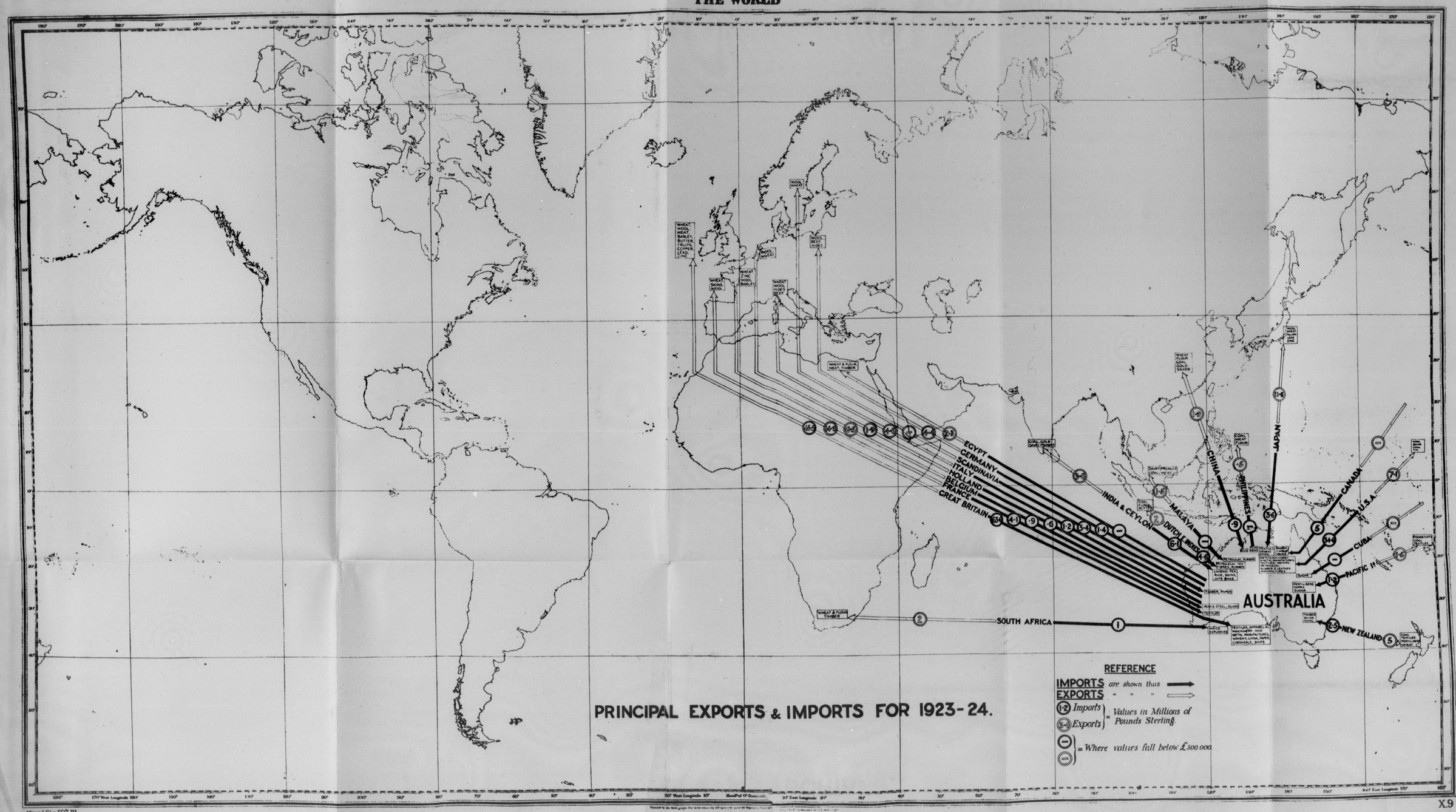
Admiralty, February 1924.

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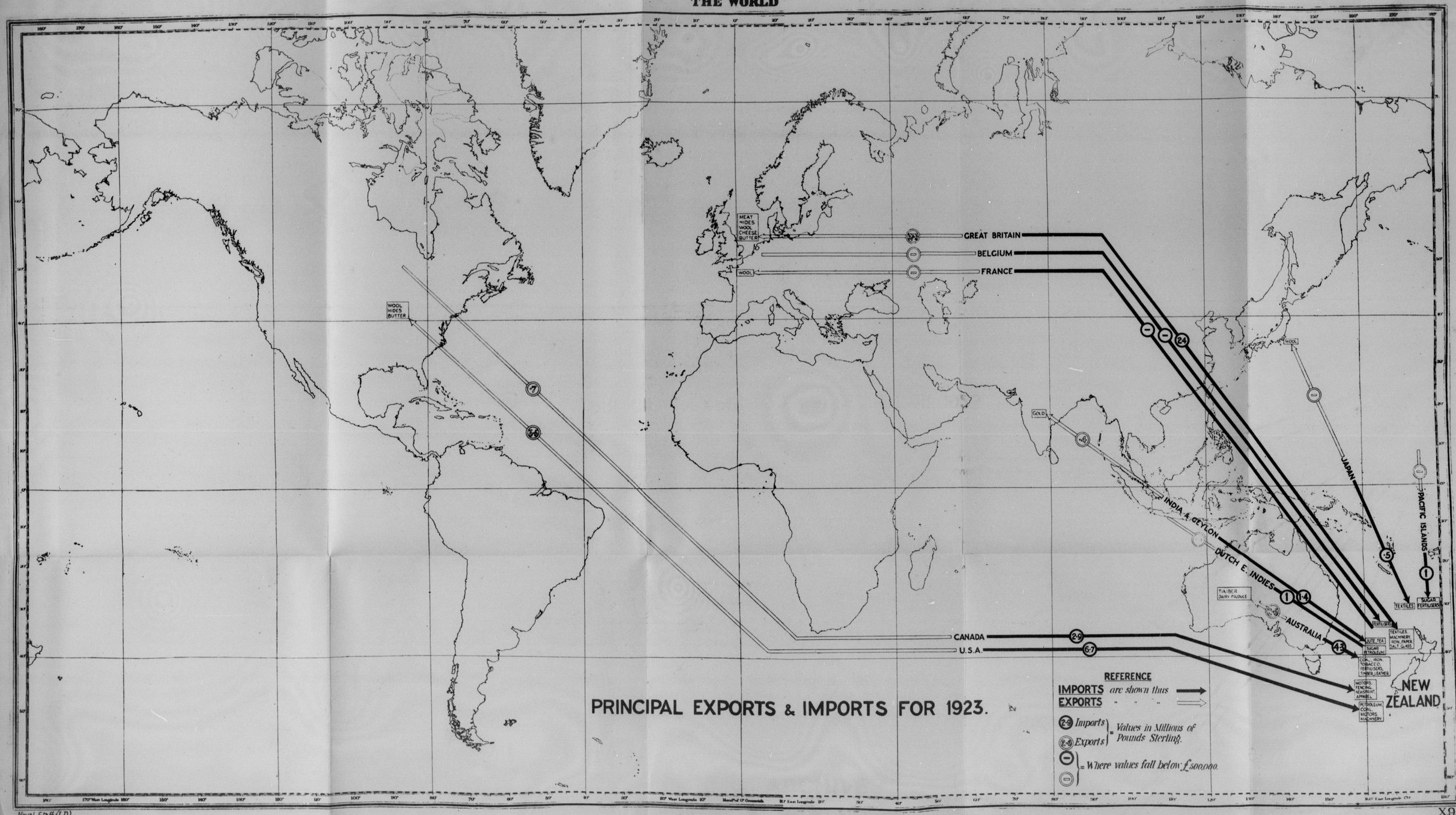


PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1923-24.

Naval Staff (I.D.)

X.9

THE WORLD



PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1923.

REFERENCE

IMPORTS *are shown thus* ⟶

EXPORTS " " " ⟹

(2·9) *Imports* / (2·4) *Exports* = *Values in Millions of Pounds Sterling.*

(−) / (□) = *Where values fall below £500,000.*

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CANADA

ALASKA

SCANDINAVIA

GERMANY

HOLLAND

GREAT BRITAIN

BELGIUM

FRANCE

SPAIN

ITALY

GREECE

GIBRALTAR

NEWFOUNDLAND

CHINA

JAPAN

BR. EAST INDIES

AUSTRALIA

NEW ZEALAND

USA

USA

CUBA

PERU

W.INDIES

BRITISH GUIANA

SOUTH AFRICA

REFERENCE

IMPORTS are shown thus ⟶

EXPORTS - - - ⟹

(19) Imports
(23) Exports
} Values in Millions of Dollars

⊖ ⊖ } Where values fall below 500,000 Dollars

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1923-24.

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PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1924-25.

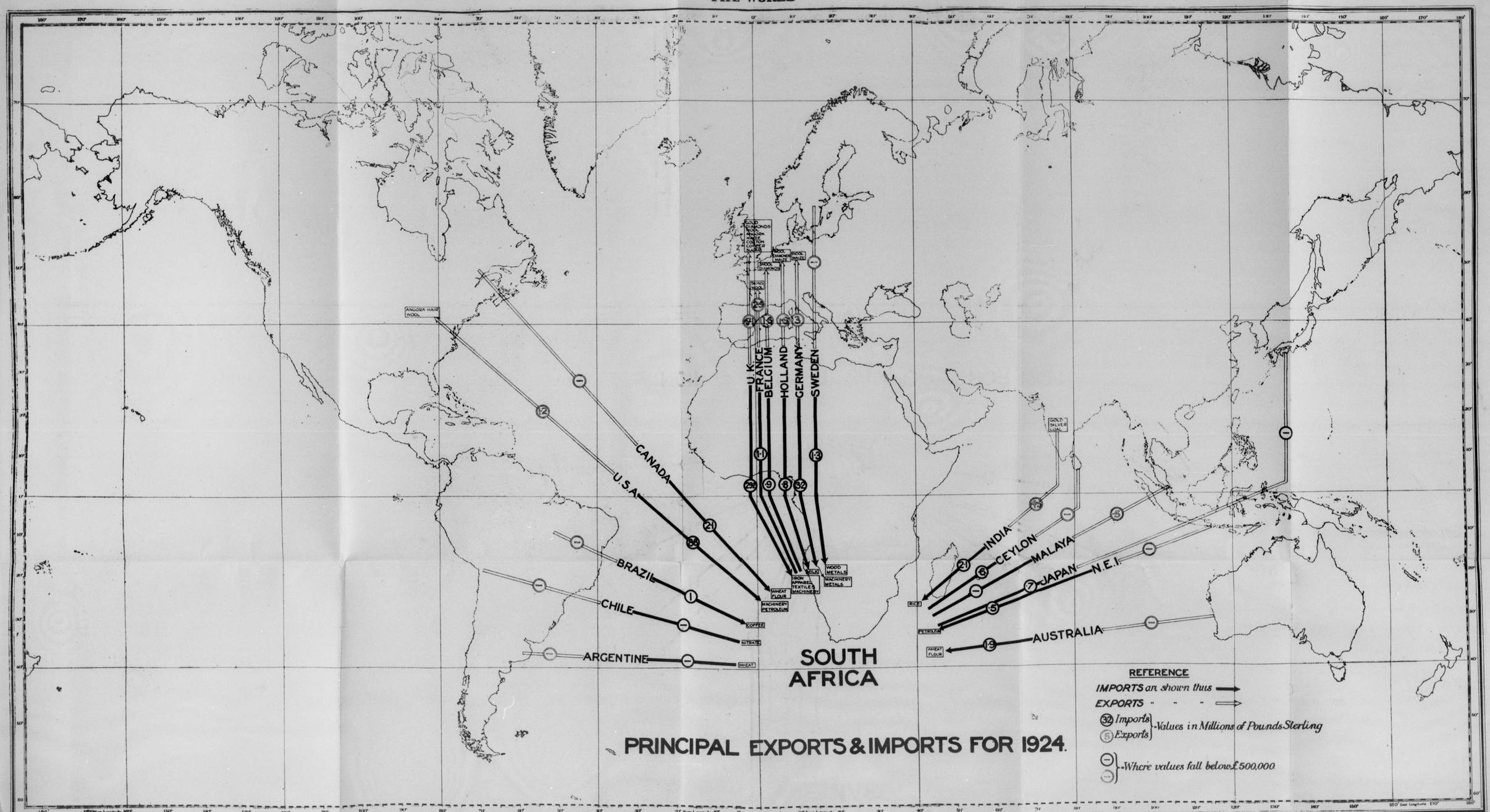
GREAT BRITAIN 33 — 133
GERMANY 26 — 15
BELGIUM 14 — 7
FRANCE 20 — 3
ITALY 23 — 4
SPAIN 6 — 1
U.S.A. 34 — 14
PERSIA 2 — 1
EGYPT 15 — –
ARABIA 2 — –
ADEN 1 — –
ITALIAN E. AFRICA – —
PORTUGESE E. AFRICA – —
SOUTH AFRICA 1 — 4
MAURITIUS 2 — –
INDIA 55 — 55
CHINA 3 — 10
JAPAN 17 — 55
HONG-KONG 1 — 3
SIAM – — 2
DUTCH E. INDIES 16 — 5
AUSTRALIA 8 — 8

REFERENCE
IMPORTS are shown thus ⟶
EXPORTS " " " ⟹
(17) Imports, (8) Exports } = Values in Crores of Rupees.
(–) } = Where values fall below 1,00,00,000 Rupees.

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PRINCIPAL EXPORTS & IMPORTS FOR 1924.

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. June 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

NEW HEBRIDES (ANGLO-FRENCH CONDOMINIUM).

MEMORANDUM BY THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

1. THE question of the New Hebrides was discussed by a Committee at the time of the Imperial Meetings held in 1921 and again at the Imperial Conference of 1923.

2. The result of the discussions in 1921 was, in effect, that for the time being the existing system of joint administration by Great Britain and France must continue; and that efforts should be made to bring into force as soon as possible the new Convention which had been signed, just after the outbreak of war, on the 6th August, 1914.

3. On the 25th June, 1923, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies addressed despatches to the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Governor-General of New Zealand, reviewing the position at that date. It was urged that the Commonwealth and New Zealand Governments should consider the question of the existing system being abolished on the basis either of (*a*) the cession of the whole Group to France in exchange for some territorial compensation elsewhere in the Pacific or (*b*) a partition of the Group between Great Britain and France.

A copy of the despatch to the Governor-General of the Commonwealth (with the memorandum on the new Hebrides that was prepared for the discussion in 1921 printed as an annexure) is attached. (Appendix (A).)

4. The matter was fully discussed at the Imperial Conference, 1923, and the following Resolution submitted by the Committee which examined the question was adopted by the Conference:—

> "That it is desirable, in order to put an end to the increasing difficulties due to the New Hebrides Condominium, that as soon as opportunity offers fresh negotiations should be opened with the French Government. These negotiations should, in the first instance, take the form of a proposal that the British and French Governments should jointly approach the League of Nations with a view to a partition of the islands between the British Empire and France under two separate mandates.
>
> "During the negotiations with the French Government the possibility of securing the cession of a harbour in the Eastern Pacific as part of a settlement should not be overlooked."

5. The action to be taken on this Resolution formed the subject of telegraphic correspondence with the Commonwealth and New Zealand Governments. Both Governments concurred in the proposal that His Majesty's Government should initiate negotiations with the French Government on the lines of the Resolution at the earliest favourable opportunity. No such opportunity, however, had arisen by the Spring of 1925 for approaching the French Government. On the 11th May, 1925, a further telegram was sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of the Commonwealth and the Governor-General of New Zealand explaining the position and setting out principles upon which partition of the Group might be determined if the French Government agreed to discuss the question, and asking for the views of those Governments. Replies were sent by the Governor-General of New

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Zealand on the 19th May, 1925, and by the Governor-General of the Commonwealth on the 17th October, 1925.

Paraphrases of these telegrams are attached (Appendices (B), (C) and (D)).

6. In December 1925 the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs communicated with His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris on the subject, and authorised him to enquire, when a favourable moment for approaching the French Government arrived, whether they would be ready in principle to enter into negotiations for the partition of the Group between Great Britain and France under two separate mandates.

7. The matter has been discussed on more than one occasion between His Majesty's Representative at Paris and M. Berthelot, Permanent Head of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The latter informed Mr. Phipps on the 26th April that the Ministry of the Colonies was extremely hostile to any idea of partition and were well content to continue the present Condominium. He promised, however, to obtain that Ministry's views in further detail, and declared his readiness to continue discussions.

8. Meanwhile His Majesty's Government have used every endeavour to secure more efficient working of the existing system in accordance with the Convention of 1914.

The present British Resident Commissioner (Mr. G. B. Smith-Rewse) has spared no efforts to this end; he has cultivated excellent relationships with the French authorities, and in several directions he has achieved no little success. For example, he has been instrumental in securing agreement to an important regulation which ensures adequate joint control over the expenditure of Condominium funds Progress is being made with the drawing up of a code of Native Law; and it is satisfactory to record that, in connection with the Condominium Estimates for 1926, the concurrence of the French authorities has at last been obtained for making somewhat better provision for the medical requirements of the natives.

In general, however, quite apart from the costly and cumbersome nature of the existing system, the position is still far from satisfactory, more especially in regard to the Joint Court and the settlement of land claims.

After many years the Count de Buena Esperanza, President of the Court, has been persuaded to return for duty to the New Hebrides, and he reached Vila last February. But, pending the reconstitution of the full Court by the appointment of a Public Prosecutor and a Registrar, both of whom must under the Convention be neutrals, the French Government have now found it impossible to proceed with instructions which they had long since undertaken to give as to the renewal of the reception of land claims by the Court.

There is the possibility of considerable delay in connection with the reconstitution of the Court and there is every prospect of prolonged delay in connection with the adjudication of land claims, from which the French Government seem to be much averse. It should be remembered that, while the formal reception of land claims would be a move forward, this would not in itself advance the much more important question of adjudication upon the claims.

As regards the reconstitution of the Court, the currency difficulty greatly complicates the position. Salaries are expressed in francs; but, despite certain increases and "supplements" to which the French Government have agreed, the continued depreciation of the franc has rendered the salaries such as to be quite unacceptable either to British or neutral officials. Legally, the Condominium Government can pay salaries in British or French currency, and the French Government have hitherto refused to agree to any arrangement for Condominium officials (save as a special case for the President of the Court) other than payment of the salaries as expressed in francs, *e.g.*, the salary of the Public Prosecutor has been fixed for 1926 at 4,500 fr., which represents about £320 at the present rate of exchange.

So far as British officials are concerned, the position has been met, for the time being, by subventions from the British Exchequer; but such an arrangement could not be made by one of the partners in the Condominium on behalf of neutrals, even if it were considered a justifiable charge on the Exchequer here. The salary question is, however, receiving very careful consideration, as the result of representations made by the President of the Court, and, if it can be satisfactorily disposed of, it should become possible to fill the vacancies for a Public Prosecutor and Registrar. In the absence of unforeseen eventualities the Joint Court could then function, and a start could be made with land work, but there is no reason to think that this would extend further at present than to the reception of claims.

Colonial Office, May 14, 1926.

APPENDIX (A).

Copy of a Despatch from the Secretary of State to the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia.

(Secret.)

My Lord, *Downing Street, June* 25, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to request Your Excellency to inform your Ministers that His Majesty's Government have for some time had under consideration the position in the New Hebrides which is still most unsatisfactory, and which so far as can be judged is susceptible of but little improvement even when all the machinery provided for in the Protocol of the 6th August, 1914, is working, as the difficulties which now attend the administration of the Group are inherent in the dual system of the Condominium.

2. The future of the New Hebrides was discussed by a Committee presided over by my predecessor at the time of the Imperial Meetings of 1921; the then Prime Minister of the Commonwealth and the Prime Minister of New Zealand took part in the discussion. The opportunity afforded by the Imperial Conference next October might, if necessary, be taken for further personal consultation on this subject between representatives of His Majesty's Government, and the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth and New Zealand; but in any event it seems desirable to bring the matter to the notice of your Ministers forthwith.

3. For the discussion in 1921 a Memorandum was prepared, a copy of which is enclosed with this despatch for reference. The fourth Appendix* to the Memorandum is annexed to the enclosed copy; but the other Appendices,* copies of which will already be easily available to your Government, are not attached. The record of the discussion shows that Mr. Hughes represented the strong interest taken by Australia in the Islands from both a positive and negative point of view. On the one hand, the Commonwealth Government has expended considerable sums on developing trade with the Group, largely through the agency of the Burns-Philp Line of steamers, and is naturally desirous of retaining this commercial advantage. On the other hand, the Commonwealth Government views with anxiety the introduction by the French of indentured labour from Asia into these Islands, which are comparatively near to Australia, and would wish, if it were practicable, to be freed from this embarrassment. Further, the native population is diminishing, and on humanitarian grounds alone, some more satisfactory system of administration than that in vogue is called for.

The Prime Minister of New Zealand suggested that there might be a possible strategical value to the Empire in the Islands, but, apart from this aspect of the matter, he did not express on behalf of his Government any definite interest in the future of the Group, although he stated that he was not then in favour of partition of the Islands between Great Britain and France.

It may be added that the Commonwealth Government had already stated that they were opposed in principle to partition, as recorded in your Secret despatch of the 15th October, 1920.

4. The result of the discussion was, in effect, that for the present the existing system whereby His Majesty's Government administer the Group jointly with the French Government must continue; that neither the Commonwealth nor the New Zealand Government would be prepared to assume the administration and financial responsibility in place of His Majesty's Government; that efforts should be made to bring into force as soon as possible the new Protocol of the 6th August, 1914, and that inquiry should be pursued as to the practicability of buying out the Société Française des Nouvelles Hébrides, which owns or claims a very large area of land in the Group.

5. It has been the constant endeavour of His Majesty's Government to bring the new Protocol into force at the earliest possible date. As your Ministers are aware, the Protocol was ratified in March, 1922. The necessary Order in Council was duly issued, and the Protocol has been published locally for general information by the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific; but unfortunately, in spite of strong representations, the French Government have not yet agreed to its proclamation locally, that being the final step to render it effective for the nationals of each Power in the Group. It is not necessary to detail the various representations

* Not printed.

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made to the French Government, more especially as there is now reason to think that the French Government will concur in the proclamation of the Protocol in the near future. The main ground for delay put forward by the French Government, namely, the inability of the Joint Court to function in the absence of the President, who probably cannot return to the New Hebrides until August, has now been overcome, as the post of Public Prosecutor has at length been filled, and that officer will, as Acting President, re-open the Court this month.

Although the new Protocol has not yet been proclaimed, preliminary action in several directions has been arranged with the French Government, and progress has been made in respect of the administrative system provided in the Protocol, whereby the Group is divided into districts at the head of which will be British and French Agents. But, judging from past experience, it may be a long time before full effect is given to the new Protocol, even when brought into force; the smallest point may have to form the subject of diplomatic correspondence between His Majesty's Government and the French Government, and there is thus an almost unlimited opportunity for delays.

It must be understood that His Majesty's Government do not suggest that there is deliberate obstruction on the part of the French Government; the difficulties arise mainly from the system itself; but there is, it is feared, no desire on the part of the French authorities in New Caledonia to facilitate matters, or to consider any of the numerous questions which arise, except from a purely French point of view. It is the fixed idea apparently of the French local authorities as well as the French settlers that the New Hebrides should become entirely French, and this attitude must tend to render the new Protocol in practice ineffective. It would obviously be undesirable to make representations on such a matter to the French Government. Proof would be impossible, and the only result would be friction, which, at least in Vila itself, owing to the patience and tact of the British Resident Commissioner, has hitherto been markedly absent in the relations between the British and French authorities. But it seems well to mention this aspect of the matter, in order that your Ministers may appreciate fully the position.

6. As regards the Société Française des Nouvelles Hébrides, it would appear that there is no prospect of buying out their interests. His Majesty's Government have every reason to think that the French Government would refuse to tolerate this. In this connexion, reference is invited to Mr. Churchill's despatches, No. 517, of the 31st December, 1921, No. 124, of the 15th March, 1922, and No. 171, of the 26th April, 1922. But, in any case, assuming the French Government to raise no objection, and assuming the title of the Society to be good, His Majesty's Government could not provide funds, and from a recent communication received from the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth, it is understood that a revised offer of part of the interests of the Company has been rejected by your Government. It is stated in the enclosure to Mr. A. Wilson's letter to the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of the 22nd December, 1922, that the highest French legal advice supports the view that the French Government would have no power to interfere with the transfer of the properties of the Society. But whatever the advice tendered, it may certainly be anticipated that the French Government would take measures against any action such as transfer of this property, which tended to diminish the strength of their position in the New Hebrides.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that after the meeting in 1921, Mr. Hughes is understood to have discussed in Paris with French Ministers the future of the New Hebrides and, possibly, this particular question, but His Majesty's Government have no record of what passed at the discussion other than the statements made by Mr. Hughes in the House of Representatives on the 5th October, 1921.

7. It may, therefore, be said that matters are very little advanced since the discussion which took place in 1921, and while, of course, His Majesty's Government will continue to do their best, not only to secure that the Protocol is introduced as soon as possible, but also to make the Condominium system work, they feel compelled to urge that the position is so unsatisfactory that the possibility of some radical change must be seriously considered.

8. The Condominium was an experiment in compromise; it seemed to offer a way out of an impasse, and it can fairly be said that it is preferable to the chaos which it supplanted. But there is general agreement that it has not succeeded. The ideals of administration of the British and French are different; there is an irreconcilability in methods and temperament which dooms joint administration of this kind to failure; the system is no less cumbersome than it is extravagant,

and the results achieved by much labour are insignificant. Meanwhile, the British nationals are placed at a great disadvantage compared with their French competitors, owing to the stringent regulations which His Majesty's Government feel it incumbent upon them to impose, *e.g.*, in regard to employment of native labour, and as a result of the impartial administration of regulations generally by the British authorities. It is not anticipated that the new Protocol will do more than afford some small mitigation of these difficulties.

As regards extravagance, the fact that under the Condominium there is a permanent duplication of appointments, is sufficient to condemn the system. In the Joint Court for instance, there must be two Judges, one British, and one French, as colleagues to the President, who is a neutral; for the police, there must be separate forces, each with its own officer in charge, and for every district there must be two agents—one British and one French. The *reductio ad absurdum* of the system may be seen in the appointment of a French agent to the district of Tanna, in which there are no French nationals, but any suggestion that a French agent need not be appointed there is met with a blank refusal, the reason being that the French authorities suspect that it is a move in the direction of breaking away this district from the Condominium and converting it into a British Colony.

Many instances could be given to show that it is beyond hope to look for anything but the slowest rate of progress, even where the point at issue would appear to be perfectly straightforward; but one instance will suffice. A Public Prosecutor was required for the Joint Court. His Majesty's Government took the initiative, and requested the French Government to make a joint approach to the King of Spain to nominate a suitable neutral, this being the procedure laid down by the Protocol. In time, the two Ambassadors at Madrid received their instructions to make a joint submission to the Spanish Government, and the King of Spain selected provisionally a Dutchman. To this appointment the consent of the Queen of Holland was required, and the French Government was at once approached with a view to their sending instructions to the French Minister at the Hague, to concert with the British Minister in seeking the Queen's concurrence. After some months' delay, the French Minister received instructions. In due course, Her Majesty's concurrence was signified to the two Governments. It was then arranged that the British and French Ambassadors in Madrid should inform the Spanish Government that the Queen of Holland had no objection to the appointment, and request that the King of Spain proceed with the nomination. The first step in this matter was taken by His Majesty's Government in April 1922; the nomination has finally been made with effect from the 9th May, 1923. The bare recital of the facts speaks for itself and needs no comment.

9. In short, the New Hebrides as at present administered are a source of embarrassment to His Majesty's Government without any compensating advantage; and as pointed out by His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris as long ago as February, 1919, the abolition of a Condominium which is likely at any time to lead to friction between the two Governments, would be greatly in the interests of both Powers.

Strategically, His Majesty's Government would attach little or no importance to the Islands, whereas a harbour in the Eastern part of the Pacific would be of real strategical value in the event of naval action being necessary in the Pacific. Economically, the Group is of no value to Great Britain. Financially, as now administered, the Islands involve an annual loss to His Majesty's Government of £11,000 or more on "British Services" alone, and at any time His Majesty's Government may have to provide additional funds to make up the British share of any deficit on the Condominium budget under Article V. of the Protocol.

10. The question, therefore, arises as to possible alternative arrangements which would obviate the present wasteful and ineffective system. These are:—

(*a*.) Cession of the Islands to Great Britain by France.
(*b*) Cession of the Islands to France by Great Britain.
(*c*) Partition of the Islands between Great Britain and France.

(*a*) The first of these suggestions is that which the Commonwealth Government has on previous occasions desired, and no doubt it commends itself in many quarters. As recently as the 27th of March, in your despatch No. 111, you have forwarded a resolution from the Presbyterian Church of Australia, urging that the Islands should be taken over by Great Britain, and administered as a Crown Colony.

This, however, is out of the question, as the French Government would not consent to part with their rights in the Islands on any reasonable basis. Exchange

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with territory in some other part of the world is impracticable, as explained in the Memorandum enclosed, so that even if cession were accepted by the French Government in principle, it would be necessary to find the *quid pro quo* in the Pacific, and this in itself would present insuperable difficulties. The French attach an importance to the Islands which it is not perhaps easy to appreciate. It appears to be due in a large measure to sentiment. French ambitions for Colonial Empire are high, and there is no lack of writers in the French Press to foster the idea that the New Hebrides must become a French Possession.

His Majesty's Government are aware that arguments might be put forward in support of cession by the French, which would appeal strongly to those interested in the welfare of the Islands, both in this country and in Australia, but they are satisfied that any approach to the French Government on these lines would be useless, the only result being to intensify French suspicions of British aims in the Group, and thus to do more harm than good.

In this connexion, I may invite reference to my Confidential despatch of the 18th December last, from which your Ministers will have observed that at the interview with the deputation of Missionaries introduced by the Bishop of Melanesia, the opportunity was taken to make it clear that if the only alternative admitted to the present *régime* were cession by the French, then the Condominium must continue with all its inherent difficulties and embarrassments.

(*b*) Cession by Great Britain to France would be extremely popular with the French Colonial party, and it would presumably be welcomed by the French Government. It would, of course, be necessary to provide for the due preservation of the rights of any British subjects in the New Hebrides, and to ensure that the activities of British Missions should not be curtailed; but there is no reason to think that the French Government would not give the necessary guarantees. The question, of course, arises what countervailing advantage could be obtained. Looking at the proposition purely from the point of view of the security of the Dominions and Colonies in the Pacific, His Majesty's Government would suggest that the French Government should cede to Great Britain an island or islands in the Eastern Pacific which would provide a good harbourage. There would seem to be no useful purpose in insisting upon large territorial compensation. No financial or economic loss would accrue from the cession of the Islands. On the contrary, there would be a distinct financial gain, while the acquisition of a good harbour in the Pacific on the great circle route from and to Panamá would, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, be a material advantage. It is difficult to anticipate what the French view of such a proposal would be. The French are notoriously averse from ceding any French territory. But an exchange of the nature indicated would not appear to be out of the question, as it would satisfy the demands of French sentiment in respect to the New Hebrides on which the feeling is so strong, and for Parliamentary purposes in France, the exchange could obviously be represented in a very favourable light to French interests.

(*c*) The third course is partition of the Islands. Although the Dominion Prime Ministers were not disposed at the discussion in 1921 to agree to this, it would seem to offer a solution that might well be acceptable not only to the French Government as indicated in the enclosed Memorandum, but also to British organizations which have interested themselves in the New Hebrides, more especially the Missions. The utmost devotion has been shown by the various Missionary bodies which have entered the field in this area, and His Majesty's Government fully realize the reluctance that would be felt by these organizations to the handing over of the natives to a Power in which, it is understood, some at any rate of the Missions would have less faith as a protector of native interests than in Great Britain.

It is not necessary to consider at this stage where the line of partition should be drawn; but it would be unreasonable to suppose that a fair division could not be arrived at, and, I may say that when I received the Bishop of Melanesia and his deputation, the hint which was given as to partition appeared to be received not unfavourably.

There is much to be said for such an arrangement. It is true that the possibility of a strategical gain as under (*b*) would be lost. But from the humanitarian side, it is a fair argument that it is better for Great Britain to assume definite control over a part of the Islands, and do all that is possible for the natives in that part, than to continue the divided control of the whole, and share the responsibility for the failure to conserve and protect adequately the interests of the whole native

population. Financially, there should be a saving to His Majesty's Government. Economically, the Empire would neither gain nor lose, while the interests of the Commonwealth should not be adversely affected. From the point of view of indentured labour, the position would not be less satisfactory to the Commonwealth Government than at present; for, in existing circumstances, His Majesty's Government are powerless to prevent the French Government from importing Asiatic labour into the Group for the use of their own nationals.

11. If it should be agreed to initiate negotiations with the French Government, it does not follow that this could be done immediately. A suitable opportunity must be awaited for opening the matter, and in the meantime His Majesty's Government would continue to do all that they can to carry into effect the new Protocol with the same care as if there were no possibility of the abolition of joint control. But they trust that your Ministers will give their most earnest consideration to the whole question, and that they will agree that the time has now come when His Majesty's Government should be free to propose to the French Government the abolition of the existing system on lines other than the cession of the Islands to Great Britain.

His Majesty's Government would, of course, keep closely in touch with the Commonwealth Government and the Government of New Zealand in the course of any discussion with the French Government, and they would welcome the assistance of representatives of those Governments when active negotiations for a settlement are instituted. As at present advised, His Majesty's Government think that if the question is taken up with the French Government, it should be on the basis that both alternatives (*b*) and (*c*) should be open to discussion. But if your Government feel very strongly that one is preferable to the other, they would be quite ready to press for that alternative, unless it should be found that no progress could be made in that direction.

12. A copy of this despatch is being sent to the Governor-General of New Zealand with the request that the views of his Ministers also may be communicated to His Majesty's Government, and I am forwarding copies to the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific for his information.

I have, &c.
DEVONSHIRE.

Enclosure to Appendix (A).

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING THE NEW HEBRIDES.

The New Hebrides extend over more than seven degrees of latitude with a total area of about 5,000 square miles. Discovered in 1606, they were named and charted by Cook in 1774. The native population was estimated in 1910 at 64,000 steadily decreasing. It is believed that some of the Islands have lost more than three-fourths of their population in fifty years.

The first missionary settlement was made in 1848, shortly after a trade in sandalwood had started. By 1875, at which date there was no French settlement or trade, the British Missions had some thousands of converts and numerous prosperous British plantations existed. Measures taken to control the recruitment of Pacific Islanders, which had often been mere slave raiding, ruined these plantations, and the opportunity was seized by an Irishman named Higginson, who had become a naturalized Frenchman, to form a French company, which bought up most of the British estates.

In 1878, an exchange of notes took place with the French Government, in which both Powers disclaimed any intention of annexing the Group. In 1886, however, the French Government, on the plea that a number of French citizens had been murdered, sent a military expedition which occupied the three main stations, and despite assurances, behaved as if the Islands had been annexed. Great excitement was roused in Australia, and after prolonged pressure from His Majesty's Government and a promise to recognise the cession to France of Raiatea in the Eastern Pacific the French promised to withdraw as soon as a Joint Naval Commission to maintain order and protect lives and property could be established. The Convention of the 16th November, 1887, and Declaration of the 26th January, 1888, effected this compromise.

The Joint Commission kept order with fair success, but could not deal with land claims, questions relating to which became acute in 1901. In 1903, the French

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Government suggested a partition of the Islands as a solution. But the attitude of Australia, though the Commonwealth Government was informed that the Group was not regarded as of strategic value, made this solution impracticable. The Australian and New Zealand Governments continued to urge that the French Government should be induced to agree to annexation by Great Britain. Negotiations were then set on foot which ultimately led to a Conference in London, and the Convention of the 29th October, 1906. The Governments of Australia and New Zealand were indignant with the manner in which the Convention had been arranged without consultation with them, and declined any responsibility. They took particular objection to the general principle followed, that joint Government should be restricted within the narrowest possible limits.

The Convention asserted the paramount rights of the two Powers, with jurisdiction over their nationals under two High Commissioners; provided for the institution of a Joint Court with a neutral President, and made some complicated provisions with regard to procedure and powers in criminal and civil cases, particularly land suits. Detailed arrangements for the Joint Court were made by an exchange of notes on the 29th August, 1907, and the Convention was proclaimed at Vila on the 2nd December of the same year. The Court was officially opened on the 25th November, 1910, and began regular sittings in March 1911.

As means of protecting the native, the Convention proved a failure, largely owing to the rigid French method of interpretation. The attempt to deal judicially with serious native offences broke down altogether, and they continued to be dealt with by the rough and ready—and probably illegal—methods of the Joint Naval Commission. Difficulties were brought to a head by decisions that though assaults on natives by employers came under the Convention, assaults by agents of employers did not; and by the absence of power to arrest or to enforce fines which, as the President complained, brought about a state of affairs in which the judgments of the Joint Court were held in contempt by the French. The tendency indeed of the French was to refuse recognition of the Joint Court at all. Whereas the British acted loyally towards the Condominium, the French endeavoured to treat the New Hebrides as French territory, and to push French interests right or wrong.

The French Government were accordingly invited to discuss amendments, and a Conference sat in London from June to August, 1914. In spite of difficulties caused by the stress laid in French law and policy on full maintenance of authority over nationals, unexpected success was obtained, and a draft Convention was drawn up covering amendments providing for, *inter alia*, extension of joint services to native courts, prisons, land registry and survey; provision for a code of native law; powers to the Joint Court to enforce its authority; admission of the principle of joint execution of Joint Court judgments (an important concession); institution of a system of land registration; and some slight, though still insufficient, improvement in protection of natives. The British representatives failed to secure prohibition of recruitment for places outside or of the introduction of labourers from outside.

The draft Convention was referred to the Governments of Australia and New Zealand, but no definite replies were received, and the subject was shelved during the War.

In 1919, the British representation at the Peace Conference decided that it was undesirable to raise the matter, though Mr. Massey was anxious for it to be taken up with a view to exchanging New Caledonia and the New Hebrides for territory in Africa or Asia. In 1920, however, the President of the Joint Court ascertained unofficially that the French Government might not be indisposed to agree to partition. This proposal was referred to the Governments of Australia and New Zealand, but while the latter was prepared to consider such a scheme, the former stated that the only change in the political status of the Group which the Commonwealth Government could favour, would be control of the Group by Great Britain alone; or, if more acceptable to France, by Australia, or by Australia and New Zealand in conjunction. They again referred to the possibility of France giving up her rights in exchange for territory elsewhere, and in the meantime considered that the Condominium must continue.

The French Government inquired in 1921 whether the 1914 Convention could not now be brought into force. The Foreign Office have been informed that the whole question of the future of the New Hebrides will be discussed with the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand.

As Australia objects to partition, the possible alternatives appear now to be, either to bring the 1914 Protocol into force, and to endeavour to improve and extend

the existing joint judiciary and administration; or to arrange an exchange, whereby the New Hebrides shall fall entirely to one Power.

The first alternative requires the resuscitation of the Joint Court, which has been completely suspended since May 1920. The President, Native Advocate, and Registrar are now on leave. The Public Prosecutorship is vacant. The British Judgeship is vacant. The French Judge is in bad health, and on leave. The Joint Naval Commission had ceased to exist from the outbreak of War. On the other hand, the administrative services appear to be functioning fairly well. The Condominium revenue at present just covers the Condominium expenses, estimated at £22,874 for 1921, including the Joint Court, Police, Works (such as they are) Port, Customs, Post and Telegraph. The British services, that is the Resident and Assistant Resident Commissioners, Inspectors of Labour, Prison and Government Yacht, cost the Imperial Treasury about £8,000 a year.

It is improbable that a satisfactory candidate could be found for the British judgeship at the present rate of salary, 17,500 francs with a bonus of 6,500 francs, and the question of an increase is under consideration. As soon as a British judge is available, there would be no difficulty in setting the Court to work again. The President is willing to return.

On the second alternative, exchange, the views of the British Governments interested are divergent. New Zealand has always attached importance to securing control of Islands in the Eastern Pacific, and though desiring to maintain British rights in the New Hebrides, has been prepared to sacrifice them with that object. Australia has consistently declined to consider any such proposal.

The question of the New Hebrides was considered at length in Part II of the First Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on Territorial Changes of the Committee of Imperial Defence, dated the 25th January, 1917. The Sub-Committee recommended the solution preferred by the Colonial Office (see Appendix (D) to the Report) and supported on strategic grounds by the Admiralty, that British rights in the New Hebrides should be exchanged for the Islands lying between the Cook Islands and Pitcairn Island.

The difficulties in the way of the Australian proposal that France should cede the New Hebrides in exchange for African or Asiatic territory, are heavy. Indeed, in 1913, His Majesty's Government, in response to a suggestion to that effect, definitely refused to hold out any hope that it would be possible to offer any concession which the French would regard as adequate.

In the opinion of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the present moment is inopportune for negotiating any exchange of territory with France. If, therefore, exchange and partition are to be ruled out, it only remains to bring the Protocol of 1914 into force. The French Government, as already stated, are prepared to do this, but it will no doubt entail increased expenditure.

In conclusion, a few words may be added on the present relative position of French and British influence in the Group. Apart from sentiment and the proximity of the Group to New Caledonia, the French claims are stronger, owing to the predominance of their interests. In 1920 there were in the Group 265 British Europeans and 5 British Asiatics, 656 French Europeans and 165 French Asiatics. Other foreigners (mostly Asiatics) numbered 212, or whom 162 were under French régime. The French have thus made a considerable advance since 1910, when the numbers were 288 British and 566 French.

The Group is almost entirely dependent on Australia for imports. Those on British and French account have not differed greatly, the average for the years 1915–19 having been £42,380 on British, and £60,220 French, but the export trade is mainly French, corresponding averages being £47,493 and £153,896. And while the British exports have remained stationary, French exports have doubled in five years, and are now nearly five times the value, and six times the bulk of the British. The latter are almost confined to copra, but the former include also cocoa, coffee, cotton and maize.

This increasing predominance in production is mainly due to the success of the French in obtaining labour, which, as in all the Pacific Islands, is extremely scarce. While the British annual average of recruitments fell from 437 for 1912–13–14 to 388 for 1918–19–20, the French average rose from 897 to 1,296. This does not fully represent the French superiority, as they induce the native to engage for longer periods. The number working for British employers in 1919 was 855. For the French it was 2,760, plus a certain number of indentured Asiatics. The French also recruit for New Caledonia.

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With regard to land, in 1911 the British Resident Commissioner estimated British claims to be 14,754 acres surveyed and 330,800 unsurveyed; those of the Société Française des Nouvelles-Hébrides to be 672,500 surveyed and 108,000 unsurveyed. The last figure may be an underestimate, as it has been stated that the French claims cover nearly the whole Group.

These statistics show that French population and trade steadily advances, while the British are stationary or decreasing.

The French progress is largely due to methods repugnant to British ideas, among which may be mentioned irregular occupation of native lands; the absence of any proper control over recruiting (particularly recruitment of women, forbidden to the British) or of the treatment of labour; purchase of native lands by exchange of guns; constant evasion of the liquor regulations; and commerce with native women which provides half-castes, some of whom are now wealthy and influential. It must also be noted that the French have no prejudice against the introduction of Asiatics under indenture.

The French Société des Nouvelles-Hébrides received 15 annual subventions of 360,000 francs from 1894, but it is not known whether the subsidy was continued. Tariff preferences given by New Caledonia, and the visits of subsidized French steamers have been to some extent set off by Australian subsidies to a steamship line. But the Commonwealth has always declined to grant a tariff preference.

The mainstay of British influence is the Presbyterian Mission, which is the most powerful mission in the Group; but the Marist Mission (French Roman Catholic) is making headway.

Colonial Office, June 23, 1921.

Appendices.

1. Convention of the 20th October, 1906 [Cd. 3300].
2. Arrangements of the 29th August, 1907, under the Convention [Cd. 3876].
3. Draft Convention of the 6th August, 1914.
4. Interim Report of Sub-Committee on Territorial Changes, the 25th January, 1917.

APPENDIX (B).

Paraphrase Telegram from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governors-General of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, dated May 11, 1925.

(Secret.)

A SUITABLE diplomatic opportunity to approach the French Government regarding the New Hebrides on the lines recommended by the Imperial Conference has been carefully awaited by His Majesty's Government, but the desired opportunity has not hitherto presented itself partly owing to the nature of other issues that have had to be discussed with the French Government and partly owing to elections and changes of Ministry in France and in this country. A favourable moment appeared to have arrived, however, in view of the improvement of general diplomatic relations between the two countries, when, for the time being, the postponement of the question has again been necessitated by the fall of the French Government. It is to be hoped that this postponement will be of short duration. We must be ready in the meantime to formulate our views in the event of the French Government agreeing to discuss the question.

It would seem clear that in any scheme of partition the following two principles should be observed :—

1. Each share should consist of islands contiguous to one another for administrative reasons.
2. So far as possible each island should go to that Power which has the preponderance in commercial and missionary interests and in number of subjects.

We should be justified on these two principles in asking for Southern Group, consisting of Tanna, Erromanga, Aneityum, Aniwa and Futuna, and for Northern

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Group consisting of Banks and Torres Islands. Having regard to the respective interests of the two Powers, it could not possibly be deemed a fair division to leave the French with the whole of the Central Group, and, moreover, neither in the Northern nor Southern Group is there safe anchorage for large vessels. But any scheme of division of Central Group is very difficult to suggest, and it is most improbable that French would agree to give up any of three important islands Santo, Malekula, Efate. It might be possible, on the principle of contiguity to Southern Group, to ask for Efate and to give the rest to France, though it is extremely unlikely that French would agree to such a solution Indeed, it would be very difficult to maintain British claim in view of great preponderance in number of French settlers. However, the question might be considered of putting forward partition on these lines as *ballon d'essai* and, in the event of the whole of the Central Group being demanded by the French, using Efate as a pawn to try to obtain territorial compensation elsewhere, as contemplated in rider to Imperial Conference resolution.

With regard to the territorial compensation question, as at present advised Admiralty consider that on account of poor anchorage and isolated position Rapa Island is not suitable, and that of other possible islands Bora Bora is preferable to Mangareva, as according to recent information anchorage at latter is inaccessible to modern cruisers.

I should be glad to receive your Ministers' views generally on the question of partition.

AMERY.

APPENDIX (C).

Paraphrase of Telegram from the Governor-General of New Zealand to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated May 19, 1925.

(Secret.)

YOUR telegram of the 11th May.

I am asked by my Prime Minister to inform you that the New Zealand Government is in entire accord with the proposal to partition the New Hebrides between France and Great Britain, but recognises that it is necessary that a suitable opportunity for negotiations should be awaited. Further, any agreement for partition which commends itself to His Majesty's Government will be satisfactory to Government of New Zealand, and this Government is satisfied to leave His Majesty's Government to determine the question of the islands to be assigned as His Majesty's territory without the necessity of first consulting the Government of this Dominion.

APPENDIX (D).

Paraphrase Telegram from the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, dated October 17.

(Secret)

NEW HEBRIDES.

Referring to your telegram of the 11th May, the question of the partition of the group has been fully considered by my Ministers, and they concur in the policy of His Majesty's Government as to the advisability of approaching the French Government at an opportune moment with that end in view.

Ministers also agree that it would be highly desirable for administrative purposes for each share to consist of islands contiguous to one another.

With regard to the other principle which His Majesty's Government consider should govern any partition, viz., population and missionary and commercial interests, it is felt that, notwithstanding the fact that Australian and British missionary interests in these islands are very considerable, they are less easy to appreciate than trade and population and that for this reason, in any scheme of partition, the two latter factors would tend to be regarded as preponderant. It is obvious that this would operate inequitably to the advantage of France. It appears to my Ministers that this position could be redressed by other considerations, such as political interests of British dominions in the South Pacific, and the very material advantages which will accrue to France as a result of the conclusion of the Security Pact under which a guarantee will

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be received by France from the British Empire without any specific compensating benefits being received by the latter.

The necessity for port or other harbour conditions in each portion affording a safe anchorage is also apparent, and it is felt that the strongest claims should be advanced to Efate on this ground as well as on that of a geographical contiguity. It will doubtless be remembered by His Majesty's Government that in 1902 the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia acquired a beneficial interest in approximately 100,000 acres of land in the New Hebrides, of which the trustees are Messrs. Burn, Philp and Co. This should not be overlooked in any negotiations for partition, and due protection should be provided for these interests. Full particulars of the interests will be made available before negotiations are opened. Further, the Commonwealth Government will be looked to by the missionary organisations here to see that they and their existing rights in the islands which pass to French control are afforded every protection.

It is also felt that, so as to prevent Australian shipping from being squeezed out of the group, provision should, if possible, be made in the treaty partition for the shipping of each of the parties to enjoy equal rights in the islands allotted to the other.

The Commonwealth Government notes that no reference is made in the telegram of the 11th May to the application of the mandate system in the event of partition. It is felt that the acceptance by both parties of the mandate principle would best safeguard the protection of the natives in the French portion, and in securing a certain degree of publicity such a course would render a partition more acceptable to the missionary organisations here, and would tend to allay their apprehension as to the treatment of the natives in the future.

The Commonwealth Government also feels most strongly that in any partition, whether the mandate principle be adopted or not, each party should have right of pre-emption over the islands allotted to the other.

In the event of the French Government agreeing to enter into negotiations for a partition it would also be appreciated by my Ministers if the Commonwealth Government could be associated with the negotiations and have a representative present.

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SECRET. Copy No. 2

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

LONG-DISTANCE WIRELESS TELEPHONY.

MEMORANDUM BY THE IMPERIAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMITTEE.

1. *First Successful Experiments in United States of America.*

The first successful tests of long-distance wireless telephony were made in 1915, when the American Telephone and Telegraph Company succeeded in establishing one-way telephone communication from the United States Naval Wireless Station at Arlington, United States of America, to Paris. These tests indicated the possibility of carrying speech to great distances by means of wireless; but while the results obtained were satisfactory, the plant used was essentially of a laboratory character, and did not approach to the conditions imposed by commercial service requirements.

2. *Appointment of Trans-Atlantic Telephony Committee by Postmaster-General.*

Three years ago further experiments were carried out in one-way transmission from the United States to England, conducted by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company through the station of the Radio Corporation at Rocky Point, Long Island, to the Western Electric Company in England. The success of these experiments encouraged the Postmaster-General to appoint a Committee, under the Chairmanship of Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry B. Jackson, to investigate the possibility of two-way Transatlantic wireless telephony on a commercial scale.

3. *Provision of Telephony Transmitter at Rugby.*

Under the auspices of this Committee the British Post Office undertook the erection of a receiving station with a special directional type of aerial, and the provision at the new Rugby Wireless Station of a 200-kilowatt telephony transmitter of a similar type to that used at Rocky Point, and also a highly efficient telephonic aerial system, which utilises six of the 820-feet masts, for the purpose of experiments in two-way telephony with the United States. The power available at the Rugby Station is ample for telephonic as well as telegraphic transmission, and this, together with the plant enumerated above, has enabled the experiments to be carried out under good conditions.

4. *First Successful Two-way Experiments across the Atlantic.*

After preliminary tests of the telephone transmitter at Rugby, arrangements were made to establish two-way conversation across the Atlantic. This was first accomplished on the 7th February, 1926, and has been continued each week since that date. Four weeks later, on the 7th March, a demonstration was arranged in which representatives of the press in London and New York exchanged conversations with facility, the speech being loud, clear and free from distortion.

In England the circuit terminates at the Trunk Exchange, London, whence it may be connected to subscribers in this country or on the Continent over the inland or continental trunk lines. At the Trunk Exchange the circuit divides into two portions, one of which carries the outgoing speech to America viâ Rugby, while the other brings the speech from America viâ the receiving station near Swindon to London.

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In transmitting from London the speech is carried by underground telephone wires about 80 miles in length to the Post Office Transmitting Station at Rugby, and thence by wireless a distance of 2,900 miles to a wireless receiving station at Houlton, Maine, United States of America. From Houlton the speech is carried by an overhead land-line telephone circuit a distance of 500 miles to New York City, where it terminates in the long-distance Telephone Exchange.

The speech transmitted from New York is carried by underground telephone wires to the transmitting station of the Radio Corporation at Rocky Point, Long Island, a distance of 70 miles, and thence by wireless a distance of 3,300 miles to the British Post Office receiving station near Swindon, whence it is carried by an underground telephone circuit a distance of 60 miles to London.

The wave-lengths utilised for the initial two-way communication were 5,770 metres in England and 5,260 metres in the United States. As the result of further research it was found possible to establish two-way communication using only one set of wave-lengths; and 5,260 metres was adopted on both sides of the Atlantic for transmission as well as reception, interference between the outgoing and incoming signals being overcome by a new system of connections.

A considerable amount of work remains to be done to improve and stabilise the line and general circuit conditions and to ascertain the reliability of the wireless link under varying conditions of atmospheric interference.

Tests are carried out each week, over a complete period of twenty-four hours, with the object of obtaining information as to the commercial reliability of the service at different times of the day throughout the year. So far, it has been found that communication is reliable almost throughout the twenty-four hours, except in cases of severe atmospheric disturbance. The feasibility of extending the land-line circuits to telephone subscribers at great distances has also been tested; for instance, communication between London and Canada, viâ New York, has been successfully accomplished.

5. *Practical Obstacles to Commercial Radio-Telephony.*

One of the principal obstacles to any extensive development of wireless telephony is the large number of wave-lengths required for a single telephone channel. Even with the recent improvements achieved in economy of wave-lengths by using the same set of wave-lengths for both transmission and reception, one wireless telephony service still occupies about fifteen times as many wave-lengths as a wireless telegraphy transmission, and consequently there is not sufficient clear space for a new wireless telephony service without disturbing existing telegraph services, operated in many cases by foreign Administrations or companies who, not unnaturally, may refuse to relinquish their prior claims.

6. *Invitation to the Dominions and Colonies to co-operate.*

At present the Wireless Stations at Rugby and Rocky Point are the only stations equipped for two-way wireless telephony, but the development tests which are being carried out between London and New York will enable the Dominions and Colonies to co-operate by listening for and measuring the strength of the transmissions. Such data are essential to the consideration of the problems involved in the establishment of any service and would be of great assistance in the development of long-distance wireless telephony. Invitations for such co-operation have been circulated to the Dominions, Colonies and other parts of the Empire, with technical details of the apparatus required for reception.

7. *Secrecy.*

The necessity for secrecy of conversation can only be tested by actual experience, but may be a very important factor in the success of a commercial wireless telephone service. Experiments are being conducted with new systems of secrecy, but the question has not yet reached a stage at which a definite pronouncement can be made.

8. *Possibilities of Short-Wave Telephony.*

Below 100 metres there is at present a considerable number of wave-lengths available, and experiments are being carried out by the Post Office with a view to investigating the possibility of long-distance wireless telephony with short waves, but it is too early to count upon success in this direction.

9. *Summary.*

The following are the summarised conclusions of this report:—

(*a.*) The results already obtained have shown that wireless telephony on long wave-lengths is possible between England and North America with the facilities at present available, except when the atmospheric conditions are unfavourable, and extensions to the trunk telephone system of both countries have been made.

(*b.*) The principal obstacle to the development of wireless telephone services is that most of the suitable wave-lengths have already been appropriated for wireless telegraph services, owned in many cases by Foreign Administrations or Companies, and that there is no room for wireless telephony without displacing some of those services. This difficulty will continue unless research is able to produce some alleviation in the ether congestion. In addition, the problem of securing secrecy remains to be solved.

(*c.*) The suggested co-operation in tests between England and the Dominions and Colonies should enable valuable data to be obtained as to the possibilities of developing long-distance wireless telephone services, either on the long-wave system, which is being used for the Trans-Atlantic telephony tests, or on the short-wave system, which is still in the experimental stage.

(Signed) L. S. AMERY, *Chairman,*
Imperial Communications Committee.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
May 14, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

Outline of Questions of Air Policy for Discussion at the Imperial Conference, 1926.

Memorandum by the Air Ministry.

Air Ministry,
May 1926.

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PREFATORY NOTE BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR.

THE accompanying Memorandum has been prepared by the Air Ministry to furnish an outline of the principal questions of air policy which it is desired to bring forward for discussion at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. It deals with aviation from the commercial as well as the defence aspect.

My reasons for combining these two aspects in a single memorandum are twofold.

In the first place I have thought that it may be convenient at this preliminary stage to have available a short but comprehensive conspectus of aviation and air policy as a whole. Secondly, I wish to emphasise the interaction between service and civil aviation.

Thus the chain of air ports which is an essential prerequisite, if we are to secure the fullest measure of mobility for our imperial air forces, will be of the greatest utility for the development in the future of commercial air routes throughout the Empire; the military air service which has been carried out fortnightly for some years past by the Royal Air Force between Cairo and Baghdad has, as we had hoped, proved the precursor of a regular system of civil air transport, viz., the Cairo–Karachi service which should be in operation by the beginning of next year; and even if, as has happened with sea-borne craft, the design of airships for use in war ultimately develops along distinctive lines, lighter-than-air craft constructed for purely commercial purposes should always have a definite, if limited, utility in suitable theatres for defence purposes such as naval reconnaissance and the carriage of troops.

Full memoranda dealing separately with—

(A.) Air Policy in relation to Imperial Defence,
(B.) Civil Aviation and the Empire,

are in course of preparation and will be circulated to delegates on their arrival in this country in the autumn.

S. H.

Air Ministry, May 14, 1926.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Outline of Questions of Air Policy for Discussion at the Imperial Conference, 1926.

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I.—AIR POLICY IN RELATION TO IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

(a.) *Present Strength and Disposition of the Royal Air Force.*

The strength of the Royal Air Force is at present approximately equivalent to 61 squadrons, 56 of which are on a regular basis. Of the regular units 45 are organised on a squadron basis (in addition to 2 detached flights), the remainder being composed of 18 flights (numerically equivalent to about 9 squadrons) provided for service in the Fleet Air Arm under the operational control of the Admiralty,* and 2 flights controlled by the Air Ministry for operation from coastal bases. 32½ squadrons (including 5 on a non-regular basis) are at home, 8 in Iraq, 6 in India, 4½ in Egypt and Palestine.

It is anticipated that 2 squadrons will be withdrawn from Iraq in the early future. The possibility of this withdrawal (if it is not prevented by any new difficulties with Turkey) is due to the peaceful condition of the country, and provides a further testimony to the efficiency and economy of the scheme of air control in Iraq which was set up in 1922.

The use of aircraft as a primary arm for garrison duties has been extended by increasing the number of machines in Transjordan, and a proposal has lately been made by the Resident at Aden that the strength of the air unit there should be raised from one flight to a complete squadron.

Of the 18 flights (the equivalent of 9 squadrons) in the Fleet Air Arm, 6 are fighter flights, 4 for gunnery spotting, 5 for naval reconnaissance and 3 torpedo flights. These flights when embarked are borne in aircraft carrier ships, of which there are normally 4 in commission, 2 in Home Waters and 2 in the Mediterranean. Two new large aircraft carriers are at present under construction by the Admiralty, and several additional flights will be required to complete their complement. The provision for the Fleet Air Arm also includes aircraft for embarkation in battleships and cruisers. There are also 2 shore-based flights for coastal reconnaissance, 1 at home and 1 at Malta.

* The units comprised in the Fleet Air Arm are paid for by a Grant-in-Aid to Air Votes from Navy Votes.

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The total of 61 squadrons includes 9 squadrons (4 at home, 4 in India and 1 in Egypt) provided for artillery spotting and reconnaissance duties with the Army.

During the present year 2 new squadrons will be formed, both on a non-regular basis.

(b.) *Home Defence.*

It will be recalled that the Imperial Conference of 1923 discussed at some length the Scheme for Home Defence against air attack which had been approved by the Cabinet earlier in the year. This scheme provided for the formation of a force of 52 squadrons for the defence of Great Britain, and the programme of development required to implement it has been methodically pursued during the last few years.

When the last Conference assembled there were 13 squadrons allotted for Home Defence. At the present moment there are 25 squadrons, of which 11 are fighting squadrons and 14 bombing squadrons. During the present year it is intended to provide 3 more squadrons for Home Defence, of which it is anticipated that 1 will become available by the withdrawal of a squadron from overseas.

It must, however, be pointed out that 5 of the bombing squadrons at present in existence are organised on a special reserve or auxiliary basis; this is also the case with the 2 squadrons to be formed in the present year. These squadrons cannot be reckoned as fully equivalent in military value to squadrons wholly manned by personnel of the regular Air Force.

The Air Staff are nevertheless convinced that the policy of organising a portion of the Air Force on a non-regular basis will in due time amply justify itself. It is considered that the security of the air defences of this country will be largely dependent upon the growth of an "air sense" in the community at large, and that, apart from their direct operational value, the special reserve and auxiliary squadrons, based as they are upon affiliation with particular localities, will do much to develop an interest in air questions among all classes of the population. With the same end in view, air organisations have also been started at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and it is expected that a considerable number of desirable candidates for the Air Service will be obtained from these sources.

At the time when the last conference was held it was expected that the full number of 52 squadrons for Home Defence, as comprised in the present programme of expansion, would be reached by 1928–29. It has now been decided that the date of completion should be postponed. The factors which led to this decision were, broadly speaking:—

(i.) The conclusion of the Locarno Treaty.
(ii.) Financial stringency and the necessity for radical economies imposed thereby.

It must be clearly realised that the postponement has the effect of still longer maintaining the great disparity which exists between the air strength of Great Britain and that of France, and it will still further delay the attainment of the policy which was explicitly laid down by His Majesty's Government in 1923 and which has since been reaffirmed by two succeeding Governments, that the air power of Great Britain must include a Home Defence Force of sufficient strength adequately to protect us against air attack by the strongest air power within striking distance of this country.

(c.) *Air Policy with regard to Strategic Air Routes.*

The Air Staff lay the greatest importance on the development and co-ordination of air routes throughout the Empire for the dual purposes of defence and communications. In a further paper, which will be submitted to the Conference when it assembles, the Air Staff will put forward more detailed recommendations as to future development, and the present memorandum is confined to a statement of certain broad principles which it is hoped may assist the Dominion Representatives to a preliminary appreciation of the problems involved.

Since the formation of the post-war Air Force in 1919 it has been the consistent aim of the Air Staff to develop in every possible way the mobility of the Air Arm for purposes of Imperial Defence. It is evident that the full realisation of this aim depends upon the adoption of a progressive and carefully co-ordinated policy for the establishment of air ports in different parts of the Empire. In this way the mobility of our Air Forces will less and less be limited to their range of operations from their normal bases. The ability to reinforce any threatened portion of the Empire within a minimum of time will be enhanced and the need for, and dependence upon, fixed defences correspondingly reduced.

Just as the Navy requires for carrying out its world-wide responsibilities the provision of adequate ports from which the Fleets can operate and refuel, so must air power provide itself with chains of air stations by means of which large concentrations of air squadrons can be effected for operations either over sea or over land.

If this conception of the rôle and organisation of the Air Service is accepted, it is obvious that the interest and co-operation of each part of the Empire is of prime importance to its realisation.

The development of air power for defence purposes is in many aspects closely interconnected with its development as a means of civil and commercial transport. The subject of civil aviation is dealt with in Section II below, and it is necessary here only to observe that the interconnection of military and civil aviation development will be most marked in the outlying parts of the Empire. In Great Britain itself the opportunities for co-operation between military and civil interests are more limited. But in the development of air lines along the great routes of Imperial communication close co-ordination between civil and defence interests will be of the utmost importance and mutual advantage. In some areas service aviation may prepare the way for the establishment of civil air lines; the air route between Cairo and Baghdad is a case in point. In others civil enterprise is likely to take the lead in establishing regular air routes which will be of the greatest value to the Royal Air Force and to the Military air services of the Dominions. In either case the expenditure involved will have the double advantage of promoting and accelerating Empire communications for trade and commerce in peace and of maintaining its security in time of war.

II.—CIVIL AVIATION.

(a.) *Introduction.*

Air transport is to-day taking its place as a really serious factor in the world's communications. During 1925, 31,000 miles of organised air routes were actually operated and the number of miles flown totalled over 14 million.

British practical experience is, for the moment, limited to the operation for commercial transport of aeroplanes, seaplanes and flying boats, but airships offer great possibilities for the further development of Imperial communications.

In other administrative and commercial activities aviation is also beginning to take a useful place, and considerable experience has been obtained in the use of aircraft for survey, the protection of forests against fire, the destruction of insect pests in crops and other similar enterprises.

It is increasingly important that careful consideration should be given to the question of making the fullest possible use of this method of communication for Imperial purposes and that close co-operation in the development of civil aviation should be established between the different Governments of the Empire.

The Air Ministry is preparing a detailed Memorandum on Civil Aviation in all its aspects, which will be circulated to the Empire Delegates on their arrival in England.

Meanwhile, the following brief outline of the present situation of civil aviation throughout the world may assist the Dominion Governments should they desire to formulate concrete schemes for the development of this growing activity in the best interests of the Empire.

(b.) *Air Transport in Europe.*

Within Europe the foundations of air transport have been firmly laid and a steadily growing expansion has been achieved. France has so far led the way in the organisation of long-distance routes, and has instituted regular air services as far afield as Constantinople and Warsaw to the east, and Casablanca and Dakar to the south, with several other services of lesser importance in other directions. Her commercial aircraft covered almost 3 million miles during 1925.

Germany has established a large number of internal commercial services, which are partly supported by the States and partly by local municipalities. She has also a considerable participation in a service flying along the coast of the Baltic States to Finland, and in another from Königsberg to Moscow. Her total commercial mileage in 1925 was about 1¼ million.

The British air line, Imperial Airways, is operating from London to Zurich viâ Paris, to Cologne viâ Brussels and to Amsterdam viâ Ostend, with occasional services to Berlin. At Cologne and Amsterdam connections are made with German, Dutch and Swedish air lines; 826,000 miles were flown during 1925.

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Holland has several most efficient services radiating from Amsterdam, while Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Spain and Roumania have all inaugurated air lines to neighbouring countries.

In no case has any air transport service in Europe yet paid its way without Government assistance, and all the operations enumerated above are supported by subsidies. The system of these subsidies varies in each case; that given by His Majesty's Government to Imperial Airways is framed with the intention of assisting the Company to establish itself on a self-supporting commercial basis as soon as possible.

(c.) *Air Transport outside Europe.*

Australia is the only Dominion which is operating regular air transport services at present. In Canada much good work has been accomplished in aerial survey and forest protection, to which allusion will be made later; but in other parts of the Empire commercial air activities have been very small.

In the United States, a mail service between New York and San Francisco, a distance of 2,500 miles, has been successfully operated under State control. The journey takes only 30 hours and includes night flying along the central section of about 800 miles. This enterprise is carried out under climatic and physical conditions similar to those prevailing in some parts of the British Empire and is an example of what can be accomplished provided the necessary financial support is forthcoming. The U.S.A. Post Office has lately concluded mail-carrying contracts with eight commercial companies to operate feeder-lines to the main New York–San Francisco service. Last year the U.S.A. State commercial aircraft flew over 2 million miles on regular services, and if the proposed schedules of the eight new companies come into force, more than 4½ million miles will be flown this year.

Other efficient air services are in operation in the Belgian Congo and in South and Central America.

In many parts of the world, air transport problems are receiving serious consideration and development in the immediate future promises to be rapid.

(d.) *Traffic.*

In Europe, passenger traffic has proved to be most readily obtainable and productive of receipts; 21,000 passengers were carried across the Channel by British, French and Dutch aircraft last year. There is, however, one mail service which has handled a large volume of mails, viz., the French air line from Toulouse to Casablanca. Over 7 million letters were carried on this line during 1925. Freight traffic is growing and air transport offers considerable benefits to certain classes of goods.

In Australia, passengers, freight and mails have been carried with perfect safety and remarkable regularity during long periods.

In the United States of America, air traffic has been limited to the transport of mails, and over 250 million letters have been despatched on the cross-continental service since its inception in 1920.

(e.) *Cairo–Karachi Service.*

His Majesty's Government has lately concluded a contract with Imperial Airways for an air service operating between Cairo and Karachi. The contract demands a fortnightly service, flying the distance at approximately 2,500 miles in 4 days. This, however, is a minimum, and the definite intention is to establish as soon as possible a weekly service and eventually to reduce the time of the flight to about 30 hours, including a section flown by night.

A fleet of 5 new aircraft, each equipped with 3 air-cooled engines, totalling about 1,200 h.p., is under construction, and the first of these machines should be flying during August. The service is timed to start operations in January 1927. The reasons for starting from Cairo are various. Up to the present, the international situation in Europe has rendered accurate estimates of future possibilities impossible; the European climate is notoriously difficult for aircraft during the winter; and Cairo is only 5 days from London and can be reached twice a week by two regular and efficient steamship services. It was therefore considered sound to inaugurate this first Empire link from Cairo and thus, in the early stages, avoid the difficulties involved by climate and international complications. Moreover, the strategic value, especially from the point of view of Air Power, of a predominantly British air route through the Middle East, has been a determining factor in justifying the subsidy; a reduction of the air forces in Iraq has, in fact, been made in some degree contingent on the establishment of the route. The contract is for a period of 5 years, and it is hoped

that before the end of that period extensions of the route, possibly enabling connected services to run through from London to Rangoon, may be in sight.

(f.) *Future Developments.*

Much experience has been gained in Europe during the last 6 years in the commercial operation of aircraft. A high standard of safety has been attained, and a greater measure of reliability will result from certain improvements which are already within our grasp. The cost of operation of the air lines of Great Britain to-day is approximately 5*s.* per ton of useful load carried per mile at 90 miles an hour. It is clear that before air transport can operate without Government subsidies this cost of operation must be reduced. Many factors enter into this problem, but the two main requisites for definite progress are (i) the production of aircraft which are cheaper to operate per ton-mile, and (ii) an appreciable increase in traffic.

The Technical Department of the Air Ministry is devoting time and money to the production of better designs, and a number of experimental commercial aircraft have been ordered by the Government with a view to aiding a development which, though it does not offer any immediate financial reward, yet possesses great future potentialities, since the public demand for air transport in every part of Europe is steadily increasing. When commercial aircraft are produced which can pay their way, it is obvious that air transport services will grow and multiply in every part of the world. It is necessary, however, to consider how this new industry can best be developed within the Empire before that stage of technical progress has actually been reached.

(g.) *Air Survey and other Commercial Activities.*

Canada has proved that under certain conditions much time and money can be saved in survey work by the employment of aircraft. Air surveys of remarkable accuracy have been carried out, and a large programme for the mapping of undeveloped country in the north is in process of execution.

Considerable success has also been attained by a British air survey company in Burma and Sarawak in forest survey and reconnaissance in oil development; and aircraft have also been successfully employed on survey and ambulance work in British Guiana.

In the U.S.A. and France aircraft have been freely used for municipal survey, which has resulted in a very appreciable economy. In various parts of the world road, railway and mineral development surveys have been successfully carried out from the air.

In the United States highly successful operations in the destruction of the boll-weevil in cotton crops have been pursued with excellent results from the standpoint both of economy and efficiency. The application of these methods to the destruction of similar insect pests in the British Empire is worthy of consideration.

During the past 4 years considerable success has been attained in Canada in the rapid location by aircraft of forest fires. Many thousands of acres of valuable timber have been saved by early information as to the exact locality and extent of these outbreaks.

Conclusion.

Commercial aviation is admittedly still in the early stages of evolution and it will need time and money to secure its sound development. But it appears to offer greater benefits to the British Empire than to any other nation in the world, and it is therefore proposed that the whole subject shall be carefully reviewed by the Imperial Conference of 1926 when it comes to deal with Economic Questions.

III.—AIRSHIPS.

(a.) *Airship Development*, 1923–26.

It may be recollected that when the Imperial Conference last met in 1923 the policy which was to be adopted by His Majesty's Government in developing airships was still under discussion. By 1920 airships of about 2 million cubic feet capacity had been constructed and successfully flown, and the possibility of a 4 million-cubic-feet airship was being considered. At that time, however, only a few preliminary experiments had been carried out with mast mooring, and airships had to be brought

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out of, and taken back into, a shed before and after every flight. For this operation, in the case of a rigid airship of any size, favourable weather conditions and a large landing party of some 300 men were required. Thus the utility of airships was seriously restricted, whilst the personnel required for their operation and maintenance on a service basis was considerable. Consequently, when at the end of 1920 a drastic reduction of expenditure was enforced on all Government Departments, the Air Ministry decided, though with reluctance, to close down the Airship branch of the Royal Air Force and to endeavour to maintain airship operation and development solely on a commercial basis. Efforts to secure the commercial development of airships had already been made in 1919–20 and continued up to the date of the last Conference, when negotiations were in progress with Commander Dennis Burney, who had proposed the construction and operation of a fleet of six airships to run a bi-weekly service to India. These proposals, however, like others that had preceded them, had eventually to be rejected on financial and technical grounds, and the present scheme was then adopted.

Under this scheme provision was made for the reopening of the Royal Airship Works, Cardington, the reassembling of an airship staff, a period of experiment and research, preparation of overseas bases and the ultimate construction of two 5 million-cubic-feet airships, one at the Royal Airship Works and one by the Airship Guarantee Company, with which Commander Burney is associated. When complete and after thorough tests in this country these airships will be flown from Cardington to Karachi and back. For the purpose of these experimental flights and future developments there will be at Ismailia a temporary station with a mast and gas plant only; and a shed, gas plant and other necessities for a permanent terminal base at Karachi; the Egyptian base is almost complete and the steelwork for the Indian base is well forward. Later, a mast may also be erected at Karachi. The preliminary stage of design and research for the two airships is now practically finished; it is anticipated that both will shortly be laid down and it is hoped completed in the early part of 1928. If this is realised the experimental flights will take place during that year.

In view of the great interest which all parts of the British Empire have evinced in the possibilities of long-distance airship routes, and to enable their representatives to consider present and future co operation, more detailed papers are being prepared, which will deal, among other subjects, with :—

1. Organisation of Airship Bases and Routes throughout the Empire.
2. Organisation of W/T and Meteorological Services.
3. Uses of 5,000,000-cubic-feet airship for Imperial Defence.
4. Empire supplies of helium gas.

In this connection it may be of interest to give some indication of the type of airship now being developed. The following figures apply to the Government Airship R. 101, and it is probable that those for R. 100 will not greatly differ. Roughly speaking, the length of the airship will be 720 feet, her height 140 feet, and her maximum diameter 130 feet. She will have 5 engines of 600–700 horse-power each, and is expected to reach, without difficulty, a speed of 70 miles an hour, though she will normally cruise at somewhat less. Her gross lift will be 155 tons, and 75 tons will be available for fuel, water ballast, goods and passengers.

It is estimated that this type of airship should be able at cruising speed to travel in still air a distance of some 4,000 miles carrying 100 passengers. If no passengers were carried and extra fuel tanks were fitted instead, it is estimated that the air range could be doubled.

(b.) *The Rôle of Large Rigid Airships in Imperial Defence.*

The value for defence purposes of large airships may be broadly stated under four headings:—

1. For naval reconnaissance.
2. As troop carriers.
3. As aeroplane carriers.
4 For home defence.

1. *Naval Reconnaissance.*—The Admiralty have expressed the view that when large numbers of airships have been produced and proved reliable it may be possible to suggest a consequent reduction of their cruiser building programme.

2. *As Troop Carriers.*—The availability of large airships with a troop-carrying capacity of possibly 300 men would provide a swift means of transporting troops for the reinforcement of disturbed areas, more particularly in the Middle and Far East.

It is also probable that airships could be used with advantage for the conveyance of sick and wounded over long distances, and thus accelerate their evacuation from hospitals in areas where ground communications were slow and difficult.

3. *As Aeroplane Carriers.*—It is anticipated that airships of the range and capacity now projected could be used for the conveyance of considerable numbers of aeroplanes. Their use for this purpose would greatly enhance the mobility of aeroplane squadrons as between Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq, India and the Far East, and would thereby facilitate the economical disposition of the heavier-than-air forces of the Empire generally.

4. *For Home Defence.*—There are important possibilities in the use of airships for patrol purposes in connection with the defence of Great Britain against air attack, particularly if the devices for releasing and reattaching small fighting aeroplanes from and to large airships can be perfected.

It would be premature to attempt to assess the relative importance of the various possible uses of large airships until they have been built and thoroughly tried out, and particularly until the practicability of regular airship operations in the tropics has been established. This, it will be remembered, is one of the main objects which the present programme of development has in view. It is also necessary to have due regard to the vulnerability of airships when operating within the range of hostile heavier-than-air craft. It seems clear that, at any rate in their present state of development, airships could not be used for offensive purposes in the face of any considerable liability to attack by enemy aeroplanes. Where, however, no such attack is to be anticipated, there seems no reason why airships should not be used not only for the purposes indicated, but also for directly offensive operations. Moreover, it must be remembered that the great range of large airships will in some situations enable them to make sufficient detours to avoid the risk of attack by hostile aeroplanes.

(c.) *Commercial Uses of Airships.*

The chief particulars regarding the two 5,000,000-cubic-feet airships which are now being constructed have been given above.

Of these features the most interesting from the point of view of Imperial transport are the high speed and the great range of the airship. Even in an adverse wind of 30 m.p.h. a cruising speed of between 65 and 70 m.p.h. through the air will give a ground speed of 35 to 40 miles, which is more than any steamship can maintain; whilst, with a favourable wind of the same force, the speed relative to the ground would be increased from 65 up to nearly 100 m.p.h. The airship will often be able, in virtue of her range and speed, to avoid unfavourable weather conditions and to utilise fair winds to the utmost possible extent. In this respect the airship has a marked advantage over the seaborne ship and, though to a less extent, over the aeroplane. The net result of the foregoing is that once the practicability of regular operation through the tropics has been proved—and it is to this object that the present scheme of airship development is directed—a regular airship service to Australia should be able to save perhaps two months on the journey there and back as at present performed.

Another advantage possessed by the airship for passenger transport is its ease and smoothness of motion in weather which would be rough and disagreeable at sea. There is a tendency to dwell on the accidents to airships and to overlook the occasions on which they have successfully weathered storms, even when damaged, but with adequate meteorological services the commander of an airship should generally have ample warning of bad weather and be able to take the necessary precautions. Again the airship's speed and range should enable her to avoid dangerous storms in nearly all cases. The loss of the "Shenandoah" might well not have occurred had reliance been placed on a good meteorological service. The full information given to R 33 enabled her to anticipate the ending of the gale before the time at which her fuel would have been exhausted, thus avoiding a forced landing in Holland and probable loss of the airship.

As to cost, the capital cost of a 5,000,000-cubic-feet airship on a production basis will probably lie between £250,000 and £300,000. In addition, capital must be spent on housing sheds, mooring masts, gas plants and the other necessary accessories of main

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and intermediate bases. Provision must also be made for the stations and equipment required for a thoroughly adequate meteorological service along the route.

Bases may be of two types—main and intermediate. At intermediate bases a mooring mast or masts and a gas plant are required, with arrangements for refuelling and reprovisioning. If there were several masts a gas holder might also be necessary; but this would depend on the volume of traffic. On routes operated with the new 5,000,000-cubic-feet airship, such bases should probably be not more than 2,500 miles apart on any section, and should be sited on level ground, not lying high above sea level, nor such that an airship would be compelled to rise high on leaving the mast, as this procedure diminishes the useful load that can be carried. A clear space of at least 1,000 feet in radius should surround every mast.

The chief items of cost in the equipment of such a base would be of the following order:—

	£
Mooring mast and plant (including fuel installation)...	55,000
Temporary silicol hydrogen plant	25,000
Or, alternatively,	
Permanent water-gas plant	30,000 to 40,000
Miscellaneous works services, roads, water and drainage	15,000
Gas storage (1,000,000 cubic feet), if required ...	30,000

Main bases would generally be situated at terminal points or important junctions. At these bases there should be a shed or sheds for docking and repairing purposes. The site, therefore, should afford suitable foundations for their erection; and, since the operation of housing an airship requires calmer weather than that of landing at a mast, more attention must be paid to the prevailing weather conditions than when selecting a mast base. Each shed may cost from £150,000 to £200,000.

These requirements of weather and site will no doubt influence the precise situation of airship bases, as tides, depth of water and conformation of land have influenced the siting of harbours. But there is no reason to think that airship routes and bases cannot be planned so as to attract the maximum amount of traffic. At first, no doubt, the airship, like the aeroplane, will be operated as an additional mode of transport for traffic in which speed is worth some extra expense. As to later developments, it would be rash to prophesy.

A large amount of the expenditure under the present scheme is being incurred on route organisations between England and Karachi. If a route to Australia is to be operated, further bases will be necessary, including at least one main base in Australia. Although the capital sum required to inaugurate a new route of this kind is large regarded by itself, it is of course nothing as compared with the expenditure required to establish docks, harbours and railway stations over the same distance.

An airship route which is being operated regularly will also be fed very largely by aeroplane services, and the possibility of aeroplanes using the airship aerodrome will always be borne in mind in laying out airship bases. But, in addition to taking up mails and passengers at bases, it should be possible in the future for passengers and mails to be embarked and disembarked by aeroplane whilst the airship is in flight. The successful experiment carried out at the end of 1925, when the pilot of a light aeroplane succeeded in attaching a light aeroplane to R. 33 when in flight, entering the airship, refuelling the aeroplane, and then flying off and landing again, indicates that the problem does not present any insuperable difficulty: but, like all other new developments, a considerable time is likely to elapse between the first successful experiment and the adoption of the manœuvre as a standard practice. Once this stage has been reached it will be possible for passengers and mails from places many miles from the normal airship route to fly to the airship from the nearest aerodrome and secure an immense saving of time as compared with any other form of transport.

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COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

THE SUPPLY OF WAR MATERIAL AND OTHER ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS.

MEMORANDUM BY THE PRINCIPAL SUPPLY OFFICERS' COMMITTEE.

1. THE principle of the co-operation of the Dominions and India in the supply of war material and other essential requirements was accepted by the Imperial War Conference on the 24th April, 1917, when the following resolution was passed:—

"That this Conference, in view of the experience of the present war, calls attention to the importance of developing adequate capacity of production of naval and military material, munitions and supplies, in all important parts of the Empire (including countries bordering on the Pacific and Indian Oceans), where the facilities do not presently exist, and affirms the importance of close co-operation between India, the Dominions and the United Kingdom with this object in view."

2. The above resolution, however, has not been wholly put into practice. It is true that each Service in this country has initiated certain arrangements with the Dominions for the supply of its own particular requirements, but there is, as yet, no scheme for what may be termed the general industrial mobilisation of the resources, in the direction indicated, which are available in the various parts of the Empire. In the absence of any scheme of this nature, should another war break out involving all parts of the Empire, the same difficulties, complications and confusion are likely to arise in the Imperial sphere as arose in Great Britain on the outbreak of war in 1914.

3. It is realised that the Dominions and India must retain entire discretion as to whether they will undertake any particular action at any particular time, since their decisions must necessarily be determined by the political considerations at that time. Further, it is clear that the special assistance which might be desired so far as the Dominions and India are concerned would vary according to the nature and the theatre of the war. In these circumstances, and under present conditions, there can be no hard-and-fast programme. Nevertheless, it would appear highly desirable that the study of the problem of "supply" from the Imperial aspect should be initiated as soon as possible, and that tentative arrangements should be worked out in order that schemes should be gradually built up which would be susceptible of adaptation to any particular emergency which might arise. The advantages of studying and preparing plans beforehand are manifest, and the value of these plans will clearly be much enhanced if they are prepared on a common basis throughout the Empire.

4. It is therefore thought that a brief survey of enquiries which have been, and are being, conducted in this country will be not only of interest to representatives of the Dominions and India, but also of assistance to them in the conduct of any similar enquiries which they may have initiated, or which they may decide to initiate.

5. The question of supply—in the broadest sense of the term—in time of "unlimited" war has been under consideration by the Committee of Imperial Defence since 1920, but, for the purpose of this Memorandum, it is unnecessary to go back further than 1923. In that year a Sub-Committee was set up, with the Right. Hon.

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Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Bart., as Chairman, with the following terms of reference :—

> "To make recommendations as to the general lines on which the production of warlike stores should be organised in the early stages of a war, and to prepare a plan for the control in a future war of the raw materials required for war purposes and for settling the order of priority for the distribution of such raw materials in cases of doubt or dispute."

The term "warlike stores" contained in the above terms of reference was intended to be interpreted in its broadest sense, and it is in that sense that the term is used throughout this Memorandum.

6. In December 1923 the Worthington-Evans Committee submitted its report (C.I.D. Paper No. 471-B), the recommendations of which may be summarised as follows :—

(a.) *In Peace.*—That the Principal Supply Officers' Committee should be set up to ascertain and keep a watch on the national stocks of raw materials, and to forecast probable requirements during the early stages of a war.

(b.) *In War.*—That in the early stages of the war the fighting services should retain their individual responsibility for supply ; that later on in the war it might be necessary to institute partial control ; and that finally, but not before it was essential, it might be necessary to adopt central control.

The above recommendations were approved in principle by the Committee of Imperial Defence, and in May 1924 the Principal Supply Officers' Committee was set up.

7. This Committee is under the Chairmanship of the Master-General of the Ordnance, and consists of—

Two members of the Board of Admiralty, viz., the 3rd and 4th Sea Lords ;
Two members of the Army Council, viz., the Master-General of the Ordnance (*Chairman*) and the Quartermaster-General ;
One member of the Air Council, viz., the Air Member for Supply and Research ,
One Principal Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade.

8. Broadly speaking, the Committee is responsible for co-ordinating the "supply" side of our defence problems in the same way as the Chiefs of Staff and the Man Power Committees are responsible for co-ordinating the strategical and the personnel sides of those problems. It is to be noted, however, that the fields of investigation of the Principal Supply Officers' and the Man Power Committees are not confined to the fighting forces only, but cover the whole population.

The detailed terms of reference assigned to the Principal Supply Officers' Committee by the Committee of Imperial Defence are shown in Appendix (A).

9. The lines on which the Committee are working, the stage which their enquiries have reached, and the projects which they have in mind, may best be described by a brief review of the problems which have been, or are to be, considered. For the purposes of this review, the work of the Committee may be conveniently divided into two main headings :—

(A.) The preparation of plans to remedy potential deficiencies both in respect of raw materials and of productive capacity.

(B.) The preparation of plans for the setting up of administrative machinery to ensure that both materials and manufacturing capacity are exploited to the best advantage in war.

(A.)—*Plans to remedy Potential Deficiencies.*

10. An indispensable preliminary to the preparation of plans to remedy potential deficiencies was to ascertain the nature and extent of these deficiencies. In order to do this it was necessary to estimate, on the one hand, the sum total of requirements, and on the other hand, the sum total of supplies which were likely to be available.

11. With regard to requirements, the Committee decided to divide these into two main heads, namely :—

(a.) The requirements of the Fighting Services.
(b.) The requirements of the non-fighting departments and the civil population.

12. With regard to the requirements of the Fighting Services, the adoption of assumptions on which to base the strengths and rates of expansion of the forces to be employed was clearly an essential preliminary to the conduct of enquiries. The assumptions adopted by the Committee were as follows :—

(i.) That the war would be such as to require the utilisation of all the military forces available in all parts of the Empire.
(ii.) That it should be either in an Eastern or a European theatre, whichever would make the greater demand on the Service concerned.

13. In connection with these assumptions, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the simultaneous maximum expansions of all these Services was not, and is not, contemplated. On the contrary, it was considered that if estimates of the requirements of each Service for a particular period were based on the maximum strength to which that Service could expand within that period, it would be comparatively simple to scale down the totals thus arrived at to meet the case of any lesser demand on that Service. In other words, it was considered that estimates framed on that basis would constitute data which could be applied to any particular war which might be envisaged.

14. It was from the outset apparent that the scope of enquiry was so vast and entailed so much detailed investigation into the different requirements of stores that it was essential to entrust much of the preliminary work to sub-committees. Accordingly, the Committee divided up warlike stores into a certain number of main groups (see Appendix (B)) and appointed sub-committees, composed of representatives of the Departments chiefly interested in each group, to consider the requirements within that group of the Fighting Services. The actual instructions given to sub-committees were to prepare detailed statements of the total requirements of the three Services—on the basis of the assumptions shown in paragraph 12 above—for the first year of war, and to express those requirements in terms of war material.

15. From reports already received from Sub-Committees, it has become apparent that, on the basis of service requirements alone, and without regard to the needs of the non-fighting departments and of the civil population, there will, in respect of some important commodities, be considerable difficulty in reconciling supply and demand. The Principal Supply Officers' Committee have therefore been constrained to ask the Committee of Imperial Defence that the war problems which are to provide the bases of their further enquiries should, if possible, be set out in some more definite form, and, to this end, that they should be given guidance on the following points :—

(a.) What nations, or group of nations, are to be assumed as belligerents for the purposes of pursuing enquiries ?
(b.) In the case of each hypothesis, what assumptions are to be made as to the relative proportions of the Naval, Military and Air Strengths of this country which would be aimed at in the first year of war ?

The above problems are now being examined by the Committee of Imperial Defence, and when a ruling thereon is given, figures furnished by the sub-committees will be adjusted accordingly.

16. The general lines on which the Committee intend to pursue their enquiries may be summarised as follows :—

(a.) The co-ordination of Sub-Committees' reports, adjusted as indicated in paragraph 15 above, in order to gauge the total requirements of the Fighting Services for each hypothetical contingency.
(b.) The completion of the requirements of the non-fighting Departments and of the civil population.
(c.) The co-ordination of the totals arrived at by (*a*) and (*b*) above in order to gauge the grand total of national requirements.
(d.) The compilation of statistics to show the position as regards—

(i.) Supplies and sources of supply.
(ii.) Productive capacity.

17. The above data will render it possible to estimate the extent and the nature of potential deficiencies, both in respect of raw material and productive capacity ; and it will then be possible to inform the Dominions and India in some detail of the nature and extent of the assistance in the various contingencies, the contribution of which, if it were available, would be specially helpful.

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(B.)—*Administrative Machinery.*

18. Turning now to the preparation of plans for the setting up of administrative machinery, the Principal Supply Officers' Committee have had under consideration the question of the general form of organisation which should be adopted for the production of "warlike stores" in war, together with the connected questions of control and priority. They have devoted much time to this problem, and have heard evidence from men who were intimately concerned with those questions during the Great War. They have recommended that, on the outbreak of any war of the first magnitude, it will be necessary immediately to establish a Cabinet Committee to deal with priority on the lines of the War Priority Committee which was in existence during the latter part of the Great War, but they have not yet taken sufficient evidence to come to a definite decision as regards the general form of organisation which will be necessary.

At this stage they only desire to emphasise the fact that in their opinion the situation at the outbreak of a future war should be substantially different from that which existed in 1914, when Departments had not foreseen the scope or immensity of war requirements. The experience acquired in the Great War has entirely changed the nature of the problem so far as administrative machinery is concerned. The work already done by sub-committees is a great step in advance of anything that was done before 1914. When that work has been reviewed and co-ordinated with civil requirements, and the necessary consequential steps taken, the task before the Departments will be much narrowed, and it should be possible to achieve what the Committee regard as the cardinal feature of any war organisation, viz., that it can be brought into operation smoothly and expeditiously as an expansion of a nucleus peace-time organisation.

19. The general form of administrative machinery which is ultimately decided on will be communicated to the Dominions and India, in order that it may be possible for any organisation which they may decide to set up with a view to the provision of assistance (see paragraph 17) to be such as can "dovetail" into the main scheme.

20. To sum up, it will be seen that at present the "supply" problem is being considered mainly from the point of view of Great Britain. It is thought that the problem should be considered from the point of view of the Empire as a whole, for it would clearly be in the best interests of uniformity in Imperial Defence matters if it were possible to arrive at some arrangement whereby "supply" preparations throughout the Empire could be based on similar lines, and could be co-ordinated one with the other.

The Principal Supply Officers' Committee, therefore, suggest that the opportunity might be taken of discussing this question with representatives of the Dominions and India at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. In putting forward this suggestion the Committee desire again to emphasise the fact that they are not yet in a position to advance detailed proposals, but they consider that discussion of the general principles at issue would be most helpful.

(On behalf of the Committee),
(Signed) NOEL BIRCH, *Chairman.*

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
May 19, 1926.

APPENDIX (A).

Terms of Reference of Principal Supply Officers' Committee.

To be responsible for—

(*a.*) Ascertaining and maintaining a watch upon the National stocks of raw materials required in the manufacture of articles required by the three services and the civilian population;

(*b.*) Preparing a list of articles, the total supply of which might be required in war time, and for making the necessary arrangements for prohibiting the export of such articles on the outbreak of war;

(*c.*) Preparing plans for increasing supplies in emergency, whether by special purchase arrangements at home or abroad, or by opening up new sources of supply. The plans would include various alternatives to meet the possibility of normal sources of supply being cut off by the nature of the war; or

(*d.*) Maintaining lists of contractors additional to those employed by the Services who could be called on during emergency, or whose machinery could be diverted to war work, and for adding to the available output, if necessary, by the erection of National Factories.

(*e.*) Furnishing periodical reports to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The above were the actual terms of reference of the Committee, as decided by the Committee of Imperial Defence; but the Committee themselves *assumed "that all the other duties recommended in the Worthington-Evans' Committee Report (C.I.D. No. 471–B) as appropriate to the Principal Supply Officers' Committee, such as plans for priority, control, legislation, &c., fall within their terms of reference."*

APPENDIX (B).

List of Categories of Warlike Stores Allotted to Sub-Committees.

Sub-Committee No. 1.

Armaments.
Armament.
Ammunition.
Arms.
Chemical warfare requirements, including anti-gas apparatus.

Sub-Committee No. 2.

Transport.
Land transport vehicles and connected items—motor tyres, &c.

Sub-Committee No. 3.

Scientific Stores.
Electrical stores and equipment, &c.
Photographic cameras and lenses, optical and scientific instruments.

Sub-Committee No. 4.

Food-stuffs.
Food-stuffs.
Animals' rations.
Edible oils and fats.

Sub-Committee No. 5.

Medical and Veterinary Supplies.
Medical supplies.
Veterinary supplies.

Sub-Committee No. 6.

Hardwoods.
Hardwoods.
Furniture and floor coverings.
Woodware, including ammunition boxes.
Brooms, brushes and baskets.

Sub-Committee No. 7.

Metals and Hardware.
Hand tools.
Plate, cutlery, &c.
Hardware, bedsteads, hand machines.
Bolts, nuts, nails, screws.
Wire, including barbed wire.
Wire articles, wire rope and cables.
Steel helmets.
Steel ammunition boxes.
Metal furniture.
Miscellaneous metal articles.

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Sub-Committee No. 8.

Oil, Paints and Chemicals.
Oils, paints, varnishes.
Smoke apparatus.
Chemicals, including chemicals for smoke apparatus, but excluding chemical warfare requirements, explosive and drugs.
Tars, bitumens.
Soaps.
Asbestos.
Earthenware, chinaware.
Glassware, other than scientific and chemical glassware.
Miscellaneous.

Sub-Committee No. 9.

Textile Stores.
Clothing and textiles, including blankets, canvas and tentage.
Cordage.
Cotton, linen and jute articles, including sand-bags.
Web equipment.
Rubber boots, rubber hose and rubber-proofed textiles, including ground sheets.

Sub-Committee No. 10.

Leather Stores.
Leather and skins.
Harness and saddlery.
Leather accoutrements.
Boots and grindery.
Miscellaneous leather goods.

Sub-Committee No. 11.

Engineer Constructional Materials.
Softwood timber in baulks, scantling, planks, &c.
Railway constructional materials, such as rails, sleepers, &c.
Bricks, cement and other building materials.
Corrugated iron.
Structural steel.
Pipes and tubes, other than earthenware.

Sub Committee No. 12.

Engineer Constructional Plant and Machinery.
Constructional and workshop plant and all machinery, including locomotives and rolling-stock.
Machine tools.
Water-supply plant.
Electric power and light plant and fittings, including cables for power.
Railway plant.

Admiralty Sub-Committee.

Shipbuilding.
Ships, including mercantile marine and inland water transport.
Repairs to ships.

War Office Sub-Committee.

Tanks and Dragons.
Tanks, dragons and similar items for which the Department of the Master-General of Ordnance is mainly responsible.

Air Ministry Sub-Committee.

Aircraft.
Aircraft.
Air engines and connected items.

(C O P Y)

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE
1926.

THE SUPPLY OF WAR MATERIAL AND OTHER ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS .

MEMORANDUM BY THE PRINCIPAL SUPPLY OFFICERS' COMMITTEE.

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as Chairman, with the following terms of reference:-

> "To make recommendations as to the general lines on which the production of warlike stores should be organised in the early stages of a war, and to prepare a plan for the control in a future war of the raw materials required for war purposes and for settling the order of priority for the distribution of such raw materials in cases of doubt or dispute."

The term "warlike stores" contained in the above terms of reference was intended to be interpreted in its broadest sense, and it is in that sense that the term is used throughout this Mmemorandum.

6. In December 1923 the Worthington-Evans Committee submitted its report (C.I.D. Paper No.471-B), the recommendations of which may be summarised as follows:-

(a) IN PEACE. - That the Principal Supply Officers' Committee should be set up to ascertain and keep a watch on the national stocks of raw materials, and to forecast probable requirements during the early stages of a war.

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The above remcommendations were approved in principle by the Committee of Imperial Defence, and in May 1924 the Principal Supply Officers' Committee was set up.

7. This Committee is under thr Chairmanship of the Master-General of the Ordnance, and consists of -

Two members of the Board of Admiralty, viz:, the 3rd and 4th Sea Lords;
Two members of the Army Council, viz: the Master-General of the Ordnance (CHAIRMAN) and the Quartermaster-General;
One Member of the Air Council, viz: the Air Member for Supply and Research,
One Principal Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade.

8. Broadly speaking, the Committee is responsible for

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The detailed terms of reference assigned to the Principal Supply Officers' Committee by the Committee of Imperial Defence are shown in Appendix (A).

9. The lines on which the Committee are working, the stage which their enquiries have reached and the projects which they have in mind may best be described by a brief review of the problems which have been or are to be considered. For the purposes of this review the work of the Committee may be conveniently divided into two main headings:-

(A) The preparation of plans to remedy potential deficiencies both in respect of raw materials and of productive capacity.
(B) The preparation of plans for the setting up of administrative machinery to ensure that both materials and manufacturing capacity are exploited to the best advantage in war.

(A) - PLANS TO REMEDY POTENTIAL DEFICIENCIES.

10. An indispensable preliminary to the preparation of plans to remedy potential deficiencies was to ascertain the nature and extent of these deficiencies. In order to do this it was necessary to estimate, on the onehand, the sum total of requirements, and on the other hand, the sum total of supplies which were likely to be available.

11. With regard to requirements, the Committee decided to divide these into two main heads, namely:-

(a) The requirements of the Fighting Services.
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(i) That the war would be such as to require the utilisation of all the military forces available in all parts of the Empire.

(ii) That it should be either in an Eastern or a European theatre, whichever would make the greater demand on the Service concerned.

13. In connection with these assumptions, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the simultaneous maximum expansions of all these Services was not and is not contemplated. On the contrary it was considered that if estimates of the requirements of each Service for a particular period were based on the maximum strength to which that Service could expand within that period, it would be comparatively simple to scale down the totals thus arrived at to meet the case of any lesser demand on that Service. In other words, it was considered that estimates framed on that basis would constitute data which could be applied to any particular war which might be envisaged.

14. It was from the outset apparent that the scope of enquiry was so vast and entailed so much detailed investigation into the different requirements of stores that it was essential to entrust much of the preliminary work to sub-committees. Accordingly, the Committee divided up warlike stores into a certain number of main groups (See Appendix (B)) and appointed sub-committees, composed of representatives of the Departments chiefly interested in each group, to consider the requirements within that group of the Fighting Services. The actual instructions given to sub-committees were to prepare detailed statements of the total requirements of the three Services, ~~the adoption of~~ -on the basis of the assumptions shown in paragraph 12 above - for the first year of war, and to express those requirements in terms of war material.

15. From reports already received from Sub-Committees, it

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has become apparent that on the basis of service requirements alone, and without regard to the needs of the non-fighting departments and of the civil population, there will, in respect of some important commodities, be considerable difficulty in reconciling supply and demand. The Principal Supply Officers' Committee have therefore been constrained to ask the Committee of Imperial Defence that the war problems which are to provide the bases of their further enquiries should, if possible, be set out in some more definite form, and, to this end, that they should be given guidance on the following points:-

(a) What nations, or groups of nations, are to be assumed as belligerents for the purposes of pursuing enquiries?

(b) In the case of each hypothesis, what assumptions are to be made as to the relative proportions of the Naval, Military and Air Strengths of this country which would be aimed at in the first year of war?

The above problems are now being examined by the Committee of Imperial Defence, and when a ruling thereon is given, figures furnished by the sub-committees will be adjusted accordingly.

16. The general lines on which the Committee intend to pursue their enquiries may be summarised as follows:-

(a) The co-ordination of Sub-Committees' reports, adjusted as indicated in paragraph 15 above, in order to gauge the total requirements of the Fighting Services for each hypothetical contingency.

(b) The completion of the requirements of the non-fighting Departments and of the civil population.

(c) The co-ordination of the totals arrived at by (a) and (b) above in order to gauge the grand total of national requirements.

(d) The compilation of statistics to show the position as regards--

(i) Supplies and sources of supply.
(ii) Productive capacity.

17. The above data will render it possible to estimate the extent and the nature of potential deficiencies, both in respect of raw material and productive capacity; and it will then be possible to inform the Dominions and India in some detail of the nature and extent of the assistance in the various contingencies, the contribution of which, if it were available, would be specially helpful.

18.Turning

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(B) - ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY.

18. Turning now to the preparation of plans for the setting up of administrative machinery, the Principal Supply Officers' Committee have had under consideration the question of the general form of organisation which should be adopted for the production of "warlike stores" in war, together with the connected questions of control and priority. They have devoted much time to this problem, amd have heard evidence from men who were intimately concerned with those questions during the Great War. They have recommended that, on the outbrreak of any war of the first magnitude, it will be necessary immediately to establish a Cabinet Committee to deal with priority on the lines of the War Priority Committee which was in existence during the latter part of the Great War, but they have not yet taken sufficient evidence to come to a definite decision as regards the general form of organisation which will be necessary.

At this stage they only desire to emphasise the fact that in their opinion the situation at the outbreak of a future war should be substantially different from that which existed in 1914. when Departments had not foreseen the scope or immensity of war requirements. The experience required in the Great War has entirely changed the nature of the problem so far as administrative machinery is concerned. The work already done by sub-committees is a great step in advance of anything that was done before 1914. When that work has been reviewed and co-ordinated with civil requirements, and the necessary consequential steps taken, the task before the Departments will be much narrowed, and it should be possible to achieve what the Committee regard as the cardinal feature of any war organisation, viz: that it can be brought into operation smoothly and expeditiously as an expansion of a nucleus peace-time organisation.

19. The general form of administrative machinery which is ultimately decided on will be communicated to the Dominions

and . . .

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and India, in order that it may be possible for any organisation which they may decide to set up with a view to the provision of assistance (see paragraph 17) to be such as can "dovetail" into the main scheme.

20. To sum up, it will be seen that at present the "supply" problem is being considered mainly from the point of view of Great Britain. It is thought that the problem should be considered from the point of view of the Empire as a whole, for it would clearly be in the best interests of uniformity, in Imperial Defence matters if it were possible to arrive at some arrangement whereby "supply" preparations throughout the Empire could be based on similar lines, and could be co-ordinated one with the other.

The Principal Supply Officers' Committee, therefore, suggest that the opportunity might be taken of discussing this question with reperesntatives of the Dominions and India at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. In putting forward this suggestion the Committee desire again to emphasise the fact that they are not yet in a position to advance detailed proposals, but they consider that discussion of the general principles at issue would be most helpful.

(On behalf of the Committee),

(Signed) NOEL BIRCH, Chairman.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,

May 19, 1926.

APPENDIX (A).

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF PRINCIPAL SUPPLY OFFICERS' COMMITTEE.

To be responsible for -

(a) Ascertaining and maintaining a watch upon the

National . . . .

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National stocks of raw materials required in the manufacture of articles required by the three services and the civilian population;

(b) Preparing a list of articles, the total supply of which might be required in war time, and for making the necessary arrangements for prohibiting the export of such articles on the outbreak of war;

(c) Preparing plans for increasing supplies in emergency, whether by special purchase arrangements at home or abroad, or by opening up new sources of supply. The plans would include various alternatives to meet the possibility of normal sources of supply being cut off by the nature of the war; or

(d) Maintaining lists of contractors additional to those employed by the services who could be called on during emergency, or whose machinery could be diverted to war work, and for adding to the available output, if necessary, by the erection of National Factories.

(e) Furnishing periodical reports to the Committee of Imperial Defence.

The above were the actual terms of reference of the Committee, as decided by the Committee of Imperial Defence; but the Committee themselves ASSUMED "THAT ALL THE OTHER DUTIES RECOMMENDED IN THE WORTHINGTON-EVANS' COMMITTEE REPORT (C.I.D.NO.471-B) AS APPROPRIATE TO XXX THE PRINCIPAL SUPPLY OFFICERS' COMMITTEE, SUCH AS PLANS FOR PRIORITY, CONTROL, LEGISLATION, &c., FALL WITHIN THEIR TERMS OF REFERENCE."

APPNEDIX (B).

LIST OF CATEGORIES OF WARLIKE STORES ALLOTTED TO SUB-COMMITTEES.

Sub-Committee No.1.

ARMAMENTS.
Armament
Ammunition
Arms
Chemical warfare requirements, including anti-gas apparatus.

Sub-Committee No.2.

TRANSPORT.
Land transport vehicles and connected items - motor tyres,&c.

Sub-Committee No.3.

SCIENTIFIC STORES.
Electrical stores and equipment,&c.
Photographic cameras,and lenses, optical and scientific instruments.

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Sub-Committee No.4.

FOOD-STUFFS.
Food-stuffs
Animals' rations
Edible oils and fats

Sub-Committee No.5.

MEDICAL AND VETERINARY SUPPLIES.
Medical supplies
Veterinary supplies

Sub-Committee No.6.

HARDWOODS.
Hardwoods
Furniture and floor coverings
Woodware, including ammunition boxes
Brooms, brushes and baskets.

Sub-Committee No.7.

METALS AND HARDWARE.
Hand tools
Plate, cutlery, &c.
Hardware, bedsteads, hand machines
Bolts, nuts, nails, screws
Wire, including barbed wire
Wire articles, wire rope and cables
Steel helmets
Steel ammunition boxes
Metal furniture
Miscellaneous metal articles.

Sub-Committee No.8.

OIL, PAINTS AND CHEMICALS
Oils, paints, varnishes
Smoke apparatus
Chemicals, including chemicals for smoke apparatus, but excluding chemical warfare requirements, explosive and drugs.
Tars, bitumens.
Soaps
Asbestos
Earthenware, chinaware
Glassware, other than scientific and chemical glassware.
Miscellaneous.

Sub-Committee No.9.

TEXTILE STORES
Clothing and textiles, including blankets, canvas and tentage
Cordage
Cotton, linen and jute articles, including sand-bags
Web equipment
Rubber boots, rubber hose and rubber-proofed textiles, including ground sheets.

Sub-Committee No.10.

LEATHER STORES
Leather and skins
Harness and saddlery
Leather accoutrements
Boots and grindery
Miscellaneous leather goods.

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Sub-Committee No.11.

ENGINEER CONSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS.
Softwood timber in baulks, scantling, planks &c.
Railway constructional materials, such as rails, sleepers,&c.
Bricks, cement and other building materials
Corrugated iron
Structural steel
Pipes and tubes, other than earthenware.

Sub-Committee No.12

ENGINEER CONSTRUCTIONAL PLANT AND MACHINERY
Constructional and workshop plant and all machinery, including locomotives and rolling-stock
Machine tools
Water-supply plant
Electric power and light plant and fittings, including cables for power
Railway plant.

Admiralty Sub-Committee

SHIPBUILDING
Ships, including mercantile marine and inland water transport.
Repairs to ships.

War Office Sub-Committee

TANKS AND DRAGONS
Tanks, dragons and similar items for which the Department of the Master-General of Ordnance is mainly responsible.

Air Ministry Sub-Committee

AIRCRAFT
Aircraft
Air engines and connected items.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION FOR WAR.

MEMORANDUM BY THE WAR OFFICE.

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THE object of this paper is to make a general review of the progress that has been made during the past two years in our general plans for organization for war. The years that have elapsed since the close of the 1914–18 war have been sufficient to enable the military authorities to view the main characteristics of that war in proper perspective, with the result that opinion is gradually becoming consolidated as to the organization at which we should aim.

At the present time units and formations throughout the Empire are organized in general on similar lines, as is indicated by the acceptance of the War Establishments prepared in Great Britain.

As the result of the critical examination to which our organization has been subjected, various new proposals are under consideration, and it is highly desirable that these should be acceptable to the military authorities in the Dominions and suitable for adoption in their various countries.

An extension of the co-ordination that has been so far effected is, however, essential. Only a small number of the many problems that inevitably arise in war are solved by the organization for the despatch of Expeditionary Forces of whatever size from the component parts of the Empire. More difficult to solve are those which arise when the advanced guards of the various contingents have to be reinforced by larger forces and plans have to be prepared and put into effect for the maintenance of the armies of the Empire in the field.

It is of the utmost importance that what may be termed the higher organization for war should be formulated in a well co-ordinated plan in which the efforts of the parts of the Empire are adapted to the plan as a whole.

The Imperial Conference, 1926, offers a good opportunity for the examination of the whole subject, which will now be reviewed under the following headings:—

Part I.—Policy.
Part II.—Fighting organization.
Part III.—Progress in design and experiment of war *matériel.*

PART I.—POLICY.

It must always be incumbent on the military authorities of every country to prepare plans to meet any contingency which the policy of the government of the day may render possible. These plans should include an estimate of the strength of the forces required for the various contingencies and of the reserves in men and material necessary to maintain them.

This does not mean, however, that resources required for the various contingencies must be held in readiness. The extent to which this can be done is dependent on the financial resources made available by the government which exercises through the Treasury its responsibility for the expenditure on the Army in Peace, both as regards establishments and reserves. If the contingencies were

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capable of clear definition, as is generally the situation in the case of a purely continental Power, it would not be difficult to prepare plans.

In the case of the British Empire the possible commitments are numerous and complex, and in its history land forces commensurate with them have never been maintained in peace. In the case of Great Britain it is certainly true that the strength of the Expeditionary Force maintained in the country bears no relation to any of our possible commitments, but is in the main governed by the necessity for the provision of reliefs and drafts for our overseas garrisons.

The forces so maintained are, however, given the best possible organization to enable them to take the field at short notice as the advanced guard of the national forces.

In order to provide a suitable basis for the consideration of our general organization for war it has been found convenient to examine the three most likely kinds of war in which we may be involved :—

A. A war which can be dealt with by the Expeditionary Force without assistance from our Territorial Army.

B. A war of such dimensions as to be clearly beyond the capacity of an Expeditionary Force and requiring the assistance of part or the whole of the Territorial Army which exists in peace in Great Britain.

C. A war of national effort involving the expansion of our Territorial Army and the introduction of conscription.

A. We have for many years been able to put into the field an Expeditionary Force of comparatively small dimensions. In 1914 we had available a force of 1 Cavalry and 6 Infantry Divisions.

To-day our Expeditionary Force consists of a 1st Contingent of 1 Cavalry and 3 Infantry Divisions, with a proportion of non-divisional units capable of being mobilised in 14 days, and a 2nd Contingent of 2 Divisions, which would be ready to follow in 4 months' time.

It is possible that, in the case of a war under this heading, although only small forces were required, the Dominions might have a particular interest and desire to share the burden of the war with the Home country. No decision on this could be taken by them until the circumstances at the time of the crisis had been appreciated. But it is clearly desirable that they should have worked out in advance the size of the alternative contingents and their plans for mobilizing, equipping, despatching and maintaining them, so that if the circumstances were such that they wished to participate, they would be able to do so with the least possible delay and improvisation. In the case of Australia and New Zealand the situation is already clear, and mobilization arrangements are in order for the despatch of their contingents. In the case of Canada and other Dominions no such information is yet available.

With regard to B the situation is more complex. It is evident that as far as Great Britain is concerned no force greater than that organized to meet the condition under A above can be made available until a number of months of war has passed.

The Territorial Army in peace consists of 2 Cavalry Brigades and 14 Infantry Divisions, but such units as Tank Battalions and close support Brigades R.A. have not yet been formed.

Although it is possible that some few of our Territorial Army formations without their full complement of non-divisional troops could be despatched 3 or 4 months after the outbreak of war, a steady flow of fully equipped divisions could not be sent overseas before 6 months had passed from the date of mobilization, and then only if our peace organization is adapted to suit the needs of war by the formation, for example, of Tank Battalion cadres. Moreover, a most important factor is obviously the nation's capacity for the production of war material, such as tanks, ammunition, &c.

According to our present estimates it would not be possible to maintain a force of 20 divisions in the field in gun ammunition until much later than 6 months after the outbreak of war; the whole question of the production of war material is being dealt with fully by the Principal Supply Officers' Committee.

Whatever the nature of the war it is clear that every effort must be made to obtain a favourable decision in the shortest possible time; any help, therefore, which the Dominions may feel able to afford will be all the more welcome if it is made available at an early date.

In both cases the solution seems to lie primarily in the construction of plans in advance, but in the latter case there is a further necessity for anticipating a limited expansion of the Dominion forces.

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Passing now to Case C, it is considered essential that, before any expansion of our Territorial Army can take place, the voluntary system of enlistment be abandoned and compulsory service instituted. The importance of our capacity for the production of war material and the necessities of life make it essential that rigid control of the available man power be exercised.

Under the Committee of Imperial Defence there has been sitting since 1923 a "Man Power Committee," and from their reports it seems clear that the maximum effort that Great Britain could make would result in a force of 36 Divisions taking the field and it is estimated that this force would not be complete and in the field until 15 months after the outbreak of the war.

It is considered of great importance that the maximum effort which could be made by the Dominions, on the supposition that they were willing to make it, should be clearly defined, together with a time programme of the rate of expansion of their respective contingents.

The conditions which have been considered above seem to afford a suitable basis on which to make our plans and preparations for war, and it is suggested that their adoption as such throughout the Empire should be considered.

It is further suggested that when the plans of the individual Dominions have been compiled they should be placed on record in the War Office in order that the potential assistance which they may be prepared to render may be included in the schemes which are being worked out to meet the various contingencies.

Although the question of the supply of war material is being dealt with in a paper prepared by the Principal Supply Officers' Committee, it is as well to draw attention to the action now being taken in the War Office with regard to this subject.

A permanent committee known as the Mobilisation Equipment and War Reserves Committee reviews the stocks of material required to equip and maintain the forces, which may be in the field, under the three headings given earlier in this paper. It is apparent that in all cases the size of the reserve required for any one type of war material is dependent, among other factors, on the rate at which production in war overtakes expenditure.

In considering the various problems involved in this question of the maintenance of the forces in the field, the Committee have taken note of the possibility of Dominion forces joining with the Home forces as parts of a single Army, and have appreciated that the home country may in many cases be called upon to supply Dominion units with the necessary material as was done in the last war; for example, at the present time, the capacity of the Dominions to produce gun ammunition when compared with the probable consumption in war of this class of war material would not appreciably affect the position.

Not only is the capacity of Dominions for the output of war material of all sorts a matter on which the Army Council wish to be fully informed, but it will be obvious that organization in the Empire for the production of war material in peace and on the outbreak of war on a well co-ordinated plan would make for greater efficiency.

With regard to the supply of men, the following factors must be considered :—

(i.) The War Establishments of the Force.
(ii.) The rate of wastage.
(iii.) The period of training required to make the raw recruit fit to take his place in the field.

(i) will be dealt with in Part II.

With regard to (ii), it will be apparent that there will be a marked difference in the rate of wastage in the various wars in which the Empire may find itself engaged. This rate will be dependent on the standard of equipment, training and organization of the enemy, and on the climatic conditions under which the operations take place. It has been considered necessary to adopt two scales of wastage as shown in Appendix (A); the higher rate has been arrived at by examination of the wastage during the 1914–18 war and is probably suitable for war under similar conditions. The lower rate is considered suitable for conditions (A) and (B) above.

In Appendix (A) will also be found the periods of training considered to be the minimum for the training of the raw recruit up to a standard which will fit him to take his place in the field.

The product of the rate of wastage and the training period gives the percentage of the War Establishment of each unit which must be available as a reserve when the unit takes the field in order to maintain it until recruits then enlisted can be trained

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as reinforcements. This is also the percentage which will always have to be under training at any time throughout the campaign.

In Great Britain with the peace establishment of the Army varying only slightly and with fixed terms of service it will be apparent that for a war under continental conditions either the size of the Expeditionary Force will have to be restricted in order that the reserve may be capable of maintaining the units up to full strength during the period of training of the recruits, or units will fall below their establishment towards the end of the training period.

It would be of interest to hear if the arrangements made for the maintenance of such forces as the Dominions may put in the field have been based on estimates corresponding to the figures given in Appendix A.

Part II.—Fighting Organisation.

During the past few years considerable progress has been made in the design and production of mechanical machines capable of moving across country, and this, together with a consolidation of military opinion on the importance of fire power in war, has led to a general review of the organization for war of the resources available in this country. It is apparent that after the war there was a reaction from the appreciation of the importance of fire power during the operations on the Western Front; this is exemplified if we note the reduction of the establishment of field and medium artillery units from a 6 to a 4-gun basis, the absence of all heavy artillery from an Expeditionary Force and the abolition of the Machine Gun Corps. The last-named step was in the main due to the urgent necessity for economy; one of the newest of our corps suffered as has happened before under similar circumstances in our history.

The detailed consideration which has been given to our fighting organization in the past two years has resulted in the formulation of definite proposals which are now being considered by the Army Council and of which the following is a general summary by arms.

Cavalry.

Although it is clear that the bulk of the Cavalry will eventually be replaced by mechanical units and formations, it is realized that the day for such a step has not yet come. A great deal of experimental work will have to be carried out first. For the time being it is proposed to retain a Cavalry formation in our Expeditionary Force recognizing that, against a well-armed and highly trained force, its capacity for offensive action when mounted is extremely limited.

The gun power of the cavalry formation is also limited by the importance of maintaining its high standard of mobility, and it is considered necessary to hold sufficient Field Brigades, R.A., in the force on a mechanical basis to admit of the temporary strengthening of the gun power of the formation when the situation demands.

It is under consideration to add one Army Brigade, R.A., on a mechanical basis to the non-divisional troops of the Expeditionary Force for this purpose.

The power of the Cavalry under the present organization to develop small-arms fire is inadequate, and it is considered that there should be 36 light automatics per regiment, this increase being made only when a lighter and more handy weapon than the Hotchkiss is taken into use. For the present the available Hotchkiss guns (12 per regiment) have been distributed to the sabre troops instead of being concentrated in one Troop per Squadron.

The inclusion of a machine gun unit of 24 heavy machine guns in the Cavalry Division is also contemplated.

The necessity of having a cavalry unit in the Division is recognized.

Mechanical Formation.

It is suitable here to state the situation as regards the establishment of this new class of formation. We aim at including in our Expeditionary Force a formation composed entirely of units with mechanical means of transport and adequately equipped with mechanical weapons.

Conclusions on this cannot be reached until thorough experiments in the field have been carried out. To this end it is proposed to collect at a suitable centre such

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units on a mechanical basis as are already available and to mechanicalize and re-organize others for the purpose.

The following units may possibly form a commencement :—

1 Tank Battalion.
1 Field Brigade, R.A. (Mech.).
1 Brigade, R.A., for close support work (Mech.).
1 Armoured Car Company.
1 Company of special machines for reconnaissance, possibly one-man or two-man Tanks.
3 Infantry Battalions of which one (possibly two) will be re-armed with machine guns.
1 R.E. unit.
Signals and Administrative units.
1 A.C. Squadron will be required to work with the formation.

The work cannot be begun seriously until 1927 and probably will not be in full operation until 1928.

Artillery.

Whether it was due to a certain reaction after the experience of the late war as far as fire-power was concerned, or to the placing of too low a value on the capacity of our possible enemies in the Middle East or in India to develop fire with small arm weapons, the Field Artillery of our Expeditionary Force was reduced to a 4-gun basis. The Medium Artillery was organized on a similar scale and no Heavy Artillery included in our organization for war.

In the proposals now under consideration the Light Artillery of our Expeditionary Force will go to war, whatever the nature of the war may be, on the 6-gun basis, the Medium Artillery will remain on a 4-gun basis unless the war is against a first-class Power, but in such a case arrangements will also be made for the inclusion of Heavy Artillery on a rough basis of one Brigade per Corps of three Divisions.

The scale of Field and Medium Artillery will be three Brigades of Field Artillery and one close support Brigade in each Division as at present and, as non-divisional troops, one Field Brigade per Cavalry Division or Division, and Medium Artillery on the scale of one Brigade per Division in the field (excluding the Cavalry Division).

With regard to Pack Artillery, it is clear that in its present form it is extremely vulnerable, and that some form of cross-country mechanical machine must be produced to replace the mules; no decision as to the nature of machine can be made until a final conclusion is reached as to the weapon to be used.

Royal Engineers.

(*a.*) *Divisional.*—The organization of the R.E. of a Division is remaining as at present. It is, however, appreciated that certain campaigns would demand the expansion of the Field Companies, bringing the total strength of the R.E. of a Division up to 1,600.

The expansion would be effected firstly by introducing into the Sections unskilled personnel, thereby rendering them independent of working parties or detachments from Pioneer Battalions, and subsequently by increasing the number of Field Companies in the Division by one.

(*b.*) *Non-Divisional.*—It is proposed to include the following units in the Expeditionary Force :—

Field Units.—Army Troops Companies on the scale of 1 per Division.
E. and M. Companies on the scale of 1 per 3 Divisions.
D. of W. Units.—A.T. Companies on the scale of 1 per Division.
E. and M. Companies on the scale of 1 per 6 Divisions.
Roads Construction Companies on the scale of 1 per 6 Divisions.
Quarry Companies on the scale of 1 per 3 Divisions.

(*c.*) An organization for the Works Directorate is also under consideration.

Signals.

With regard to the Units of the Royal Corps of Signals, no great change is anticipated.

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As the mechanicalization of other arms develops so will the signal units change from horse-draft to mechanical traction.

The Establishment of Signal Sections for Units of the Royal Air Force have been reviewed and it seems probable that economy could be effected by transferring the sections to G.H.Q. Signals and allotting them as required.

Infantry.

(*a.*) No radical changes are being made in the Battalion organization; experiments are, however, being carried out to see if by concentrating Lewis Guns into platoons we cannot get more use out of these weapons than by distributing them evenly throughout the companies.

(*b.*) It is felt that the Expeditionary Force should include a proportion of battalions available for reinforcing the fire-power of Infantry. It is proposed that some of the Infantry Battalions which are not included in the Divisions of our Expeditionary Force may be armed with a high proportion of machine guns.

(*c.*) Mechanical Transport for Infantry 1st Line Transport will be tried out this year by one Battalion.

Divisional Reconnaissance Troops.

It has been brought out very prominently in training that the Division is greatly handicapped by having no mobile troops within its organization to carry out reconnaissance. The best method of carrying this out is being considered.

Tanks.

War Establishments for a Tank Battalion of 48 Fighting Tanks are being compiled. This number is for the moment dictated by the situation with regard to personnel and equipment. It is not yet possible to say what the eventual organization will be.

It is considered that, for the present, Tank Battalions should be included in the Expeditionary Force on the scale of 1 per Division in the field.

No decision has yet been reached with regard to the 1st Line Transport of Tank Battalions.

Royal Army Service Corps.

The organization of the Royal Army Service Corps has been completely changed and in Appendix "B" is shown the new system for delivering supplies and ammunition. War Establishments for the new units are under consideration, and in due course will appear as amendments to the existing War Establishments.

The new system has been incorporated in Field Service Regulations, Vol. I, a new edition of which is in course of preparation.

In the Royal Army Ordnance Corps and the Royal Army Medical Corps considerable changes have been made, but they are not of sufficient importance to include here.

PART III.—PROGRESS IN DESIGN AND EXPERIMENT OF WAR MATERIAL.

Artillery.

The experiences of the Great War have, as is usual, resulted in a demand for an all-round advance in the efficiency of artillery material, especially as regards increased range and greater ability to engage moving targets, such as tanks.

Hence we are engaged in re-designing all our existing artillery equipments up to and including the heavy gun (6-inch) and heavy howitzer (9·2-inch).

With a new field gun a maximum range of 15,000 yards is required. This is much in excess of that obtainable by the present gun, and the desired increase must be sought mainly by an improved pattern of shell. With experimental shell of this nature, we have obtained a range of 14,000 yards within practicable limitations of gun design.

A weapon specially designed to afford close support to infantry is a requirement arising from war experiences. We are endeavouring to improve the Stokes mortar (3-inch) for the purpose. This mortar has been selected for first trial by virtue of its simplicity of construction, an important factor when the requirements of a great war are compared with initial resources of armament production.

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Trials are in progress of aluminium wheels with rubber-pad or solid rubber tyres for light and medium artillery, rubber tyres being judged essential for mechanically-drawn artillery.

Coast Defences are being reviewed at the present time, and new equipments and mountings are in process of design or trial with the same outstanding feature of greater range.

Special mention should be made of new high-angle mountings for the 6-inch and 4·7-inch guns to enable them to engage aircraft as well as coast defence targets; and of a new 6-pdr. duplex mounting, capable of dealing with coastal motor boats or low-flying aircraft.

As regards anti-aircraft artillery, a trailer has been designed to supersede the present lorry mounting which is very unsatisfactory, and four are being built for trial.

A new 4·7-inch gun and mounting, to form the primary armament for anti-aircraft defence, is being constructed.

Considerable progress has been made in the improvement of anti-aircraft instruments; trials and further developments are in hand.

As regards Searchlight Equipment, field trials will be made this summer of experimental sets which include the following improvements on the previous (war) designs:—

(i.) The latest pattern (Mark III) sound locators.
(ii.) "High intensity" lamps giving the same efficiency as the Sperry (American) and Goerz Bech (German) post-war lamps.
(iii.) Control of the lamp from a distance of 150 feet. The "H.I." lamp will also be suitable for Coast Defence Lights, whose efficiency will be considerably increased thereby.

Ammunition is capable of improvement in various directions, besides re-design of shell to give greater range as mentioned above.

We are investigating the possibility of using a superior steel for shell so as to increase their capacity.

New instantaneous and graze fuzes are under trial, and promising results have been obtained with a mechanical fuze.

New forms and types of propellants are being investigated; some progress has been made in the development of a flameless propellant.

Chemical Warfare.

A new facepiece has been approved and is in process of issue. A completely new respirator (facepiece and container), to be common to the three fighting services, has been designed and is undergoing preliminary tests.

Various designs of special clothing, resistant to mustard gas, have been tested and a satisfactory result has been obtained as regards protection of factory personnel. Other designs for use by fighting men are under trial.

The subject of decontamination of gas-contaminated areas and objects is being studied and good progress has been made.

The formation of smoke screens under various tactical conditions is receiving constant attention.

Chemical warfare developments in other countries are being as closely watched as circumstances permit, and we are fully alive to the necessity of the fullest investigation of all such problems, both offensive and defensive, that our financial condition will admit.

Infantry Weapons.

Large war stocks of rifles and ammunition still exist and for financial reasons alone re-armament with a new weapon cannot be contemplated.

In order that the art of rifle manufacture should not entirely die out, it is necessary to maintain a small nucleus staff on rifle manufacture. The rifle has, therefore, been entirely re-designed with the object of cheapening and simplifying manufacture in time of emergency, while the opportunity has been taken to incorporate several new features into the design as the result of war experience. A new type of shortened bayonet will be introduced making a more handy and better balanced weapon, while at the same time lightening the load carried by the soldier.

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As to light automatic weapons, we are faced with a similar position, large stocks of both types (Lewis and Hotchkiss) being left on our hands after the war. Extensive trials, however, have been carried out with all types of the most modern weapons of this class, and as a result of these experiments a light machine-gun of the Browning type has been produced which it is considered would be most suitable to replace the present Hotchkiss and Lewis equipment.

It has, however, been decided that the possibility of obtaining a self-loading rifle should be further explored before definite steps are taken to introduce the new light machine-gun mentioned above.

The Vickers machine-gun is generally admitted to be satisfactory, but an attempt is being made to improve the mounting and give it increased steadiness.

Experiments are also being carried out with machine-guns of ·5 calibre and upwards as possible anti-tank weapons, but no definite conclusions have yet been arrived at.

Mechanicalisation.

1. At the present moment we are in the purely experimental stage, but broadly speaking, design and experiment are concerned with two classes of machine :—

Class A.—Machines requiring the highest degree of cross-country mobility and a high degree of road mobility, such as purely fighting machines and artillery tractors.

Most of these are fully tracked and must be regarded as purely military machines as opposed to commercial types having a military use. They are necessarily costly.

Class B.—Machines requiring a lesser degree of cross-country mobility and a high degree of road mobility, such as 1st Line Transport vehicles.

These are half-tracked machines, but are to some extent of commercial type They are consequently considerably less costly.

The general objects of design and experiment are :—

(*a*.) To improve and cheapen Class A as far as possible.
(*b*.) To discover a machine of commercial type which will give the performance required by Class B.

2. We have produced or will shortly produce for trial this summer the following experimental machines :—

Class A.

(i.) A larger tank than the present light tank, designed for higher speed, more heavily armoured, and with very much increased fire power.
(ii.) A tank lower and narrower than the light tank, but more heavily armoured and carrying two Vickers machine guns in turrets with a wide angle of traverse.
(iii.) Two small types of tank capable of carrying an armoured body for either one man or two men, and armed with one light automatic.
(iv.) Four dragon type machines having an 18-pdr. gun mounted on the machine. The gun has an all-round traverse and is also designed for anti-aircraft work, having an elevation of 85 per cent. and special sighting arrangements.
(v.) One small dragon type machine having a " close-support " weapon on it.

Class B.

We are issuing a number of this class to troops for extended trials during this collective training season in order to ascertain their suitability,

(i.) As Field Artillery tractors.
(ii.) As First Line Transport vehicles.
(iii.) As Cable Wagon tractors for Signal Units.

The trials should also show the comparative value of the rubber and metal half-track as some of the machines have the Kegresse rubber half-track, others the Roadless metal half-track. The remainder of the chassis is mainly of commercial type.

3. Two experimental Diesel type engines using heavy oil-fuel are being tried this year with a view to reducing the risk of fire and cheapening running cost.

4. As regards production, we are continuing to equip Tank Battalions with the light tank, Mark II, and Medium Artillery with the dragon, Mark III.

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A decision on the tractor to be adopted for Field Artillery depends on the result of the trials with half-tracked machines mentioned above.

5. Trials of the Fordson fitted with various modifications and of other commercial tractors have been carried out, but it is clear that they cannot give the performance required in war and their use for training purposes in peace is very limited.

Bridge Equipment.

(i.) For assault bridges, design of the "Kapok" floating bridge has been approved and the required war outfits and training equipments are now in course of supply. This equipment can be utilised for the improvisation of bridges to carry pack mules. Various expedients are tried out by divisions in the course of Annual Training.

(ii.) *Pontoon Bridges*.—The bridges for the equipment of the two Corps Pontoon Parks have been supplied and some training equipment for the S.M.E. The question of transport for this equipment is still under consideration. The existing equipment will carry axle loads up to 16 tons, or tanks up to 18 tons weight.

It is, however, considered that, having in view—

(*a*.) That the special material used (consuta wood) may not readily be procurable in a hurry in large quantities;
(*b*.) That tanks up to 26 tons have been proposed;

it is desirable to experiment with a view to the use of steel pontoons of the French Army type; research is now in hand, and it is hoped to produce a pontoon equipment which will carry 26-ton tanks.

(iii.) The " box girder " steel bridge has now been adopted as the *one* standard type of fixed bridge to take all military loads. Units are trained in launching this type of bridge.

Signal Equipment.

The rapid progress of wireless science, combined with the tendency towards mechanicalisation of an Army, has made it difficult, indeed impossible, to form and adhere to a definite policy.

Continuous wave wireless sets (A) and (C) have been designed and supplied in sufficient quantity to complete the war outfit of the E.F., for work forward of Divisional H.Q. Whilst these constitute a considerable advance on the spark sets of the War, it cannot in any way be claimed that they provide the necessary selectivity and security from interception, though probably " jamming " will prove to be too difficult to be worth the attempt. Further, it is considered to be essential that telephone communication shall be available between a G.O.C. and his subordinate Commanders. Until R/T which cannot be intercepted is practical, it has been decided to revert to the use of field cables for this purpose.

Research is in consequence being directed on three parallel lines :—

(i.) Improvements in the design of the component parts of complete field wireless stations, with a view to facilitating the employment of continuous wave sets operated on waves of medium length.
(ii.) The co-ordination with such sets of special instruments to obtain security; these again may be divided into two classes :—
(*a*.) Cipher machines, for coding and de-coding
(*b*.) Instruments designed to project into the ether a " mush " of waves which can only be straightened out by instruments set to perform that work.
(iii.) Exploration of the possibilities of short wave rays (50 metres downwards), which it is hoped may enable design to be made of instruments sufficiently selective to permit of their use for radio-telephony.

It has been decided to abandon the idea of " Signal tanks " in favour of a " Signal vehicle " to accompany tank formations. The problem set is that such vehicles are to carry W/T with a range of 30 miles; plus R/T attachment. Similar vehicles to be provided for Armoured Car units, carrying W/T with a range of 100 miles.

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R.A.S.C. Matériel Developments.

Great efforts have been made, since the war, to mould the design of vehicles produced and used commercially in this country in the direction of increased military value.

Subsidy type 30-cwt. lorry.—The first step was the subsidisation of what is now known as the W.D. subsidy type 30-cwt. lorry.

This vehicle is intended to carry a useful load of 30 cwt. in military use, though capable of carrying greater loads on good roads. It is mounted on giant pneumatic tyres and is designed to meet a definite War Office specification in regard to both construction and performance.

The Subsidy Scheme has been very successful; it has produced a reserve of vehicles in the country and has definitely influenced vehicle design in the direction of increased military usefulness.

The vehicle has a greatly increased power of mobility, for a commercial type, in regard to both speed and ability to travel off the road.

The following firms hold certificates to build these lorries for enrolment under the Subsidy Scheme:—

Messrs. J. I. Thornycroft and Co., Ltd.
„ The Albion Motor Car Company, Ltd.
„ Guy Motors, Ltd.
„ Karrier Motors, Ltd.
„ Halleys Industrial Moters, Ltd.
„ Vulcan Motor Engineering Company, Ltd.
„ Crossley Motors, Ltd.
„ Clement Talbot, Ltd.

15-cwt. Van.—A specification for a pneumatic-tyred 15-cwt. van has also been compiled, and this has been modelled on the specification for the War Department pneumatic-tyred light lorry (30-cwts). This type of vehicle is not, however, being subsidised.

Rigid six-wheeled Lorries.—As the result of subsequent developments both at home and in foreign countries—such as the trans-Sahara work of the French Renault six-wheeler—investigations have been made as to the merits of six-wheeled vehicles driving on four wheels. These investigations have shown:—

(*a.*) That such vehicles have a greatly increased capacity for cross country work compared with any four-wheeled vehicle of normal lay-out;
(*b.*) That much heavier useful loads can be carried for a given unladen vehicle weight and engine power;
(*c.*) That the vehicles entail so little departure from the standard parts of the normal four-wheeled vehicles on which their production is based, that their manufacture is neither unduly difficult nor costly;
(*d.*) That in consideration of the above factors, as well as other points, such as increased road worthiness, easier riding, reduced fuel consumption, reduction of wear and tear to both the vehicle and the road, it appears that the commercial production of this type, for use in this country and in the Dominions and Colonies, shows signs of promise.

Provisional W.D. Specifications have therefore been prepared and vehicles of this type (known as Rigid Six-wheeled Vehicles) are in production by several firms.

Preliminary trials which have just been carried out with the first rigid six-wheeled vehicles delivered to War Department orders, have been very successful, and have demonstrated quite clearly that this type of vehicle is eminently suitable for use in districts where road conditions are poor and where the vehicle of normal lay-out cannot operate with success.

The vehicles tried by us with success are made by the following firms:—

Messrs. J. I. Thorncroft and Co., Ltd. (useful load, 2 tons).
Messrs. Morris Commercial Cars, Ltd. (useful load 1 ton).

Other firms who have built, or are about to build, vehicles of this type are:—

Messrs. Guy Motors, Ltd.
Messrs. Karrier Motors, Ltd.

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This type of vehicle presents absolutely no unusual difficulties in regard to driving and maintenance.

Special attention is invited to this matter in view of the great increase in the efficiency of the general transport service of the Army which will accrue if the development of this type of vehicle leads to the large production of it, which is hoped for.

Its value for transport work in countries where the road system is not well developed is unquestionable, while production for export to the Dominions and Colonies will help in a great measure to assist this development.

The Morris vehicle, in particular, is very moderate in cost and should have a wide appeal.

A special form of overall chain, which, while costing only a few pounds, enables the six-wheeled vehicle to cope with exceptionally bad conditions of ground, is being developed by us, with satisfactory results.

The conversion by this means takes but three to five minutes and does not involve removal of the wheels or tyres.

Hathi Tractor.—This is a tractor vehicle, mounted on large size pneumatic tyres, and driving on all wheels.

The present type has four wheels (all driving), but the production of a six-wheeled model (all wheels driving) is in hand, and it is anticipated that the latter will show considerable advantage in performance over the former.

The vehicle is built to War Department Specification by Messrs. J. I. Thornycroft and Co., Ltd.

It is suitable for hauling loads of 5 to 10 tons, according to road conditions.

It has a very good performance, and will provide satisfactory transport for heavy loads where road conditions are bad.

The tractor is fitted with a winding gear, carrying 500 feet of wire rope, and driven at will by the main engine.

A 7-ton rope pull can be exerted.

Again, in the case of this vehicle, a demand for export will assist its development.

Tyre Equipment.—All post-war service vehicles are pneumatic-tyred.

There is no doubt that economical tyre mileage, reduction of vehicle maintenance cost, increased speed and ability to travel across country result from the use of modern straight-sided tyres.

Mechanical Transport Advisory Board.—The closest touch is maintained with the civil motor engineers and firms, and it is only by this means that the satisfactory development of the general load-carrying vehicle in the direction of increased military usefulness has been achieved.

The Mechanical Transport Advisory Board, with its Technical Sub-Committee, includes a number of prominent civilian members and representatives of various departments and directorates of the War Office who are concerned with mechanical transport development. Standards recommended by the British Engineering Standards Association and the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders are adopted to the utmost possible extent.

A Co-ordinating Committee has been formed to standardise as much as possible the requirements in mechanical transport material of the three fighting services, and much valuable work has been achieved in this direction.

General Stores.

With regard to general stores, at the Imperial Conference in 1917 the following resolutions were agreed:—

(*a.*) "That this Conference, recognising the importance of assimilating as far as possible the military stores and equipment of the Imperial Forces throughout the Empire, recommends that an expert committee representative of the military authorities of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, be appointed as early as possible to consider the various patterns in use, with a view to selecting the standard patterns for general adoption as far as the special circumstances of each country admit."
(*b.*) "That this Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the selected Ordnance personnel of the military organizations of the Empire should

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as far as possible be trained in the same methods and according to the same principles, and that to secure this end officers of the Ordnance services from all parts of the Empire should be attached for adequate periods to the Imperial Ordnance Department."

Both these resolutions have been given effect to; "(*a*)" by the formation of the Equipment and Clothing Committee, on which the Dominions are represented, and "(*b*)," Ordnance officers have been attached to the R.A.O.C. from the Dominions at various times for instructional purposes.

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APPENDIX (A).

Wastage and Training Figures.

—	Monthly Wastage.		Training Period for a Raw Recruit.
	Lower Rate.	Higher Rate.	
Cavalry—			
Signallers	7 per cent.	10 per cent.	7 months.
Machine Gunners	7 „	10 „	6 „
Non-specialists	7 „	10 „	5 „
R.A.—			
Specialists—	6 „	7 „	8 „
Non-specialists	6 „	7 „	6 „
R.E.—			
Divisional troops	6 „	6 „	6 „
G.H.Q. Pool ... ... (A.T. and A.A. Searchlight Coys.)	6 „	4 „	4 „
Other units		3 „	2 „
R.E. Transportation	6 „	6 „	2 „
R.C. Signals	4 „	4 „	6 „
Infantry—			
Signallers	10 „	25 „	7 „
Machine Gunners	10 „	25 „	6 „
Non-specialists	10 „	25 „	4 „
Cyclists (Infantry)	—	25 „	6 „
Royal Tank Corps	5 „	8 „	8 „
R.A.S.C.	3 „	3 „	3 „
R.A.M.C.	4 „	4 „	3 „
R.A.O.C.	3 „	3 „	2 „
R.A.V.C.	3 „	3 „	2 „
Military Police	10 „	10 „	4 „ but no decision has ever been obtained.

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APPENDIX (B).

Maintenance in the Field.

The diagram attached shows the normal system of maintenance as regards supplies and ammunition in the field, together with the organization for repairing and replacing damaged M.T. vehicles, for which the D.S.T. is responsible.

The R.A.S.C. units of each division and cavalry division are administered and controlled by the C., R.A.S.C., of the division, and comprise :—

Headquarters, Divisional R.A.S.C.
1 Divisional Train (4 companies) } Light lorries.
1 Ammunition Company }
1 M.T. Repair Company.
1 Reserve H.T. Company.

The R.A.S.C. units belonging to corps troops are administered by the A.D.S.T. of the corps. These units together form the " Corps Transport Column " and normally consist of the following :—

1 Corps Troops Ammunition Company (light lorries).
1 Corps Troops Maintenance Company.
1 Corps Troops M.T. Repair Company.
1 Maintenance Company for each Division in the Corps.
1 Reserve M.T. Company.
1 Advanced Vehicle Reception Park.

The ammunition companies in each division have taken the place of the S.A.A. section of the old divisional train, in addition to " B " echelon of the D.A.C. or B.A.C. in cavalry division.

The corps troops ammunition company has similarly absorbed the " B " echelon of the non-divisional R.F.A. brigade, with new sections for carriage of medium brigade and 3-pdr. ammunition.

The present medium brigade M.T. company and Tank Corps M.T. company have been abolished and in their place the corps troops maintenance company has been formed.

All 2nd-line mechanical transport which has to work in the forward areas now consists entirely of light pneumatic-tyred 30-cwt. vehicles, and all 3rd-line working in the rearward areas consists of heavy lorries (3-ton).

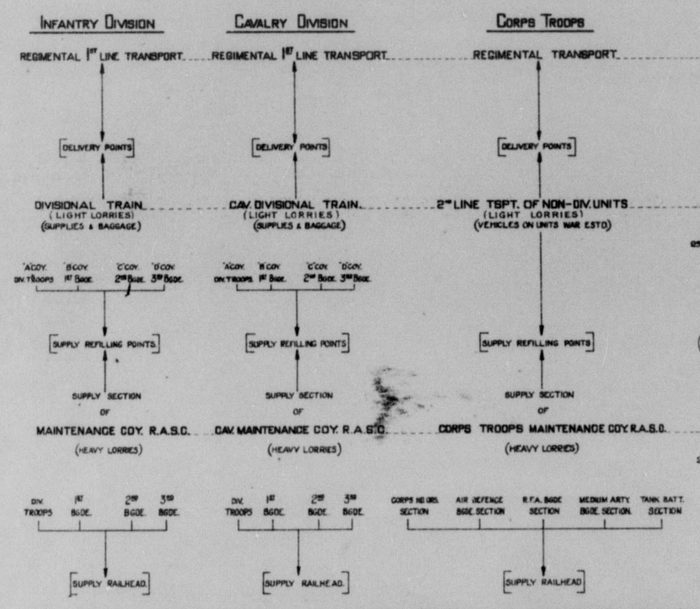
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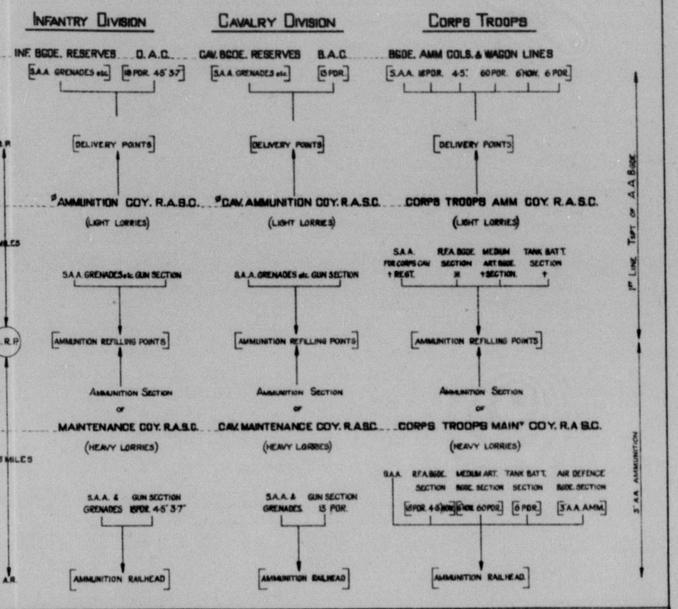
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MAINTENANCE
NORMAL SYSTEM

SUPPLIES

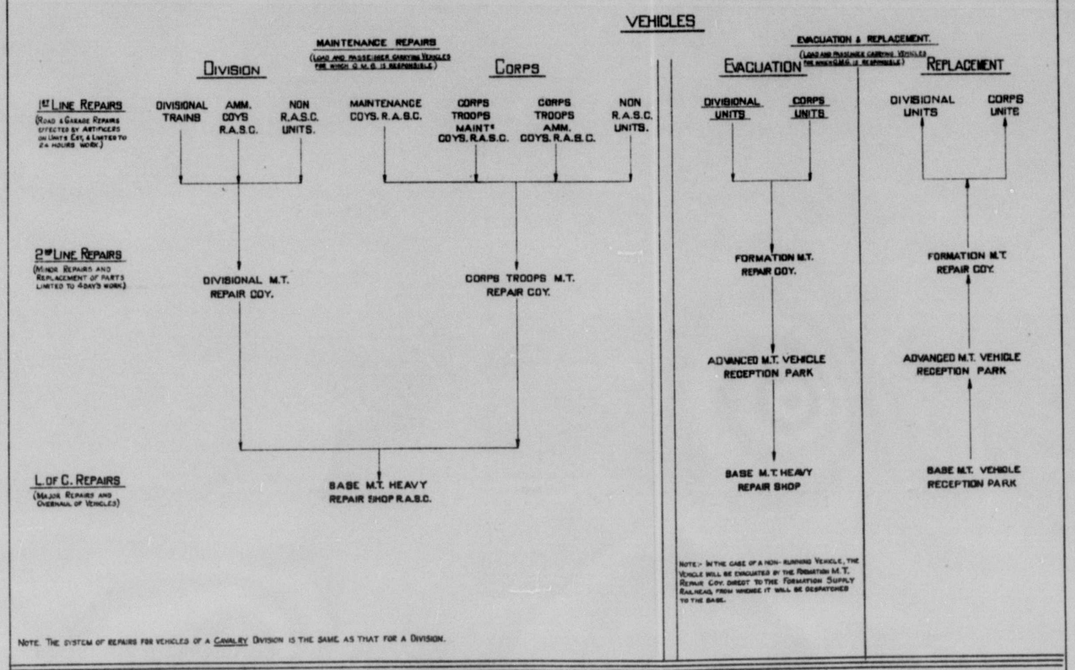


AMMUNITION



* This R.F.A. Bgde. Section of the Corps Troops Ammunition Coy. R.A.S.C. has absorbed the 'B' Echelon of the N.O.F.A. Brigade Ammunition Column.
@ These Units have absorbed the S.A.A. portion of the old Divisional Train and the 'B' Echelon of the D.A.C. and B.A.C.
† These Sections of the Corps Troops Ammunition Coy. R.A.S.C. are new lines in the chain of Ammunition Supply of a Corps.

VEHICLES



NOTE. THE SYSTEM OF REPAIRS FOR VEHICLES OF A CAVALRY DIVISION IS THE SAME AS THAT FOR A DIVISION.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION FOR WAR.

MEMORANDUM BY THE WAR OFFICE.

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THE object of this paper is to make a general review of the progress that has been made during the past two years in our general plans for organization for war. The years that have elapsed since the close of the 1914–18 war have been sufficient to enable the military authorities to view the main characteristics of that war in proper perspective, with the result that opinion is gradually becoming consolidated as to the organization at which we should aim.

At the present time units and formations throughout the Empire are organized in general on similar lines, as is indicated by the acceptance of the War Establishments prepared in Great Britain.

As the result of the critical examination to which our organization has been subjected, various new proposals are under consideration, and it is highly desirable that these should be acceptable to the military authorities in the Dominions and suitable for adoption in their various countries.

An extension of the co-ordination that has been so far effected is, however, essential. Only a small number of the many problems that inevitably arise in war are solved by the organization for the despatch of Expeditionary Forces of whatever size from the component parts of the Empire. More difficult to solve are those which arise when the advanced guards of the various contingents have to be reinforced by larger forces and plans have to be prepared and put into effect for the maintenance of the armies of the Empire in the field.

It is of the utmost importance that what may be termed the higher organization for war should be formulated in a well co-ordinated plan in which the efforts of the parts of the Empire are adapted to the plan as a whole.

The Imperial Conference, 1926, offers a good opportunity for the examination of the whole subject, which will now be reviewed under the following headings:—

Part I.—Policy.
Part II.—Fighting organization.
Part III.—Progress in design and experiment of war *matériel.*

PART I.—POLICY.

It must always be incumbent on the military authorities of every country to prepare plans to meet any contingency which the policy of the government of the day may render possible. These plans should include an estimate of the strength of the forces required for the various contingencies and of the reserves in men and material necessary to maintain them.

This does not mean, however, that resources required for the various contingencies must be held in readiness. The extent to which this can be done is dependent on the financial resources made available by the government which exercises through the Treasury its responsibility for the expenditure on the Army in Peace, both as regards establishments and reserves. If the contingencies were

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capable of clear definition, as is generally the situation in the case of a purely continental Power, it would not be difficult to prepare plans.

In the case of the British Empire the possible commitments are numerous and complex, and in its history land forces commensurate with them have never been maintained in peace. In the case of Great Britain it is certainly true that the strength of the Expeditionary Force maintained in the country bears no relation to any of our possible commitments, but is in the main governed by the necessity for the provision of reliefs and drafts for our overseas garrisons.

The forces so maintained are, however, given the best possible organization to enable them to take the field at short notice as the advanced guard of the national forces.

In order to provide a suitable basis for the consideration of our general organization for war it has been found convenient to examine the three most likely kinds of war in which we may be involved :—

A. A war which can be dealt with by the Expeditionary Force without assistance from our Territorial Army.

B. A war of such dimensions as to be clearly beyond the capacity of an Expeditionary Force and requiring the assistance of part or the whole of the Territorial Army which exists in peace in Great Britain.

C. A war of national effort involving the expansion of our Territorial Army and the introduction of conscription.

A. We have for many years been able to put into the field an Expeditionary Force of comparatively small dimensions. In 1914 we had available a force of 1 Cavalry and 6 Infantry Divisions.

To-day our Expeditionary Force consists of a 1st Contingent of 1 Cavalry and 3 Infantry Divisions, with a proportion of non-divisional units capable of being mobilised in 14 days, and a 2nd Contingent of 2 Divisions, which would be ready to follow in 4 months' time.

It is possible that, in the case of a war under this heading, although only small forces were required, the Dominions might have a particular interest and desire to share the burden of the war with the Home country. No decision on this could be taken by them until the circumstances at the time of the crisis had been appreciated. But it is clearly desirable that they should have worked out in advance the size of the alternative contingents and their plans for mobilizing, equipping, despatching and maintaining them, so that if the circumstances were such that they wished to participate, they would be able to do so with the least possible delay and improvisation. In the case of Australia and New Zealand the situation is already clear, and mobilization arrangements are in order for the despatch of their contingents. In the case of Canada and other Dominions no such information is yet available.

With regard to B the situation is more complex. It is evident that as far as Great Britain is concerned no force greater than that organized to meet the condition under A above can be made available until a number of months of war has passed.

The Territorial Army in peace consists of 2 Cavalry Brigades and 14 Infantry Divisions, but such units as Tank Battalions and close support Brigades R.A. have not yet been formed.

Although it is possible that some few of our Territorial Army formations without their full complement of non-divisional troops could be despatched 3 or 4 months after the outbreak of war, a steady flow of fully equipped divisions could not be sent overseas before 6 months had passed from the date of mobilization, and then only if our peace organization is adapted to suit the needs of war by the formation, for example, of Tank Battalion cadres. Moreover, a most important factor is obviously the nation's capacity for the production of war material, such as tanks, ammunition, &c.

According to our present estimates it would not be possible to maintain a force of 20 divisions in the field in gun ammunition until much later than 6 months after the outbreak of war; the whole question of the production of war material is being dealt with fully by the Principal Supply Officers' Committee.

Whatever the nature of the war it is clear that every effort must be made to obtain a favourable decision in the shortest possible time; any help, therefore, which the Dominions may feel able to afford will be all the more welcome if it is made available at an early date.

In both cases the solution seems to lie primarily in the construction of plans in advance, but in the latter case there is a further necessity for anticipating a limited expansion of the Dominion forces.

Passing now to Case C, it is considered essential that, before any expansion of our Territorial Army can take place, the voluntary system of enlistment be abandoned and compulsory service instituted. The importance of our capacity for the production of war material and the necessities of life make it essential that rigid control of the available man power be exercised.

Under the Committee of Imperial Defence there has been sitting since 1923 a "Man Power Committee," and from their reports it seems clear that the maximum effort that Great Britain could make would result in a force of 36 Divisions taking the field and it is estimated that this force would not be complete and in the field until 15 months after the outbreak of the war.

It is considered of great importance that the maximum effort which could be made by the Dominions, on the supposition that they were willing to make it, should be clearly defined, together with a time programme of the rate of expansion of their respective contingents.

The conditions which have been considered above seem to afford a suitable basis on which to make our plans and preparations for war, and it is suggested that their adoption as such throughout the Empire should be considered.

It is further suggested that when the plans of the individual Dominions have been compiled they should be placed on record in the War Office in order that the potential assistance which they may be prepared to render may be included in the schemes which are being worked out to meet the various contingencies.

Although the question of the supply of war material is being dealt with in a paper prepared by the Principal Supply Officers' Committee, it is as well to draw attention to the action now being taken in the War Office with regard to this subject.

A permanent committee known as the Mobilisation Equipment and War Reserves Committee reviews the stocks of material required to equip and maintain the forces, which may be in the field, under the three headings given earlier in this paper. It is apparent that in all cases the size of the reserve required for any one type of war material is dependent, among other factors, on the rate at which production in war overtakes expenditure.

In considering the various problems involved in this question of the maintenance of the forces in the field, the Committee have taken note of the possibility of Dominion forces joining with the Home forces as parts of a single Army, and have appreciated that the home country may in many cases be called upon to supply Dominion units with the necessary material as was done in the last war; for example, at the present time, the capacity of the Dominions to produce gun ammunition when compared with the probable consumption in war of this class of war material would not appreciably affect the position.

Not only is the capacity of Dominions for the output of war material of all sorts a matter on which the Army Council wish to be fully informed, but it will be obvious that organization in the Empire for the production of war material in peace and on the outbreak of war on a well co-ordinated plan would make for greater efficiency.

With regard to the supply of men, the following factors must be considered :—

(i.) The War Establishments of the Force.
(ii.) The rate of wastage.
(iii.) The period of training required to make the raw recruit fit to take his place in the field.

(i) will be dealt with in Part II.

With regard to (ii), it will be apparent that there will be a marked difference in the rate of wastage in the various wars in which the Empire may find itself engaged. This rate will be dependent on the standard of equipment, training and organization of the enemy, and on the climatic conditions under which the operations take place. It has been considered necessary to adopt two scales of wastage as shown in Appendix (A); the higher rate has been arrived at by examination of the wastage during the 1914–18 war and is probably suitable for war under similar conditions. The lower rate is considered suitable for conditions (A) and (B) above.

In Appendix (A) will also be found the periods of training considered to be the minimum for the training of the raw recruit up to a standard which will fit him to take his place in the field.

The product of the rate of wastage and the training period gives the percentage of the War Establishment of each unit which must be available as a reserve when the unit takes the field in order to maintain it until recruits then enlisted can be trained

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as reinforcements. This is also the percentage which will always have to be under training at any time throughout the campaign.

In Great Britain with the peace establishment of the Army varying only slightly and with fixed terms of service it will be apparent that for a war under continental conditions either the size of the Expeditionary Force will have to be restricted in order that the reserve may be capable of maintaining the units up to full strength during the period of training of the recruits, or units will fall below their establishment towards the end of the training period.

It would be of interest to hear if the arrangements made for the maintenance of such forces as the Dominions may put in the field have been based on estimates corresponding to the figures given in Appendix A.

Part II.—Fighting Organisation.

During the past few years considerable progress has been made in the design and production of mechanical machines capable of moving across country, and this, together with a consolidation of military opinion on the importance of fire power in war, has led to a general review of the organization for war of the resources available in this country. It is apparent that after the war there was a reaction from the appreciation of the importance of fire power during the operations on the Western Front; this is exemplified if we note the reduction of the establishment of field and medium artillery units from a 6 to a 4-gun basis, the absence of all heavy artillery from an Expeditionary Force and the abolition of the Machine Gun Corps. The last-named step was in the main due to the urgent necessity for economy; one of the newest of our corps suffered as has happened before under similar circumstances in our history.

The detailed consideration which has been given to our fighting organization in the past two years has resulted in the formulation of definite proposals which are now being considered by the Army Council and of which the following is a general summary by arms.

Cavalry.

Although it is clear that the bulk of the Cavalry will eventually be replaced by mechanical units and formations, it is realized that the day for such a step has not yet come. A great deal of experimental work will have to be carried out first. For the time being it is proposed to retain a Cavalry formation in our Expeditionary Force recognizing that, against a well-armed and highly trained force, its capacity for offensive action when mounted is extremely limited.

The gun power of the cavalry formation is also limited by the importance of maintaining its high standard of mobility, and it is considered necessary to hold sufficient Field Brigades, R.A., in the force on a mechanical basis to admit of the temporary strengthening of the gun power of the formation when the situation demands.

It is under consideration to add one Army Brigade, R.A., on a mechanical basis to the non-divisional troops of the Expeditionary Force for this purpose.

The power of the Cavalry under the present organization to develop small-arms fire is inadequate, and it is considered that there should be 36 light automatics per regiment, this increase being made only when a lighter and more handy weapon than the Hotchkiss is taken into use. For the present the available Hotchkiss guns (12 per regiment) have been distributed to the sabre troops instead of being concentrated in one Troop per Squadron.

The inclusion of a machine gun unit of 24 heavy machine guns in the Cavalry Division is also contemplated.

The necessity of having a cavalry unit in the Division is recognized.

Mechanical Formation.

It is suitable here to state the situation as regards the establishment of this new class of formation. We aim at including in our Expeditionary Force a formation composed entirely of units with mechanical means of transport and adequately equipped with mechanical weapons.

Conclusions on this cannot be reached until thorough experiments in the field have been carried out. To this end it is proposed to collect at a suitable centre such

units on a mechanical basis as are already available and to mechanicalize and re-organize others for the purpose.

The following units may possibly form a commencement :—

1 Tank Battalion.
1 Field Brigade, R.A. (Mech.).
1 Brigade, R.A., for close support work (Mech.).
1 Armoured Car Company.
1 Company of special machines for reconnaissance, possibly one-man or two-man Tanks.
3 Infantry Battalions of which one (possibly two) will be re-armed with machine guns.
1 R.E. unit.
Signals and Administrative units.
1 A.C. Squadron will be required to work with the formation.

The work cannot be begun seriously until 1927 and probably will not be in full operation until 1928.

Artillery.

Whether it was due to a certain reaction after the experience of the late war as far as fire-power was concerned, or to the placing of too low a value on the capacity of our possible enemies in the Middle East or in India to develop fire with small arm weapons, the Field Artillery of our Expeditionary Force was reduced to a 4-gun basis. The Medium Artillery was organized on a similar scale and no Heavy Artillery included in our organization for war.

In the proposals now under consideration the Light Artillery of our Expeditionary Force will go to war, whatever the nature of the war may be, on the 6-gun basis, the Medium Artillery will remain on a 4-gun basis unless the war is against a first-class Power, but in such a case arrangements will also be made for the inclusion of Heavy Artillery on a rough basis of one Brigade per Corps of three Divisions.

The scale of Field and Medium Artillery will be three Brigades of Field Artillery and one close support Brigade in each Division as at present and, as non-divisional troops, one Field Brigade per Cavalry Division or Division, and Medium Artillery on the scale of one Brigade per Division in the field (excluding the Cavalry Division).

With regard to Pack Artillery, it is clear that in its present form it is extremely vulnerable, and that some form of cross-country mechanical machine must be produced to replace the mules; no decision as to the nature of machine can be made until a final conclusion is reached as to the weapon to be used.

Royal Engineers.

(*a.*) *Divisional.*—The organization of the R.E. of a Division is remaining as at present. It is, however, appreciated that certain campaigns would demand the expansion of the Field Companies, bringing the total strength of the R.E. of a Division up to 1,600.

The expansion would be effected firstly by introducing into the Sections unskilled personnel, thereby rendering them independent of working parties or detachments from Pioneer Battalions, and subsequently by increasing the number of Field Companies in the Division by one.

(*b.*) *Non-Divisional.*—It is proposed to include the following units in the Expeditionary Force :—

Field Units.—Army Troops Companies on the scale of 1 per Division.
E. and M. Companies on the scale of 1 per 3 Divisions.
D. of W. Units.—A.T. Companies on the scale of 1 per Division.
E. and M. Companies on the scale of 1 per 6 Divisions.
Roads Construction Companies on the scale of 1 per 6 Divisions.
Quarry Companies on the scale of 1 per 3 Divisions.

(*c.*) An organization for the Works Directorate is also under consideration.

Signals.

With regard to the Units of the Royal Corps of Signals, no great change is anticipated.

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As the mechanicalization of other arms develops so will the signal units change from horse-draft to mechanical traction.

The Establishment of Signal Sections for Units of the Royal Air Force have been reviewed and it seems probable that economy could be effected by transferring the sections to G.H.Q. Signals and allotting them as required.

Infantry.

(*a.*) No radical changes are being made in the Battalion organization; experiments are, however, being carried out to see if by concentrating Lewis Guns into platoons we cannot get more use out of these weapons than by distributing them evenly throughout the companies.

(*b.*) It is felt that the Expeditionary Force should include a proportion of battalions available for reinforcing the fire-power of Infantry. It is proposed that some of the Infantry Battalions which are not included in the Divisions of our Expeditionary Force may be armed with a high proportion of machine guns.

(*c.*) Mechanical Transport for Infantry 1st Line Transport will be tried out this year by one Battalion.

Divisional Reconnaissance Troops.

It has been brought out very prominently in training that the Division is greatly handicapped by having no mobile troops within its organization to carry out reconnaissance. The best method of carrying this out is being considered.

Tanks.

War Establishments for a Tank Battalion of 48 Fighting Tanks are being compiled. This number is for the moment dictated by the situation with regard to personnel and equipment. It is not yet possible to say what the eventual organization will be.

It is considered that, for the present, Tank Battalions should be included in the Expeditionary Force on the scale of 1 per Division in the field.

No decision has yet been reached with regard to the 1st Line Transport of Tank Battalions.

Royal Army Service Corps.

The organization of the Royal Army Service Corps has been completely changed and in Appendix "B" is shown the new system for delivering supplies and ammunition. War Establishments for the new units are under consideration, and in due course will appear as amendments to the existing War Establishments.

The new system has been incorporated in Field Service Regulations, Vol. I, a new edition of which is in course of preparation.

In the Royal Army Ordnance Corps and the Royal Army Medical Corps considerable changes have been made, but they are not of sufficient importance to include here.

Part III.—Progress in Design and Experiment of War Material.

Artillery.

The experiences of the Great War have, as is usual, resulted in a demand for an all-round advance in the efficiency of artillery material, especially as regards increased range and greater ability to engage moving targets, such as tanks.

Hence we are engaged in re-designing all our existing artillery equipments up to and including the heavy gun (6-inch) and heavy howitzer (9·2-inch).

With a new field gun a maximum range of 15,000 yards is required. This is much in excess of that obtainable by the present gun, and the desired increase must be sought mainly by an improved pattern of shell. With experimental shell of this nature, we have obtained a range of 14,000 yards within practicable limitations of gun design.

A weapon specially designed to afford close support to infantry is a requirement arising from war experiences. We are endeavouring to improve the Stokes mortar (3-inch) for the purpose. This mortar has been selected for first trial by virtue of its simplicity of construction, an important factor when the requirements of a great war are compared with initial resources of armament production.

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Trials are in progress of aluminium wheels with rubber-pad or solid rubber tyres for light and medium artillery, rubber tyres being judged essential for mechanically-drawn artillery.

Coast Defences are being reviewed at the present time, and new equipments and mountings are in process of design or trial with the same outstanding feature of greater range.

Special mention should be made of new high-angle mountings for the 6-inch and 4·7-inch guns to enable them to engage aircraft as well as coast defence targets; and of a new 6-pdr. duplex mounting, capable of dealing with coastal motor boats or low-flying aircraft.

As regards anti-aircraft artillery, a trailer has been designed to supersede the present lorry mounting which is very unsatisfactory, and four are being built for trial.

A new 4·7-inch gun and mounting, to form the primary armament for anti-aircraft defence, is being constructed.

Considerable progress has been made in the improvement of anti-aircraft instruments; trials and further developments are in hand.

As regards Searchlight Equipment, field trials will be made this summer of experimental sets which include the following improvements on the previous (war) designs:—

(i.) The latest pattern (Mark III) sound locators.
(ii.) "High intensity" lamps giving the same efficiency as the Sperry (American) and Goerz Bech (German) post-war lamps.
(iii.) Control of the lamp from a distance of 150 feet. The "H.I." lamp will also be suitable for Coast Defence Lights, whose efficiency will be considerably increased thereby.

Ammunition is capable of improvement in various directions, besides re-design of shell to give greater range as mentioned above.

We are investigating the possibility of using a superior steel for shell so as to increase their capacity.

New instantaneous and graze fuzes are under trial, and promising results have been obtained with a mechanical fuze.

New forms and types of propellants are being investigated; some progress has been made in the development of a flameless propellant.

Chemical Warfare.

A new facepiece has been approved and is in process of issue. A completely new respirator (facepiece and container), to be common to the three fighting services, has been designed and is undergoing preliminary tests.

Various designs of special clothing, resistant to mustard gas, have been tested and a satisfactory result has been obtained as regards protection of factory personnel. Other designs for use by fighting men are under trial.

The subject of decontamination of gas-contaminated areas and objects is being studied and good progress has been made.

The formation of smoke screens under various tactical conditions is receiving constant attention.

Chemical warfare developments in other countries are being as closely watched as circumstances permit, and we are fully alive to the necessity of the fullest investigation of all such problems, both offensive and defensive, that our financial condition will admit.

Infantry Weapons.

Large war stocks of rifles and ammunition still exist and for financial reasons alone re-armament with a new weapon cannot be contemplated.

In order that the art of rifle manufacture should not entirely die out, it is necessary to maintain a small nucleus staff on rifle manufacture. The rifle has, therefore, been entirely re-designed with the object of cheapening and simplifying manufacture in time of emergency, while the opportunity has been taken to incorporate several new features into the design as the result of war experience. A new type of shortened bayonet will be introduced making a more handy and better balanced weapon, while at the same time lightening the load carried by the soldier.

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As to light automatic weapons, we are faced with a similar position, large stocks of both types (Lewis and Hotchkiss) being left on our hands after the war. Extensive trials, however, have been carried out with all types of the most modern weapons of this class, and as a result of these experiments a light machine-gun of the Browning type has been produced which it is considered would be most suitable to replace the present Hotchkiss and Lewis equipment.

It has, however, been decided that the possibility of obtaining a self-loading rifle should be further explored before definite steps are taken to introduce the new light machine-gun mentioned above.

The Vickers machine-gun is generally admitted to be satisfactory, but an attempt is being made to improve the mounting and give it increased steadiness.

Experiments are also being carried out with machine-guns of ·5 calibre and upwards as possible anti-tank weapons, but no definite conclusions have yet been arrived at.

Mechanicalisation.

1. At the present moment we are in the purely experimental stage, but broadly speaking, design and experiment are concerned with two classes of machine :—

Class A.—Machines requiring the highest degree of cross-country mobility and a high degree of road mobility, such as purely fighting machines and artillery tractors.

Most of these are fully tracked and must be regarded as purely military machines as opposed to commercial types having a military use. They are necessarily costly.

Class B.—Machines requiring a lesser degree of cross-country mobility and a high degree of road mobility, such as 1st Line Transport vehicles.

These are half-tracked machines, but are to some extent of commercial type They are consequently considerably less costly.

The general objects of design and experiment are :—

(*a.*) To improve and cheapen Class A as far as possible.
(*b.*) To discover a machine of commercial type which will give the performance required by Class B.

2. We have produced or will shortly produce for trial this summer the following experimental machines :—

Class A.

(i.) A larger tank than the present light tank, designed for higher speed, more heavily armoured, and with very much increased fire power.
(ii.) A tank lower and narrower than the light tank, but more heavily armoured and carrying two Vickers machine guns in turrets with a wide angle of traverse.
(iii.) Two small types of tank capable of carrying an armoured body for either one man or two men, and armed with one light automatic.
(iv.) Four dragon type machines having an 18-pdr. gun mounted on the machine. The gun has an all-round traverse and is also designed for anti-aircraft work, having an elevation of 85 per cent. and special sighting arrangements.
(v.) One small dragon type machine having a " close-support " weapon on it.

Class B.

We are issuing a number of this class to troops for extended trials during this collective training season in order to ascertain their suitability,

(i.) As Field Artillery tractors.
(ii.) As First Line Transport vehicles.
(iii.) As Cable Wagon tractors for Signal Units.

The trials should also show the comparative value of the rubber and metal half-track as some of the machines have the Kegresse rubber half-track, others the Roadless metal half-track. The remainder of the chassis is mainly of commercial type.

3. Two experimental Diesel type engines using heavy oil-fuel are being tried this year with a view to reducing the risk of fire and cheapening running cost.

4. As regards production, we are continuing to equip Tank Battalions with the light tank, Mark II, and Medium Artillery with the dragon, Mark III.

A decision on the tractor to be adopted for Field Artillery depends on the result of the trials with half-tracked machines mentioned above.

5. Trials of the Fordson fitted with various modifications and of other commercial tractors have been carried out, but it is clear that they cannot give the performance required in war and their use for training purposes in peace is very limited.

Bridge Equipment.

(i.) For assault bridges, design of the "Kapok" floating bridge has been approved and the required war outfits and training equipments are now in course of supply. This equipment can be utilised for the improvisation of bridges to carry pack mules. Various expedients are tried out by divisions in the course of Annual Training.

(ii.) *Pontoon Bridges.*—The bridges for the equipment of the two Corps Pontoon Parks have been supplied and some training equipment for the S.M.E. The question of transport for this equipment is still under consideration. The existing equipment will carry axle loads up to 16 tons, or tanks up to 18 tons weight.

It is, however, considered that, having in view—

(*a.*) That the special material used (consuta wood) may not readily be procurable in a hurry in large quantities;
(*b.*) That tanks up to 26 tons have been proposed;

it is desirable to experiment with a view to the use of steel pontoons of the French Army type; research is now in hand, and it is hoped to produce a pontoon equipment which will carry 26-ton tanks.

(iii.) The " box girder " steel bridge has now been adopted as the *one* standard type of fixed bridge to take all military loads. Units are trained in launching this type of bridge.

Signal Equipment.

The rapid progress of wireless science, combined with the tendency towards mechanicalisation of an Army, has made it difficult, indeed impossible, to form and adhere to a definite policy.

Continuous wave wireless sets (A) and (C) have been designed and supplied in sufficient quantity to complete the war outfit of the E.F., for work forward of Divisional H.Q. Whilst these constitute a considerable advance on the spark sets of the War, it cannot in any way be claimed that they provide the necessary selectivity and security from interception, though probably " jamming " will prove to be too difficult to be worth the attempt. Further, it is considered to be essential that telephone communication shall be available between a G.O.C. and his subordinate Commanders. Until R/T which cannot be intercepted is practical, it has been decided to revert to the use of field cables for this purpose.

Research is in consequence being directed on three parallel lines :—

(i.) Improvements in the design of the component parts of complete field wireless stations, with a view to facilitating the employment of continuous wave sets operated on waves of medium length.
(ii.) The co-ordination with such sets of special instruments to obtain security; these again may be divided into two classes :—
  (*a.*) Cipher machines, for coding and de-coding
  (*b.*) Instruments designed to project into the ether a " mush " of waves which can only be straightened out by instruments set to perform that work.
(iii.) Exploration of the possibilities of short wave rays (50 metres downwards), which it is hoped may enable design to be made of instruments sufficiently selective to permit of their use for radio-telephony.

It has been decided to abandon the idea of " Signal tanks " in favour of a " Signal vehicle " to accompany tank formations. The problem set is that such vehicles are to carry W/T with a range of 30 miles; plus R/T attachment. Similar vehicles to be provided for Armoured Car units, carrying W/T with a range of 100 miles.

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R.A.S.C. Matériel Developments.

Great efforts have been made, since the war, to mould the design of vehicles produced and used commercially in this country in the direction of increased military value.

Subsidy type 30-cwt. lorry.—The first step was the subsidisation of what is now known as the W.D. subsidy type 30-cwt. lorry.

This vehicle is intended to carry a useful load of 30 cwt. in military use, though capable of carrying greater loads on good roads. It is mounted on giant pneumatic tyres and is designed to meet a definite War Office specification in regard to both construction and performance.

The Subsidy Scheme has been very successful; it has produced a reserve of vehicles in the country and has definitely influenced vehicle design in the direction of increased military usefulness.

The vehicle has a greatly increased power of mobility, for a commercial type, in regard to both speed and ability to travel off the road.

The following firms hold certificates to build these lorries for enrolment under the Subsidy Scheme:—

Messrs. J. I. Thornycroft and Co., Ltd.
" The Albion Motor Car Company, Ltd.
" Guy Motors, Ltd.
" Karrier Motors, Ltd.
" Halleys Industrial Moters, Ltd.
" Vulcan Motor Engineering Company, Ltd.
" Crossley Motors, Ltd.
" Clement Talbot, Ltd.

15-cwt. Van.—A specification for a pneumatic-tyred 15-cwt. van has also been compiled, and this has been modelled on the specification for the War Department pneumatic-tyred light lorry (30-cwts). This type of vehicle is not, however, being subsidised.

Rigid six-wheeled Lorries.—As the result of subsequent developments both at home and in foreign countries—such as the trans-Sahara work of the French Renault six-wheeler—investigations have been made as to the merits of six-wheeled vehicles driving on four wheels. These investigations have shown:—

(*a.*) That such vehicles have a greatly increased capacity for cross country work compared with any four-wheeled vehicle of normal lay-out;
(*b.*) That much heavier useful loads can be carried for a given unladen vehicle weight and engine power;
(*c.*) That the vehicles entail so little departure from the standard parts of the normal four-wheeled vehicles on which their production is based, that their manufacture is neither unduly difficult nor costly;
(*d.*) That in consideration of the above factors, as well as other points, such as increased road worthiness, easier riding, reduced fuel consumption, reduction of wear and tear to both the vehicle and the road, it appears that the commercial production of this type, for use in this country and in the Dominions and Colonies, shows signs of promise.

Provisional W.D. Specifications have therefore been prepared and vehicles of this type (known as Rigid Six-wheeled Vehicles) are in production by several firms.

Preliminary trials which have just been carried out with the first rigid six-wheeled vehicles delivered to War Department orders, have been very successful, and have demonstrated quite clearly that this type of vehicle is eminently suitable for use in districts where road conditions are poor and where the vehicle of normal lay-out cannot operate with success.

The vehicles tried by us with success are made by the following firms:—

Messrs. J. I. Thorncroft and Co., Ltd. (useful load, 2 tons).
Messrs. Morris Commercial Cars, Ltd. (useful load 1 ton).

Other firms who have built, or are about to build, vehicles of this type are:—

Messrs. Guy Motors, Ltd.
Messrs. Karrier Motors, Ltd.

This type of vehicle presents absolutely no unusual difficulties in regard to driving and maintenance.

Special attention is invited to this matter in view of the great increase in the efficiency of the general transport service of the Army which will accrue if the development of this type of vehicle leads to the large production of it, which is hoped for.

Its value for transport work in countries where the road system is not well developed is unquestionable, while production for export to the Dominions and Colonies will help in a great measure to assist this development.

The Morris vehicle, in particular, is very moderate in cost and should have a wide appeal.

A special form of overall chain, which, while costing only a few pounds, enables the six-wheeled vehicle to cope with exceptionally bad conditions of ground, is being developed by us, with satisfactory results.

The conversion by this means takes but three to five minutes and does not involve removal of the wheels or tyres.

Hathi Tractor.—This is a tractor vehicle, mounted on large size pneumatic tyres, and driving on all wheels.

The present type has four wheels (all driving), but the production of a six-wheeled model (all wheels driving) is in hand, and it is anticipated that the latter will show considerable advantage in performance over the former.

The vehicle is built to War Department Specification by Messrs. J. I. Thornycroft and Co., Ltd.

It is suitable for hauling loads of 5 to 10 tons, according to road conditions.

It has a very good performance, and will provide satisfactory transport for heavy loads where road conditions are bad.

The tractor is fitted with a winding gear, carrying 500 feet of wire rope, and driven at will by the main engine.

A 7-ton rope pull can be exerted.

Again, in the case of this vehicle, a demand for export will assist its development.

Tyre Equipment.—All post-war service vehicles are pneumatic-tyred.

There is no doubt that economical tyre mileage, reduction of vehicle maintenance cost, increased speed and ability to travel across country result from the use of modern straight-sided tyres.

Mechanical Transport Advisory Board.—The closest touch is maintained with the civil motor engineers and firms, and it is only by this means that the satisfactory development of the general load-carrying vehicle in the direction of increased military usefulness has been achieved.

The Mechanical Transport Advisory Board, with its Technical Sub-Committee, includes a number of prominent civilian members and representatives of various departments and directorates of the War Office who are concerned with mechanical transport development. Standards recommended by the British Engineering Standards Association and the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders are adopted to the utmost possible extent.

A Co-ordinating Committee has been formed to standardise as much as possible the requirements in mechanical transport material of the three fighting services, and much valuable work has been achieved in this direction.

General Stores.

With regard to general stores, at the Imperial Conference in 1917 the following resolutions were agreed:—

(*a.*) "That this Conference, recognising the importance of assimilating as far as possible the military stores and equipment of the Imperial Forces throughout the Empire, recommends that an expert committee representative of the military authorities of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, be appointed as early as possible to consider the various patterns in use, with a view to selecting the standard patterns for general adoption as far as the special circumstances of each country admit."
(*b.*) "That this Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the selected Ordnance personnel of the military organizations of the Empire should

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as far as possible be trained in the same methods and according to the same principles, and that to secure this end officers of the Ordnance services from all parts of the Empire should be attached for adequate periods to the Imperial Ordnance Department."

Both these resolutions have been given effect to; "(*a*)" by the formation of the Equipment and Clothing Committee, on which the Dominions are represented, and "(*b*)," Ordnance officers have been attached to the R.A.O.C. from the Dominions at various times for instructional purposes.

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APPENDIX (A).

Wastage and Training Figures.

	Monthly Wastage.		Training Period for a Raw Recruit.
	Lower Rate.	Higher Rate.	
Cavalry—			
Signallers	7 per cent.	10 per cent.	7 months.
Machine Gunners	7 „	10 „	6 „
Non-specialists	7 „	10 „	5 „
R.A.—			
Specialists—	6 „	7 „	8 „
Non-specialists	6 „	7 „	6 „
R.E.—			
Divisional troops	6 „	6 „	6 „
G.H.Q. Pool	6 „	4 „	4 „
(A.T. and A.A. Searchlight Coys.)			
Other units		3 „	2 „
R.E. Transportation	6 „	6 „	2 „
R.C. Signals	4 „	4 „	6 „
Infantry—			
Signallers	10 „	25 „	7 „
Machine Gunners	10 „	25 „	6 „
Non-specialists	10 „	25 „	4 „
Cyclists (Infantry)	—	25 „	6 „
Royal Tank Corps	5 „	8 „	8 „
R.A.S.C.	3 „	3 „	3 „
R.A.M.C.	4 „	4 „	3 „
R.A.O.C.	3 „	3 „	2 „
R.A.V.C.	3 „	3 „	2 „
Military Police	10 „	10 „	4 „
			but no decision has ever been obtained.

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APPENDIX (B).

Maintenance in the Field.

The diagram attached shows the normal system of maintenance as regards supplies and ammunition in the field, together with the organization for repairing and replacing damaged M.T. vehicles, for which the D.S.T. is responsible.

The R.A.S.C. units of each division and cavalry division are administered and controlled by the C., R.A.S.C., of the division, and comprise :—

Headquarters, Divisional R.A.S.C.
1 Divisional Train (4 companies) } Light lorries.
1 Ammunition Company }
1 M.T. Repair Company.
1 Reserve H.T. Company.

The R.A.S.C. units belonging to corps troops are administered by the A.D.S.T. of the corps. These units together form the " Corps Transport Column " and normally consist of the following :—

1 Corps Troops Ammunition Company (light lorries).
1 Corps Troops Maintenance Company.
1 Corps Troops M.T. Repair Company.
1 Maintenance Company for each Division in the Corps.
1 Reserve M.T. Company.
1 Advanced Vehicle Reception Park.

The ammunition companies in each division have taken the place of the S.A.A. section of the old divisional train, in addition to " B " echelon of the D.A.C. or B.A.C. in cavalry division.

The corps troops ammunition company has similarly absorbed the " B " echelon of the non-divisional R.F.A. brigade, with new sections for carriage of medium brigade and 3-pdr. ammunition.

The present medium brigade M.T. company and Tank Corps M.T. company have been abolished and in their place the corps troops maintenance company has been formed.

All 2nd-line mechanical transport which has to work in the forward areas now consists entirely of light pneumatic-tyred 30-cwt. vehicles, and all 3rd-line working in the rearward areas consists of heavy lorries (3-ton).

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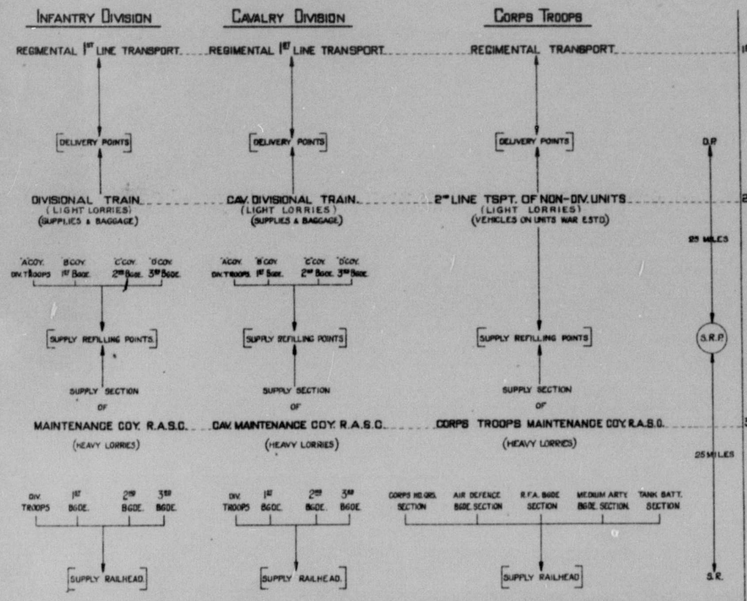
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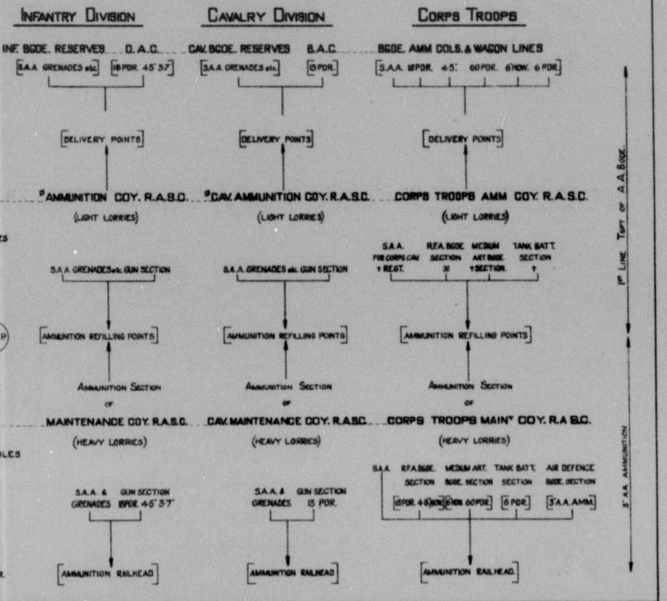
MAINTENANCE

NORMAL SYSTEM

SUPPLIES

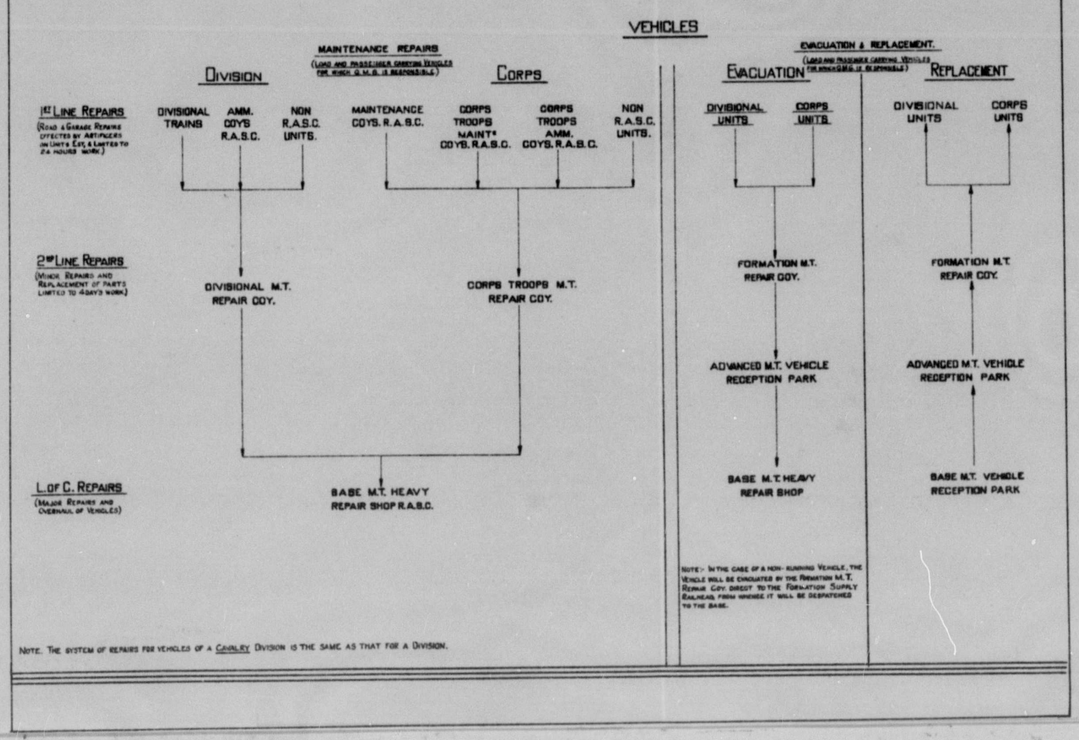


AMMUNITION



‡ This R.F.A. Bgde. Section of the Corps Troops Ammunition Coy. R.A.S.C. has absorbed the 'B' Echelon of the N.O.F.A. Brigade Ammunition Column.
# These Units have absorbed the S.A.A. portion of the old Divisional Train and the 'B' Echelon of the D.A.C. and B.A.C.
† These Sections of the Corps Troops Ammunition Coy. R.A.S.C. are new links in the chain of Ammunition Supply of a Corps.

VEHICLES



NOTE. THE SYSTEM OF REPAIRS FOR VEHICLES OF A CAVALRY DIVISION IS THE SAME AS THAT FOR A DIVISION.

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S E C R E T

Copy No. 2

E. (E) 1.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

VALUATION OF GOODS FOR DUTY PURPOSES.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,

June 2nd, 1926.

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C 63597

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

VALUATION OF GOODS FOR DUTY PURPOSES.

The practice of the Dominions generally is to levy Customs duty in most cases on an ad valorem basis. Where this is done the general principle is that the value for duty purposes is based on the home consumption value in the country of export. In those cases in which the home consumption value is enhanced by the fact that the goods or some components of the goods are subject to an excise duty in the United Kingdom or, if imported from abroad into the United Kingdom or, subject to Customs duty, it is obvious that the levy of a duty on the full value of the goods in the United Kingdom market involves the levy of a duty at a higher rate than on exactly similar goods sold for export to the Dominions from foreign countries. Where a drawback is given by the United Kingdom Customs on the exportation of any such goods, the goods can be and in normal circumstances will be sold to the Dominions at a price equivalent to that in the home market less the drawback accorded by the Customs, and it is suggested that in all such cases it would be reasonable that the home consumption value less the drawback should be the value on which the duty leviable in the Dominions should be based. This differentiation, arising solely out of the fact that certain goods and materials are dutiable on importation from the United Kingdom, would seem to run counter to the policy of Imperial preference and might even in certain cases neutralise altogether the advantages of such Customs preference as may be accorded by the Tariff.

An even more serious disadvantage may arise if any anti-dumping duty be levied on goods sold to a Dominion at a price differing from the price in the home market solely by the amount

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of the drawback which the exporter secures from the United Kingdom Customs. In this case the differentiation may be particularly heavy because anti-dumping duties generally represent the whole difference between the value at which goods are valued for duty purposes and the value at which they are exported. Moreover, there is this further consideration that the implication of an anti-dumping duty is that it is a penalty for what is regarded as an unfair method of trading, whereas there is clearly nothing unfair in giving the purchaser the benefit of the drawback of a duty accorded to the seller.

The question has been stated above from the point of view of the United Kingdom, but it is suggested for discussion in a general form.

The question is not a new one and was indeed examined by the Imperial Customs Conference in 1921. An extract from the Report of this Conference is annexed, from which it will be seen that although the Conference from its constitution did not feel in a position to make any formal recommendations on the subject, it did invite the Governments concerned to give further consideration to the difficulties above outlined.

The present practice of the Dominions is far from uniform. In some cases the whole of what is above argued is fully conceded by the laws or regulations in force. In other cases a distinction is drawn either between different kinds of drawback (e.g., between drawback of Excise and drawback of Customs duties) or between the rules applicable in regard to ordinary and to anti-dumping duties.

When the matter was considered in 1921 the cases affecting the trade of the United Kingdom were very limited in number. They were practically confined to sugar and spirits and goods into the composition of which sugar or spirits entered.

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The increase in recent years in the number of articles dutiable on importation into the United Kingdom has considerably increased the importance of the considerations involved and the various Dominion Governments are accordingly now invited to consider in the interests of inter-Imperial trade the question of the adoption of a general rule, applicable at least to all classes of goods enjoying the benefit of preferential Customs rates, that in declaring the value of goods for duty purposes exporters shall be authorised to deduct any drawbacks of whatever kind to which the goods are entitled on exportation from the United Kingdom or from any other part of the Empire which may be entitled to a Customs preference.

It should perhaps be observed that no similar question arises in regard to the practice of the United Kingdom or of India as ad valorem duties are levied in both these countries on the value of the goods at the place of arrival and not on the value of the goods in the country from which they are exported.

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Annex.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF THE IMPERIAL CUSTOMS CONFERENCE, 1921.

Drawback and revenue duties.

The Conference gave very careful consideration to the question whether customs, excise, and other revenue duties paid in the country of manufacture or the amount of any duty remitted or drawback repaid on the goods on exportation should be deducted in estimating their "current domestic value", particularly as in the past the policy of the Dominions has not been uniform on this point. The Conference felt that having regard to the considerable post-war duties levied by the United Kingdom for revenue purposes on such materials as sugar and spirits a serious handicap was placed upon certain descriptions of British goods in Dominion markets, in some cases sufficiently serious to counter-balance the preferential rates of duty which the Dominions allow.

The Conference did not, however, feel in a position to make any recommendation on the subject, particularly as the inclusion or exclusion of such an item for duty purposes is a matter which the Dominion legislatures alone can decide.

Nevertheless it felt that those Dominions which at present insist that revenue duties shall be included in the value for duty purposes and allow no deduction in respect of drawback or remission of duty, might at some future date consider the effect of this rule on inter-Imperial trade and, in view of the high rates of duty levied by the United Kingdom, the extent to which it destroys the advantage which preferential rates give.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

IMMUNITY OF STATE ENTERPRISES.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,

June 2nd, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

IMMUNITY OF STATE ENTERPRISES.

1. The Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 had under consideration certain recommendations made by Lord Colwyn's Committee on the Liability of Dominion and Foreign Governments to United Kingdom Taxation, which had reported in April 1922. These recommendations were inter alia to the effect:-

(i) That Empire Governments, so far as carrying on trade in this country, should be treated as liable to British taxation in the same way as private traders;

(ii) That Empire Governments should be accorded relief from British taxation on all income from property or investments in this country, except in so far as the property or investments might be owned or held by them in a trading capacity.

2. The Conference, after some discussion, concurred in the recommendations of Lord Colwyn's Committee and passed resolutions in the following terms:-

"This Imperial Economic Conference, so far as it is competent for its members without prejudice to the rights of the States or Provinces of a self-governing Dominion, agrees with the recommendation of the Committee on the Liability of Dominion and Foreign Governments, etc., to United Kingdom taxation expressed in the following terms, viz:-

"'Any Government within the Empire, so far as it engages in trade, shall be treated as liable to the taxation of any

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other country within the Empire, in which it may either own property in connection with trade, or make trade profits; the liability of the United Kingdom Government or any Dominion Government so far as engaged in trade shall be co-extensive with the liability of a private trading corporation in similar circumstances.'" (Pages 523/4 of the Record of Proceedings of the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923).

3. The Conference further agreed "that each of the several Parliaments of Great Britain, the Dominions and India shall be invited to enact at the earliest opportunity a declaration that the general and particular provisions of its Acts or Ordinances imposing taxation shall be deemed to apply to any commercial or industrial enterprise carried on by or on behalf of any other such Governments in the same manner in all respects as if it were carried on by or on behalf of a subject of the British Crown. It is not contemplated that such legislation should have retrospective effect for any year prior to 1924."

4. In pursuance of the foregoing resolution of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923, the British Government took steps to ascertain whether Dominion and State Governments within the Empire were prepared to take the necessary legislative steps to render State enterprises liable to taxation in any other country within the Empire in which such enterprises might operate. The enquiries thus made have elicited the following replies:-

(a) New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland, India, Southern Rhodesia, and Queensland have signified their acceptance of the resolutions. So far as is known, only in the cases of the Union of South Africa and India has legislation been passed to give effect to them, though legislation has been introduced in Newfoundland;

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(b) The Commonwealth of Australia expressed the view that there was no present necessity to legislate in regard to these resolutions, while New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania desired to have the matter discussed at a meeting of State Premiers before coming to a decision. Western Australia - stated that in their opinion it is preferable that no taxation of any kind should be levied by any Government upon property of any other Government within the Empire;

(c) The Irish Free State desired to postpone indefinitely a decision on the matter.

(d) No reply has been received from the Dominion of Canada.

5. Meanwhile His Majesty's Government, having accepted these resolutions of the Imperial Economic Conference, have given legislative effect to them by a Section in the British Finance Act of 1925. Section 25 of that Act provides that Empire Governments should be liable to taxation in respect of trade operations and of property or income arising in connection therewith while reaffirming the immunity of an Empire Government from taxation in respect of any income or property which does not arise or is not held in a trading capacity.

6. The Conference of 1923 further agreed that as soon as possible after the passing of the necessary legislation within the Empire negotiations should be opened with the Governments of Foreign countries in accordance with a further recommendation of Lord Colwyn's Committee which was as follows:-

"We recommend that after the principle of mutual taxation has been agreed within the Empire negotiations should be opened with the Governments of Foreign countries with a view

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to reciprocal agreement between those countries and the Empire to the following effect:-

F. If or when the Government of a Foreign country carries on trade in the United Kingdom or in a Dominion and if or when the Government of a country within the British Empire carries on trade in a foreign country, the trading Government shall not in its character as such be treated as entitled to any sovereign immunity from taxation either directly or through the claim of superiority to the jurisdiction of Municipal Courts; nor shall a Government so trading be treated as entitled to any sovereign immunity from taxation in respect of the property in the other country concerned which it may own or hold in a trading capacity or in connection with trade.

"It would be a proviso to the whole agreement that it should be without prejudice to the national interest of the sovereign state in any emergency of war."

7. The question now arises whether the time has come for this matter to be taken up on the part of the Empire with foreign countries with a view to the establishment of the principle laid down by Lord Colwyn's Committee and adopted by the Conference of 1923. It will be seen that hitherto the only parts of the Empire which had given legislative effect to the resolutions are this country and the Union of South Africa.

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E. (E) 3.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

TAXATION OF NON-RESIDENTS TRADING IN THE DOMINIONS THROUGH AGENTS OR BRANCHES.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,

June 2nd, 1926.

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C 63607

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

TAXATION OF NON-RESIDENTS TRADING IN THE DOMINIONS*
THROUGH AGENTS OR BRANCHES.

1. The question has been raised regarding the methods adopted in relation to the taxation of the profits of manufacturers and producers in one part of the Empire selling goods in another part of the Empire and it is suggested that this should form one subject for discussion at the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

2. With a view to a proper consideration of this matter, it seems desirable to look at the position vis-a-vis the liability to British income tax, of non-residents similarly trading in this country. For this purpose, a short note indicating the existing law of this country on the subject is annexed as an Appendix to this Memorandum.

3. It will be seen that in the case of the non-resident manufacturer or producer selling his goods through an agency in this country, provision is made in the British Income Tax Acts for restricting the area of taxation to the "merchanting" portion. This provision, which is now Rule 12 of the General Rules of the Income Tax Act, 1918, (see paragraph 6 of the Appendix), had its origin in a Section of the Finance Act of that year. For some time prior to that legislation it had been recognised that where the manifold processes of manufacture took place abroad and the finished article was sold in this country through an organisation or under circumstances which constituted a trading within this country as distinct -

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*Note In this Memorandum the word "Dominions" for purposes of convenience is treated as including India.

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from trading with this country, it was not only a hardship but was contrary to economic principles to treat the whole of the profit eventuating on the sale of the finished article as having arisen in the country of sale.

4. There is, so far as can be traced, no corresponding provision in the fiscal law of the Dominions and in a number of instances it is not precisely clear what is the Dominion conception of the area of taxation*.

It is understood that, generally, the Dominion taxing authorities, if unable to arrive at a satisfactory determination of the non-resident's "profits", at once have recourse to an arbitrary basis of percentage of receipts. This percentage varies from 2 per cent. in the case of British Columbia to 7½ per cent. in the case of Queensland. It may be argued that, at any rate, the 2 per cent. rate cannot contemplate more than a "merchanting" profit. As regards the intermediate rate of 5 per cent. which is commonly adopted, an intention may perhaps be inferred of taxing something more than a mere "merchanting" profit, while a rate of 7½ per cent. would certainly appear to indicate a scheme of taxation which involves the non-resident's total profit, i.e., the profit of manufacturing as well as the profit of merchanting. In this connection, it may be observed that in Queensland, for example,

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*So far as concerns Colonies not possessing responsible government, a Model Income Tax Ordinance was drawn up for their use by an Inter-Departmental Committee which reported in 1922 (Cmd. 1788); this Ordinance which is gradually being introduced in the Colonies contains a provision, on the lines of the British provision, restricting the liability of the non-resident manufacturer or producer to the "merchanting" portion of his profits.

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where this rate prevails, the alternative basis of liability in the case of a non-resident company, is a sum which bears the same proportion to the total profits of the company as the sales made in Queensland bear to the total sales, or if there are no sales, in the same proportion as the total revenue derived from Queensland bears to the total revenue of the company. This basis seems evidently designed to arrive at a computation of total profits in Queensland.

In British India, if the authorities cannot ascertain the actual amount of the non-resident's "profits", the tax assessment is based (1) either on a percentage of turnover, (2) or on a proportion of the total profits of the non-resident's entire business, corresponding to the proportion between the British Indian receipts and the total receipts of the entire business, (3) or on some other calculation as the Income Tax Officer may deem suitable. Here, again, the intention seems to be the taxation of the total profits.

On the other hand, it is understood that the Commonwealth of Australia permits a non-resident to debit the home consumption value of his goods, and charges tax on the difference between such value and the price obtained in Australia (less Australian expenses). This seems, in effect, to be taxation of the "Merchanting" portion only of the profits.

Again, New Zealand has a provision to the effect that whenever by reason of the manufacture, production or purchase of goods in one country and their sale in another, or by reason of successive steps of production or manufacture in different countries the source of income is not exclusively in New Zealand, the income is apportioned with due regard to the nature and relative importance of the sources. This

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New Zealand provision seems also to be aiming at avoiding a charge of tax on the profits of manufacture outside New Zealand.

5. Apart from the question of the position of the British manufacturer or producer selling goods when he is taxed in the Dominion in respect of both profits of manufacturing and of merchanting, there is another aspect of this matter which requires consideration, viz: the effect upon the British Exchequer.

The British manufacturer or producer would, in theory at any rate, not be damnified by the action of the Dominion Authorities in taxing his total profits (i.e. manufacturing and merchanting) unless the rate of tax in the Dominion is greater than the British rate, because the scheme of relief from double income tax within the Empire aims at the elimination of the lower of the two rates of tax charged. Under this scheme, the British Exchequer bears the burden of the relief up to a limit of half the British rate and the Exchequer of the Dominion concerned is invited to bear any balance of relief represented by the excess of the Dominion rate over half the British rate. In some instances half the British rate is equal to or greater than the Dominion rate and the whole burden of the relief in these cases therefore falls on the British Exchequer.

6. Assuming that it is economically right to divide the profit of a manufacturer, who produces in one country and sells in another, into two parts, namely manufacturing and merchanting, and to ascribe the origin of the former to the country in which the goods are manufactured and of the latter to the country in which

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the goods are sold, it follows that where the taxation law of a Dominion, as the taxation law of this country prior to 1918 used to do, seeks to reach the total profits of the non-resident manufacturer or producer selling his goods in the Dominion through an agent, it is seeking to tax profits which neither originate within its jurisdiction nor accrue to a resident within its jurisdiction, while the Exchequer of this country is called upon to bear the bulk of the cost of the relief from double taxation which this form of taxation entails.

7. It seems desirable that this question of the taxation of non-resident manufacturers or producers trading through agents or branches should be discussed at the Imperial Conference with a view to securing, if possible, general agreement in a common conception of the area of taxation in the case of the non-resident manufacturer or producer.

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Appendix.

Income tax liability of non-residents trading in the United Kingdom through agents*.

Liability of non-resident.

(1) Non-residents trading in the United Kingdom through agents are made liable to Income Tax by the charging section of Schedule D in the Income Tax Act, 1918, which provides:-

> "Tax under this schedule shall be charged "in respect of.... the annual profits and "gains arising or accruing to any person, "whether a British subject or not, although "not resident in the United Kingdom... from "any trade ... exercised within the United "Kingdom".

Non-resident chargeable in name of agent etc.

(2) The general provisions in regard to the extent of the liability of the non-resident and the person in whose name the assessment is to be made, are contained in Rule 5 of the General Rules:-

> "A person not resident in the United "Kingdom, whether a British subject or not, "shall be assessable and chargeable in the "name of ... any factor, agent, ... "whether such factor, agent, ... has the "receipt of the profits or gains or not, in "like manner and to the like amount that such "non-resident person would be assessed and "charged if he were resident in the United "Kingdom".

And Rule 6 of the General Rules reads as follows:-

> "A non-resident person shall be assessable "and chargeable in respect of any profits or "gains arising, whether directly or indirectly, "through or from any factorship, agency, "receivership, branch or management, and shall "be so assessable and chargeable in the name "of the factor, agent, receiver, branch or "manager."

Liability of agent to make returns.

(3) The liability of the agent to make returns is dealt with in Section 101:-

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*The expression United Kingdom in this memorandum means Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

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"Every person acting in any character on
"behalf of any person not resident in the United
"Kingdom who, by reason of such....non-residence
"in the United Kingdom cannot be personally
"charged under this Act, shall whenever required
"to do so by any general or particular notice ....
"deliver ..... a statement of the profits and
"gains in respect of which the tax is to be charged
"on him on account of that other person."

And to pay duty. (4) The liability of the Agent to pay the duty is set out in Rule 13 of the General Rules:

"The person .... in whose name a non-resident person
"is chargeable shall be answerable for all matters
"required to be done under this Act for the purpose
"of assessment and payment of tax".

Indemnification of agent. (5) The indemnity of the Agent against his principal is dealt with in Rule 14 of the General Rules:

"Any person who has been charged under this Act
"in respect of any ... non-resident person ... may
"retain, out of money coming into his hands on
"behalf of any such person, so much thereof from
"time to time as is sufficient to pay the tax
"charged, and shall be indemnified for all such
"payments made in pursuance of this Act".

Limitation of liability on the part of non-resident manufacturer or producer. (6) The lisbility to British Income Tax in the case of a non-resident manufacturer or producer may not extend to the full amount of the profits made from the sales effected through the agency or branch in the United Kingdom. On application to the Commissioners in the manner directed in Rule 12 of the General Rules, the assessments may be restricted,

"on the basis of the profits which might reasonably
"be expected to have been earned by a merchant or,
"where the goods are retailed by or on behalf of the
"manufacturer or producer, by a retailer of the goods
"sold, who had bought from the manufacturer or
"producer direct."

Further Rule 11 of the General Rules provides:-

"The fact that a non-resident person executes sales
"or carries out transactions with other non-residents
"in circumstances which would make him chargeable in
"pursuance of these rules in the name of a resident
"person shall not of itself make him chargeable in
"respect of profits arising from those sales or
"transactions."

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Charge on percentage of turnover where profits cannot be readily ascertained.

(7) Where the true amount of the profits or gains of any non-resident person from the trade exercised in the United Kingdom cannot be readily ascertained, the Commissioners may, if they think fit, assess the non-resident person on a percentage of the turnover of the business done through the agent. The provisions in regard to the determination of this percentage are contained in Rules 8 and 9 of the General Rules.

Trading within contrasted with trading with the United Kingdom.

(8) The liability to Income Tax arises in connection with trade exercised within the United Kingdom but does not extend to the profit of trading with the United Kingdom.

What constitutes trade exercised within the United Kingdom.

The question of what constitutes trade exercised within the United Kingdom has been the subject of numerous judicial decisions; in this connection reference may be made in the cases of

Grainger v. Gough [1896] A.C. 325.
Smidth v. Greenwood [1922] 1 A.C. 417.
Wilcock v. Pinto & Co. [1925] 1 K.B. 30.
Maclaine & Co. v. Eccott 131 L.T. 601.

The Courts have indicated that "it would in the first place be nearly impossible, and secondly wholly unwise, to attempt to give an exhaustive definition of what is a trade exercised in this country." The primary factor is whether or not the contracts for the sale of goods or performance of services are made in the United Kingdom. Whether or not in a particular case trade as exercised within the United Kingdom is a matter for determination by the appropriate body of Income Tax Commissioners and not by the Board of Inland Revenue.

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Transactions through General Commission Agents and Brokers and persons not carrying on the regular agency of the non-resident.

(9) The provisions in regard to sales through general commission agents and brokers &c. are contained in Rule 10 of the General Rules of the Income Tax Act, 1918, which has recently been modified by Section 17 of the Finance Act, 1925. Rule 10 provides that:-

"Nothing in these Rules shall render a non-resident person chargeable in the name of a broker or general commission agent or in the name of an agent not being an authorised person carrying on the regular agency of the non-resident person or a person chargeable as if he were an agent in pursuance of these Rules, in respect of profits or gains arising from sales or transactions carried on through such a broker or agent."

Section 17 of the Finance Act, 1925, reads as follows:-

"(1) Where sales or transactions are carried out on behalf of a non-resident person through a broker in the ordinary course of his business as such, and the broker satisfies the conditions required to be satisfied for the purposes of this section, then, notwithstanding that the broker is a person who acts regularly for the non-resident person as such broker, the non-resident person shall not be chargeable to income tax in the name of that broker in respect of profits or gains arising from those sales or transactions.

"(2) The conditions required to be satisfied for the purposes of this section are that the broker must be a person carrying on bona fide the business of a broker in Great Britain or Northern Ireland, and that he must receive in respect of the business of the non-resident person which is transacted through him remuneration at a rate not less than that customary in the class of business in question".

"(3) In this section the expression "broker" includes a general commission agent."

"(4) Rule 10 of the General Rules shall have effect subject to the provisions of this section."

Rule 10, as modified by Section 17, is mainly designed to exempt non-residents from liability to assessment in the name of brokers and general commission agents in respect of transactions carried out in the United Kingdom for non-residents, in so far as the transactions are carried out by the broker or general

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commission agent in the ordinary course of his business as such for a rate of remuneration not less than that customary in the class of business in question. The questions whether in a particular case an agent is a general commission agent or broker, whether an agent is an authorised person carrying on the regular agency of the non-resident, or whether the transactions fall within the scope of these provisions, are all matters for the determination of the appropriate body of Income Tax Commissioners and not of the Board of Inland Revenue.

Non-residents: control over residents.

(10) Rule 7 of the General Rules, which gives further powers of assessment in certain special circumstances does not apply to a British, Indian, Dominion, or Colonial firm or company.

Appeals.

(11) If a non-resident is dissatisfied with any assessment made upon him, he can appeal either to the General or to the Special Commissioners. The decision of those Commissioners on a question of fact is final but either party to the appeal, the non-resident or the Revenue, can appeal to the Courts against the Commissioners' decision on a point of law. Further, the non-resident person, if dissatisfied with the percentage determined under Rule 9, may require the Commissioners to refer the question to a Referee or Board of Referees to be appointed for the purpose by the Treasury.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

June 2nd. 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

The Imperial Economic Conference held in 1923 had under consideration the future of the Imperial Institute and the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau. They adopted the first of the two schemes put forward by the Imperial Institute Committee of Enquiry. This scheme involved the amalgamation of the two bodies and the maintenance of the re-organised Institute with the assistance of contributions in agreed proportions from His Majesty's Government, and the Governments of the Dominions, India, and the Colonies.

Owing to changes of Government in the United Kingdom, it was not possible to pass the necessary legislation until May 1925. As soon, however, as the Act was passed, steps were taken to amalgamate the Institute and the Bureau and the work of re-organisation has been completed. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Department of Overseas Trade is now the Minister responsible for the Institute in place of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. A Board of Governors has been set up in accordance with the provisions of the Act and the Managing Committee and a Laboratory Committee, as foreshadowed in the resolution adopted by the Conference have been duly appointed. During the first six months after the amalgamation of the Institute and the Bureau Sir Richard Redmayne, K.C.B., served as Acting Director to carry through the preliminary work of re-organisation. In December 1925, Lieut.Gen. Sir William Furse, K.C.B.,D.S.O., was appointed, with the approval of the Board of Governors, to be the Director of the Institute as from the beginning of the present year.

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The functions of the reconstituted Imperial Institute include, as heretofore, the investigation and exhibition of the natural resources of the Empire, and it remains a clearing house for information relating to such products. The object of all its activities is the promotion of inter-imperial commerce and industry. These activities are now being carried out on improved lines. The present close connection between the Institute and the Department of Overseas Trade is of undoubted advantage in preventing overlapping. In March last the Board of Governors adopted the re-organisation of the staff recommended by the present Director. Briefly stated that organisation divides the work falling under the headings of information and investigation between two main departments:- (1) mineral resources and (2) plant and animal products - each under a principal officer responsible to the Director. The Director has the assistance of the technical advice of Sir Richard Redmayne, K.C.B., and of Sir David Prain, C.M.G.,C.I.E., concerning the work of these two departments respectively. These two gentlemen are the respective chairmen of two advisory councils, one of which was constituted some years ago to assist the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, while the other was formed in March last to do similar work on the plant and animal side. Under these councils are ad hoc advisory committees for various metals and minerals and plant and animal products, including in their membership representatives of scientific, technical, industrial and commercial interests.

The institute works in close co-operation with the Departments of Agriculture, Forestry, Mines and Geology, in all parts of the Empire, the operations of which it can usefully assist by supplying trustworthy technical and commercial information relating to the production, uses

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and marketing of raw materials, and by investigating the quality and value of products. Many of these departments regularly furnish the Institute with up to date information concerning the natural resources of their respective countries, which is of the greatest value in the work of the Institute. Such information is circulated in the United Kingdom and to the Dominions, India and the Colonies through the Bulletin.

Co-operation is also maintained with institutions, research associations and other bodies engaged in similar work in this country, some of which are directly represented on the committees of the Institute, and with similar bodies in the Dominions, India and the Colonies.

Exhibition Galleries.

It will be remembered that the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 decided that the exhibition galleries were not to be continued. This decision, however, was reversed on reconsideration, most of the Dominions agreeing to contribute a further sum annually for the upkeep of these galleries. The munificent offer by Lord Cowdray of £5,000 a year for five years went far to facilitate the final decision to maintain these exhibition galleries.

The galleries have lately been redecorated and relighted and the exhibits modernised in a more attractive way which it is believed will add greatly to their instructional value both for schools, classes and to the general public. The main feature of the new arrangement will be dioramas showing as accurately as possible in model form some of the most important products of the various Dominions and Colonies, and round these dioramas samples of the actual raw material and the finished article made therefrom will be arranged together with photographs, charts and maps relating thereto. Visitors who wish to examine more closely specimens of varieties of different products will be given every facility for doing so in specia.

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sample rooms in the Institute. A scheme is being worked out by the Institute in collaboration with the Board of Education and the Education Authorities of the London County Council to systematise the visits of classes from the various schools in and near London to these exhibition galleries; and it is the intention of the Board of Governors, as soon as the necessary funds are available, to improve the Institute's facilities in this direction by erecting a cinema, in which will be shown films illustrating the life, scenery, agricultural and industrial activities of the various parts of the Empire. The modernising of the galleries alluded to above which should become a centre of real educational value in the metropolis of the Empire, cannot however, be done without some expenditure of money.

The total income of the Institute from all sources now amounts to £42,000. A statement is attached shewing how the total income is made up. More than three-quarters of this total is absorbed in salaries and wages which certainly cannot be reduced. This leaves little enough for current expenses in up-keep; for investigation work; and for the modernising and maintenance of the exhibition galleries.

It is too soon as yet to supply a report on the progress made and work done since the amalgamation of the Institute and the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, as the re-organisation has only been recently completed. A report will, however, be furnished before the Conference meets.

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IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

Statement of Receipts in Respect of Financial Year 1925-26.

--	Institute.	Galleries.	Total. £. s. d.
Home Government.			
Grant in Aid from Colonial Services Vote	9,500	3,000	*12,500.0.0
Overseas Contributions:			
Self-Governing Dominions & India:			
Canada	2,000	640	
Commonwealth of Australia	2,000	640	
New Zealand	1,200	384	
Union of South Africa	1,200		
India	1,200		
Newfoundland	200	64	
	7,800	1,728	9,528.0.0
Colonies & Protectorates, etc.			
Bahamas	50		
Barbadoes	50		
Bermuda	25		
British Guiana	500	75	
British Honduras	100		
Ceylon	750	100	
Cyprus	100		
Falkland Islands	5		
Federated Malay States	750	150	
Fiji	150		
Gambia	500		
Gold Coast	750	100	
Grenada	7		
Hong Kong	500	75	
Iraq	100		
Jamaica	5		
Kenya Colony	250	50	
Leeward Islands	250		
Malta	50		
Mauritius	750	100	
Nigeria	750	150	
North Borneo	100		
Nyasaland	100		
Palestine	50		
Rhodesia Northern	100		
" Southern	250		
S. Lucia	10		
S. Vincent	5		
Seychelles	25		
Sierra Leone	500	75	
Somaliland	10		
Straits Settlements	750	100	
Sudan	500		
Tanganyika	100		
Travancore	100		
Trinidad	150		
Uganda	250	50	
Zanzibar	100	50	
	9,492	1,075	10,567.0.0
Egypt	200		200.0.0
		Carried forward.....	32,795.0.0

*In addition, since His Majesty's Government took over the building in 1899, they have provided the Institute with accommodation free of rent, including heating, fuel, external repairs and rates.

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IMPERIAL INSTITUTE (Contd.).

Statement of Receipts in respect of Financial Year, 1925-26 (contd.).

--	Institute.	Galleries.	Total.
			£. s. d.
Brought forward.			32,795. 0. 0
Contribution from Lord Cowdray.....			4,000. 0. 0
Interest on Endowment Fund.....			3,433.11. 4
North Gallery Annuity.....			864. 0. 0
Miscellaneous Revenue:			
Use of Rooms.....			617. 7. 0
Fees.....			828. 2. 6
Bank Interest.....			80.13.11
Sundries.....			191.11.7
			£42,810.6. 4

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

CO-OPERATION IN RESEARCH WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

June 2nd. 1926.

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I M P E R I A L C O N F E R E N C E, (1926).

CO-OPERATION IN RESEARCH WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

A Memorandum on the organisation of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was submitted to the Imperial Economic Conference 1923, and is printed in pages 492-503 of the Record of Proceedings and Documents of the Conference (Cmd.2009). In this Memorandum was outlined the then organisation of the Department. The general organisation has not changed, but there has been an expansion in certain directions, of which the following will be of most interest to the Conference:-

Fuel Research. Research on fuel is directed towards the better utilisation of coal, and in particular towards the problems of low temperature carbonisation and the production of liquid fuels from coal. Assistance has been given to the Canadian Government in connexion with the utilisation of lignite. Tentative arrangements have been made for the training at the Fuel Research Station of two Australian investigators, who would subsequently be employed in fuel research in Australia, but these arrangements have not yet been carried into effect. General fuel problems of interest to Canada have been discussed with representatives of the Department of Mines, Canada, during their recent visit to England.

Food Investigation. The enquiry mentioned at the Imperial Economic Conference 1923 into the cause of "brownheart" in shipments of apples from Australia has been carried out in co-operation with the Australian Government and has yielded very valuable results. With the present organisation it should be possible to co-operate even more fully than in the past with the Dominions and Colonies on problems of the preservation and

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transport of food, and the Empire Marketing Board which has been set up will have at its disposal funds for the furtherance of research of interest to the Empire.

Forest Products Research. The following resolution on investigations into forest products was one of a number passed by the British Empire Forestry Conference,(Canada, 1923), which were subsequently accepted generally by the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923, and recommended to the respective Governments of the Empire for their favourable consideration, (see pp. 538 et seq of the Record of Proceedings of the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923):-

> "This Conference notes with pleasure the steps taken in Great Britain to form a Forest Products Research Board, but urges that the scope of the Board's work be extended considerably so that, in addition to fundamental research, it may undertake investigations leading to the application of the results of research to commercial practice, in accordance with the methods which had been found profitable in the United States of America, Canada and India. This Conference further urges that immediate steps be taken to establish in Great Britain a well-equipped Forest Products Laboratory".

The work on forest products has been extended in the direction suggested by the Conference. The erection of a permanent Forest Products Laboratory at Princes Risborough, Bucks., has been approved, and the new premises will, it is hoped, be ready for occupation within a year. In the meantime investigations are being carried out temporarily at Farnborough and elsewhere.

Building Research. A permanent station for this work has now been provided near Watford, Hertfordshire.

General. At the last meeting of the Conference in 1923, the following resolution was adopted, (page 491, Record of Proceedings):-

> "The Imperial Economic Conference take note of the memorandum on the co-ordination of research bearing upon industry, and the suggestions for its development submitted by the Department of Scientific and Industrial

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Research in consultation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and other Departments, and they are of opinion that all possible steps should be taken to encourage the exchange of scientific and technical information between the various parts of the Empire, and the co-operation of the official and other organisations engaged in research for the solution of problems of common interest".

For the information of the present Conference, the appended statement has been prepared showing the steps that have been taken by the Department to provide for the exchange of scientific and technical information in the Empire. It will be seen from this that the Department endeavours to make generally available the results of completed investigations, and also to keep corresponding organisations in the Dominions and Colonies acquainted with the progress of research by the circulation of a "Monthly Summary", which includes abstracts of interim reports of investigations.

It should be emphasised that, through its own research institutions, its relations with other Government research establishments, and its close touch with industrial research institutions, such as the research associations mentioned on page 495 in the Record of Proceedings of the 1923 Conference, the machinery at the disposal of the Department for dealing with investigations of direct interest to the Empire, which may be more effectively carried out in this country than elsewhere, is now very complete.

The reports received by the Department from the Dominions and Colonies are, however, almost exclusively reports of completed investigations. The Department receives practically no information of the initiation of investigations, or of the programmes of work going on. General co-operation in research could be improved not only in this respect but by taking steps to ensure that the information sent from this country is readily available to the actual workers in the Dominions and Colonies. The Secretary of the Department of Scientific and

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Industrial Research who has just returned from a visit to Australia and New Zealand, has formed the impression that it would be useful to consider what steps are being taken, and can be taken, to bring machinery into existence in the Dominions for putting the scientific work actually being done in quite a number of scattered laboratories and institutions under a single survey. The systematic collection of the facts as to what is on foot or in contemplation in the various departments of Government, in the Universities, and in endowed institutions, is not only desirable but is actually vital to this end. In the absence of suitable machinery of the kind, not only are scientific workers more isolated than they might be and is there likely to be less co-operation within a Dominion than there could be, but there is no stimulus towards active co-operation with workers in this country because the possibilities are not realised. In the case of government departments entrusted with heavy administrative duties, it is naturally not easy to secure co-operation between their scientific staffs and research work overseas in the absence of an organisation in the Dominion specially equipped for the encouragement of combined effort. The problems the Dominions have to face are often different both in degree and kind from those in this country, and though valuable knowledge may exist here it cannot be made available because the problem is not stated. For example, the problems of transport in the Empire, particularly in regions where transport is necessary over large distances and water is scarce, are very different from the problems of transport in Great Britain. On the other hand, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, both from its own investigations and from its knowledge of the investigations of others, should be in a position to give useful advice in such directions if it were more completely informed of the difficulties encountered. One such enquiry has been received from Australia as a direct result of

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Sir Frank Heath's recent visit. To give another example: Investigations on the possible uses of the minor metals, which are mentioned on page 500 of the Record of Proceedings of the previous Conference, are still in progress. The object of these investigations is to find possible uses for minerals existing in the British Empire which have not yet found a commercial outlet. The Department is prepared to consider suggestions for extending these investigations in suitable cases, but no such suggestions have yet been received. Further examples could be given of the possibility of closer co-operation, but the two given will probably suffice. Co-operation in these ways could easily be made more effective through the newly re-organised Imperial Institute.

What is needed is fuller information of what the important imperial problems are; such information cannot entirely be provided by interchange of reports. In the experience of the Department, great value must be attached to personal visits to this country from representatives of the research organisations and other bodies throughout the Empire. Equal value should be attached to the exchange of scientific staff, if necessary for quite long periods.

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Appendix.

STATEMENT OF THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS

FOR

THE EXCHANGE OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH AND ORGANISATIONS IN THE EMPIRE.

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1. Exchange of Publications.

Comprehensive arrangements have been made for the exchange of published information of a scientific and technological nature between the Department (Headquarters) and various organisations in the Dominions. In Canada and Australia the most important exchange arrangements are naturally those with the respective organisations akin to the Department, namely the Canadian Hon. Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Institute of Science and Industry, Melbourne. These arrangements, which cover the whole of the publications from the Department's Headquarters, have been widely supplemented by exchanges with national and local organisations. Thus in Australia, copies of all publications from the Department's headquarters are also forwarded to the Australian National Research Council, and to the public libraries and/or museums of Sydney, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane and Hobart. Further, partial exchanges of publications of mutual interest have been effected with the Australasian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Victorian Department of Agriculture, the N.S. Wales Department of Mines and the Sydney Institution of Engineers.

In the Annex to this Appendix a complete list is given of the exchange arrangements made between the Department's headquarters and organisations in Australia, Canada, India and Ceylon, New Zealand, and South Africa. Reference to this Annex will show that the arrangements made with Canadian organisations include some desirable

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"specialised exchanges"; thus publication on topics of mutual interest are exchanged between the Department and the Departments of Agriculture and Interior, the Forest Products Laboratories of Canada, the Atlantic Biological Station and the Dominion Fuel Board. In certain cases the exchanges are effected not through the Headquarters of the Department but through the Board most directly concerned. Thus the Forest Products Research Board of the Department exchanges its publications direct with the Forestry Branch of the Department of the Interior. This arrangement tends to promote direct communication between the actual research workers in the two countries and appears therefore to be an advantageous one; it is proposed to extend it in the future to cover all cases in which the publications received are likely to be of exclusive interest to one specific research organisation under each party to the exchange.

It should be added that the National Physical Laboratory has direct exchanges with the Canadian Honorary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the Australian Institute of Science and Industry, Melbourne, and the Cawthron Institute of New Zealand. Under these exchanges the National Physical Laboratory forwards its Annual Reports and its Collected Researches which latter are collected reprints of all published papers.

The Geological Survey of Great Britain has a complete exchange of all published papers with all the official geological survey organisations of the Dominions and Colonies.

The existing exchange arrangements made between the Department and Indian organisations might with advantage be broadened. The Department of Industries at present acts as the channel through which the majority of the exchanges are made, and it is possible that these could be effected directly between the Department and the local organisations.

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The exchanges between the Department on the one hand and the New Zealand and Cawthron Institutes and four educational institutions in New Zealand on the other were made upon the recommendation of the High Commissioner, and are complete. In addition, complete exchanges with the Patent Office and the Science and Art Board, Wellington, are in force, and a partial exchange is made with the Commissioner of State Forests. These exchange arrangements would seem to be the most effective that can be made in the circumstances.

A complete exchange of publications is in operation between the Department and the Department of Mines and Industries, Pretoria, the Science and Industries Research Committee, Buluwayo and two technical societies (Association of Scientific and Technical Societies, and the Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society of S. Africa). In addition partial exchanges have been arranged with the Rhodesia Resources Committee and the South African Branch of the British Engineering Standards Association.

It should be added that the Department sends its Annual Reports to many individuals and bodies in the Dominions and Colonies who are not on exchange lists; they are therefore kept informed of the Department's activities.

2. Exchange of Current Research Information.

The Department has recently taken steps to furnish Dominion organisations with a monthly "Summary of Reports" received in the Records Bureau of the Department. This Summary is virtually a collection of abstracts of reports received from Departmental organisations and "Aided" Research Bodies, of the published reports (of a scientific or technical nature) of other Government Departments and of the published reports of Research Associations. The reports received from Departmental organisations are frequently of an interim or detailed character and would not necessarily be duplicated

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in full in the published reports of these organisations The Summary thus enables the progress of the broad researches of the Department to be followed in detail.

The "Monthly Summary" further contains a list of recent additions to the Department's library. These additions mainly consist of pamphlets descriptive of the results of recent scientific and technical research; they are numerous, are derived from world wide sources and many of them are not readily available to the general public. The list of library additions is thought to be of considerable service to the research organisations to which it is available.

The "Monthly Summary" is at present forwarded to the Department of Mines and Industries (Industries Division), South Africa, the Science and Art Board and the Public Works Department, New Zealand, The Institute of Science and Industry, Australia, and the Hon. Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Canada.

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Annex to Appendix.

AUSTRALIA.

Institution.	Publications issued.	Publications received.
Institute of Science and Industry Melbourne.	All (3 copies)	All
Australian National Research Council, Sydney.	All	All
Technological Museum, Sydney.	All	All
Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide.	All	All
Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery of West Australia, Perth.	All	All
Public Library, Brisbane.	All	All
Tasmanian Public Library, Hobart.	All	All
Australasian Institution of Mining and Metallurgy.	Metallurgical Reports.	Proceedings.
Victoria Department of Agriculture, Melbourne.	F.I.B. Publications of interest.	Journal.
N.S. Wales Department of Mines, Sydney.	F.I.B. Publications.	Bulletins.
Institution of Engineers, Sydney.	Engineering Reports.	Proceedings.
CANADA.		
The Hon. Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.	All (10 copies)	All (6 copies)
The Royal Canadian Institute, 198, College Street, Toronto.	All	Reports 'of interest'.
Mines Branch, Department of Mines, Ottawa.	All	Reports and Bulletins.

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CANADA (contd.)

Institution.	Publications Issued.	Publications Received.
Geolo ical Survey, Department of Mines, Ottawa.	All	Reports.
Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario, 190, University Avenue, Toronto.	Annual Report Water Power Reports.	Annual and occasional reports.
Department of Agriculture, Ottawa.	Annual Report F.I.B. Publications. F.R.B. Tech. Papers.	Reports, etc. considered to be of interest to the Department.
Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.	Annual Report.	Annual Report.
Forestry Branch, Department of the Interior, Ottawa.	Annual Report F.P.R.B.Reports.	Reports and Bulletins.
Forest Products Laboratories of Canada, Department of the Interior, Montreal.	F.R.R.B.Reports.	Reports.
Atlantic Biological Station, Biological Board of Canada, Toronto.	F.I.B. Publications.	Series of "Studies" from the Stations of the Board.
Dominions Fuel Board, Ottawa.	F.R.B. Publications.	Annual and Occasional Reports.
INDIA AND CEYLON.		
Board of Scientific Advice, Royal Botanic Gardens, Calcutta.	All.	Annual Reports.
Industries Department, Delhi.	All (3 copies)	Journals and Bulletins.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.	All.	Journal and Memoirs.
Colombo Museum, Ceylon.	F.I.B. Refrigeration Reports.	Journal.

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NEW ZEALAND.

Institutions.	Publications issued.	Publications received.
University College, Auckland.	All	All
Victoria College, Wellington.	All	All
Canterbury College, Christchurch.	All	All
University of Otago, Dunedin.	All	All
Cawthron Institute, Nelson.	All	All
New Zealand Institute, Wellington.	All	All
Patent Office, Wellington.	All	Journal
Science and Art Board, Wellington	All	All (journal and Transactions).
Commissioner of State Forests, Wellington.	F.P.R.B. Publications.	All
SOUTH AFRICA.		
Department of Mines & Industries, Pretoria.	All	Monthly Journal & occasional Bulletins.
Association of Scientific and Technical Societies, Johannesburg.	All	All
Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society of South Africa	All	Monthly Journal
Science and Industries Research Committee, Buluwayo.	All	All
British Engineering Standards Association. (South African Branch), Johannesburg.	Annual Reports F.R.B.Reports. on Sampling and Analysis of Coal.	Specifications.
Rhodesia Resources Committee, Buluwayo.	Annual Reports	occasional Reports.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

FLAG DISCRIMINATION.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

June 2nd. 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE (1926).

FLAG DISCRIMINATION.

The question of flag discrimination was raised at the Imperial Economic Conference in 1923 and the following resolution was adopted:-

> "In view of the vital importance to the British Empire of safeguarding its overseas carrying trade against all forms of discrimination by foreign countries, whether open or disguised, the representatives of the Governments of the Empire declare -
>
> "(1) That it is their established practice to make no discrimination between the flags of shipping using their ports, and that they have no intention of departing from this practice as regards countries which treat ocean-going shipping under the British flag on a footing of equality with their own national shipping.
>
> "(2) That in the event of danger arising in future to the overseas shipping of the Empire through an attempt by a foreign country to discriminate against the British flag, the Governments of the Empire will consult together as to the best means of meeting the situation".

It is proposed that a statement should be made by the representatives of His Majesty's Government at the forthcoming Imperial Conference on the subject of various incidents which have occurred in regard to the treatment of British shipping by certain foreign countries.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,

June 2nd, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

At the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 an item was included in the Agenda, at the instance of His Majesty's Government, calling attention to the desirability of the adoption of a common Empire policy as regards the regime applicable to (1) non-resident workmen, (2) seamen, and (3) the nationals of foreign countries according as reciprocity was or was not given by the latter.

These matters were considered by a Committee of the Conference, specially appointed for the purpose, and on the advice of this Committee the Conference adopted certain Resolutions the terms of which are set out below.

In regard to (1) it was pointed out in the Memorandum circulated by H.M. Government that the treatment accorded to non-residents under the Workmen's Compensation Acts of the British Empire (that is to say, to injured workmen who cease to reside in the jurisdiction of the State or Province, and to the dependants of a deceased workman who, at the time of his death, are residing outside the jurisdiction) varied greatly; that many of these Acts contained restrictive provisions as regards the payment of compensation either to the workmen themselves or to their dependants when non-resident, and that as the restrictions in question applied, generally speaking, not merely to alien workers, but also to British subjects, their tendency would be to discourage movement of workers within the Empire.

The Resolution adopted by the Conference was as follows:-

"That the Conference, taking note of the existing restrictions in the Workmen's Compensation laws of

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certain parts of the British Empire on the payment of benefits to workmen and their dependants on the ground of non-residence in the State in which the accident happened, and having regard to the tendency of such restrictions to discourage movement within the Empire, is of opinion that no British subject who is permanently incapacitated, and no dependant of a British subject who has been killed, by accident due to his employment in any part of the Empire should be excluded from any benefit to which he would otherwise be entitled under the Workmen's Compensation law of that part of the Empire on the ground of his removal to or residence in another part of the Empire".

In regard to (2) seamen, the information before the Conference showed that the provisions of the various Workmen's Compensation Statutes of the Empire exhibited considerable diversity in regard to the position of seamen, and failed, in some instances, to afford any protection to seamen meeting with accidents outside the territorial waters of the Dominion concerned. Thus it had happened in certain cases that a British seaman, signing on in Great Britain in a ship registered in a Dominion, who met with an accident while the ship was lying in a port in Great Britain, had not been entitled to compensation under the law of the Dominion concerned. It was suggested that it would be desirable to ensure, if possible, that workmen's compensation benefits should be available for the injured seaman or his dependants in whatever place the vessel might be at the time of the accident, and that this object would be attained if every Member of the Empire undertook to provide compensation for all accidents happening to seamen on ships registered in their country wherever the accident might happen.

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The following Resolution was adopted:

"That the Conference, having had its attention drawn to cases where British sailors injured by accident while serving on ships registered in some part of the Empire have had no claim to compensation owing to the law of that part of the Empire being restricted, in its application to seamen, to accidents occurring within territorial waters or other limited area, is of opinion that the Government of any such part of the Empire should ensure that the benefits of its compensation law will extend to all accidents to seamen serving on ships registered within such part of the Empire wherever the ship may be when the accident takes place. And, furthermore the Conference invites the Government of any British Colony or Protectorate where there is a register of shipping but where legislation giving compensation rights to seamen does not at present exist, to consider the adoption of such legislation".

As regards (3) alien workers, it was pointed out that while the British Act did not discriminate against foreign workers, as such, and this principle appeared to be generally observed in Workmen's Compensation Acts throughout the British Empire, the laws of various foreign States contained provisions of a discriminating nature. It seemed desirable that some common policy should be agreed between the different Members of the British Empire which would help to secure for British subjects residing in foreign States a full participation in the benefits provided under the Compensation Laws of those countries; and it was suggested that it might be possible for the Empire to adopt a policy of equality of

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treatment for national and foreign workers on condition of reciprocity.

A Resolution was adopted in the following terms:

"That the Conference taking note of the disabilities imposed under the Workmen's Compensation Laws of certain foreign countries on British subjects residing in those countries and their dependants, invites each Government of the Empire, regard being had to its own particular conditions, to consider the possibility of adopting in workmen's compensation legislation, the principle of reciprocity, that is, that the benefits of such legislation should be accorded to subjects of foreign countries upon the conditions that and to the extent to which such foreign countries accord reciprocal treatment to British subjects".

It is suggested that the coming Imperial Conference provides a fitting occasion for ascertaining the attitude of the various members of the British Empire in respect of those Resolutions. In particular, it seems desirable to ascertain as regards Resolutions (1) and (2) what action has been taken or is pending; whether there are any difficulties in the way of giving effect to these Resolutions, and what prospect there is that such difficulties will be surmounted.

As regards the Resolution (3) it should be pointed out that since the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923, there has been the Seventh International Labour Conference, held at Geneva in 1925, at which important Conventions and Recommendations on the subject of Workmen's Compensation were adopted. In particular, it is necessary to refer to the Draft Convention and Draft Recommendation on "Equality

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of Treatment for National and Foreign Workers as regards Workmen's Compensation for Accidents". Article I of the Draft Convention provides that each Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention undertakes to grant to the Nationals of any other Member which shall have ratified the Convention, and who suffer personal injury due to industrial accidents happening in its territory or to their dependants, the same treatment in respect of Workmen's Compensation as it grants to its own nationals and that this equality of treatment shall be guaranteed to foreign workers and their dependants without any condition as to residence. Furthermore, by Article III of the Convention it is provided that the Members who ratify the Convention and who do not already possess a system of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents, agree to institute such a system within a period of three years from the date of ratification.

It is suggested that advantage should be taken of the opportunity afforded by the Imperial Conference to review Resolution (3) of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 in the light of any action that may have been taken thereon by the different Governments and in the light of the foregoing Draft Convention of the International Labour Conference, with a view to determining whether any further steps can now be taken towards arriving at a common policy.

Another question which it is suggested might profitably be considered by the Imperial Conference is that of facilitating co-operation between the Courts or other Authorities in the different parts of the British Empire, with regard in particular, to the administration of sums of money awarded in respect of workmen's compensation. Two cases which have come under the notice of His Majesty's Government illustrate the convenience that would result from some such arrangement.

In the first case compensation was awarded in the County Court of Cardiff, in South Wales. The workman left dependants

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living within the jurisdiction of the District Court of Cork in Ireland. The Cardiff Judge wished to transfer the money to the Irish Court and the Registrar accordingly wrote to the Clerk of the Crown and Peace at Cork. The latter laid the matter before the Circuit Judge, who was of opinion that the transfer could not be effected.

In the second case an English workman was killed by an accident in Australia, and the employer paid £600 into the County Court at Melbourne. The worker left a widow and family living in England in the Sheffield district. The Melbourne Court, desiring to pay the money into the Sheffield County Court to be administered there for the benefit of the dependants the Lord Chancellor obtained the consent of the Sheffield Judge and the Sheffield Registrar to administer the money as if it had been compensation awarded in England. Thereupon the Melbourne Court made the proposed Order and paid the money by cheque to the Registrar of the Sheffield County Court, where it is being administered in accordance with the directions given by the Judge from time to time.

It is important to observe that none of the steps in the Melbourne case were taken in pursuance of any arrangement between the Australian Government and the English Government or under the authority of any English Statute or of any Rules of Court. Consequently, the transaction could only be carried through voluntarily by the consent of the officers concerned.

It is suggested that the Imperial Conference be asked to consider the desirability of recommending that reciprocal arrangements be made enabling the competent Authorities throughout the Empire to transfer and administer money awarded for compensation in whatever jurisdiction within the Empire the award was originally made.

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It might be added that Article I of the Draft Convention on Equality of Treatment adopted by the International Labour Conference of 1925, to which reference has already been made, provides that "With regard to the payments which a Member or its Nationals would have to make outside that Member's territory in the application of this principle, the measures to be adopted shall be regulated if necessary by special arrangements between the Members concerned".

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S E C R E T.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

2nd June, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.

For obvious reasons co-operation in research within the Empire must at the present time mean very largely co-operation in agricultural research.

Each country must of necessity frame its own research policy, not only because, in all, the scientific problems which agriculture presents differ both in their nature, and in economic importance, but also because the organisation of research work and the extent of the scientific resources of each country differ widely. There is, however, a wide field in which co-operation may be of great value.

Many problems are common to several parts of the Empire, and even where the problems are not identical they are often so closely related that workers in different countries, who are now largely isolated one from the other, could be of mutual assistance. Fundamental work on such problems as manuring and cultivation is of general application, and much may be learned in every branch of science in the way of the development or refinement of technique. The breeding of new strains of economic plants may be of value to many countries. This is obviously true in the case of cereals. It is equally true in the case of fibre-producing plants; at the present time the Ministry of Agriculture is promoting the bulking of an improved strain of flax which has already been grown with excellent results in Kenya and which is to be tried experimentally in other parts of the Empire. Other subjects which have an obvious general

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interest are plant diseases, animal diseases, and food preservation and utilisation, but every branch of agricultural research is likely to benefit by some measure of co-operation.

The question of research into problems common to several parts of the Empire has already been considered by the Civil Research Committee and schemes are under consideration for investigations into the relation of the mineral content of natural pastures to the nutrition of stock and into the growth of wild white clover. But the question of co-operation in agricultural research requires to be attacked on broader lines and without specific reference to definite economic problems of immediate urgency, and the first step should be a free and full discussion between representatives of the research organisations within the Empire. The Ministry has already proposed that a Conference of this kind should be held in the Autumn of 1927 and the proposal was communicated to the Dominions, Colonies, Protectorates, etc., in the autumn of 1925.

Such a conference would consider the desirability of extending the existing machinery for co-operation. The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, has been for many years the centre for the investigation of indigenous plants from all parts of the Empire, and much of its work has a direct economic bearing. There already exist Imperial Bureaux of Entomology and Mycology, but these cover only a small part of the ground. Whether other Bureaux to deal with other subjects in like manner are desirable, or whether some other form of organisation is preferable, would be questions to be discussed at the Conference. The Conference might also discuss such questions as -

(a) Joint programmes of research in certain subjects;

(b) The availability of the results of research to workers in other parts of the Empire (whether, for

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example, any advance is possible or desirable on present methods of publication and circulation);

(c) the training and supply of scientific workers:-

(i) there is, for example, a belief that the resources of the United Kingdom are not so widely known as they should be, and that students from the Dominions may go to foreign countries for what may be provided as well, or better, within the Empire.

(ii) the very complete system of research institutes in Great Britain affords every facility for "refresher" courses for specialists in every branch of agricultural sciences, and these facilities are already made use of fairly extensively by British and foreign scientists; but the use made of them by researchers in the Dominions and Colonies has been less than might have been expected or than would be advantageous to the progress of agricultural science.

(iii) the question of the interchange of research workers within the Empire might also be considered under this head.

ORGANISATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The organisation of agricultural research in Great Britain is already such that with very little adaptation or extension of present activities it could fit into an Imperial organisation.

Research Institutes.

Separate financial provision is made for (a) England and Wales, (b) Scotland; but the general methods of carrying out research are the same. Government research institutions, although they exist for some purposes (e.g., where statutory duties are imposed on the Departments to which research is ancillary), are the exception. For the most part agricultural research is

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conducted at research institutes which are either departments of Universities, or independent research institutions of which the Rothamsted Experimental Station is the type. To these bodies grants are made both for capital and maintenance purposes; the private resources of these bodies are small and in many cases practically the whole cost of maintenance is at present borne by Government funds.

Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Kew is maintained by the Imperial Government, but special grants are made by Dominion and Colonial Governments in respect of specific pieces of work relating to the flora of the Dominion or Colony or for the salaries of special officers attached to the Herbarium. For upwards of fifty years there has been close co-operation between Kew and the botanical, forestry and agricultural departments of all parts of the Empire. The Director is a member of the Agricultural Research Council. The list of publications relating to the botany of the Empire, which have been prepared wholly or in part by Kew, is a long one.

Research Council.

The research institutes cover the whole field of agricultural research, and the directors of the institute in England, Scotland, and Wales (together with some representatives of the research staffs and some official members) constitute the Agricultural Research Council. This Council discusses both administrative and scientific questions, and functions largely by means of committees composed of members (and others) interested in particular groups of problems. The Council is not an executive body but it influences policy.

Publications.

The Government Departments exercise no control over

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publications. For the most part important results are published in appropriate scientific journals; in some instances the institute itself issues an annual or periodical publication. In addition to the efforts of individual institutes and research workers, both the Board of Agriculture for Scotland and the Ministry of Agriculture publish a journal and issue leaflets and other publications. These publications vary considerably in scope and method of presentation; broadly, they are intended for the farmer, with a small proportion for the teacher and student of agriculture. All eschew technicalities as far as possible. An official survey of the results of assistance afforded by Government funds is contained in the Annual Reports of the Development Commissioners, the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, and the reports of the Intelligence Branch of the English Ministry of Agriculture. Recently the Ministry of Agriculture initiated a series of Research Monographs with the object of bringing before a wide public some of the practical results of agricultural research in England and Wales; five monographs have been published to date. It has also been decided between the agricultural departments of England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland that a popular account of research work now proceeding in the four countries should appear in one publication, which will shortly be issued under the title of "Research and the Land".

It is difficult to know, without special enquiry, to what extent the results of research conducted in Great Britain are available in the rest of the Empire. Scientific publications are as a rule filed in Universities and large public libraries, and there is a good deal of

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interchange of publications; but it is possible that some of the publications of H.M. Government which are already extensively supplied to Dominion and Colonial Governments are not so readily accessible in all parts of the Empire as they might be. Judging from the Ministry's experience among visitors to Wembley in 1924 and 1925, much published information is not available readily or in an assimilable form to agriculturists in some Dominions and Colonies. Copies of the majority of important Government and unofficial publications in the Dominions, Colonies, Protectorates, etc., are received in the Ministry of Agriculture and are deposited in the library which is freely open to the public.

Scholarships and Fellowships.

(1) Agricultural and veterinary research scholarships;

(2) Agricultural scholarships;

(3) Travelling research fellowships (including grants for attending international conferences);

(4) Grants for special pieces of research by workers outside main research institute staffs.

Awards are made by the agricultural departments of England and Wales and Scotland on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Agricultural Science which is appointed by the Development Commission. In the case of (1) and (2) one year of the scholarship is spent outside the United Kingdom, usually in the study of a particular problem; and arrangements are contemplated whereby such scholars will be sent to the Dominions (among other places) which provide facilities for the subjects of study in which individual students are interested. Travelling research fellowships (3) are awarded to enable research workers of

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some standing to keep abreast of progress in their particular subject in other countries than their own; a number of such fellowships have been tenable in Canada and one has been awarded for study in the West Indies. Arrangements have already been made whereby the award of scholarships by the Advisory Committee on Agricultural Science will be co-ordinated with the award of scholarships by the Colonial Office and the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation.

Special research grants (4) are made in respect of small definite pieces of research which can be completed in one, two or three years.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

EMPIRE COTTON GROWING CORPORATION , 1923-1926.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W. 1.

2nd June, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

THE PURPOSES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE

EMPIRE COTTON GROWING CORPORATION.

1923 - 26.

1. The necessity for the increase of the supply of raw cotton from within the Empire, and the danger of the existing dependence on the one or two outstanding sources of supply, have engaged the attention of the Heads of the Lancashire Cotton Industry for the last quarter of a century.* In 1902, the British Cotton Growing Association was founded, and since that time and most notably during the last ten years, has never ceased to invite the attention, both of Lancashire and of the Government of the day, to the dangers of the situation.

Considering the limited means at its disposal, the Association has done a great work in stimulating the production of cotton in all parts of the Empire, though the African Continent has inevitably taken up the greater part of its attention.

2. In 1915, the President of the Board of Trade called into being the Empire Cotton Growing Committee to consider the situation in all its aspects. Their Report, which was presented in October, 1919, provides a mass of information concerning the capacity of the various Colonies and Dependencies to meet these needs. As a result of this Report the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation was formed under Royal Charter, and is representative of all the interests concerned in the cotton trade, whilst the great

* See Statistics in Appendices.

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Departments of State are also adequately represented; the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia, of the Union of South Africa and of India each nominate a member of the Council.

The Corporation are in possession of an assured and substantial income, derived in part from a capital contribution of nearly one million pounds made by the Government, and in part from the proceeds of a levy of sixpence per standard bale on all cotton imported into and spun in the United Kingdom. This levy, in accordance with the wishes of the great majority of the trade, was made obligatory on all spinners and is enforceable at law, in terms of an Act of Parliament which received the Royal Assent on July 18th, 1923.

3. The great stimulus to cotton growing caused by high prices in the years immediately succeeding the War has been removed by the recovery of the American crop. Nevertheless it is satisfactory to note that in spite of falling prices there has been a steady increase in the Empire cotton crops during each of the past three years, and that the estimates for the season 1925-26 show a total of over 420,000 bales of 400 lbs. each, that is to say about four times the number of bales produced in the season 1921-22.

It is not pretended that this increase has been entirely due to the activities of the Corporation, but it can at least be claimed that in those areas where the increases have been greatest the Corporation have taken an active part in co-operating with the administration and agricultural department concerned, and that this assistance has proved a considerable factor in the improvement of the quality of the Empire crop generally.

The following paragraphs outline the assistance that the Corporation have been able to render to India and to those Dominions and other parts of the Empire in which climatic conditions make the cultivation of cotton possible.

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INDIA.

4. The Corporation have been in close touch and have co-operated with the Indian Central Cotton Committee from the formation of the latter body in 1921 and have been represented on that Committee, while the Committee may be said to be represented on the Executive of the Corporation by the Indian Trade Commissioner. In 1922 a special India Sub-Committee of the Corporation was appointed to deal with questions relating to India.

5. As a direct supplier of United Kingdom requirements India does not at present bulk so largely as might be expected. She produces, on a rough average, some 5 million bales per annum and according to the latest figures only 216,000 were consumed in the United Kingdom during the year ending 1925.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee soon after their formation told the Corporation that one of the ways in which the latter body could best help India would be by stimulating the consumption of Indian cottons in Great Britain. As a first step the Oldham Master Cottor Spinners' Association arranged that spinning tests should be carried out on certain typical Indian cottons already well known in this country. Subsequently, the Indian Central Cotton Committee sent home additional bales of improved cottons which were also subjected to spinning tests by members of the Oldham Master Cotton Spinners' Association, and the results were published in the April 1925 number of the Empire Cotton Growing Review.

During the year 1925-26 at the desire of the Indian Central Cotton Committee the above tests which were made on single bales were supplemented by more extensive tests on seven different selected varieties, five bales of each of which were sent home for this purpose. The results will be published in the Review as soon as they are completed.

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AUSTRALIA.

6. So far as climate and soil are concerned the possibilities of cotton growing in Queensland and New South Wales are considerable. The Corporation have lent the services of Mr. G.Evans, late Director of Agriculture in Bengal, and Mr. Ballard, an experienced Entomologist, to Australia, and the former has just completed his term of service in Queensland. The Corporation have received a warm letter of thanks from the Premier of that State for the loan of his services, stating that the policy recommended by him has been amply justified by results.

In an article written for the Empire Cotton Growing Review, Mr. Evans gives it as his view that cotton will form a permanent feature of farming in Queensland as a crop that can be usefully introduced into the rotation of large numbers of small mixed farms, and that it will be an important factor in settling the large areas that still await development in that State.

In 1925, the Corporation undertook to give financial assistance to the extent of £3,000 a year for a period of five years towards the establishment and maintenance of experiment stations in Queensland. Mr. Evans decided to concentrate at first on one station only, as an adequate staff could not be provided for more at present. This station is in the heart of the cotton belt. A satisfactory start has been made there and it is hoped that it will be possible to develop this farm into an up-to-date and well equipped station for experimental work relating to cotton.

SOUTH AFRICA.

7. In 1922, the Corporation sent Mr.G.F.Keatinge,C.I.E., late Director of Agriculture,Bombay, to report on conditions in South Africa and his Report, published in 1923,formed the basis of the Corporation's activities in the Union. In

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October of that year General Smuts, the then Prime Minister, received a deputation from the Corporation and discussed the question of cotton growing. He stated that what his Government most needed was expert advice to enable them to start on the right lines. The Corporation were able to secure the services of Mr. Milligan, the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, and Mr. F.R. Parnell, an expert plant breeder, who was at that time Economic Botanist to the Government of Madras. Mr. Milligan went to South Africa in May, 1924, and made a preliminary tour of the country. He found that the interest taken in cotton growing was very wide spread, and formed a distinctly favourable impression of the prospects, particularly in the areas lying east of the main Drakensberg Range. He laid great stress in his reports at that time, and ever since, on the remarkably sympathetic response of the Union Government and of the officers of the Department of Agriculture in particular, to the efforts that the Corporation are making in South Africa.

8. It was arranged that the Department of Agriculture should undertake the work of plant breeding and seed supply for the middle veld at their farm at Rustenburg, while Mr. Milligan and Mr. Parnell, who are based at Barberton, undertook the same work for the low veld. Mr. Parnell has now been successful in breeding a variety which is highly resistant to jassid, an insect pest which does much damage both in parts of the Union and in Rhodesia.

The Corporation have added to their staff by the appointment of Mr. F.S. Parsons, a former holder of one of their Studentships, to do experimental and advisory work in the Candover area of Natal; two Entomologists have been appointed to work entirely on cotton pests in the Department of Agriculture; and a strong team of workers has been obtained to carry out experiments in soil chemistry.

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9. The unusually heavy rains did much damage to the crop of 1924-25 with the result that the output fell slightly short of 17,000 bales. Nevertheless it appears that farmers were by no means discouraged and that an increased acreage was sown this season.

SWAZILAND.

10. At the request of the Swaziland Administration, Mr. R.C. Wood has been appointed Cotton Specialist in Swaziland under the general direction of Mr. Milligan. He has established a main experiment station at Bremersdorp and a chain of sub-stations will be formed where the principal experiments will be repeated under different conditions of soil and climate. Mr. Wood is receiving every assistance both from the Administration and from the farmers who have expressed great pleasure at his practical programme.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

11. In 1924, the Corporation selected Mr. Cameron, who had experience of cotton growing in Mesopotamia, to assist the Agricultural Department of Southern Rhodesia, and, in 1925, appointed Mr. Hamilton as plant breeder in charge of an experiment station established at Gatooma, and Mr.J.E.Peat as general assistant to Mr. Cameron. Both junior officers are former holders of the Corporation's Studentships.

As in South Africa the heavy rains resulted in a very much smaller crop than was estimated.

12. As a result of a conference with the High Commissioner in 1924, arrangements were made for the Government, the Corporation and the British Cotton Growing Association to share equally in advancing funds for three ginneries which were erected in the Gatooma, Bindura and Lomagundi areas. Very little cotton was ginned in them

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during the past year, but the country is now equipped with ginning facilities capable of dealing with a crop of 50,000 bales in three or four months.

13. The chief need of the country is improvement in the seed supply. This cannot be a rapid process, but it is intended to concentrate on this problem at Gatooma by means of selection work on existing seed and trials of other varieties.

NORTHERN RHODESIA.

14. The rains of last year made the cotton crop almost a complete failure. It was clear that many farmers would need help to enable them to avoid bankruptcy, and the Government asked the Corporation to join with them in a scheme for providing advances to necessitous farmers. This scheme was approved by the Imperial Treasury who consented to the Rhodesian Government advancing up to £20,000 if the Corporation guaranteed to advance an equal amount. The fund is administered by a Government Committee and up to the present (April 1926) advances amounting to about £9,500 have been made. In addition nearly ten tons of cotton seed have been distributed to be paid for when the crop has been harvested.

Mr. Salter was appointed as the Corporation's representative at the end of 1925.

OTHER TERRITORIES.

15. It is not necessary for the purposes of this paper to describe in detail the help given in other areas in Tropical Africa. Such help has been very similar to that already described and has varied in quantity and in its nature with the needs of the particular administration concerned.

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It is only necessary to state that the Corporation is in direct touch with various departments of agriculture through their directors, and is now in process of collecting the methods and necessities of cotton cultivation in many varying circumstances.

PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT COMPANIES.

16. A small portion of their funds has been devoted to one of the objects for which the Corporation was established, namely, the taking up of shares in cotton-growing companies which are operating in South Africa. The Council are of opinion that in certain countries the establishment of well managed cotton-growing companies will both stimulate general development and lead to the production of large quantities of raw cotton. The Corporation have a representative on the Board of Directors of those companies whose shares they hold, and it is hoped that the estates may form a practical illustration of good farming methods.

THE TRAINING OF TECHNOLOGISTS AND AGRICULTURAL OFFICERS.

17. One of the chief difficulties with which the Corporation was faced at the outset was the shortage of agriculturists, sufficiently trained and experienced to assist agricultural departments in those areas where cotton was or could be grown. It was fortunately found possible to obtain the services of a certain number of such men who had served in the Indian Agricultural Department, but it was obvious that the number obtainable from this source would be limited and that they would be available only for senior positions. In these circumstances it was decided to train a certain number of young men every year who would be fit to take service under the Corporation, the Colonial

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Office, or the Dominions' Agricultural Services or commercial cotton-growing companies. This scheme took the form of granting post-graduate Studentships for one or two years, according to the age and qualifications of the applicants. Practically all the Corporation's Students spend one year at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture where they receive a training in general tropical agriculture, for it is recognised that cotton growing is one of a series of farming operations, and can only be successfully conducted if those responsible have received a sound training in the general principles of agriculture and agricultural rotation as practised in the tropics, in addition to special instruction relating to cotton itself. At the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture facilities are available for providing such training, and special attention is also to be given to instruction on the administrative side of official agricultural work.

18. Thirty-one men have so far received their training under this scheme. Of these, seven hold appointments under the Corporation, fifteen have entered the service of various agricultural departments and three are in the service of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate. A further fourteen men are in training at the present time.

19. The Colonial Office have now paid the Corporation the compliment of adopting a very similar scheme and from 1927 onwards vacancies in their agricultural departments will be filled as far as possible by their own scholars.

20. An interesting feature of the award of Studentships this year has been the election of three South African Students selected jointly by the Union Government and the Corporation's staff in South Africa. The Government of South Rhodesia is also availing itself of the facilities the College offers.

21. The value of the training given at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture has been recognised already

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by the Corporation who contributed £2,000 to the special appeal for funds made by the College last year. They also make a contribution of £500 a year to the College funds in consideration of which their Students pay no fees.

The work of the College is of great importance to the production not only of cotton, but of many other tropical products also, and it is gratifying that the British Government have now agreed to make a contribution of £15,000 towards the erection of a students' hostel, a grant of £3,000 towards the general expenses of the College, and, if necessary, certain further contributions in the three following years.

The College, however, is in no sense whatever adequately equipped for its work and it is a matter of vital and primary importance that funds be provided to enable it to perform the ever increasing duties that are being imposed upon it. In the opinion of the Corporation largely increased financial support to this Institution ought to take precedence of anything else that is projected in the way of tropical development.

RESEARCH.

22. The Corporation have recently decided to establish a cotton research station at Trinidad. Land has been purchased and leased. The laboratories and residential houses for the Station are nearing completion and a small but most highly qualified staff has been appointed.

At this Station an attempt will be made to solve problems leading to a greater general knowledge of cotton in the broadest sense. It is not intended to, and cannot, provide strains of pure seed for distribution in the Empire because this is a matter which must be carried out in the various cotton producing areas on account of the influence of the acclimatisation factor on the properties of any particular type.

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It is hoped that the Station will be used by cotton workers as a clearing house where local problems can be further investigated under standardised conditions.

TRANSPORT.

23. In the belief that improved transport is one of the chief problems that awaits solution if the cotton growing possibilities of the Empire were to be fully and rapidly developed, the Executive Committee of the Corporation in 1924 appointed a small Committee to enquire into the various types of vehicle that might be useful for transporting cotton both from the fields to the ginneries and from the ginneries to the railways. If the claims of the makers of some of the "track" vehicles now on the market prove to be valid, the use of such vehicles might prove very advantageous since they will not only travel on, but improve and consolidate the unmetalled "earth" roads that are used in many parts of the Empire and particularly in Tropical Africa, and in this way facilitate the development of many outlying districts.

Experiments with various types of vehicles are now being conducted by the Corporation in Nigeria.

24. In the report of the East Africa Parliamentary Commission it was recommended that the Imperial Government should guarantee the issue of loans amounting to £10,000,000, to be mainly devoted to the development of transport. This recommendation was strongly endorsed by the Corporation which, in July 1925, organised a deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to impress upon him their views as to the urgency of these proposals, and to suggest further that a certain small fraction of the proposed loans should be set aside for non-recurring capital expenditure connected with medical and other research and with the education of the native population.

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It has recently been announced that the Government will introduce this session the legislation necessary to enable the proposed loans to be guaranteed by the Imperial Treasury.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has set up a small Committee to consider:-

(i) The various development schemes including capital expenditure on existing works that might be paid for out of this loan with special reference to:

(a) Their prospects of economic success.
(b) Their order of urgency.
(c) Their relation to a co-ordinated scheme of transport in East Africa generally.

(ii) The nature of the research work that might be paid for out of the Guaranteed Loan and the extent to which the general expenditure on special enquiries may be regarded as capital expenditure to be so paid for.

(iii) The subsidiary lines of communication for which track vehicles might possibly be used for transport purposes in providing feeder routes to the main lines of communication.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. R.H.Jackson, has been invited by the Secretary of State to serve on this small Committee of three.

JOURNAL.

25. The Corporation issue a Quarterly Journal containing particulars of their activities and information concerning cotton-growing problems in all parts of the Empire. It is hoped that in this way all who are interested in the Corporation will be kept informed as to its work, that the Corporation will be able to act as a clearing house of intelligence collected from different Dominions and Colonies, and that spinners and growers will obtain a better knowledge of one another's requirements and difficulties.

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The first number of the Journal was published in January, 1924. Nearly 3,000 copies are now distributed every quarter amongst the trade in Lancashire and cotton growers and agricultural officers of the Empire.

26. The Corporation welcome this opportunity of expressing to the Governments of the Dominions their appreciation of their whole-hearted co-operation in the work upon which they are engaged. The experience gained in the past few years appears to show that, apart from the dominating factor of the availability of a reasonably cheap supply of labour, the two essential conditions of progress are (1) adequate communications and (2) the presence of an efficient technical staff, capable of giving advice as to procedure and of actually undertaking estate management. Further, it can confidently be asserted that another factor on which increased production depends is careful scientific work directed towards the improvement of seed supply, and a study of the effect of new environment on existing varieties. By persistently laying stress on the above considerations the Governments of the Empire can substantially reinforce the efforts of the Corporation towards developing the resources of the Empire and enhancing its economic prosperity.

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Imports of Raw Cotton 1913 and 1919/25 showing principal countries whence consigned and percentage from within the Empire.

(In centals of 100 lbs.)

Countries whence Consigned	1913.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.
United States of America.	15,847,695	13,707,407	13,903,337	8,010,023	9,130,398	6,691,097	9,493,101	12,238,976
Egypt†.....	4,026,694	4,169,375	2,815,838	2,312,715	3,158,977	3,486,322	3,449,384	3,046,754
Brazil.....	618,036	51,303	231,680	163,461	366,051	208,963	167,772	373,881
Peru.....	784,060	464,855	653,029	598,920	772,034	774,455	765,736	Not available
Other Foreign Countries..	147,361	312,724	297,976	120,044	149,914	195,354	224,500	1,263,728
Total Foreign Countries..	21,023,846	18,705,664	17,901,860	11,203,163	13,577,372	11,356,191	14,100,493	16,923,119
British Africa (excluding Anglo-Egyptian Sudan)...	173,281	161,473	234,388	237,949	182,216	280,798	358,051)	914,028
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*....	-	44,324	61,203	104,949	80,525	128,732	189,160)	
British India.....	513,939	636,036	742,175	150,652	441,141	1,085,375	997,516	990,009
Other British Possessions.	32,830	35,370	32,598	28,808	38,644	87,680	131,383	84,896
Total from British Empire.	719,150	877,203	1,070,364	522,358	742,526	1,562,585	1,676,110	1,988,933
GRAND TOTAL.....	21,742,996	19,582,867	18,972,224	11,725,521	14,319,898	12,918,776	15,776,603	18,912,052
Percentage:-								
United States of America	72.9	70.0	73.3	68.3	63.7	51.9	60.2	64.7
Egypt.....	18.5	21.3	14.9	19.8	22.1	27.0	21.9	16.1
Other Foreign Countries.	5.3	4.2	6.2	7.5	9.0	9.0	7.3	8.7
British Empire.....	3.3	4.5	5.6	4.4	5.2	12.1	10.6	10.5

*Included in Egypt prior to 1914.
†Including Anglo Egyptian Sudan.

NOTE:- A comparatively small amount of cotton (amounting in 1925 to 1,368,920 centals) is re-exported but the origin of the re-exports cannot be distinguished.

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Appendix I.

Appendix II.

The production of Cotton within the Empire (excluding India) was estimated for 1912-13 at approximately 73,000 bales of 400 lbs. each, of which West Africa contributed about 16,300 bales, and East Africa (including Rhodesia) 34,500 bales and the Sudan 14,000 bales. The estimated production within the Empire for 1925-26 is over 420,000 bales, of which Uganda is expected to contribute 170,000 bales and the Sudan about 110,000 bales. New areas of production within the Empire since 1914 are Queensland, South Africa (including Swaziland), Tanganyika and Iraq. The following table gives the crops for each of the years 1918-19 to 1924-25:

EMPIRE COTTON CROPS FOR SEVEN YEARS 1919-25, EXCLUDING INDIA.

In Bales of 400 lbs.

Country.	1918-19.	1919-20.	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.
(1) Sudan.....	15,997	23,160	30,519	24,074	28,306	47,652	44,912
(2) Gold Coast.....	52	-	61	49	15	93	-
(3) Nigeria.....	17,500	16,200	30,000	15,096	16,811	25,694	39,137
(4) Uganda.....	36,530	47,694	81,365	48,290	88,046	128,604	196,038
(5) Kenya.....	100	100	500	417	1,200	1,653	2,250
(6) Nyasaland.....	2,591	2,026	4,615	5,422	4,036	6,873	9,500
(7) Northern Rhodesia.....	56	35	100	80	102	500	379
(8) Southern Rhodesia.....	-	-	-	-	-	1,65	4,907
(9) Tanganyika.....	-	-	7,500	7,327	7,175	11,434	18,793
(10) South Africa (including Swaziland) ...	1,911	2,737	2,923	2,740	6,523	8,730	16,938
(11) West Indies....	6,137	6,205	4,833	4,113	5,254	4,290	4,184
(12) Queensland.....	31	38	792	3,140	9,344	11,850	15,156
(13) Cyprus.....	1,000	3,325	2,687	2,547	1,505	2,233	3,320
(14) Malta.....	315	343	266	582	193	118	573
(15) Iraq.....	-	-	60	60	300	1,100	2,400
(16) Fiji.....	-	-	-	-	83	153	123
(17) Ceylon.....	-	-	-	-	49	324	121
	82,220	101,863	166,221	113,937	168,942	252,951	358,729

The Indian Cotton Crop was estimated for 1912-13 at 4,610,000 bales of 400 lbs., and for 1924-5 at 6,141,000 bales. The Indian crop is predominantly of short-stapled varieties which are consumed to only a very limited extent in the United Kingdom, but in recent years there has been a substantial increase in the production (mainly in the Punjab and Sind) of cotton of the varieties required by the United Kingdom cotton industry.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

EXHIBITION WITHIN THE EMPIRE OF EMPIRE FILMS.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W. 1.

2nd June, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE (1926).

EXHIBITION WITHIN THE EMPIRE OF EMPIRE FILMS.

(1) His Majesty's Government have recently had under serious consideration the problem presented by the fact that the Moving Pictures exhibited at the Cinema Houses throughout the Empire are almost wholly the product of foreign countries, particularly the United States of America. The proportion of British films, that is films produced within the Empire by British companies employing British artists, to the total number shown in the United Kingdom has been rapidly declining, and at present amounts to scarcely 5 per cent. It is understood that a similar position prevails throughout the Empire generally, and that in some parts practically none but foreign films are shown.

(2) The quasi-monopolistic control of the market by the United States film producing companies is not due to any special advantages of climate or of national character. It is to be ascribed to:-

(a) The position which the American producers occupied as almost the only suppliers during the war period, the greater experience so gained and the progress made in technique, and the marketing organisation then developed and the resultant goodwill acquired.

(b) The great United States home market, combined with the fact that the chief producers there own or control large numbers of Cinema Houses; this makes it possible for the cost of even the most expensive films to be recovered, and usually more than recovered, in the home market, so that the exhibition rights of the films can be sold or rented abroad at very low prices which nevertheless represent almost entirely additional profit and with which producers in this country cannot compete, since their home

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market is probably not one-sixth of the American, and they have no 'tied' houses.

(c) The resultant fact that the American concerns are able to spend more lavishly on production than producers here can do, and so to produce 'super' films which most exhibitors must take to maintain their clientele and which they can generally get only on condition of taking a number of other films, of the ordinary 'programme' type, which they may not have seen and which may not have been produced at the time the rental contracts are made. The result of this system of 'block' and 'blind' booking is that even when a satisfactory British film is made the producer may have great difficulty in finding a remunerative market, since exhibitors may be, and often are, booked up for many months ahead.

(3) A position in which so powerful an influence as that of the Cinema, reaching as it does all classes and all ages of the community, is exercised throughout the Empire almost wholly by non-British producers is obviously a dangerous one. It is not suggested that foreign films are the medium of intentional anti-British propaganda, or that, except in a very small proportion of cases, they are open to positive objection; the influence exercised is indirect and for that reason more difficult to deal with. It is clearly undesirable that so very large a proportion of the films shown throughout the Empire should present modes of life and forms of conduct which are not typically British, and, so far as setting is concerned, tend to leave on the minds of untutored spectators the impression that there are no British settings, whether scenic or social, which are worth presentation. However, good the foreign films may be in

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themselves, there is still a need for the shewing of more home-produced films; however good foreign education may be, we should still feel that if we sent our children to be educated exclusively in foreign countries they would miss something important in their education.

(4) It is from this point of view that the need for some action directed towards the revival and expansion of the film producing industry in this country has been urged upon His Majesty's Government by those concerned in the development of the Empire and the spread of the ideas of which that Empire is the expression, and also by interests concerned with education, art, literature, and drama. The object aimed at is of importance also, not only because of the amount of employment which the industry affords both in itself and in the other industries, often highly skilled, which are ancillary to it, but also because the technical applications of the cinematograph are as yet only beginning to be realised, and it is highly desirable that the British Empire should take its part in the development of this, as in all other scientific industries.

(5) Whilst the cinematograph can to some extent be used advantageously for direct or indirect official or semi-official propaganda (as has been done for example at the Wembley Exhibition by the Governments of the United Kingdom and other parts of the Empire and more generally by some of the Dominion Governments and occasionally by Government Departments here and industrial undertakings or groups of undertakings), and the possibility of co-operation between the Governments of the Empire in this respect might be explored with advantage, such action does not deal adequately with the position outlined above.

'Interest' films (to use the ordinary trade term)

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of the kinds to which such action has hitherto been restricted are not widely popular with the general public, which objects to instruction as such, and consequently there is no particular inducement to exhibitors to rent them; the average rentals paid for ordinary 'programme' films under the conditions described in 2(c) above, are such that even the offer of 'interest' films at only nominal prices presents small inducement to the 'renters' (the distributing trade) to take them or to exhibitors to show them.

The problem, then, so far as the United Kingdom as a supplier is concerned, is to develop the industry in this country, on a sound economic basis, and this can only be by the production of films which shall be British in character and atmosphere and also be of such entertainment value as will enable them to obtain a remunerative market. The solution of this problem is primarily a task for those directly concerned, but there is room for State action to encourage and facilitate their efforts.

(6) A number of proposals directed towards this end have been under the consideration of His Majesty's Government, and numerous conferences have been held with representatives of the three branches of the trade - the producers, the renters and the exhibitors - and with others interested from the various points of view set out above. A particular proposal which has been specially urged is that there should be obligation upon the renters to take a fixed proportion of British films and that there should be a corresponding obligation upon every exhibitor to show a fixed proportion of British films, such proportion being small at first and gradually increasing. But whilst there is believed to be a desire on the part of the majority of exhibitors, and possibly of renters also, to give a preference to British films, they are necessarily governed

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largely by commercial considerations and must have some security that in the event of a quota system being imposed an adequate supply of British films of suitable quality and 'drawing ' power would in fact be forthcoming, and in the existing state of the industry here such a guarantee is not at present possible.

(7) The President of the Board of Trade accordingly announced in March of this year, that whilst His Majesty's Government would be prepared in the last resort to seek from Parliament power to impose a quota system on either renters or exhibitors or both, as may appear on full consideration to be most effective and equitable, they hoped that all the trade interests concerned would endeavour to reach a voluntary arrangement to co-operate in the production of films in this country, and that if there were indications that such an arrangement could be made they would be willing, in order to give it a fair test, to defer action in respect of a quota for one year from an agreed date. The President of the Board of Trade also announced that if the problem of 'block' booking - as to the objectionable character of which representations have been made by all branches of the trade - cannot be dealt with effectively by agreement within the trade itself His Majesty's Government would be prepared to introduce legislation at an early date.

In the statements made from time to time on this subject the President of the Board of Trade has emphasised the fact that the growing feeling in the United Kingdom and any measures contemplated by His Majesty's Government are not inspired by any hostility to United States interests but solely by the larger considerations set out above; and that His Majesty's Government would welcome any action which American producers may take, by the production of films in this country or by co-operation with producers here or in any other way, to assist in the development of the industry in this country.

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(8) It is not yet possible to indicate the effect of the wide-spread public discussion of the position of the United Kingdom film industry or of the official pronouncements as to the Government's attitude. By the time that the Imperial Conference meets, however, it will be possible for the position to be fully reviewed, and it is suggested that the whole subject is one which then might be usefully considered at the Conference.

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COPY NO. 2

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

BRUSSELS MARITIME LAW CONVENTIONS.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

2nd June, 1926.

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DRAFT MEMORANDUM FOR CIRCULATION TO OVERSEA GOVERNMENTS.

P.C.Mem.23 B.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

BRUSSELS MARITIME LAW CONVENTIONS.

Draft Conventions dealing with the following subjects have been adopted by diplomatic Conferences at Brussels and are now open for signature. :- (1) Bills of lading, (2) the Limitation of shipowners' liability, (3) Maritime mortgages and liens and (4) the Immunity of state-owned ships. Copies of the English versions of the four draft conventions are attached, (Appendices I, II, III and IV)* Notes on each of these draft conventions follow :-

(1) Bills of Lading. This matter was discussed at the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 and the following resolution was adopted.

> "This Imperial Economic Conference having examined the Rules relating to Bills of Lading recommended by the International Conference on Maritime Law held at Brussels in October, 1922, and embodied in the Carriage of Goods by Sea Bill now before the British Parliament, is of opinion that in all essential principles they are based upon the Canadian Water Carriage of Goods Act, 1910, and the Report of the Imperial Shipping Committee, 1921, and believing that there is a good prospect of international agreement in regard to Bills of Lading on this basis which would be of benefit to every part of the Empire, considers that these Rules can be recommended for adoption by the Governments and Parliaments of the Empire".

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* All the texts attached except that of the Bills of Lading Convention, are subject to minor revisions of drafting.

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A Carriage of Goods by Sea Bill in the form referred to in the above resolution, with minor amendments of a drafting nature, became law in Great Britain and Northern Ireland in the Carriage of Goods by Sea Act, 1924. This Act puts into operation the Bills of Lading Convention as finally adopted at Brussels in October, 1923. A protocol of signature for this Convention was opened for one year from November, 1924, and was signed by the Governments of the following eleven Countries:- Belgium, Dantzig, France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, Roumania, Spain and the United States. At another Conference held in April, 1926, it was decided to reopen the protocol of signature of this Convention to enable other Countries which had not signed the Convention to do so.

H.M. Government have given effect to the resolution of the last Imperial Economic Conference as also have the Governments of the Commonwealth of Australia and India, Barbados, the Leeward Islands, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Gibraltar, Zanzibar, Bermuda and Sierra Leone. Bills for the same purpose are receiving consideration in the Union of South Africa, Seychelles, Somaliland and the Malay States, and it is understood that tho possibility of adopting legislation is being considered by the Government of Canada and New Zealand and of a number of Colonies.

The problem which the Bills of Lading Convention was designed to meet was primarily a British one. Uniformity in the law throughout the Empire has been recommended by the Imperial Conference and as a wide measure of international uniformity in the matter may be anticipated with confidence, it is suggested that those Overseas Dominions which have not so far done so should now consider whether they can give early effect

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to the resolution of the last Conference.

(2) Limitation of Shipowners' Liability. A draft convention on this subject adopted at the Brussels Conferences of 1922 and 1923 has been signed by the Governments of the following 13 Countries :-

Argentine, Belgium, Brazil, Dantzig, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Poland, Roumania and Spain. This Convention is a compromise between the law in operation throughout the Empire and the law of the principal continental countries (with which the law of the United States of America largely corresponds). The matter has been under consideration at a number of Conferences since 1908 and the differences of opinion between the States which have participated in the Conferences have been reduced to a minimum. It is unlikely that further international discussion would lead to a more satisfactory solution.

At present under the law (contained in Part VIII of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894) operating throughout the Empire the maximum liability of the shipowner in respect of loss of life, personal injury and damage to cargo, etc., is an amount equal to £15 a ton of the ship's tonnage. Damage to cargo, etc. ranks only against an amount equal to £8 a ton, and loss of life or personal injury ranks firstly against the remaining £7 a ton and then rateably with other damage against the £8 a ton. Under continental law the shipowner has the "right of abandonment", i.e. the right to free himself from liability, whether there is loss of life or not, by abandoning his ship or the wreck to his creditors.

The draft Convention adopts generally the British provision of an additional fund to compensate for loss of life or personal injury, and fixes the maximum amount of this at £8 a ton of the ship's tonnage. As regards the original fund, against which rank both damage to cargo, etc.,

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and loss of life and personal injury (so far as not satisfied out of the additional fund), the continental system is largely followed, the amount being fixed at the value of the ship on arrival at the first port reached after the accident, plus a sum in respect of freight, plus accessories of the vessel and the freight, with a maximum of £8 a ton.

The object of the Convention is solely to secure uniformity internationally in this important branch of maritime law, so that all interested in shipping business, including shipowners, shippers, underwriters, bankers and others interested in the ship her cargo and passengers, may have reasonable assurance as to the extent of their rights and liabilities no matter where the ship may be.

The Convention, which has been signed on behalf of H.M. Government, seems to represent a fair compromise and there is every reason to think that it will secure a wide measure of international acceptance.

The matter is submitted for the Imperial Conference to consider whether legislation should be adopted in the various parts of the Empire to give effect to the provisions of the Convention.

(3) Maritime Mortgages and Liens. The laws in operation in the different countries in the World with regard to mortgages on ships and the liens which attach to ships are widely different, and the differences often have serious consequences for those who lend money on the security of ships and for those who have claims against ships for services rendered or for damage done. In some countries, mortgages which are registered and held to be valid in the country where the ship is owned and registered have been held not to be valid mortgages and the mortgagees have thereby been dispossessed of their rights. In some

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countries the number of kinds of claim giving rise to liens is very large and in others, such as the countries of the British Empire, the number is severely limited.

The chief disadvantages of this lack of uniformity are (1) that the value of the ship as an object of credit is greatly impaired, because of the risk of inability of a mortgagee to exercise his rights in a foreign port, (2) that unknown claims may be held by reason of liens to take priority to the mortgage in a foreign port and (3) that a lien holder in one country does not know the standing of his lien, if any, in another country.

The draft Convention seeks to get rid of these disadvantages by providing that mortgages duly registered in the country to which the ship belongs shall be recognised and treated as valid in all the other contracting countries, and also that a limited number of liens, as specified in the Convention, shall alone take precedence to the mortgage. The ranking of these liens is also set out.

The draft Convention which is attached was given its final form at the meeting of the Diplomatic Conference held at Brussels in April last It was signed by all the delegates present, some with plenipotentiary powers, others, including the British delegates, ad referendum.

H.M. Government, recognising the desirability of international uniformity in this matter, are now considering the Convention in detail, and they suggest that it might also be examined by the other countries of the Empire, with a view to discussing at the Imperial Conference the question of its general adoption.

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Immunity of State-owned Ships.

There is a strong desire on the part of shipowners, shippers and others interested in shipping to have an international convention which will enable claimants against State owned or operated ships to have their claims heard before Courts of Law as a matter of right, instead of having to rely on Governments meeting their just claims for payment as a matter of grace or in some cases on their sanctioning the hearing of certain kinds of claims before a Court of Law. The principal reason those interests urge for the surrender of immunity in the case of State owned trading ships is that these ships ought to be placed in the same position as their private competitors and not to be able to use immunity from legal process to obtain a competitive advantage. In the case of Warships and other non-trading public vessels these interests urge that all just claims for payment should in all States be capable of being heard by the Courts of the State owning the ship and should not be left either unsettled or to be settled by ex gratia payments, or to be brought before a Court only by permission of the Government.

It will be recalled that the question was raised at the Imperial Economic Conference in 1923, and a resolution was adopted which appears on pages 23-24 of the Report of the Conference (Cmd.2009). The question was considered at a meeting of the International Maritime Committee at Genoa in September 1925 and has more recently (April 1925) been considered by a Diplomatic Conference at Brussels at which revised proposals for an International Convention were drawn up. The present position is as follows :-

H.M. Government are prepared to go a long way to meet the desire of shipowners, shippers and others to have an International Convention on the lines indicated above.

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They have no objection to the principle that claims against State owned or operated trading ships should be able to be brought before British or foreign Courts as a matter of right in times of peace, but in the case of warships and other non-trading vessels they are only prepared to concede the right to bring certain claims, and these only before the Courts of the State owning or operating such ships. They also require a stipulation that no State owned ship which is not employed in commercial service shall be subject to seizure arrest or detention in a foreign port, and that no State owned or operated ships shall be subject to arrest or detention by a foreign Court of Justice when the State owning or operating the ships is a belligerent.

A copy of the draft International Convention referred to above is annexed. It was signed ad referendum last April at the Diplomatic Conference at Brussels, and is now being examined to ascertain whether it can be accepted by this country. A statement will be made on behalf of H.M. Government at the Imperial Conference.

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Appendix I.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE UNIFICATION OF CERTAIN RULES RELATING TO BILLS OF LADING.

ARTICLE I.

In this convention the following words are employed with the meanings set out below:

(a) "Carrier" includes the owner or the charterer who enters into a contract of carriage with a shipper;

(b) "Contract of carriage" applies only to contracts of carriage covered by a bill of lading or any similar document of title, in so far as such document relates to the carriage of goods by sea, including any bill of lading or any similar document as aforesaid issued under or pursuant to a charter party from the moment at which such bill of lading or similar document of title regulates the relations between a carrier and a holder of the same;

(c) "Goods" includes goods, wares, merchandises, and articles of every kind whatsoever except live animals and cargo which by the contract of carriage is stated as being carried on deck and is so carried;

(d) "Ship" means any vessel used for the carriage of goods by sea;

(e) "Carriage of Goods" covers the period from the time when the goods are loaded on to the time they are discharged from the ship.

ARTICLE 2.

Subject to the provisions of Article 6, under every contract of carriage of goods by sea the carrier, in relation to the loading, handling, stowage, carriage, custody, care and discharge of such goods shall be subject to the responsibilities and liabilities, and entitled to the rights and immunities hereinafter set forth.

ARTICLE 3.

(1) The carrier shall be bound before and at the beginning of the voyage to exercise due diligence to

(a) make the ship seaworthy;
(b) Properly man, equip and supply the ship;
(c) make the holds, refrigerating and cool chambers, and all other parts of the ship in which goods are carried, fit and safe for their reception, carriage, and preservation.

(2) Subject to the provisions of Article 4 the carrier shall properly and carefully load, handle, stow, carry, keep, care for, and discharge the goods carried.

(3) After receiving the goods into his charge the carrier or the master or agent of the carrier shall, on demand of the shipper, issue to the shipper a bill of lading showing among other things:

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(a) the leading marks necessary for identification of the goods as the same are furnished in writing by the shipper before the loading of such goods starts, provided such marks are stamped or otherwise shown clearly upon the goods if uncovered, or on the cases or coverings in which such goods are conlained, in such a manner as should ordinarily remain legible until the end of the voyage:

(b) either the number of packages or pieces, or the quantity, or weight, as the case may be, as furnished in writing by the shipper;

(c) the apparent order and condition of the goods.

Provided that no carrier, master or agent of the carrier shall be bound to state or show in the bill of lading any marks, number, quantity, or weight which he has reasonable ground for suspecting not accurately to represent the goods actually received, or which he has had no reasonable means of checking.

(4) Such a bill of lading shall be prima facie evidence of the receipt by the carrier of the goods as therein described in accordance with paragraph 3 (a), (b) and (c).

(5) The shipper shall be deemed to have guaranteed to the carrier the accuracy at the time of shipment of the marks, number, quantity and weight, as furnished by him, and the shipper shall indemnify the carrier against all loss, damages and expenses arising or resulting from inaccuracies in such particulars. The right of the carrier to such indemnity shall in no way limit his responsibility and liability under the contract of carriage to any person other than the shipper.

(6) Unless notice of loss or damage and the general nature of such loss or damage be given in writing to the carrier or his agent at the port of discharge before or at the time of the removal of the goods into the custody of the person entitled to delivery thereof under the contract of carriage, or, if the loss or damage be not apparent, within three days, such removal shall be prima facie evidence of the delivery by the carrier of the goods as described in the bill of lading.

The notice in writing need not be given if the state of the goods has, at the time of their receipt, been the subject of joint survey or inspection.

In any event the carrier and the ship shall be discharged from all liability in respect of loss or damage unless suit is brought within one year after delivery of the goods or the date when the goods should have been delivered.

In the case of any actual or apprehended loss or damage the carrier and the receiver shall give all reasonable facilities to each other for inspecting and tallying the goods.

(7) After the goods are loaded the bill of lading to be issued by the carrier, master, or agent of the carrier, to the shipper shall, if the shipper so demands, be a

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(a) the leading marks necessary for identification of the goods as the same are furnished in writing by the shipper before the loading of such goods starts, provided such marks are stamped or otherwise shown clearly upon the goods if uncovered, or on the cases or coverings in which such goods are contained, in such a manner as should ordinarily remain legible until the end of the voyage:

(b) either the number of packages or pieces, or the quantity, or weight, as the case may be, as furnished in writing by the shipper;

(c) the apparent order and condition of the goods.

Provided that no carrier, master or agent of the carrier shall be bound to state or show in the bill of lading any marks, number, quantity, or weight which he has reasonable ground for suspecting not accurately to represent the goods actually received, or which he has had no reasonable means of checking.

(4) Such a bill of lading shall be prima facie evidence of the receipt by the carrier of the goods as therein described in accordance with paragraph 3 (a), (b) and (c).

(5) The shipper shall be deemed to have guaranteed to the carrier the accuracy at the time of shipment of the marks, number, quantity and weight, as furnished by him, and the shipper shall indemnify the carrier against all loss, damages and expenses arising or resulting from inaccuracies in such particulars. The right of the carrier to such indemnity shall in no way limit his responsibility and liability under the contract of carriage to any person other than the shipper.

(6) Unless notice of loss or damage and the general nature of such loss or damage be given in writing to the carrier or his agent at the port of discharge before or at the time of the removal of the goods into the custody of the person entitled to delivery thereof under the contract of carriage, or, if the loss or damage be not apparent, within three days, such removal shall be prima facie evidence of the delivery by the carrier of the goods as described in the bill of lading.

The notice in writing need not be given if the state of the goods has, at the time of their receipt, been the subject of joint survey or inspection.

In any event the carrier and the ship shall be discharged from all liability in respect of loss or damage unless suit is brought within one year after delivery of the goods or the date when the goods should have been delivered.

In the case of any actual or apprehended loss or damage the carrier and the receiver shall give all reasonable facilities to each other for inspecting and tallying the goods.

(7) After the goods are loaded the bill of lading to be issued by the carrier, master, or agent of the carrier, to the shipper shall, if the shipper so demands, be a

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"shipped" bill-of-lading, provided that if the shipper shall have previously taken up any document of title to such goods, he shall surrender the same as against the issue of the "shipped" bill of lading, but at the option of the carrier such document of title may be noted at the port of shipment by the carrier, master or agent with the name or names of the ship or ships upon which the goods have been shipped and the date or dates of shipment, and when so noted, if it shows the particulars mentioned in paragraph 3 of Article 3, shall for the purpose of this article be deemed to constitute a "shipped" bill of lading.

(8) Any clause, covenant, or agreement in a contract of carriage relieving the carrier or the ship from liability for loss or damage to, or in connection with, goods arising from negligence, fault, or failure in the duties and obligations provided in this article or lessening such liability otherwise than as provided in this convention, shall be null and void and of no effect. A benefit of insurance in favour of the carrier or similar clause shall be deemed to be a clause relieving the carrier from liability.

ARTICLE 4.

(1) Neither the carrier nor the ship shall be liable for loss or damage arising or resulting from unseaworthiness unless caused by want of due dilligence on the part of the carrier to make the ship seaworthy, and to secure that the ship is properly manned, equipped and supplied, and to make the holds, refrigerating, and cool chambers and all other parts of the ship in which goods are carried, fit and safe for their reception, carriage and preservation in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article 3. Whenever loss or damage has resulted from unseaworthiness the burden of proving the exercise of due diligence shall be on the carrier or other person claiming exemption under this article.

(2) Neither the carrier nor the ship shall be responsible for loss or damage arising or resulting from:

(a) Act, neglect, or default of the master, mariner, pilot, or the servants of the carrier in the navigation or in the management of the ship.

(b) Fire, unless caused by the actual fault or privity of the carrier.

(c) Perils, dangers and accidents of the sea or other navigable waters.

(d) Act of God.

(e) Act of war.

(f) Act of public enemies.

(g) Arrest or restraint of princes, rulers or people, or seizure under legal process.

(h) Quarantine restrictions.

(i) Act or omission of the shipper or owner of the goods, his agent or representative.

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(j) Strikes or lockouts or stoppage or restraint of labour from whatever cause, whether partial or general.

(k) Riots and civil commotions.

(l) Saving or attempting to save life or property at sea.

(m) Wastage in bulk or weight or any other loss or damage arising from inherent defect, quality or vice of the goods.

(n) Insufficiency of packing.

(o) Insufficiency or inadequacy of marks.

(p) Latent defects not discoverable by due diligence.

(q) Any other cause arising without the actual fault or privity of the carrier, or without the fault or neglect of the agents or servants of the carrier, but the burden of proof shall be on the person claiming the benefit of this exception to show that neither the actual fault or privity of the carrier nor the fault or neglect of the agents or servants of the carrier contributed to the loss or damage.

(3) The shipper shall not be responsible for loss or damage sustained by the carrier or the ship arising or resulting from any cause without the act, fault or neglect of the shipper, his agents or his servants.

(4) Any deviation in saving or attempting to save life or property at sea, or any reasonable deviation shall not be deemed to be an infringement or breach of this convention or of the contract of carriage, and the carrier shall not be liable for any loss or damage resulting therefrom.

(5) Neither the carrier nor the ship shall in any event be or become liable for any loss or damage to or in connection with goods in an amount exceeding £100 per package or unit, or the equivalent of that sum in other currency unless the nature and value of such goods have been declared by the shipper before shipment and inserted in the bill of lading.

This declaration if embodied in the bill of lading shall be prima facie evidence, but shall not be binding or conclusive on the carrier.

By agreement between the carrier, master or agent of the carrier and the shipper another maximum amount than that mentioned in this paragraph may be fixed, provided that such maximum shall not be less than the figure above named.

Neither the carrier nor the ship shall be responsible in any event for loss or damage to, or in connection with, goods if the nature or value thereof has been knowingly mis-stated by the shipper in the bill of lading.

(6) Goods of an inflammable, explosive or dangerous nature to the shipment whereof the carrier, master or agent of the carrier has not consented with knowledge of

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their nature and character, may at any time before discharge be landed at any place, or destroyed or rendered innocuous by the carrier without compensation and the shipper of such goods shall be liable for all damages and expenses directly or indirectly arising out of or resulting from such shipment. If any such goods shipped with such knowledge and consent shall become a danger to the ship or cargo, they may in like manner be landed at any place, or destroyed or rendered innocuous by the carrier without liability on the part of the carrier except to general average, if any.

ARTICLE 5.

A carrier shall be at liberty to surrender in whole or in part all or any of his rights and immunities or to increase any of his responsibilities and obligations under this convention provided such surrender or increase shall be embodied in the Bill of Lading issued to the shipper. The provisions of this convention shall not be applicable to charter parties, but if bills of lading are issued in the case of a ship under a charter party they shall comply with the terms of this convention. Nothing in these rules shall be held to prevent the insertion in a bill of lading of any lawful provision regarding general average.

ARTICLE 6.

Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding articles, a carrier master or agent of the carrier and a shipper shall in regard to any particular goods be at liberty to enter into any agreement in any terms as to the responsibility and liability of the carrier for such goods, and as to the rights and immunities of the carrier in respect of such goods, or his obligation as to seaworthiness, so far as this stipulation is not contrary to public policy, or the care or diligence of his servants or agents in regard to the loading, handling, stowage, carriage, custody, care and discharge of the goods carried by sea, provided that in this case no bill of lading has been or shall be issued and that the terms agreed shall be embodied in a receipt which shall be a non-negotiable document and shall be marked as such.

Any agreement so entered into shall have full legal effect.

Provided that this article shall not apply to ordinary commercial shipments made in the ordinary course of trade, but only to other shipments where the character or condition of the property to be carried or the circumstances, terms and conditions under which the carriage is to be performed are such as reasonably to justify a special agreement.

ARTICLE 7.

Nothing herein contained shall prevent a carrier or a shipper from entering into any agreement, stipulation, condition, reservation or exemption as to the responsibility and liability of the carrier or the ship for the loss or damage to, or in connection with, the custody and care and handling of goods prior to the loading on, and subsequent to, the discharge from the ship on which the goods are carried by sea.

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ARTICLE 8.

The provisions of this convention shall not affect the rights and obligations of the carrier under any statute for the time being in force relating to the limitation of the liability of owners of sea-going vessels.

ARTICLE 9.

The monetary units mentioned in this convention are to be taken to be gold value.

Those contracting states in which the pound sterling is not a monetary unit reserve to themselves the right of translating the sums indicated in this convention in terms of pound sterling into terms of their own monetary system in round figures.

The national laws may reserve to the debtor the right of discharging his debt in national currency according to the rate of exchange prevailing on the day of the arrival of the ship at the port of discharge of the goods concerned.

ARTICLE 10.

The provisions of this convention shall apply to all bills of lading issued in any of the contracting states.

ARTICLE 11.

After an interval of not more than two years from the day on which the convention is signed, the Belgian Government shall place itself in communication with the governments of the high contracting parties which have declared themselves prepared to ratify the convention with a view to deciding whether it shall be put into force. The ratifications shall be deposited at Brussels at a date to be fixed by agreement among the said governments. The first deposit of ratifications shall be recorded in a procés-verbal signed by the representatives of the powers which take part therein and by the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The subsequent deposit of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification, addressed to the Belgian Government and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the procés-verbal relating to the first deposit of ratifications, of the notifications referred to in the previous paragraph, and also of the instruments of ratification accompanying them, shall be immediately sent by the Belgian Government through the diplomatic channel, to the powers who have signed this convention or who have acceded to it. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 12.

Non-signatory states may accede to the present convention whether or not they have been represented at the International Conference at Brussels.

A state which desires to accede shall notify its intention in writing to the Belgian Government, forwarding to it the document of accession, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

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The Belgian Government shall immediately forward to all the states which have signed or acceded to the convention a duly certified copy of the notification and of the act of accession, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 13.

The high contracting parties may at the time of signature, ratification or accession, declare that their acceptance of the present convention does not include any or all of the self-governing dominions, or of the colonies, overseas possessions, protectorates or territories under their sovereignty or authority, and they may subsequently accede separately on behalf of any self-governing dominion, colony, overseas possession, protectorate or territory excluded in their declaration. They may also denounce the convention separately in accordance with its provisions in respect of any self-governing dominion, or any colony, overseas possession, protectorate or territory under their sovereignty or authority.

ARTICLE 14.

The present convention shall take effect, in the case of the states which have taken part in the first deposit of ratifications one year after the date of the protocol recording such deposit. As respects the states which ratify subsequently or which accede, and also in cases in which the convention is subsequently put into effect in accordance with Article 13, it shall take effect six months after the notifications specified in paragraph 2 of Article 11 and paragraph 2 of Article 12 have been received by the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 15.

In the event of one of the contracting states wishing to denounce the present convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Belgian Government, which shall immediately communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other states informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only operate in respect of the state which made the notification, and on the expiry of one year after the notification has reached the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 16.

Any one of the contracting states shall have the right to call for a fresh conference with a view to considering possible amendments.

A state which would exercise this right shall notify its intention to the other states through the Belgian Government, which would make arrangements for convening the conference.

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ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE UNIFICATION OF CERTAIN RULES RELATING TO BILLS OF LADING.

The High Contracting Parties may give effect to this convention either by giving it the force of law or by including in their national legislation in a form appropriate to that legislation, the Rules adopted under this convention.

They may reserve the right:

(1) to prescribe that in the cases referred to in paragraph 2 (c) to (p) of Article 4 the holder of a bill of lading shall be entitled to establish responsibility for loss or damage arising from the personal fault of the carrier or the fault of his servants which are not covered by paragraph (a);

(2) to apply Article 6 in so far as the national coasting trade is concerned to all classes of goods without taking account of the restriction set out in the last paragraph of that article.

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Appendix II.

BRUSSELS INTERNATIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE, 1926.

I. - International Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules of Law relating to the Limitation of the Liability of Owners of Sea-going Vessels.

Article 1.

The liability of the owner of a sea-going vessel shall be limited to an amount equal to the value of the vessel, together with the freight and the accessories of the vessel, in respect of -

(1) Compensation due to any person by reason of damage caused, whether on land or on water, by the Act or default of the master, crew, pilot, or any other person in the service of the vessel;

(2) Compensation due by reason of damage caused either to cargo delivered to the master to be transported, or to any goods or property on board;

(3) Obligations under bills of lading;

(4) Damages for breach of contract by reason of negligence in the navigation or management of the vessel;

(5) Obligations or liabilities connected with the removal of the wreck of a sunken vessel;

(6) Remuneration for salvage;

(7) Contributions of the shipowner in general average;

(8) Obligations arising out of contracts entered into or transactions carried out by the master, acting within the scope of his authority, away from the vessel's home port, where such contracts or transactions are necessary for the preservation of the vessel or the continuation of the voyage, provided that the necessity is not caused by any insufficiency or deficiency of equipment or stores at the beginning of the voyage.

As regards the cases mentioned in Nos. (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5), the liability referred to in the preceding provisions shall not exceed an aggregate sum equal to £8 per ton of the vessel's tonnage.*

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* The protocol contains a declaration that "the High Contracting Parties reserve the right of not allowing liability to be limited to the value of the vessel, accessories and freight in respect of damage caused to works in ports, docks, and navigable waterways, or in respect of the cost of removing wreck, or to ratify on these points only on condition of reciprocity.
"It is understood, however, that the limit of liability in such cases shall not exceed £8 per ton, except in the case of the expenses of removing wreck".

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Article 2.

The limitation of liability laid down in the foregoing articles does not apply -

(1) unless the liability arises without the actual fault or privity of the owner;

(2) to any of the obligations referred to in Article 1 (8), when the owner has expressly authorised or ratified the act of the master;

(3) to obligations of the owner arising under the contract of service of the crew and other persons in the service of the vessel.

Where the owner or a part owner of the vessel is at the same time master, he cannot claim limitation of liability for his faults, other than his faults of navigation and management and the faults of persons in the service of the vessel.

Article 3.

An owner who avails himself of the limitation of his liability to the value of the vessel, freight and accessories of the vessel must prove that value. The valuation of the vessel shall be based upon her condition as at the times hereinafter set out:-

(1) In case of collision or other accidents, as regards all claims connected therewith, including contractual claims, which have originated up to the time of arrival of the vessel at the first port after the accident, and also as regards claims in general average arising out of the accident, the valuation shall be according to the condition of the vessel at the time of her arrival at that first port.

If before that time a fresh accident, distinct from the first accident, has reduced the value of the vessel, any diminution of value so caused shall not be taken into account in considering claims connected with the previous accident.

For accidents occurring during the stay of a vessel in port, the valuation shall be according to the condition of the vessel at that port after the accident.

(2) In respect of claims relating to the cargo, or arising on a bill of lading, not being claims provided for in the preceding paragraphs, the valuation shall be according to the condition of the vessel at the port of destination of the cargo, or at the place where the voyage is abandoned.

If the cargo is consigned to more than one port, and the damage arises out of one and the same cause, the valuation shall be according to the condition of the vessel at the first of those ports, at which the vessel arrives.

(3) In all the other cases referred to in Article 1, the valuation shall be according to the condition of the vessel at the end of the voyage.

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Article 4.

For the freight referred to in Article 1 (which expression includes passage money), there shall in all cases and for all kinds of vessels whatsoever be substituted a payment in lieu thereof of a fixed sum equal to 10 per cent of the value of the vessel at the beginning of the voyage, even although the vessel earns no freight.

Article 5.

The accessories referred to in Article 1 mean:-

(1) Compensation for material damage sustained by the vessel since the beginning of the voyage, and not repaired;

(2) General average contributions in respect of material damage sustained by the vessel since the beginning of the voyage, and not repaired.

Payments on policies of insurance, as well as bounties, subventions and other national subsidies, are not deemed to be accessories.

Article 6.

Different claims arising out of the same accident or in respect of which, if there is no accident, the value of a vessel is ascertained at the same port, rank against the amount representing the extent of the owner's liability according to the order of their liens.

In any proceedings with respect to the distribution of this sum decisions given by the competent courts of other Contracting States will be admissible as evidence of the amount at which the claim may be admitted.

Article 7.

Where death or personal injury is caused by the act or default of the captain, crew, pilot or any other person in the service of the vessel, the owner of the vessel is liable to the victims or their representatives up to an amount equal to £8 per ton of the vessel's tonnage, over and above the limit of liability provided for in the preceding Articles. The victims of the same accident and their representatives rank equally against the sum constituting the limit of liability.

If the victims or their representatives are not fully compensated by this amount, they rank, as regards the balance of their claims, with the other claimants against the amounts mentioned in the preceding Articles, regard being had to the order of liens.

The provisions of this Article, whilst applying to passengers on the carrying vessel, do not apply to the crew or other persons in the service of that vessel, whose right of action in the case of death or personal injury remains governed by the national law of the vessel.*

* The protocol contains a declaration that "the High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves the right of deciding that the owner of a vessel not used for carrying passengers and not exceeding 300 tons is responsible for damage due to death or personal injury in accordance with the general terms of the convention, but without the necessity of applying to this liability the provisions of the first paragraph of this Article".

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Article 8.

Where a vessel is arrested and bail is given for an amount equal to the full limit of liability, it shall be available for the benefit of all creditors whose claims are covered by that limit.

Where the vessel is subsequently again arrested, the court may order its release, if the owner, while submitting to the jurisdiction of the court, proves that he has already given bail for an amount equal to the full limit of his liability, that the bail so given is satisfactory, and that the creditor is assured of receiving the benefit thereof.

If the bail originally given is for an amount smaller than the full limit of liability, or if bail is required on several successive occasions, questions arising thereon will be determined by agreement between the parties or by the court, so as to ensure that the limit of liability be not exceeded.

If different creditors take proceedings in the courts of different States, the owner may, before each court, require account to be taken of the whole of the claims and debts, so as to ensure that the limit of liability be not exceeded.

National laws shall determine questions of procedure and time limits for the purpose of applying the preceding rules.

Article 9.

In the event of any action or proceeding being taken on one of the grounds enumerated in Article 1, the court may, on the application of the owner of the vessel, order that execution shall not be levied on the goods of the owner other than the vessel, her freight and accessories, for a period sufficient to allow him to realise the vessel and to effect a distribution of the proceeds amongst the creditors.

Article 10.

Where a time charterer or other person not being the owner of the vessel incurs liability under one of the heads enumerated in Article 1, he is entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this Convention.

Article 11.

For the purposes of the provisions of the present Convention, "tonnage" is calculated as follows:-

In the case of steamships and other mechanically propelled vessels, net tonnage, with the addition of the amount deducted from the gross tonnage on account of engine-room space for the purpose of ascertaining the net tonnage.

In the case of sailing vessels, net tonnage.

Article 12.

The provisions of this Convention shall be applied in each Contracting State in cases in which the vessel in respect

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of which limitation of liability is claimed belongs to a Contracting State, as well as in any other cases provided for by the national laws.

Nevertheless the principle formulated in the preceding paragraph does not affect the right of the Contracting State not to apply the provisions of this Convention in favour of the subjects or citizens of a Non-Contracting State.

Article 13.

This Convention does not apply to vessels of war, nor to Government vessels appropriated exclusively to the public service.

Article 14.

Nothing in the foregoing provisions shall be deemed to affect in any way the competence of tribunals, modes of procedure, or methods of execution authorised by the national laws.

Article 15.

The monetary units mentioned in this Convention mean their gold value.

Those Contracting States in which the pound sterling is not a monetary unit reserve to themselves the right of translating the sums indicated in this Convention in terms of pound sterling into terms of their own monetary system in round figures.

The national laws may reserve to the debtor the right of discharging his debt in national currency according to the rate of exchange prevailing at the dates fixed in Article 3.

Article 16.

After an interval of not more than two years from the day on which the Convention is signed, the Belgian Government shall place itself in communication with the Governments of the High Contracting Parties which have declared themselves prepared to ratify the Convention, with a view to deciding whether it shall be put into force. The ratifications shall be deposited at Brussels at a date to be fixed by agreement among the said Governments. The first deposit of ratifications shall be recorded in a procés-verbal signed by the representatives of the Powers which take part therein and by the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The subsequent deposit of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification, addressed to the Belgian Government, and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the procés-verbal relating to the first deposit of ratifications, of the notifications referred to in the previous paragraph, and also of the instrument of ratification accompanying them, shall be immediately sent by the Belgian Government, through the diplomatic channel, to the Powers who have signed this Convention, or who have acceded to it. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date on which it received the notification.

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Article 17.

Non-signatory States may accede to the present Convention whether or not they have been represented at the International Conference at Brussels.

A State which desires to accede shall notify its intention in writing to the Belgian Government, forwarding to it the document of accession, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

The Belgian Government shall immediately forward to all the States which have signed or acceded to the Convention a duly certified copy of the notification and of the act of accession, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

Article 18.

The High Contracting Parties may at the time of signature, ratification or accession, declare that their acceptance of the present Convention does not include any or all of the Self-Governing Dominions, or of the Colonies, Overseas Possessions, Protectorates or Territories under their sovereignty or suthority, and they may subsequently accede separately on behalf of any Self-Governing Dominion, Colony, Overseas Possession, Protectorate or Territory, excluded in their declaration. They may also denounce the Convention separately in accordance with its provisions in respect of any Self-Governing Dominion, or any Colony, Overseas Possession, Protectorate or Territory under their sovereignty or authority.

Article 19.

The present Convention shall take effect, in the case of the States which have taken part in the first deposit of ratifications, one year after the date of the protocol recording such deposit. As respects the States which ratify subsequently, or which accede, and also in cases in which the Convention is subsequently put into effect in accordance with Article 18, it shall take effect six months after the notifications specified in paragraph 2 of Article 16 and paragraph 2 of Article 17 have been received by the Belgian Government.

Article 20.

In the event of one of the Contracting States wishing to denounce the present Convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Belgian Government, which shall immediately communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other States informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only operate in respect of the State which made the notification, and on the expiry of one year after the notification has reached the Belgian Government.

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Article 20.

Any one of the Contracting States shall have the right to call for a fresh conference with a view to considering possible amendments.

A state which would exercise this right should notify its intention to the other States through the Belgian Government, which would make arrangements for convening the conference.

Additional Article.

The provisions of Article 5 of the Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules relating to Collisions of the 23rd September, 1910, the operation of which was suspended by the additional Article to that convention, become operative as regards the States bound by this Convention.

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Appendix III.

BRUSSELS INTERNATIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE, 1926.

II. INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE UNIFICATION OF CERTAIN RULES OF LAW RELATING TO MARITIME MORTGAGES AND LIENS.

ARTICLE 1.

MORTGAGES, hypothecations and other similar charges upon vessels, duly effected in accordance with the law of the Contracting State to which the vessel belongs, and registered in a public register either at the port of the vessel's registry or at a central office, shall be recognised and treated as valid in all the other contracting countries.

ARTICLE 2.

Maritime liens attach to a vessel, to the freight for the voyage during which the secured claim arises, and to the accessories of the vessel and freight accrued since the commencement of the voyage, in respect of the following:-

(1) Law costs and fees due to the State and other expenses incurred in the common interest of the creditors in order to preserve the vessel or to procure her sale and the distribution of the proceeds of sale; tonnage dues, light, dock and harbour dues, and other public rates and charges of the same character; charges for pilotage, and charges for watching and preserving the vessel from the time of her entry into the last port;[x]

(2) Claims under the contract of service of the master, crew, or other persons serving on board the vessel;

(3) Remuneration for salvage, and the contribution of the vessel in general average;

(4) Claims due for collision or other accidents of navigation, and for damage caused to works in or about harbours, docks and navigable waterways; for personal injury to passengers or crew and for loss of or damage to cargo or passengers' baggage.

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xThe protocol contains a declaration to the effect that "The High Contracting Parties reserve the right for each State by legislation or otherwise (1) to establish among the claims mentioned in paragraph (1) of Article 2 a definite order of priority, with a view to safeguarding the interests of the Treasury; (2) to give to the authorities administering harbours, docks, lighthouses and navigable waterways, which have caused to be removed any wreck or other obstruction to navigation, or who are creditors in respect of dock or harbour dues, or for damage caused by the fault of a vessel, the right, in case of non-payment, to detain the ship, wreck or other property, to sell the same, and to indemnify themselves out of the proceeds in priority to other creditors; and (3) to make provision as to the order of priority of claims for damage done to harbours, docks, piers, and similar works otherwise than in accordance with Articles 5 and 6."

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(5) Claims resulting from contracts entered into or transactions carried out by the master, acting within the scope of his authority, away from the vessel's home port, where such contracts or transactions are necessary for the preservation of the vessel or the continuation of her voyage, whether the master is or is not at the same time owner of the vessel, and whether the claim is his own or that of ship suppliers, repairers, lenders or other contractual creditors. x

ARTICLE 3.

The mortgages, hypothecations and other charges on vessels referred to in Article 1 rank immediately after the liens mentioned in the preceding Article.

National laws may grant a lien in respect of claims other than those specified in the preceding Article; but no modification may be made in the priority conferred on mortgages, hypothecations or other charges, nor of the liens which take precedence thereof in the priorities.

ARTICLE 4.

The accessories of the vessel and freight, mentioned in Article 2, mean:-

(1) Compensation due to the owner for material damage sustained by the vessel and not repaired, or for loss of freight;

(2) General average contributions due to the owner, in respect of material damage sustained by the vessel and not repaired, or in respect of loss of freight;

(3) Remuneration due to the owner for salvage services rendered at any time before the end of the voyage, not including any sums allotted or apportioned to the master or other persons in the service of the vessel.

Freight shall be deemed to include passage money. In cases where liability is limited pursuant to the provisions of the Convention on the Limitation of Shipowners' Liability the fixed sum of 10 per cent. on the value of the vessel at the beginning of the voyage provided for by Article 4 of that Convention shall be substituted for freight for the purposes of this Convention.

Payments made or due to the owner on policies of insurance, as well as bounties, subventions, and other national subsidies, are not included as accessories of the vessel or of the freight.

Notwithstanding anything in the opening words of Article 2, the lien in favour of persons in the service of the vessel shall extend to the total amount of freight due for all voyages made during the subsistence of the same contract of service.

ARTICLE 5.

Liens attaching on the same voyage rank in the order in which they are set out in Article 2. Claims included under any one heading share equally & pro rata in the event of the fund available being insufficient to pay the claims in full.

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x The protocol contains a declaration to the effect that "This Convention does not affect the provisions of any national law giving a lien to public insurance associations in respect of claims arising out of the insurance of the personnel of vessels."

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The claims mentioned under Nos. (3) and (5) in that Article rank, however, for payment inversely to the order of time on which they arose.

Claims arising from one and the same occurrence are deemed to have originated at the same time.

ARTICLE 6.

Claims secured by a lien and attaching to the last voyage have priority over those attaching to previous voyages.

Provided that claims under one and the same contract of service extending over several voyages all rank with claims attaching to the last voyage.

ARTICLE 7.

As regards the distribution of the sum resulting from the sale of the property subject to lien, the creditors whose claims are secured by a lien have the right to prove for their claims in full, without any deduction on account of the rules relating to limitation of liability; provided, however, that the dividend receivable by them may not exceed the sum due having regard to the said rules.

ARTICLE 8.

Claims secured by a lien follow the vessel into whatever hands she may pass.

ARTICLE 9.

Maritime liens cease to exist, apart from any provision of national laws for their extinction upon other grounds, at the expiration of one year: provided that the lien referred to in Article 2 (5) for necessaries supplied to the vessel shall cease at the expiration of six months.

The period runs for the lien for salvage from the date of the termination of the services; for the liens for collision accidents of navigation and personal injuries from the date when the damage was caused; for the lien for loss or damage of cargo or passengers' baggage from the date of delivery ought to have been made; for the lien for necessaries and repairs from the date when the cause of action arose. In all other cases the period runs from the date when the claim becomes enforceable.

The fact that any of the persons specified in Article 2 (2) has a right to any payments in advance or on account does not render his claim enforceable for the purposes of this Article.

It shall not be permissible by a national law to make the sale of the vessel a ground for extinction of any lien upon her unless the sale is accompanied by such publicity as may be prescribed by the national law, including notice to the authority charged with keeping registers referred to in Article 1 of this Convention of such length and in such form as may be so prescribed.

The grounds upon which the above periods may be interrupted are to be determined by the law of the court where the case is tried.

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The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves the right to provide by legislation in their respective countries that the said periods shall be extended, in cases where it has not been possible to arrest the vessel to which a lien attaches in the territorial waters of the State in which the claimant has his domicile or principal place of business, provided that the extended period shall not exceed three years from the time when the obligation attached.

ARTICLE 10.

A lien on freight may be enforced so long as the freight is still due or the sum paid for freight is still in the hands of the master or the agent of the owner. The same principle applies to a lien on accessories.

ARTICLE 11.

Subject to the provisions of this Convention, liens established by the preceding provisions are subject to no formality and to no special condition of proof.

This provision does not affect the right of any State to make provision by national legislation requiring the master of a vessel to fulfil special formalities in the case of certain loans raised on the security of the vessel, or in the case of the sale of her cargo.

ARTICLE 12.

National laws must prescribe the nature and the form of documents to be carried on board the vessel on which entry must be made of the mortgages, hypothecations, and other charges referred to in Article 1, so, however, that the mortgagee requiring such entry in the said form be not held responsible for any omission, mistake, or delay in inscribing the same on the said documents.

ARTICLE 13.

The foregoing provisions of this Convention also apply to vessels in the possession of a time charterer or other person operating but not being the owner of the vessel, except in cases where the owner has been dispossessed by an illegal act, or where the claimant is not a bona fide claimant.

ARTICLE 14.

The provisions of this Convention shall be applied in each Contracting State in cases in which the vessel to which the claim relates belongs to a Contracting State, as well as in any other cases provided for by the national laws.

Nevertheless, the principle formulated in the preceding paragraph does not affect the right of the Contracting States not to apply the provisions of this Convention in favour of the subjects or citizens of a Non-Contracting State.

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ARTICLE 15.

This Convention does not apply to vessels of war, nor to Government vessels appropriated exclusively to the public service.

ARTICLE 16.

Nothing in the foregoing provisions shall be deemed to affect in any way the competence of tribunals, modes of procedure or methods of execution authorised by the national laws.

ARTICLE 17.

After an interval of not more than two years from the day on which the Convention is signed, the Belgian Government shall place itself in communication with the Governments of the High Contracting Parties which have declared themselves prepared to ratify the Convention, with a view to deciding whether it shall be put into force. The ratifications shall be deposited at Brussels at a date to be fixed by agreement among the said Governments. The first deposit of ratifications shall be recorded in a proces-verbal signed by the representatives of the Powers which take part therein and by the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The subsequent deposit of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification, addressed to the Belgian Government, and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the proces-verbal relating to the first deposit of ratifications, of the notifications referred to in the previous paragraph, and also of the instruments of ratification accompanying them, shall be immediately sent by the Belgian Government, through the diplomatic channel, to the Powers who have signed this Convention or who have acceded to it. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date of which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 18.

Non-signatory States may accede to the present Convention whether or not they have been represented at the International Conference at Brussels.

A State which desires to accede shall notify its intention in writing to the Belgian Government, forwarding to it the document of accession, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

The Belgian Government shall immediately forward to all the States which have signed or acceded to the Convention a duly certified copy of the notification and of the act of accession, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 19.

The High Contracting Parties may at the time of signature, ratification or accession, declare that their acceptance of the present Convention does not include any or all of the Self-Governing Dominions, or of the Colonies, Overseas Possessions, Protectorates, or Territories under their sovereignty or authority, and they may subsequently accede separately on behalf of any Self-Governing Dominion, Colony, Overseas Possession, Protectorate or Territory excluded in their declaration. They may also denounce the Convention separately in accordance with its provisions in respect of any Self-Governing Dominion, or any Colony, Overseas Possession, Protectorate or Territory under their sovereignty or authority.

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ARTICLE 20.

The present Convention shall take effect, in the case of the States which have taken part in the first deposit of ratifications, one year after the date of the protocol recording such deposit. As respects the States which ratify subsequently or which accede, and also in cases in which the Convention is subsequently put into effect in accordance with Article 19, it shall take effect six months after the notifications specified in paragraph 2 of Article 17 and paragraph 2 of Article 18 have been received by the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 21.

In the event of one of the Contracting States wishing to denounce the present Convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Belgian Government, which shall immediately communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other States informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only operate in respect of the State which made the notification, and on the expiry of one year after the notification has reached the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 22.

Any one of the Contracting States shall have the right to call for a fresh conference with a view to considering possible amendments.

A State which would exercise this right should notify its intention to the other States through the Belgian Government, which would make arrangements for convening the conference.

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Appendix IV.

BRUSSELS INTERNATIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE, 1926.

International Convention for the Unification of certain Rules relating to the Immunity of State-owned Vessels.

ARTICLE 1.

Sea-going vessels owned or operated by States, cargoes owned by them, and cargoes and passengers carried on such vessels, and the States owning or operating such vessels, or owning such cargoes, are subject, in respect of claims relating to the operation of such vessels or the carriage of such cargoes, to the same rules of liability and to the same obligations as those applicable to privately owned vessels and cargoes and to the private ownership and management of vessels.

ARTICLE 2.

For the enforcement of such liabilities and obligations there shall be the same rules of jurisdiction, the same rights of action and the same procedure as in the case of privately owned vessels and cargoes and of their owners.

ARTICLE 3.

1. The provisions of the two preceding Articles shall have no application to ships of war, State yachts, patrol vessels, hospital ships, fleet auxiliaries, supply ships and other vessels owned or operated by a State, and being exclusively used at the time a cause of action arises on governmental and non-commercial service. Such vessels shall not be subject to seizure, arrest, or detention by any legal process nor to proceedings in rem.

Nevertheless, claimants shall have the right in the following three cases of taking proceedings in the proper courts of the State owning or operating the vessel in respect of which the claim arises, and in such proceedings the claim to immunity shall not be open -

(i) Actions in respect of collision or other accidents of navigation,
(ii) Actions in respect of salvage and general average,
(iii) Actions in respect of repairs, goods supplied, or other contracts relating to the vessel.

2. Similar rules shall apply to State-owned cargo carried on board the vessels mentioned in paragraph 1 of this Article.

3. State-owned cargo carried on board merchant vessels for governmental and non-commercial purposes shall not be subject to seizure, arrest, or detention nor to proceedings in rem.

Nevertheless, actions in respect of collision and accidents of navigation, salvage, and general average and for breach of contract relating to such cargo may be brought before the court having jurisdiction in virtue of Article 2.

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ARTICLE 4.

States may avail themselves of all defences, prescriptions, and limitations of liability open to privately owned vessels and their owners.

Any necessary adaptations or modifications of such defences and limitations so as to make them applicable to the case of ships of war and other vessels specified in Article 3 shall form the subject of a separate convention to be concluded hereafter. In the meantime, any measures necessary for this purpose may be effected by national legislation in conformity with the spirit and principles of this Convention.

ARTICLE 5.

If in any proceedings there is in the opinion of the court a doubt whether the vessel or cargo is of a governmental and non-commercial character within Article 3, a certificate signed by the diplomatic representative of the Contracting State to which the vessel or cargo belongs, produced on the motion of the State before whose courts the case is pending, shall be conclusive evidence that the vessel or cargo falls within Article 3 so as to entitle the State in question to have the vessel or cargo freed from arrest, seizure, or detention without prejudice to liability under that Article.

ARTICLE 6.

The provisions of this Convention shall be applied in each Contracting State, but without any obligation to extend the benefit to Non-Contracting States and their subjects, and with the right of making such extension subject to a condition of reciprocity.

Nothing in this Convention shall be held to prevent a Contracting State from settling by its own laws the rights to be accorded to its own subjects before its own courts.

ARTICLE 7.

Each Contracting State reserves the right in time of war to suspend the application of this Convention by a declaration notified to the other Contracting States, and in that event neither the vessels owned or operated by the State nor the cargoes belonging to it shall be subject to arrest, seizure, or detention by any foreign court of justice. But the claimant will have the right of taking proceedings before the proper court in accordance with Articles 2 and 3.

ARTICLE 8.

Nothing in this Convention shall affect the right of Contracting States to take any measures consistent with or required by the rights and duties of neutrality.

ARTICLE 9.

After an interval of not more than two years from the day on which the Convention is signed, the Belgian Government shall place itself in communication with the Governments of the High Contracting Parties which have declared themselves prepared to ratify the Convention, with a view to deciding whether it shall be put into force. The ratifications shall

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be deposited at Brussels at a date to be fixed by agreement among the said Governments. The first deposit of ratifications shall be recorded in a proces-verbal signed by the representatives of the Powers which take part therein and by the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The subsequent deposit of ratifications shall be made by means of a written notification, addressed to the Belgian Government, and accompanied by the instrument of ratification.

A duly certified copy of the proces-verbal relating to the first deposit of ratifications, of the notifications referred to in the previous paragraph, and also of the instruments of ratification accompanying them, shall be immediately sent by the Belgian Government, through the diplomatic channel, to the Powers who have signed this Convention or who have acceded to it. In the cases contemplated in the preceding paragraph, the said Government shall inform them at the same time of the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 10.

Non-signatory States may accede to the present Convention whether or not they have been represented at the International Conference at Brussels.

A State which desires to accede shall notify its intention in writing to the Belgian Government, forwarding to it the document of accession, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government.

The Belgian Government shall immediately forward to all the States which have signed or acceded to the Convention a duly certified copy of the notification and of the act of accession, mentioning the date on which it received the notification.

ARTICLE 11.

The High Contracting Parties may at the time of signature, ratification, or accession, declare that their acceptance of the present Convention does not include any or all of the Self-Governing Dominions, or of the Colonies, Overseas Possessions, Protectorates, or Territories under their sovereignty or authority, and they may subsequently accede separately on behalf of any Self-Governing Dominion, Colony, Overseas Possession, Protectorate, or Territory excluded in their declaration. They may also denounce the Convention separately in accordance with its provisions in respect of any Self-Governing Dominion, or any Colony, Overseas Possession, Protectorate, or Territory under their sovereignty or authority.

ARTICLE 12.

The present Convention shall take effect, in the case of the States which have taken part in the first deposit of ratifications, one year after the date of the protocol recording such deposit. As respects the States which ratify subsequently or which accede, and also in cases in which the Convention is subsequently put into effect in accordance with Article 11, it shall take effect six months after the notifications specified in paragraph 2 of Article 9 and paragraph 2 of Article 10 have been received by the Belgian Government.

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ARTICLE 13.

In the event of one of the Contracting States wishing to denounce the present Convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Belgian Government, which shall immediately communicate a duly certified copy of the notification to all the other States informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only operate in respect of the State which made the notification, and on the expiry of one year after the notification has reached the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 14.

Any one of the Contracting States shall have the right to call for a fresh conference with a view to considering possible amendments.

A State which would exercise this right should notify its intention to the other States through the Belgian Government, which would make arrangements for convening the conference.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE EFFECT ON MIGRATION OF SCHEMES OF SOCIAL INSURANCE (Cmd.2608, March, 1926)

Report of Inter-Departmental Committee to the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

June 2nd. 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE EFFECT ON MIGRATION OF SCHEMES OF SOCIAL INSURANCE (CMD. 2608, MARCH 1926).

Copies of the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed to consider the effect on Migration of Schemes of Social Insurance have already been forwarded for the information of the Oversea Governments (see despatch from the Secretary of State, Dominions No. 144 of 23rd March, 1926).

The Committee made the following recommendations:-

"(a) Reciprocal Arrangements with the Dominions - We recommend that the general question of the standardisation of schemes of social insurance throughout the Empire should be considered by the next Imperial Conference, with a view to the establishment of the fullest reciprocal arrangements which may be found possible.

We hope that one of the first points which will be considered by the Conference will be the possibility of arranging that the period of residence necessary to qualify for non-contributory schemes of old age pensions shall be uniform throughout the Empire, and that for the purpose of calculating the qualifying period, residence in any part of the Empire where a corresponding scheme is in existence may be taken into account.

"(b) Unemployment Insurance - We recommend that the attention of the Committee on the Administration of the Unemployment Insurance Acts be drawn to our observations regarding the attitude towards migration of the persons referred to in the last two paragraphs of Section 16.

"(c) Contributory Pensions - We recommend that all persons in receipt of pensions under contributory

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credited with a year's pension in lieu of the pension which they will surrender on migration.

"(d) National Health Insurance - We recommend that the cost of the medical examination of persons insured under the National Health Insurance Act who make application for assisted passages should be provided from National Health Insurance Funds.

"(e) Publicity - We recommend that publicity should be given in such social insurance schemes as exist in the Dominions, and to the existing facilities provided by the National Health Insurance Act for the transfer of insurance of migrants.

"(f) Training - We recommend that extended facilities should be provided for training juveniles in the elements of rural occupations."

His Majesty's Government desire to make the following comments upon each of the above recommendations:-

(a) Reciprocal Arrangements with the Dominions.

It will be observed that the Committee recommends that the general question of the standardisation of schemes of social insurance should be considered by the Imperial Conference, with a view to the establishment of the fullest reciprocal arrangements which may be found possible.

His Majesty's Government would welcome a discussion of this subject at the Conference. It will be seen from the information regarding social insurance schemes in the Dominions, given in the Appendix to the Committee's report, that these schemes do not at present afford a basis for reciprocity with those in force in Great Britain. In the first place, there are differences in the matter of conditions of qualification, amount of benefit, etc., but a more important difference is that the schemes in operation in Great Britain are (with the exception of the old age pensions payable at 70 years of age under the Act of 1908) on a contributory basis, whereas the schemes in operation in the Dominions are in the main on a non-contributory

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basis.

It is very desirable, however, as the Committee point out, that the sense of security induced by schemes which make provision against incapacity, death or old age should not be lost by those who go from one part of the Empire to another.

One of the first points which the Committee commend to the consideration of the Conference is the question of the period of residence which is necessary in order to qualify under old age pensions schemes. Under the United Kingdom Act of 1908, which provides for the payment of non-contributory old age pensions at 70 years of age, the period of residential qualification is "twleve years since attaining the age of 50 years" in the case of natural born British subjects. The period of residential qualification under the old age pensions scheme in Australia is 20 years and in New Zealand 25 years, although the age at which old age pensions become payable in those Dominions is lower than that under the United Kingdom scheme (viz., 60 years in the case of women and 65 in the case of men). The suggestion is made that, in the case of British subjects, this lengthy period of residential qualification might be reduced, and that each Government might agree to regard residence in any other part of the Empire, where a scheme corresponding to their own is in existence, as part of the qualifying period. In the case of Canada, where it is understood the introduction of an old age pensions scheme is in contemplation, it is hoped that this question may receive consideration when the necessary legislation is being drafted.

(b) Unemployment Insurance.

The views expressed by the Committee as to the effect of unemployment insurance on the migration of juveniles are being referred to another Committee in this country which is at present conducting an enquiry into the working of the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

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(c) Contributory Pensions.

His Majesty's Government propose to adopt the recommendation of the Committee that all persons in receipt of pensions under the contributory pensions scheme should, on proceeding overseas as migrants, be credited with a year's pension in lieu of the pension which they will surrender on migration. Legislation will be necessary to give effect to this recommendation.

(d) Medical Examination of Migrants.

His Majesty's Government propose to adopt the recommendation of the Committee that the cost of the medical examination of insured persons who make application for assisted passages should be defrayed from National Health Insurance Funds. Legislation will also be necessary to give effect to this recommendation.

(e) Publicity.

Publicity will be given in literature issued to intending migrants by the Oversea Settlement Committee to such social insurance schemes as exist in the oversea Dominions and His Majesty's Government trust that similar action will be taken by the Dominion Governments in regard to any literature circulated by them in this country.

(f) Training.

The question of the grant of extended facilities for training juveniles in the elements of rural occupations is part of the general question of training which is now under consideration by His Majesty's Government.

His Majesty's Government would be glad to receive the views of the Dominion Governments upon certain other matters referred to in the Committee's Report, viz:-

(a) Standards of Physical Fitness.

The Committee express the hope (see page 8 of the Report) that the Dominion authorities will not overlook the importance

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of interpreting their regulations as liberally and as sympathetically as possible, and they refer to the harmful effect on recruiting which results from the rejection, merely on account of some slight deviation from the standard, of candidates for assisted passages who are keen to migrate, especially when such rejection involves the breaking up of whole families of otherwise desirable settlers.

His Majesty's Government would be glad to learn whether the Dominion Governments consider it practicable to take any action in this matter.

(b) Restrictions on the grant of assisted passages.

It will be observed (see pages 8 and 25 of the Report) that the Committee consider that the two chief causes which tend at the present time to discourage migration are (1) bad trade conditions and (2) the restrictions which the Dominion authorities find it necessary to place on the grant of assisted passages. The Committee refer in particular to the position in regard to families who can only secure assisted passages under the nomination system or under a definite land settlement scheme. These restrictions on family migration are, in the opinion of the Committee, so serious as to make it doubtful whether an adequate redistribution of population can take place until greater facilities are available overseas for the settlement of married people and families.

His Majesty's Government would be glad to discuss with the Dominion Governments the possibility of providing additional openings for families overseas, either under land settlement schemes specially designed for families with little or no capital, or by an extension of the nomination system along the lines of the scheme of collective nomination which has already been started on an experimental scale.

The Committee also refer to the fact that the grant of assisted passages, apart from the nomination system, is limited to men and boys for farm work and to single women willing to become household workers, and to the further restruction which

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is involved in the reluctance of the Dominion authorities to accept for farm work men who have been skilled industrial workers.

His Majesty's Government would be glad to discuss with the Dominion Governments the possibility of relaxing some of the restrictions referred to by the Committee.

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S E C R E T

E (E) 13.

Copy No. 2

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,

June 2nd, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT.

I. Introduction.

Oversea settlement was fully discussed by the Committee appointed by the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923. The Report of this Committee, which was subsequently approved by the whole Conference, will be found on pages 136 to 150 of the Record of Proceedings of the Imperial Economic Conference, (Cmd.2009).

The Committee examined the results achieved since the passing in May, 1922, of the Empire Settlement Act, and they regarded those results as incommensurate with the needs of the situation, both in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions, more especially in Australia and Canada. They considered the "causes partly political, partly economic" which had checked the development of migration and Empire settlement, and they recommended that the Governments of those parts of the Empire suitable to settlement should endeavour to ensure the progressive enlargement of the policy in their respective territories.

Considerable developments have taken place since these problems were considered by the Imperial Economic Conference. Much progress has been made in cheapening the cost of assisted passages, the assisted rates to Australia, New Zealand and Canada now being as shown in Appendix I to this Memorandum. The cheapest rates are those to Canada, and assisted settlers can now proceed to the Eastern ports of the Dominion for £3, to Vancouver for £9 and at proportionate rates to intermediate destinations.

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Two important settlement schemes have been arranged - (1) with the Government of the Dominion of Canada in August, 1924, under which His Majesty's Government and the Dominion Government agree to advance funds sufficient for the settlement of 3,000 British families on farms of their own in Canada. Families to the number of 480 went out under this scheme during 1925, and with few exceptions, are in process of successful settlement. It is expected that some 1,200 families will go out under this scheme during 1926. (2) With the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia in April 1925. Under this scheme, the Commonwealth Government undertakes to raise loans not exceeding £34,000,000 for issue to State Governments at a low rate of interest, fixed for the first five years at 1%, and His Majesty's Government will contribute £130,000 for every £750,000 issued by the Commonwealth and expended by the State Governments on development and settlement. The scheme aims at the settlement in Australia within the next ten years of 450,000 assisted migrants from the United Kingdom, including 34,000 families. Mr. W. Bankes Amery, C.B.E., has been appointed as British Government representative in Australia for migration, to act with the Commonwealth Government in connection with all undertakings proposed under the Agreement. Mr. Bankes Amery took up his duties in August, 1925.

II. General Observations.

The successive Governments which have held office in the United Kingdom since the war, have unanimously pursued a policy of encouraging Empire Settlement, which receives the support of all political parties. The Oversea Settlement Committee, which advises the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs upon all matters connected with migration, is a representative and non-political body composed partly of official and partly of unofficial members. It is at present constituted as follows:-

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The Rt. Hon. L. S.Amery,M.P., (Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs), President.
The Earl of Clarendon, (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs), Chairman.
H.B. Betterton, C.B.E.,M.P., (Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour).
T.C. Macnaghten, C.M.G.,C.B.E., (Dominions Office), Vice-Chairman.
J. Ambrose, (Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association).
G.E. Baker, C.B.E., (Board of Trade).
Mrs. Harrison Bell, (Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations).
Miss Margaret Bondfield, J.P., (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in the late Government).
Viscount Burnham, C.H., (Chairman, Empire Press Union).
Sir Wm. Clark, K.C.S.I.,C.M.G., (Department of Overseas Trade).
L. Cuthbertson, (Treasury).
C.W.G. Eady, (Ministry of Labour).
Sir Francis Floud, K.C.B., (Ministry of Agriculture).
Colonel,G.D. Jebb, C.M.G., (War Office).
A.B. Lowry, C.B., (Ministry of Health).
W. Lunn, M.P., (late Chairman of the ~~Oversea~~ Settlement Committee).
Dame Meriel Talbot, D.B.E., (Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women).
Oscar Thompson, (Chamber of Shipping).
Christopher Turner, (Unofficial representative of agricultural interests).
Miss Gladys Pott, (Executive Officer of the Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women), also attends Committee meetings.

The members are appointed by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, the representatives of the various Government Departments being nominated by the Ministers in charge of those Departments.

The object of the policy of oversea settlement is the distribution of the white population to the best advantage of the whole Empire, thus promoting the development, trade and general security of all the nations comprised within the Empire. The problem must be regarded from the standpoint of the Dominions no less than from that of the United Kingdom. To the Dominions a more rapid rate of increase in their population is of capital importance. On the other hand, the density of population in the United Kingdom admits of migration on a large scale.

As a matter of fact, experience has shown that there are generally coming forward in the United Kingdom more persons who desire to proceed to the Dominions under State

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assisted schemes for migration under the Empire Settlement Act than the Dominions are able to absorb, and that the slow rate of absorption of would-be migrants is re-acting unfavourably on the prospects of migration in the United Kingdom. The Conference will afford an opportunity for discussing the difficulties which the Dominions experience in absorbing larger numbers of migrants and the prospects for the future.

His Majesty's Government desire to establish closer relations with the Dominion Governments with a view to a fuller investigation of the possibilities of oversea settlement in all its aspects. In particular, they hope to arrange that the members of the Government who are specially concerned with this problem should visit the Dominions periodically with a view to personal discussions with oversea Governments and oversea authorities, and they consider it no less important that similar visits should be paid to this country by Ministers of the various oversea Governments.

There is also evidence that interchanges of visits by delegations of Members of Parliament and Newspaper Press Conferences are of great value with a view to closer co-operation, and should be encouraged to the utmost possible extent.

Generally speaking, in spite of all that has been done, progress under the policy of State-aided Empire Settlement still seems "incommensurate with the needs of the situation, both in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions, especially in Canada and Australia." It is submitted, therefore, that the time is ripe for the adoption of a bolder policy, especially in connection with training and development. Training will increase the numbers of settlers available and the development of new areas will afford opportunities for successful settlement overseas.

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It is suggested that the following are among the principal subjects which might usefully be discussed at the Imperial Conference:-

A.

Advisory Commissions Overseas.

Much interest has been aroused in the United Kingdom by the decision of the Commonwealth Government of Australia to appoint a Commission to advise that Government in connection with migration. It is understood that the new Commission, like the Oversea Settlement Committee in the United Kingdom, will be thoroughly representative in character.

It is hoped that other oversea Governments will consider the desirability of appointing a similar Commission or Board, and it is suggested that the policy of oversea settlement would be facilitated and furthered if arrangements could be made for direct communication between the Oversea Settlement Committee and any such Commissions or Boards which may be established overseas.

B.

Training.

In their Annual Report for the year 1921, the Oversea Settlement Committee expressed the view that:-

> "The problem of State-aided Empire Settlement is that of training sufficient numbers of the population of this country, which is in the main town-bred and industrial, in such a manner as to fit them for life in the Dominions, where the population is largely country-bred and agricultural and where the principal openings lie in the direction of agricultural development. The provision of suitable training is the key to the whole problem".

The Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 dealt with training as follows:-

> "The Committee have come to the conclusion that such training (apart from any brief period of testing in order to ensure suitability) as may be required by persons in the United Kingdom who contemplate settlement upon the land overseas should be undertaken overseas and not in this country. It was admitted that a brief period of testing in this country might conduce to the elimination of unfit persons, but the Committee felt

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that if such an experiment were to be tried, the cost could not be shared by the oversea Governments. The Canadian representative intimated, however, that his Government would be prepared to supply free of charge instructors familiar with Canadian conditions".

The views of the Oversea Settlement Committee in regard to training have advanced since 1923, and they have come to the conclusion that the policy of establishing training centres in this country for men and women who wish to settle overseas is sound and right, and they desire to see it extended. In arriving at this conclusion, they have been much influenced by the training schemes which have been carried out in this country during the last three years, and especially by the admirable systems of training provided at the Army Training Centre at Catterick and more recently by the Ministry of Labour at Claydon, near Ipswich, and at Brandon in Norfolk. These centres have been visited and inspected by representatives of the various Dominion Governments who have expressed very favourable opinions regarding the nature of the training and the results achieved. These schemes have, however, not been financed from Oversea Settlement funds.

It is felt by the Oversea Settlement Committee that training in this country for land work should be a means of preparing and fitting the industrial population for land work in this country, and, by enabling the Dominions to accept larger numbers of migrants from this country, should also provide a bridge whereby a section of that population may pass over to a healthy life on the land overseas.

In view of the importance of women in oversea settlement, the Oversea Settlement Committee would also wish to see provided training in domestic work and the lighter forms of agriculture for the wives of married settlers and for single women who, though proceeding to

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the Dominions as domestic helps, are likely to become the wives of farmers overseas.

In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government is examining the whole question of agricultural training for work on the land both in this country and in the Dominions. It is hoped that the Dominion Governments for their part may be willing to reconsider their previous decision as to sharing in the cost of training in this country.

C.

Passages.

Attention has been called above to the reductions made in the cost of passages of settlers assisted to proceed to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It is hoped that the Governments of Australia and New Zealand may find it possible to co-operate with His Majesty's Government in still further reducing the present rates for assisted settlers proceeding to those Dominions, and thus assimilate the present rates more closely to the ratesavailable for settlers assisted to proceed to Canada.

The Dominion Governments have up to the present found it necessary to restrict the grant of assisted passages to certain limited classes of settlers, viz., to single men and boys proceeding to farm work, to single women proceeding to domestic service and to nominatedpersons. In the case of Canada, none can be nominatedexcept those proceeding to farm work, but other classes, including industrial workers, may be nominated for Australia and New Zealand.

It is hoped that means may be found by the adoption of a bolder settlement policy to increase the power of the Dominions to absorb settlers, thus enabling them to extend the privilege of assisted passages to larger numbers than at present. In this connection, the Oversea Settlemen

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Committee welcomes recent developments in the nomination system - bulk nomination, collective nomination by Churches etc., and hopes that further progress may be made in this direction.

Restrictions on the grant of assisted passages are dealt with at some length in the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee to consider the effect on migration of schemes of social insurance (Cmd. 2608) which forms the subject of a separate Memorandum.

Both that Report and the Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee for 1925, (Cmd.2640), also draw attention to the high cost of unassisted passages which severely limits the numbers of those who are able to proceed overseas at their own expense.

D.

Land Settlement.

One of the chief obstacles towards development of settlement upon the land in the Dominions is the very high cost. This is largely due to the high prices obtainable for land and to the cost of clearing.

It is felt that the load of debt imposed upon settlers owing to the capital charges incurred in the process of settlement under certain existing schemes is so large as to make it doubtful whether the settlers can earn a reasonable living, and at the same time discharge their obligations. For example, under the Western Australian Group Settlement Scheme, it is estimated that each settler will commence farming on his own account with a liability to the Government of from £1,500 to £1,800. Under two schemes recently submitted by the Victorian Government, the estimated charge to the settler will be £2,500 and £2,200 respectively.

Experience in connection with almost all schemes for the resettlement of ex-soldiers upon the land, both in this

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country and in the Dominions, has shown that sooner or later it becomes necessary to afford the settler some relief by writing off a portion of the debt charges. It is a matter for consideration whether it is not desirable to avoid the necessity for this course by fixing the initial burden on the settler at an amount which he can reasonably be expected to meet. This would not only tend to spare the individual settler considerable anxiety, but would probably prevent a proportion of those abandonments which at present take place owing to the settler's fear that he will not be able to make farming pay.

His Majesty's Government would welcome any suggestions from the Governments of the Dominions with a view to dealing with this situation.

One method which has been suggested is that all necessary preliminary work antecedent to actual settlement should be carried out at Government expense without cost to the settler, i.e. that the land should be cleared and made ready for farming operations, and that the roads and other developmental work should be carried out at Government expense. The benefits derived from successful settlement accrue not only to the settlers themselves but to the whole community, and it, therefore, seems unreasonable that the settler should be expected to repay the whole expense of development as well as settlement.

In this connection, it will be remembered that at the Conference on State-aided Empire Settlement in January-February, 1921, (see Appendix 5 of the Report of the Conference of Prime Ministers, 1921, Cmd. 14/74), Senator Millen, on behalf of the Commonwealth Government, stated:-

> "There are considerable areas in Australia suitable for settlement but at present entirely undeveloped, which could be developed by comprehensive settlement schemes at considerably less cost than would be involved in the purchase of land in districts already opened up. Such schemes would have the further advantage that the work of opening up an area by railways and roads, the

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construction of other public works, and the clearing of the land, etc., would find employment for many of the intending settlers as well as an opportunity for getting acclimatised to Australian conditions".

Under a scheme of this nature the work of opening up a new area could be undertaken at Government expense, it being arranged that men should go out to the Dominions for the perio of the work of development with an option on the completion of the work of settling on the land which they have cleared or returning to Great Britain at Government expense.

Actual settlement, after the preliminary stage, including the building of a house and the stocking of a farm, would in any case be chargeable to the settlers themselves, though it would be necessary, in most cases, to make advances to the settlers for this purpose, such advances being made from loan moneys. Possibly also the cost of organisation and supervision might be borne by the Government.

If schemes of land settlement were organised on this basis, it would be only reasonable that local residents should have the benefit of similar terms.

The proportion of the settlement costs which the settler can bear depends very largely on the organisation of the business side of agriculture. It is deserving of consideration whether this cannot be done most effectively by the establishment of an efficient system of co-operation.

In some parts of the Dominions, the co-operative movement is thoroughly established, and co-operative societies have been formed amongst groups of farmers for the purchase of implements, fertilisers, seeds, etc., and the marketing of all varieties of produce.

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Besides the advantages of relieving the farmer from much of the responsibility of buying and selling, co-operation can do a great deal in the direction of organising the social side of the settler's life. In many instances too, it has been found possible to arrange on a co-operative basis for home industries which provide employment for the leisure time of the farmer's family.

For these reasons, it is suggested that co-operation should be adopted as far as possible in connection with all schemes of land settlement.

E.

Welfare Arrangements.

The arrangements for the reception, placing and subsequent welfare of assisted migrants have been largely developed in all the Oversea Dominions, and continued attention is being given to the subject. Special reference may be made, however, to the desirability of further improvement in the arrangements for the aftercare of juveniles and to the desirability of doing more in the matter of aftercare on behalf of unassisted migrants, i.e. migrants who have paid their own way to the Dominions.

On the latter point, information has been received to the effect that unassisted migrants who were desirous of obtaining advice and help on arrival have either not known to whom they should apply, or have gained the impression that the existing reception and welfare organisation was not available to them.

The Oversea Settlement Committee are aware that a good deal is already being done for unassisted migrants by various voluntary organisations, and it is possible that the reports referred to are due to some misunderstanding. At the same time, it seems desirable that where the

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Dominion Governments are taking so close an interest in settlement generally, it should be made quite clear that the Government machinery is available to advise and help the unassisted migrant no less than the migrant who has already received an assisted passage and has been assured of definite Government assistance in other directions.

F.

Juvenile Migration and Settlement.

The Oversea Settlement Committee are aware that many parents in the United Kingdom would look to oversea settlement as affording a definite career for their sons, if they could be assured that their sons will not remain agricultural labourers and will have an adequate opportunity of becoming independent farmers when they have gained the necessary experience. It is observed that one of the oversea Governments has passed legislation under which assisted juvenile migrants who have qualified will be eligible for advances from State Funds to a maximum of £300 to enable them to take up land on their own account. It is suggested that the possibility of providing similar facilities in other parts of the Dominions should receive careful consideration.

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APPENDIX I.

Assisted Passage Rates.

I. DOMINION OF CANADA.

(Ordinary third-class ocean fare approximately £18.15.0).

Class of Settler.	Rate to Settler.	
Nominated and proceeding to farm work - or women proceeding to take up household work.	Children up to 17	Free.
	Adults on a scale based on the rates to certain centres, e.g.	
Experienced farm workers (single or married).	Halifax, St. John or Quebec	£3.
	Montreal.	£4.
Women (18-48) for household work, and	Toronto	£4.10s.
	Winnipeg	£5.10s.
Single men (20 to 35) without previous farming experience, nominated by relatives in Canada, or by the Canadian Government or by some organisation approved by that Government.	Regina, Moose Jaw or Saskatoon	£6.
	Calgary or Edmonton	£6.10s.
	Vancouver	£9.

Loans may be made to families and household workers in certain cases.

Juveniles (14-17 years of age) under the auspices of approved migration societies.	A free grant of 80 dollars.

II. AUSTRALIA.

(Ordinary third-class ocean fare £37 - £40).

Australia - Persons selected by the Director of Migration and Settlement for the Commonwealth of Australia or nominated by residents in Australia may be given assisted passages at the following rates:-

Married couples (including widows or widowers with at least one child under 19 years of age	£11 each parent.
Household workers	£16.10s.
Other adults	£11.
Juveniles of 17 and 18 years of age	£11.
Boys and girls from 12 years of age up to their seventeenth birthday	£5.10s.
Children who have not reached their twelfth birthday at the date of sailing	Free.

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Loans of the ~~above-mentioned~~ sums may be granted in approved cases.

III. NEW ZEALAND.

(Ordinary third-class ocean fare £37-£40).

New Zealand - Persons selected by the High Commissioner or nominated by residents of New Zealand may be given assisted passages at the following rates:-

Class of Settler.	Rate to Settler.
Married couples (with or without children).....	£11 each adult.
Single men.....	£13:15.
Single women.....	£11.
Household workers.....	Free passage.
Boys 17 to 19 years of age travelling alone.....	£5:10.
Travelling with parents.....	Free passage.
Boys up to 17 years of age.....	Free passage.
Girls up to 19 years of age.....	Free passage.

Loans of the above-mentioned sums may be granted in exceptional and necessitous cases.

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APPENDIX II.

(1).

British Migration Movement for the years 1923, 1924 and 1925.

--	Outward.	Inward.	Balance.
British North America:			
1923.....	88,290	12,424	75,866
1924.....	63,016	15,822	47,194
1925.....	38,662	13,939	24,723
Australia:			
1923.....	39,967	8,384	38,599
1924.....	38,599	8,295	30,304
1925.....	35,006	7,737	27,269
New Zealand:			
1923.....	9,392	2,204	7,188
1924.....	11,061	2,321	8,740
1925.....	11,730	1,964	9,766
British South Africa:			
1923.....	7,629	7,103	526
1924.....	7,568	6,919	649
1925.....	7,004	5,412	1,592
Other Parts of the Empire:			
1923.....	11,784	14,323	2,539*
1924.....	11,973	13,999	2,026
1925.....	12,823	13,287	464*
Total British Empire.			
1923.....	157,062	44,438	112,624
1924.....	132,217	47,356	84,861
1925.....	105,225	42,339	62,886
United States of America:			
1923.....	93,076	7,042	86,034
1924.....	17,315	10,880	6,435
1925.....	29,549	8,045	21,504
Other Foreign Countries:			
1923.....	6,146	6,126	20
1924.....	5,842	5,876	34*
1925.....	5,820	5,951	593*
Total Foreign Countries:			
1923.....	99,222	13,168	86,054
1924.....	23,157	16,756	6,401
1925.....	35,369	13,996	21,373
Total All Countries:			
1923.....	256,284	57,606	198,678
1924.....	155,374	64,112	91,262
1925.....	140,594	56,335	84,259

*Balance Inward.

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(2)

British Migrants under Empire Settlement Act, 1922.

----	1923.	1924.	1925.
Australia.....	31,235	24,449	23,427
New Zealand.....	6,839	7,737	8,051
Canada.....	6,261	9,379	11,442
South Africa.....	-	-	115
Total.....	44,335	41,565	43,057

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C-63735

CONFIDENTIAL NOTE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE MEMORANDUM PREPARED FOR THE CONFERENCE.

2

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

OVERSEA SETTLEMENT.

Oversea Settlement has been dealt with in the general Memorandum prepared as a basis for discussion at the Imperial Conference. This subject is, in the judgment of His Majesty's Government, one of such far-reaching importance, both to the United Kingdom and to the Dominions, that they think it desirable to invite attention to certain of its aspects in this confidential note addressed to the Canadian Government. In their view, the problem of the re-distribution of population between the densely populated and the thinly populated countries of the world is one which is likely to assume increasing importance, both internationally and also within the British Commonwealth.

The problem, in so far as it relates to the movement of population from one foreign country to another, is usually spoken of as "emigration" in reference to the country of departure, and "immigration" in relation to the country of settlement. In the case of a movement of population within the Empire, a general preference is felt for the use of the word "settlement" instead of the somewhat invidious phrases "emigration" and "immigration".

Recent events such as the Conference on Emigration and Immigration at Rome in May, 1924, the new quota policy of the Government of the United States, where there appears to be a tendency to admit a larger quota of British and North European migrants and to dominish the quota from other countries, the passing of the Empire Settlement Act, 1922, and the schemes for co-operation under the Act which are being

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arranged between the Dominions and the United Kingdom, are indications of increasing recognition of the importance of the re-distribution of population.

His Majesty's Government believe that the attainment of this end is of the greatest importance to the whole Empire.

They are aware of the difficulties, political and economic, which have hitherto prevented a re-distribution of population on a sufficient scale.

In regard to the political difficulties, it is not insignificant that oversea settlement now receives the support of all political parties in this country, including Labour. It has been indicated in the General Memorandum on Oversea Settlement that the Labour Party has three representatives on the Oversea Settlement Committee. It may be mentioned that in a recent debate on this subject in the House of Commons, a Member of the late Government stated that if a workable practicable scheme of Empire migration could be evolved, it would be ungrudgingly supported by the Labour Party in Parliament. There are grounds for thinking that the representatives of Labour in this country are prepared to co-operate in any endeavours to remove the opposition and secure the sympathy of Labour Organisations overseas.

It is unnecessary to refer at length to the economic difficulties, but it is to be hoped that every effort may be made to remove them. These difficulties may be eased by the assistance which is being granted for the marketing of Empire products and by a general improvement of trade.

The chief object of the present Memorandum is to express the hope that this problem may be fully considered by the Dominion Governments in anticipation of the forthcoming Imperial Conference, and that their representatives at that Conference may be prepared to submit proposals for the adoption of a bolder policy than has hitherto been found possible, especially, as is urged in the general Memorandum, in connection with training and also in connection with new

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developmental works overseas.

There are certain other matters connected with this subject which appear more suitable for inclusion in a confidential note than in the General Memorandum, prepared for the Conference and have reference to one Dominion only. The following have reference to Canada.

Immigration from Europe to Canada.

The following figures published by the Canadian Government Department of Immigration and Colonisation show the total immigration from Europe to Canada during recent years, indicating the number of British migrants and the number of migrants from the Continent of Europe, viz:-

	British.	Other European countries.	Total.	Percentage British migrants.
1911-12	150,542	112,881	263,423	60%
1912-13	142,622	134,720	277,342	52%
1920-21	74,262	26,156	100,418	75%
1921-22	39,020	21,624	60,644	64%
1922-23	34,508	22,007	56,515	62%
1923-24	72,919	55,120	128,039	57%
1924-25	53,178	42,366	95,544	55%
1925-26				

It will be observed that the percentage of British migrants was as high as 75% in 1920-1, but has since decreased, in spite of the fact that His Majesty's Government, and the Government of the Dominion have recently co-operated in a policy of granting State assistance to suitable settlers.

The policy of Canada differs in this respect from the policy of Australia and New Zealand, inasmuch as those two Dominions discourage all migration other than that from the United Kingdom. It is hoped that the Dominion Government may be willing to explore all possible means of

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stimulating British settlement.

(a) Assisted Passage Scheme. - "Bulk" nomination.

In connection with the arrangements for 'bulk' nomination the Dominion Government has agreed that 25% of those accepted for settlement may be men without experience in farm work. The number of experienced agricultural workers in the United Kingdom is not more than suffices to carry on the agricultural work of the country, and the continued depletion of the land population of this country is a serious danger. The number of persons without farming experience who can be accepted under the assisted passage scheme is, however, as is pointed out above, limited by the number of experienced farm workers who can be recruited. At the same time, it has often proved that men of sound physique and the right temperament, even though they have had no previous experience, are readily adaptable to farm work, and it is understood that many Canadian farmers have expressed a preference for suitable though inexperienced men from the United Kingdom as against experienced men from other European countries.

His Majesty's Government may find themselves in a position of some difficulty if future recruiting efforts are confined chiefly to persons with agricultural experience. It is therefore hoped that the Dominion Government may be prepared to consider the possibility of increasing the proportion of inexperienced to experienced men accepted under the Assisted Passage Scheme.

Reunion of Families.

The system under which persons domiciled in Canada can nominate friends or relatives in this country for reduced passages only applies to those proceeding to land work and a man in work in Canada, whose dependents

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are still in this country, can only secure for them the benefits of the assisted passage scheme if he himself is working upon the land. It would be a very considerable advantage if any such persons, who are engaged in any satisfactory employment in the Dominion, could be allowed to nominate their dependents for the reduced passages.

It will be remembered that this subject formed the subject of conversation in June,1924, between Mr. W.Lunn,M.P., (then Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee) and the High Commissioner for Canada. Mr. Larkin was sympathetically disposed towards the suggestion that assisted passages should be available for the dependents of men not settled on the land, although he saw certain difficulties in the way of its adoption. The matter was referred to the Dominion Government for consideration and was discussed with the Hon. Mr. Robb when he visited London in August,1924. It was understood at that time that the Dominion Government might be able to concur in the proposal. Negotiations were accordingly opened for the signature of an agreement between the two Governments but were not concluded. The matter was again discussed between the Deputy Minister of Immigration and the former Finance Officer of the Oversea Settlement Committee in Ottawa in July last, but the Dominion Government were unable at that time to sanction such an arrangement.

It will be readily understood that a British settler in Canada who is obliged to remit money to this country for the maintenance of his dependents must have much difficulty in saving sufficient money to pay for the passage of his dependents. The only means by which such families can at present meet the cost of the journey to Canada is by obtaining assistance in the shape of a loan from some philanthropic organisation. The funds of these societies, are, however, very limited, and they are able to assist

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only a comparatively small proportion of those concerned.

It is hoped that the Dominion Government may be able to re-consider their attitude in regard to the re-union of families.

Selection Arrangements in United Kingdom.

It has been represented to the Oversea Settlement Committee that applicants for assisted settlement in Canada are compelled, in certain cases, to incur considerable expense in travelling from their homes for personal interview with the Canadian representatives. It is felt that this difficulty might in large measure be obviated if the Dominion Authorities were to increase the facilities at present afforded by availing themselves of the machinery of local Employment Exchanges for the purpose of interviews with applicants. This machinery is already made use of by the Australian Authorities, whose official agents visit the larger Employment Exchanges at stated times, and there interview intending applicants.

Land Settlement.

The Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonisation for Canada, whilst on a visit to this country in February last, outlined proposals for the continuation of family settlement in Canada after the closing of the 3,000 Families Scheme. The proposal was that His Majesty's Government should agree to provide the same facilities as under the 3,000 Families Scheme, viz., an advance up to £300 per family for the purchase of stock and equipment for 1,000 families yearly, these families to be settled on areas of land owned by land companies in Canada.

Success has undoubtedly attended the initial stages of the 3,000 Families Scheme, and His Majesty's Government would welcome some arrangement under which the settlement of British families on the land would become a permanent feature of the joint settlement policy of the two

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Governments. It was accordingly arranged with Mr.Egan that on the termination of the 3,000 Families Scheme, and subject to its success, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to participate in a scheme on the lines proposed by him, subject to suitable financial arrangements. On this aspect of the scheme, the Committee have expressed the view that they would regard the proposals as much more satisfactory if the Dominion Government had some financial interest in the settlement arrangements, apart from administrative expenses.

Juveniles.

It is hoped that the Dominion Government may be able to establish under Government auspices some scheme for the settlement and supervision of juveniles of 14-17 years of age, who wish to proceed to Canada for the purpose of farm work. At present (with the exception of a scheme recently arranged with the Government of the Province of Ontario) such juveniles proceed to Canada under the auspices of voluntary societies. These societies are performing excellent work, but it is felt that if the Dominion Government were able to undertake official responsibility in the matter of the placing of boys, the terms of employment etc., confidence on the part of parents in this country would be increased and recruiting of boys encouraged. Definite schemes for boys are already in operation in Australia under the supervision of the various State Governments.

It is also suggested that some arrangement should be made under which suitable boy settlers who have gained the necessary experience and saved a prescribed minimum of money might obtain further Government advances to enable them to set up as farmers on their own account.

It is contemplated that the Earl of Clarendon, Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee, should visit Canada in

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July, 1926, accompanied by the Vice-Chairman. It is hoped that Lord Clarendon may be able to discuss with Dominion Ministers the subject of oversea settlement, including those matters which are to be brought before the Conference, and that he will also have an opportunity of seeing for himself the progress of the British families under the 3,000 Families Scheme,

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S E C R E T.

COPY NO. 2

E.(E) 14.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

THE PROPOSED GENERAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

Memorandum for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

June 2nd 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, (1926).

THE PROPOSED GENERAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

The sixth Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1925, passed a Resolution in the following terms:-

"The Assembly,

Firmly resolved to seek all possible means of establishing peace throughout the world:

Convinced that economic peace will largely contribute to security among the nations:

Persuaded of the necessity of investigating the economic difficulties which stand in the way of the revival of general prosperity and of ascertaining the best means of overcoming these difficulties and of preventing disputes:

Invites the Council to consider at the earliest possible moment the expodiency of constituting on a wide basis a Preparatory Committee which, with the assistance of the Technical Organisations of the League and the International Labour Office, will prepare the work for an International Economic Conference.

The convening of this Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations shall be a matter for subsequent decision by the Council.

In pursuance of this Resolution the Council of the League in December last decided to appoint a technical Preparatory Committee, consisting of persons chosen as experts, to arrange for the preparation and collection of such economic information as may assist the work of the Conference, and to consider and prepare for the approval of the Council the programme, composition, rules of procedure and date of meeting of the Conference. This Preparatory Committee met on April 26th, 1926, and will meet again in October.

The Imperial Conferece may desire to have this matter before them, and it is suggested that for this purpose a statement should be made to the Imperial Conference in October of the position then reached in the work of the Proparatory Committee.

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Copy No. 2

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDISATION AND INTER-IMPERIAL CO-OPERATION THEREIN.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,

June 2nd, 1926.

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C 63746

E.(E)15

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE (1926).

DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDISATION AND INTER-IMPERIAL CO-OPERATION THEREIN.

1. Industrial Standardisation may be defined briefly as the determination by some authoritative body or bodies of the essential dimensions, materials and qualities of manufactured products and the adoption by users generally of the specifications thus laid down.

2. To manufacturers the advantages of such standardisation are:-

(a) By making possible a long straight run of production it avoids thewaste of time, money and effort involved in producing in the case of any given article the number of different patterns of substantially the same dimensions and quality intended for substantially the same purpose.

(b) It makes possible the assembly of standard "component" parts without "fitting" and so obviates the need for selective assembly.

(c) It facilitates the use in manufacture of specialised machines.

(d) It facilitates the adoption of proper works costing systems, progress sheets and routing.

(e) It thereby greatly facilitates large scale production (to which it is indeed essential) and lessens the cost of production per unit of output.

(f) It extends the field of consumption by making available to the consumer standardised articles at lower cost than would otherwise obtain and is therefore likely to extend the field of the export market.

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3. To the buyer of manufactured goods the advantages of the adoption of standardisation by the makers of any given commodity are -

(a) It renders equitable comparisons of tenders possible without undue correspondence and delay.

(b) It makes generally available to the user the individual products of many manufacturers, that is, it increases "interchangeability".

(c) It greatly facilitates and expedites repairs and replacements, and reduces the stocks of spares which it is necessary to carry and the amount of capital locked up therein.

(d) By cheapening production costs it affects favourably prices for the users.

(e) By defining precisely the nature and quality of the article produced it simplifies purchase and opens up fields of production which would otherwise not be exploited by the normal consumer.

4. Very valuable work in the determination and publication of standards for a wide range of products has been done in the United Kingdom by the British Engineering Standards Association. This is an unofficial body incorporated in 1918 (as successor to the Engineering Standards Committee formed in 1901) by the Institution of Civil Engineers, the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, the Institution of Naval Architects, the Iron and Steel Institute, and the Institution of Electrical Engineers. Its executive consists of a Main Committee composed of nominees of those bodies and of the Institution of Automobile Engineers, with other persons co-opted by the nominated members and ex-officio representatives of the Board of Trade and the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Its income

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consists mainly of trade contributions, supplemented by grants from His Majesty's Government, the Government of India, the Crown Agents for the Colonies, payments by Government Departments for work undertaken at their request, and the proceeds of the sale of specifications.

The Association exists for the purpose of drawing up British standard specifications for materials, machinery or apparatus, the specifications being for (a) quality of material, (b) schedules of standard sizes when agreed by manufacturers and where interchangeability is desired, (c) methods of testing and (d) terms, definitions, graphical symbols, markings etc. It does so not on its own initiative, but on the specific request of an authoritative body, such as a technical society, a representative trade organisation or a government department. The Main Committee first satisfies itself in any particular case, by convening a representative conference of all the interests concerned, both producers and consumers, that there is general agreement as to the need for a standard specification, and then appoints a special sectional committee or sub-committee of an existing sectional committee as required to prepare such specification. All specifications issued are reviewed periodically. A large number of specifications, covering a very wide range of engineering and allied products, have been issued.

The Association is in close touch with the corresponding bodies in other parts of the Empire (more fully described in the following paragraphs) and with Local Standards Committees which the Association has set up in a number of important centres of British trade in foreign countries; and (with the aid of a special Government grant in 1917) has prepared and widely disseminated translations into French, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese of a number of the more important specifications which it has issued.

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5. In Australia the Australian Commonwealth Engineering Standards Association was founded in 1922 by the Commonwealth Institute of Science and Industry, the Australian Institution of Engineers, the Australian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, and the Australian Chemical Institute. It has a Main Committee composed of representatives of these institutions, of the State Governments and of the Australian Associated Chambers of Commerce, Associated Chambers of Manufactures, and Bureau of Steel Manufacturers, and appoints sectional committees as required. The Main Committee has decided, as a general policy, that where reasonably practicable, British Engineering Standard Specifications should be adopted, and the regulations lay down that "at the first meeting of a sectional committee the Chairman shall bring under the consideration of members any existing British Standard Specification which covers the material or equipment to be standardised". Agreements or departures from the British standard specifications are carefully indicated in the specifications issued. Where the specifications adopted are in complete agreement with the British specifications they are issued with the consent of the British body, as "Australian standards".

6. In South Africa there is the British Engineering Standards Association (South Africa Branch) working on similar lines to the two bodies already described, and with the Department of Mines, Public Works, Railways and Harbours, Posts and Telegraphs and Navigation represented upon its Committee. Some few standard specifications have been issued for matters with which the British Engineering Standards Association has not itself dealt, but generally the South African authority adopts the British specifications. Any proposed British specification is communicated to the South African body, and there is generally time for criticisms to be received and considered before the proposed specification is finally adopted.

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7. In New Zealand there was formed some time ago the British Engineering Standards Association New Zealand Local Committee which was intended to be in the same relation to the British body as the South African Committee, but it does not appear to have been so active.

8. In India the standardising body is the Institution of Engineers (India), which has quite generally adopted British Engineering Standards Association specifications. The India Railway Board has it is understood recently set up a conference of officials to consider railway specifications, but this body is believed to be dealing at present only with possible revision of the standardisation of locomotives. The Government of India has made considerable use of the British Engineering Standards Association, and makes an annual contribution to its funds.

9. In Canada there is the Canadian Engineering Standards Association. The British Association is in communication with that body, whose standard specifications are, however, understood to tend as a rule to be in substantial agreement with those adopted in the United States.

10. Although the standards issued by the British Engineering Standards Association and associations working on similar lines elsewhere in the Empire have been determined only after the fullest consultation between representatives of the manufacturers and users, and are in fact "agreed" standards, they have not been adopted by users generally, as a basis for their specifications in inviting tenders and placing orders, to the extent which was originally hoped for. This is certainly true of the United Kingdom and there is no reason to think that the United Kingdom is exceptional in this respect. This situation is to be ascribed no doubt in part to the

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idiosyncracies of individual buyers or their technical advisers and to a reluctance to modify existing practice, but it is also largely due to failure to realise the fact that the advantages of standardisation are bilateral and accrue as much to users as to makers. So far as concerns the United Kingdom, however, the work of the British Engineering Standards Association and the example set by the Government in reducing the number of varieties of the commodities purchased by it in large quantities are having a substantial effect, and there is reason to believe that both purchasing authorities and the trade interests concerned are disposed to take a much more active interest in the matter than they have hitherto done.

11. It is probable that in the next few years there will be a considerable extension of standardisation proper, and of the limitation of unnecessary variety in patterns and types of articles, not only in the engineering and allied trades but also in other industries where the resultant economies of mass production would be substantial; and it seems highly desirable that the advantages of any such development should be secured for Empire trade by the promotion of a co-ordinated movement in this country and in different parts of the Empire on sound and non-conflicting lines.

12. It appears to His Majesty's Government that substantial advantage would result to Inter-Imperial trade -

(a) if further official encouragement were given to the practice throughout the Empire of standardisation both in the strict sense of that term and in the broader sense indicated in the preceding paragraph;

(b) if in order to secure so far as possible that development should proceed on convergent lines the co-operation which already exists between standardising

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authorities in the United Kingdom and other parts of the Empire were continued and developed;

(c) if the standards adopted elsewhere in the Empire were assimilated as closely as possible to those adopted for the United Kingdom, due regard being had to any special local conditions, and

(d) if the Governments of the Empire gave every possible assistance to the movement by adopting the standards so determined for specifications in tenders issued by them, and by using their influence with all public authorities in their respective countries to adopt the same course.

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S E C R E T.

E (E) 16

Copy No. 2

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

FORESTRY.

Memorandum prepared for the Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

2nd June, 1926.

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C 63754

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

FORESTRY.

The Imperial Economic Conference, 1923, adopted the following resolution :-

> "That the Imperial Economic Conference accepts generally the Resolutions of the Empire Forestry Conference (Canada)1923, and recommends them to the respective Governments of the Empire for their favourable consideration."

The Resolutions of the Empire Forestry Conference,Canada, 1923, are printed on pp.555 et seq of the Record of Proceedings of the Imperial Economic Conference,1923.

I. REPORT ON PROGRESS SINCE 1923.

(a) The Imperial Forestry Institute,Oxford.

During 1924 arrangements were completed in accordance with Resolution No.4 of the British Empire Forestry Conference (Canada) 1923, for founding at Oxford a Forestry Institute for post-graduate, research and refresher courses. By the consent of His Majesty the King the Institute is styled the Imperial Forestry Institute. It is controlled by a Board of Governors, of whom the University nominates one-half and the Forestry Commissioners and the Colonial Office the remainder. The xontribution from the Forestry Fund towards the expenses of the Institute is fixed at £2,000 per annum for a period of five years. A contribution is also made by Colonial and Protectorate Governments, fixed in the first instance at £3,000 per annum for a similar period, but since increased to provide for special work in which the Colonies are particularly interested. The Institute is also in receipt of £2,250 per annum from the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in respect of research work which is being done at the Institute on the technology of timbers and the destruction of wood by insects.

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The Institute, which is temporarily housed in conjunction with the University School of Forestry, opened at Michaelmas term 1924 with nine students. The total number of students attending the Institute during the first year was 22 and during the second year 35 to date. These students are proceeding to different parts of the Empire and include not only probationers but men of experience who have returned to take refresher courses.

The staff now (May 1926) consists of the Director and 11 lecturers and assistants. The Forestry Commissioners have stationed at the Institute two research officers (an Entomologist and a Silviculturist) who are permitted to do a limited amount of lecturing. The Institute has made a good start but there is still much to be done before it can be considered worthy of the great work it has to do. In particular better accommodation is required, and an appeal is being launched for additional funds.

(b) STANDING COMMITTEE ON EMPIRE FORESTRY.

The Committee is constituted under Resolution No. 6 of the British Empire Forestry Conference, 1923, as follows:-

The Chairman of the Empire Forestry Conference	- Lord Lovat, K.T. etc.
Technical Commissioner of the British Forestry Commission	
Representative of the Unit of Empire in which the next Conference will be held (viz: Australia)	- Mr. R.L. Robinson, O.B.E., B.A., B.Sc., F.S.A.S.M.
Director of the Imperial Forestry Institute, Oxford.	- Professor R.S. Troup, C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Representative of the Colonial Office.	- Major R.D. Furse, D.S.O.
Representative of the India Office.	- Mr. E.J. Turner, C.B.E.

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Representative of the Unit of Empire in which the last Conference was held (viz. Canada). - Mr. E.H. Finlayson, B.Sc.,

Representative of the Council of the Empire Forestry Association - Lord Novar, K.T.

Representative of Forest Products Research Laboratory (Co-opted) - Mr. R.S. Pearson, C.I.E.

Secretary: Mr. Fraser Story (Forestry Commission).

The main function of this Committee is to maintain continuity of action in respect of meetings of the British Empire Forestry Conference. At present it is engaged on preparatory work connected with the next Empire Forestry Conference to be held in Australia in 1928.

It was proposed that this Committee should assist the Empire Forestry Association by the appointment of correspondents in each part of the Empire whose duty it would be to transmit technical and official information for publication in the Empire Forestry Journal. The Committee has been able to assist in this direction and the Secretary of the Committee is also Editor of the Empire Forestry Journal.

(c) Empire Forestry Association.

The Empire Forestry Association was incorporated by Royal Charter in November, 1921, and is the outcome of a resolution passed at the first Imperial Forestry Conference of 1920. The control of the affairs of the Association is vested in a Governing Council representative of the various units of the Empire. The President of the Association is H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, K.G., and the Chairman is Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, Bart.

The main objects of the Association are to promote the interests of forestry throughout the British Empire and more

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particularly to collect and circulate information relative to economic forestry and the utilisation of forest products. The Association also acts as a bond of union for British foresters in all parts of the world.

The official organ of the Association is the Empire Forestry Journal which is published twice annually and is of a technical character. As the only existing medium for the exchange of forestry information among foresters of the Empire, the Journal is of considerable importance, and has been in fact performing some of the functions which would normally fall to an Empire Forestry Bureau.

The Association is of a voluntary character; the subscriptions of its 575 ordinary members are however inadequate for the maintenance of the organisation and it is able to carry on its work only with the temporary support of the Rhodes Trust which has subscribed a sum of £400 a year for a period ending the year of the next Empire Conference, (1928). Some 300 members of the Association belong to the forestry services of the Empire.

(d) FOREST PRODUCTS RESEARCH.

In accordance with Resolution No.7 of the 1923 Forestry Conference a Forest Products Research Laboratory has been organised and is actively at work. The permanent building is now under construction at Princes Risborough at an estimated cost of somewhat over £50,000. In the meantime, by the courtesy of the Air Ministry, accommodation has been made available in the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough.

The Forest Products Research Board acts in an advisory capacity to the Forest Products Research Laboratory, and is one of the Advisory Boards of the Department of scientific and Industrial Research. On this Board are representatives of that Department, of the Forestry Commission, the Imperial Forestry Institute, the Office of Works and other State

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wood-using Departments. The Colonial Office will also have a representative. The executive work of the Laboratory is in the hands of a Director who is at present assisted by 4 Sectional Officers in charge respectively of Timber Mechanics (testing), Seasoning, Utilisation and Wood Technology. There are also investigators in mycology, entomology and wood preservation.

The equipment consists in the timber mechanics sections of 6 testing machines of varying capacity, and in the seasoning section of 4 kilns of different type; the wood technological equipment is complete. As the buildings become available at Princes Risborough the number of timber testing machines will be doubled, several additional seasoning kilns put in and a complete experimental wood preservation plant erected.

The work in all sections is carried out under carefully considered schemes or projects of which nine have already been prepared.

Although the work at the moment is mainly concentrated on Home-grown (British) timbers, in collaboration with the Forestry Commissioners, it is the intention of the Department to deal in due course with Empire timbers from such units of the Empire as have no forest products laboratories. Minor Forest products will be taken up in the same way.

In addition to the practical testing and seasoning work, important work of a fundamental character is being carried out at the Imperial Forestry Institute on the movement of heat and moisture in timber, at the Imperial College, South Kensington, on fungi and wood preservation, and at St. Andrews University on wood-cellulose and hemi-cellulose. Arrangements have also been made to co-ordinate the work of the Forest Products Research Laboratory and that done by the reorganised Imperial Institute.

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2. THE NEXT IMPERIAL FORESTRY CONFERENCE (Australia, 1928).

In accordance with Resolution No.11 of the Empire Forestry Conference of 1923 the next Conference is due to be held, on the invitation of the Commonwealth Government, in Australia in 1928. The Standing Committee on Empire Forestry, as has been remarked already, is now preparing for the Conference.

The First Empire Conferences had of necessity to deal mainly with broad questions such as General Forest Policy but it is the intention that successive Conferences shall deal more and more with the technical aspects of Forestry. There is thus a wide field to be covered and very necessary work to be accomplished.

Following the precedent established at the 1923 Forestry Conference, the agenda for the Australian Conference of 1928 would be divided into two main sections:

(1) Items of Imperial interest.

These will be submitted to the Commonwealth Government by the Standing Committee. They will include:

(a) As for the first two Conferences, General Reports on Forestry for each of the constituent parts of the Empire. The reports will be on the lines of a common schedule or questionnaire which is now receiving careful consideration. This schedule should be issued in the near future in order that ample time may be available for the collection of statistical information.

(b) Forest Products Research - with special reference to:

(i) The provision of further laboratories in various parts of the Empire.

(ii) Co-operation between Forest Products Laboratories within the Empire; e.g. standardisation of technique and exchange of research workers.

(iii) Minor Forest Products and Hardwoods.

(c) Technical subjects dealing with the business of timber growing.

(2) Items of outstanding local interest, which will be decided by the Commonwealth Government.

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It is hoped that by October 1926 the Standing Committee will be in a position to report in considerable detail on the progress made towards organising the Conference of 1928.

3. PROPOSED EMPIRE FORESTRY BUREAU.

The proposal to set up an Empire Forestry Bureau, for the collection, co-ordination and dissemination of forestry information, originated at the first Empire Forestry Conference of 1920, when a detailed scheme estimated to cost not less than £10,000 per annum was drawn up. Owing to financial stringency the Bureau was not proceeded with.

The proposal was further considered at the Empire Forestry Conference of 1923 when it was decided, in selecting objectives, to give preference to an Imperial Forestry Institute and a Forest Products Research Laboratory; the work of the Bureau meanwhile to be carried on so far as possible by the Empire Forestry Association and the Standing Committee of the Conference.

The Forestry Commissioners in reporting to the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 did not press for the formation of an independent Bureau but thought that a place might be found for it in the re-organised Imperial Institute.

The project of setting up an Empire Forestry Bureau has thus never been finally settled and it ought moreover to be reviewed in the light of proposals recently accepted by the World's International Forestry Conference at Rome. Briefly these proposals are to form a Forestry Statistical Bureau within the International Institute of Agriculture. As to the desirability of securing adequate world forestry statistics there can be no doubt. The position with regard to the world's supply of softwoods alone justifies the expenditure involved. On the other hand it is important not to give up, without

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adequate assurance that its place will be filled, a Bureau which should do something more for Empire Forestry than merely collect statistics.

It is very desirable that the question of the Bureau should be adequately discussed next October both because of its intrinsic importance and also because of its relation to proposals which may emanate from the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

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SECRET.
E. 108.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926

THE APPROACH
TOWARDS A SYSTEM
OF
IMPERIAL AIR COMMUNICATIONS

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Air

WITH

APPENDICES.

AIR MINISTRY,
October, 1926.

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NOTE

BY THE

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR.

The following memorandum deals so comprehensively with the question of Imperial air communications that I need only add a few lines to underline certain of its outstanding features. It seemed to me that the members of the Conference would desire to have in their hands a complete picture of the present position of this important question. I hope that the memorandum will provide them with what they require. It will at least show them that substantial progress has been made in many directions since the last Conference. The first section of the England–India aeroplane route is to be opened in January, when my wife and I are to make the first journey upon it ; a series of long distance Empire air flights, military and civil, have proved the practicability of the great Empire airways ; intensive concentration upon technical research and development, and upon the study of meteorology has greatly strengthened the foundations upon which future progress can be achieved. Particularly noticeable is the advance that has been obtained in the field of airship development. The following pages give a detailed account of the wide field of research, experiment and trial that has been covered during the last two years. I would venture to ask the representatives of the Conference to give their special attention to this description of our airship programme. I believe that a stage has now been reached in which the co-operation of the Dominions can be safely given, whether it be by the provision of mooring masts and meteorological facilities, or by the consideration of schemes for the development of future airship lines. I hope to develop these conclusions in greater detail during the course of the Conference.

S. H.

AIR MINISTRY.

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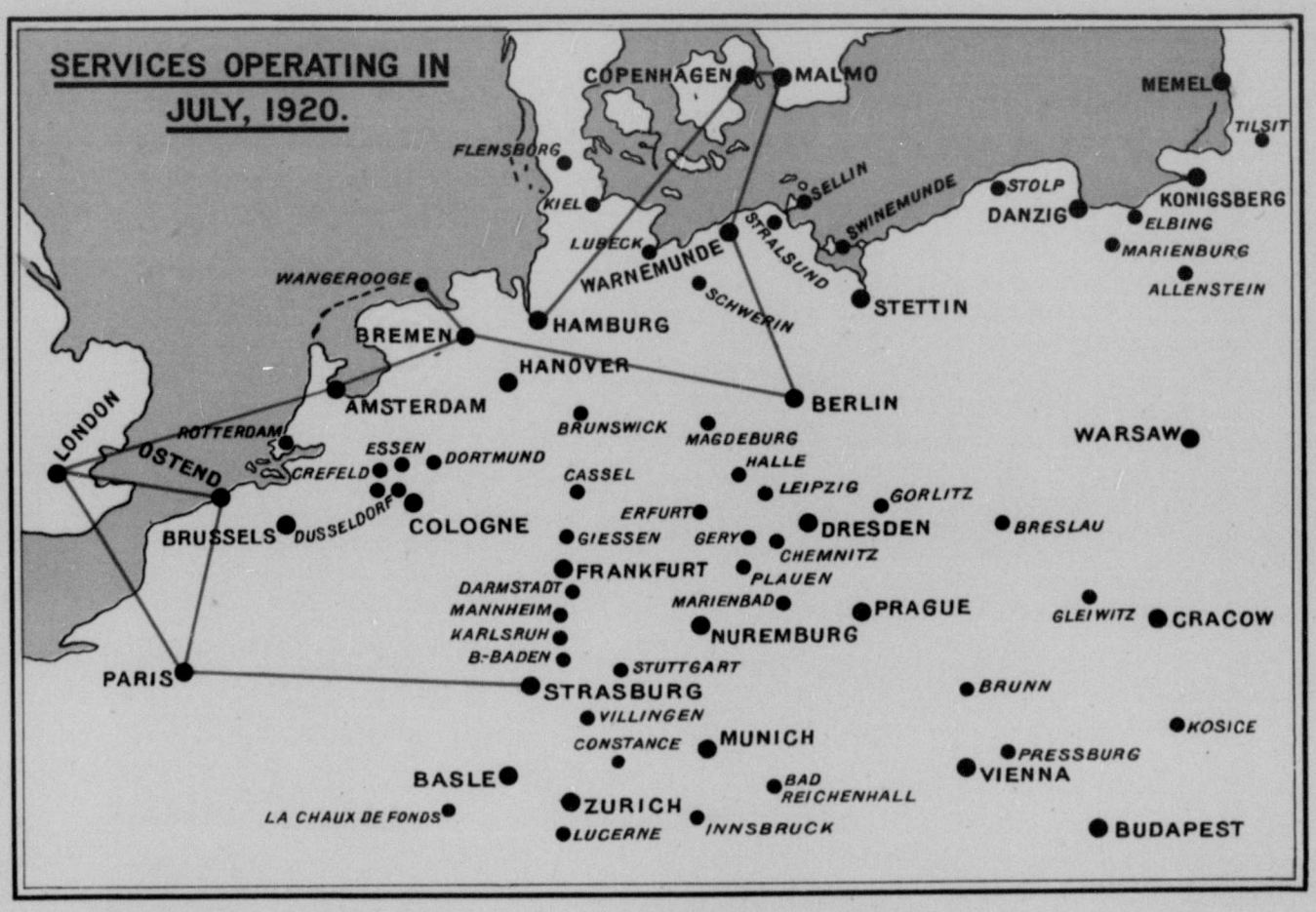
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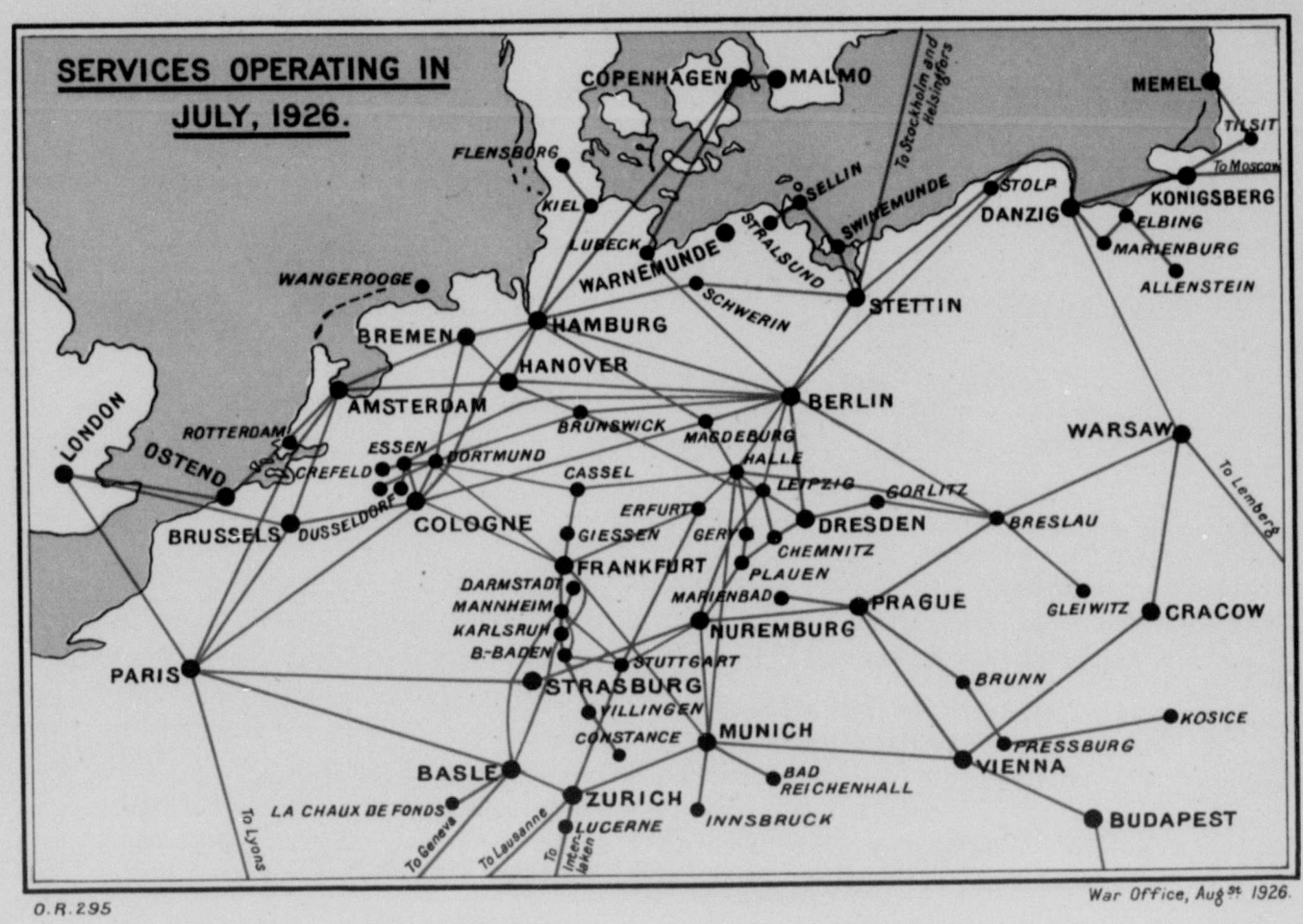
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AEROPLANE SERVICES OF NORTHERN EUROPE





O.R.295

War Office, Aug^st 1926.

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I.—THE RISE OF AEROPLANE TRANSPORT, 1920–1926.

1. The Expansion of Aeroplane Services.

In the last six years aeroplane transport services have multiplied in every continent, so that the total length of the regular air routes of the world is now three times greater than it was in 1920. In Europe there are now 18,120 miles of air lines in place of 6,000 miles in 1920 ; in America 4,655 in place of 2,840 ; in Africa 3,641 in place of 887 ; while in Australia and Asia, where there were no air lines in 1920, there are now 3,267 miles and 1,323 miles respectively. Even more significant than the increasing length of routes has been the rapid increase of the miles actually flown by aeroplanes in regular commercial service.

Approximate Mileage flown over the Regular Air Routes of the World.

1919	1,170,000 miles.
1920	2,270,000 ,,
1921	4,300,000 ,,
1922	5,500,000 ,,
1923	6,430,000 ,,
1924	8,190,000 ,,
1925	12,480,000 ,,

It will be seen that the mileage of 1925 was over ten times greater than that of 1919 and nearly twice that of 1923.

2. The Technical Improvement of Commercial Aeroplanes.

Since 1919, when the first commercial aeroplane flew from London to Paris carrying two passengers, there has been a steady improvement in the comfort, load-carrying capacity and safety of commercial aeroplanes. The design of the machines has been gradually better adapted to the needs of commercial transport ; the engines have been made more reliable and lighter for a given horse-power, and instruments have been devised to relieve the pilot of strain and to facilitate accurate navigation in clouds. The modern three-engined commercial aeroplane carrying 20 passengers and able to remain in flight with one of its engines out of action, has proved its capacity for maintaining regular services even in the difficult flying weather of North-West Europe. The following table indicates in detail some of the improvements which have been made in the last seven years :—

Performance of Commercial Aircraft.

	1919. *Handley Page O/10.*	1926. *"Argosy." With 3 Siddeley-Jaguar Engines.*
Horse-power	700	1,188
Gallons of petrol carried	215	248
Number of crew	1	2
Paying load	1,250	4,400
Number of passengers	6	20
Range in still air with full load, miles	400	400

3. The Growth of Ancillary Organisation.

The safe and regular operation of an air route depends not only on efficient aircraft and skilful pilots, but on good aerodromes, wireless systems, meteorological services and careful government regulation and administration. The great increase of commercial flying has therefore been accompanied by an equally important growth

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of the ground organisation of the air routes, especially in Europe and the United States. The lead in the technical development of ground organisation in Europe has been taken by Great Britain, where steady progress has been made in the last seven years. During that time many technical improvements have been made in every branch of the organisation of the cross-Channel aeroplane routes. In particular, better aerodrome and route lights have been installed ; the wireless and meteorological systems have been improved and expanded ; while the London Terminal Aerodrome is at present being enlarged and remodelled. The organisation and functions of the various ancillary services are described in detail in Appendix D, and here it is only necessary to indicate that the system has already attained considerable complexity and efficiency. The whole of civil aviation is regulated in harmony with the International Air Convention by the Air Navigation Act of 1920, and by Orders-in-Council and Air Navigation Directions which are issued from time to time. By this machinery regulations have been made governing such essential matters as the certification of aircraft for airworthiness, the keeping of log books, and the licensing of pilots, ground engineers and aerial navigators. Wireless is used for all the communications of the air routes and 28,175 messages were passed in 1925. Of these many were routine wireless telegraph messages informing various aerodromes of the departure and arrival of machines ; many were meteorological messages ; while others were verbal communications by wireless telephony between pilots of machines in flight and the duty officers of aerodromes. An important use of the wireless system is that, by a method of taking wireless bearings, pilots may be told their exact position. Owing to the difficult flying weather which prevails over north-west Europe during a large part of the year a highly developed weather reporting system has been found necessary. The meteorological organisation compiles reports every hour and exchanges them with the corresponding continental systems ; a special short period weather forecast is also issued for every service leaving Croydon aerodrome ; and reports of sudden changes in the weather are sent to the aerodromes and aeroplanes likely to be affected. In these and other ways the ancillary services of an air route are becoming more specialised, more complex, more efficient ; and they are beginning to ensure to commercial aeroplane services the safety and regularity which harbours, lighthouses and wireless make possible to shipping.

4. The Increase of Regularity, Safety, and Traffic.

An examination of the history of certain aeroplane services will show beyond doubt that in the last seven years there has been a great improvement in safety and regularity and a large increase in traffic.

(i) The aeroplane service between France and Morocco has a long history for an air transport service, having been established in 1919. The successful carriage of mails demands great regularity and, as the following table shows, this service has increased its load of mails every year.

Number of Letters carried between Toulouse and Casablanca.

1919	9,124
1920	182,000
1921	327,000
1922	1,407,352
1923	2,958,000
1924	4,026,000
1925	7,502,191

The number of letters carried has thus increased from under 200,000 in 1920 to more than 7,000,000 in 1925. Over half the letters posted in Morocco for France last year were sent by air mail although this involves the payment of an extra fee.

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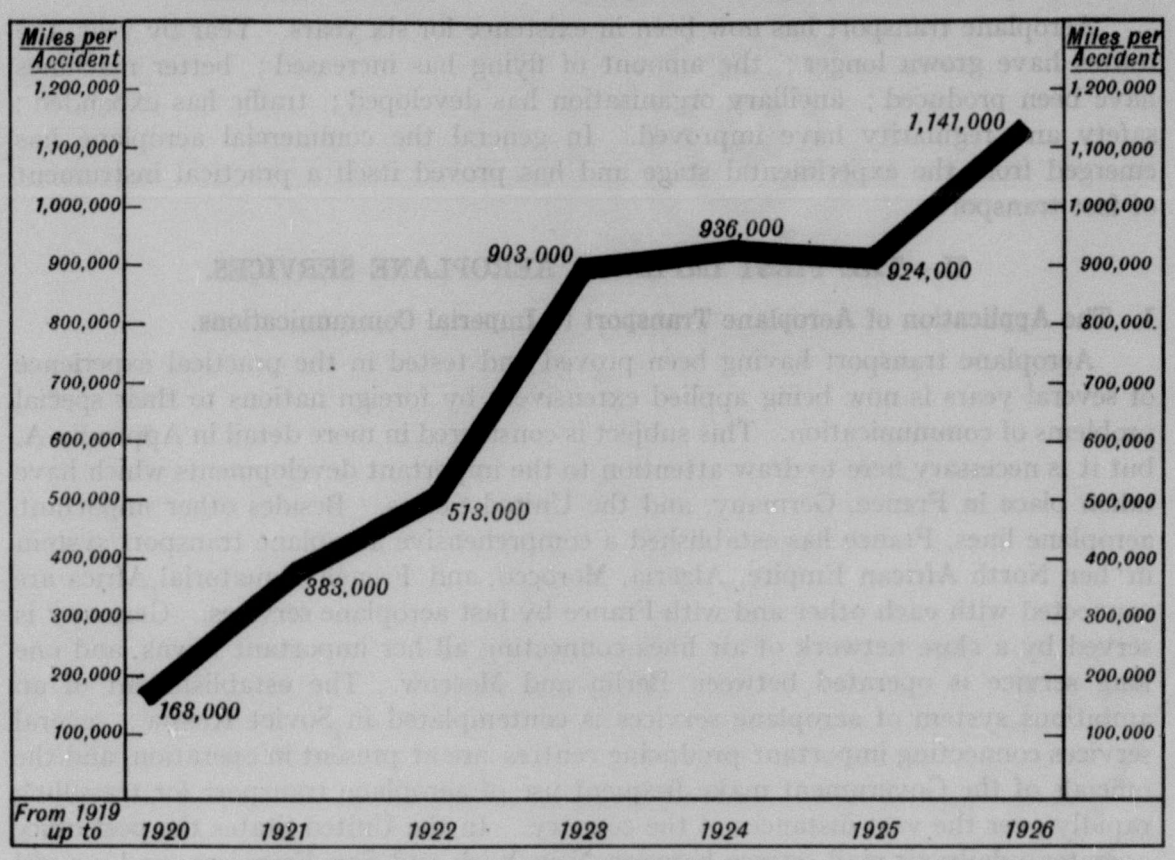
(ii) In 1920 the United States Post Office began to operate a trans-continental air mail service between New York and San Francisco. The route, which crosses the Aliegheny and Rocky Mountains, is 2,665 miles long, and the schedule time for the trip is 32 hours as against three days by the fastest train. Since 1924 a large stretch of the route has been flown by night, yet the service has a record of improving safety and regularity.

United States Air Mail.

Period.	*Miles flown.*	*Miles flown per Pilot Fatality.*
Four fiscal years, 1918–22 ..	2,635,433	138,600
Four fiscal years, 1922–25 ..	7,891,099	789,110

It will be seen that in the second period the average number of miles flown per pilot fatality was nearly six times greater than in the first period.

(iii) The British aeroplane services have always paid great attention to the technical points upon which the safety of aircraft depend and during the last seven years there have been only four accidents involving the death of passengers in the course of flying 5,000,000 miles. The following chart shows, for the periods from 1919 up to 31st March in the seven succeeding years, the total number of miles flown for each accident involving the death of passengers. It will be seen that, whereas the number of miles flown per fatal accident was only 168,000 in the period from 1919 to 1920, it has risen to over 1,000,000 during the period from 1919 to 1926.



The number of passengers carried by all the cross-Channel aeroplane services has been increasing at the rate of nearly 3,000 a year between 1920 and 1925; while the passenger traffic for the first six months of 1926 was 43 per cent. greater than that in the corresponding period of 1925.

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(iv) The aeroplane services of Australia have flown 922,278 miles during a period of four years, with only one fatal accident, which occurred at the beginning of the first service. The load of mails carried in 1925 was 26 per cent. greater than in 1924; the mileage flown was 34 per cent. greater, and 109 more passengers were carried.

(v) The advantages of air transport have been recognised by underwriters who have reduced the insurance rates on goods sent by air to a point considerably below the corresponding rates for surface transport. The extent of the difference is shown by the following table :—

Freight Insurance Premiums per £100.

	Surface Transport.	*Aeroplane Transport.*
	s. d.	*s. d.*
London to Paris	6 8	2 0
London to Amsterdam ..	6 8	3 0
London to Cologne ..	7 6	4 0
London to Zurich ..	7 6	5 0

This difference of insurance rates has caused considerable quantities of gold to be exported by air from England, and in 1925 over £10,000,000 of bullion and specie were carried by the cross-Channel services.

If space were available many other examples of improving safety and increasing traffic could be given from the history of the aeroplane services of the world.

5. The Importance of Aeroplane Transport.

Aeroplane transport has now been in existence for six years. Year by year, the routes have grown longer; the amount of flying has increased; better machines have been produced; ancillary organisation has developed; traffic has expanded; safety and regularity have improved. In general the commercial aeroplane has emerged from the experimental stage and has proved itself a practical instrument of fast transport.

II.—THE FIRST IMPERIAL AEROPLANE SERVICES.

1. The Application of Aeroplane Transport to Imperial Communications.

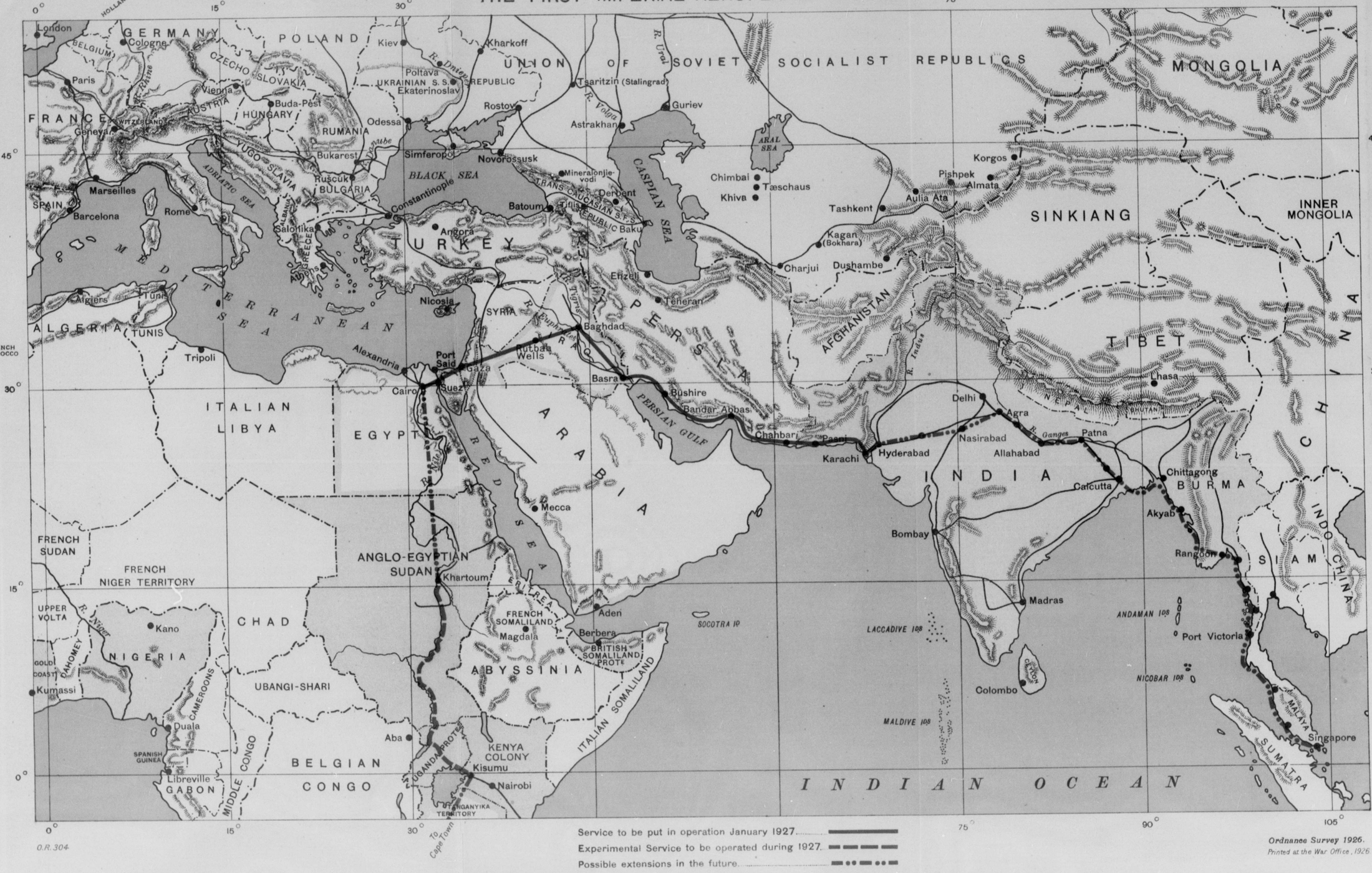
Aeroplane transport having been proved and tested in the practical experience of several years is now being applied extensively by foreign nations to their special problems of communication. This subject is considered in more detail in Appendix A, but it is necessary here to draw attention to the important developments which have taken place in France, Germany, and the United States. Besides other important aeroplane lines, France has established a comprehensive aeroplane transport system in her North African Empire, Algeria, Morocco, and French Equatorial Africa are connected with each other and with France by fast aeroplane services. Germany is served by a close network of air lines connecting all her important towns, and one long service is operated between Berlin and Moscow. The establishment of an ambitious system of aeroplane services is contemplated in Soviet Russia; several services connecting important producing centres are at present in operation, and the officials of the Government make frequent use of aeroplane transport for travelling rapidly over the vast distances of the country. In the United States the post office operates a daily air mail service between New York and San Francisco, and several subsidiary mail and passenger services have lately been established. In the British Empire there are at present aeroplane services in Great Britain and Australia; but there are no civil aeroplane services connecting different parts of the Empire. It is to

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THE FIRST IMPERIAL AEROPLANE ROUTES



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be expected, however, that a new means of fast transport such as the commercial aeroplane will have important applications to the problem of Imperial communications; and, in fact, a beginning has been made by the organisation of a service which will connect Egypt and India and the approval of an experimental service which will operate between East Africa and the Sudan.

2. Egypt-India Aeroplane Service.

The main aeroplane route which it has seemed most desirable to develop as quickly as possible is that from England to Egypt, Iraq, India, and Australia; as it would obviously be too early to establish the whole route immediately, His Majesty's Government have decided to begin at once with a service between Cairo and Karachi. It was decided to encourage the establishment of this section first for three reasons. First it avoids the climatic and international difficulties of Europe; secondly, it takes advantage of the comparatively quick steamship service between England and Egypt; and lastly it makes use of the experience gained in the operation of the air mail service between Cairo and Baghdad by the Royal Air Force, and enables this service to be suspended with consequent economy. A subsidy of approximately £95,000 a year for five years will be paid to Imperial Airways, Ltd., who are to maintain a service at least once fortnightly in each direction. The route is now in course of organisation, and meteorological, wireless and refuelling stations are being established at Cairo, Gaza, Rutbah, Baghdad, Basra, Bushire, Bundar Abbas, Charbar and Karachi. The chief physical disadvantages of the route are the extreme heat and the height of the Arabian Plateau both of which tend to reduce the load with which an aeroplane can rise from the ground. The company, however, realise that machines with a great reserve of power are necessary, especially in view of the inconvenience and risk attending a forced landing in the desert or on the coast of the Persian Gulf. They have therefore decided to use de Havilland "Hercules" machines fitted with three air-cooled 425 h.p. Bristol Jupiter engines, any two of which will maintain the machine in flight with full load. Of the fleet of machines at present being built, enough will have been delivered to the Middle East by January, 1927, for a service to be begun in that month between Cairo and Basra. The remaining machines will be delivered during the following three months, and the service will be extended to India in April. The following time-table has been prepared by Imperial Airways, Ltd.:—

Eastbound.			*Westbound.*		
Wed.	13.00 dep.	Cairo.	Thurs.	06.00 dep.	Karachi.
,,	16.00 arr.	Gaza.	,,	11.10 arr.	Charbar.
Thurs.	06.00 dep.		,,	12.10 dep.	
,,	10.15 arr.	Rutbah.	,,	16.15 arr.	Bundar Abbas.
,,	11.15 dep.		Fri.	07.00 dep.	
,,	14.10 arr.	Baghdad.	,,	12.15 arr.	Bushire.
,,	14.30 dep.		,,	13.15 dep.	
,,	17.35 arr.	Basra.	,,	16.25 arr.	Basra.
Fri.	06.00 dep.		Sat.	06.00 dep.	
,,	09.15 arr.	Bushire.	,,	09.00 arr.	Baghdad.
,,	10.15 dep.		,,	09.15 dep.	
,,	15.45 arr.	Bundar Abbas.	,,	12.00 arr.	Rutbah.
Sat.	06.00 dep.		,,	13.00 dep.	
,,	10.15 arr.	Charbar.	,,	17.00 arr.	Gaza.
,,	11.15 dep.		Sun.	07.00 dep.	
,,	16.45 arr.	Karachi.	,,	10.00 arr.	Cairo.

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Passengers travelling all the way by sea reach Karachi on the 17th day, and those travelling by sea to Cairo and then by aeroplane will arrive on the 10th day, thus saving a week. Similarly the air route to Baghdad and Basra will take 8 days, while the sea route takes 23 and 22 days respectively. There seems little doubt that soon after the route is put into regular operation the traffic will be sufficient to justify a weekly service, and the company have undertaken to introduce this improvement as quickly as possible. When the company's staff have gained experience with the machines and the ground organisation, it is thought that night flying will be introduced; and it is expected that eventually the service will be made bi-weekly to connect with both the steamship lines serving Cairo. It is obvious that once this service is operating there would be great advantages in extending it beyond Karachi to Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon, Singapore and Australia, and there would seem to be no technical difficulties in flying these routes by aeroplane and seaplane.

3. Khartoum-Kisumu Experimental Service.

This route, which is 1,400 miles long, follows the valley of the White Nile southwards from Khartoum as far as Lake Nyanza, where it branches in an easterly direction to Kisumu, which is the terminus of the Kenya and Uganda railway. The objects of the service are to bring Kenya and Uganda into closer touch with each other and with England and the Sudan. The Governments of Kenya and Uganda are assisting with grants of £2,500 each, and the Sudan Government with a grant of £2,000. The North Sea Aerial and General Navigation Co., Ltd. (which is associated with the Blackburn Aeroplane Co., Ltd.), will conduct 12 experimental flights in each direction in order to gain the experience on which plans for a permanent service may be based. There is at present no regular boat and rail service to East Africa, but assuming that the journey normally takes 20 days, the saving in time by travelling to Khartoum and then continuing by air to Kisumu would be 8 days. Between Khartoum and Uganda the saving of time by aeroplane transport would be from 10 to 12 days, and between Khartoum and Rejaf, at the southerly limit of the navigable Nile, 14 days. The promoters hope that the permanent service will carry part of the mail between Europe and East Africa; gold from the Kilo and Moto mines on the west side of Lake Albert Nyanza in the Belgian Congo; samples of coffee, maize and sisal for England; and some of the large number of settlers who return every year to Europe. This service would form a section of the main aeroplane route between Great Britain and South Africa.

III.—PROGRESS TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IMPERIAL AIRSHIP SERVICES.

1. The Present Position of Airship Development.

At the outbreak of the late war the airship as a means of transport was definitely in a more advanced stage than was the aeroplane. Between 1910 and 1914 five German airships, constructed for passenger traffic, had carried 42,000 passengers in 2,000 flights without a mishap to a single passenger. As a contrast with this the first successful aeroplane flight from London to Manchester was not performed until 1910, and even then no passengers were carried. On the other hand, by the end of the war the position had been reversed, and the technical progress of the aeroplane was definitely in advance of that of the airship. This was mainly due to the intensive development of the aeroplane during the war and the large volume of research devoted to its special problems. The theoretical work carried out during the war on the problems of airship design and construction was far less in quantity and less continuous. For this there seem to have been two main reasons. Firstly, as German experience has shown, the large rigid airship cannot successfully operate in the face of an organised aeroplane and anti-aircraft defence, and consequently its utility in

the late war was greatly restricted. The second cause was the high degree of success attained at the end of the war by the Zeppelin Works in evolving the later designs from the earlier ones, not so much on a basis of theoretical calculation as by a kind of rule of thumb process. The rigid airships built in England during the war were practically all copies of Zeppelin airships and were equally successful—*e.g.*, the R.34 and R.33. The success attained by these methods militated against intensive theoretical investigation; but their inherent limitations and defects were brought to light by the collapse of the R.38 in 1921. It then became clear that before large airships could be built and used as a regular means of fast long-distance transport (and it is the large airship that is required for this purpose), airship design and construction would have to be placed on a sound scientific basis and tested by experimental flights under the trying conditions of the tropics. None the less, it must be remembered that airships of the Zeppelin type have carried out many noteworthy operations and individual flights. Of these, the most important were, perhaps, the passenger service already mentioned and the numerous raids made on London during the war, which, in themselves, constitute an impressive record from the point of view of mere flying. In addition the following flights should also be mentioned:—

(i) *German L.57, 1917.*—This airship left Jamboli in Bulgaria at 8 o'clock on the morning of 21st November with a crew of 22 men and a military load of 10 tons, and arrived at the Daka Oasis in East Africa at midnight of the next day. It flew back to Jamboli on 25th November, having flown without landing a distance of 4,200 miles in 96 hours.

(ii) *British R.34, 1919.*—In June a reconnaissance flight was made from East Fortune to Dantzig over the North Sea, the Cattegat and Baltic. A gale was encountered on the return voyage, the after-engine broke down completely, and although flying through the air at 40 knots the ship was actually going astern over the sea for 8 hours. The flight lasted 57 hours.

(iii) *British R.34, 1919.*—In July R.34 flew to America in 108 hours. She was really too small for the transatlantic crossing being unable to carry enough petrol to make a fast flight. The ship remained moored in America for four days and then flew back to England in 75 hours. The total distance was 6,400 miles and it was flown in 183 hours.

(iv) *German 'Bodensee,' 1919.*—From August to December this ship made 103 flights, covering 32,000 miles and carrying 2,450 passengers. Her operations were suspended in December under restrictions imposed on German aviation by the Peace Treaty.

(v) *German ZR.3, 1924.*—On 12th October ZR.3 left Friedrichshafen in Germany and flew to Lakehurst in the United States in 80 hours 45 minutes. This was a distance of 5,000 miles and the average speed was 62 miles an hour.

(vi) *United States 'Shenandoah,' 1924.*—This ship carried out a programme of transcontinental flying during which she visited Texas, California and Chicago before returning to Lakehurst in New York State. She flew 8,100 miles in 22 days and remained for a time moored at the mast in each city she visited.

(vii) *Italian 'Norge,' 1926.*—In June this small airship of only 660,000 cubic feet capacity was flown over the North Pole under the leadership of Roald Amundsen. The total distance flown was approximately 6,175 miles, which was divided into five stages beginning at Rome and ending at Alaska. The length of the actual flight across the Pole between Spitzbergen and Alaska was 2,450 miles.

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Airships have thus flown long distances in the tropics of Africa, the sub-tropics of America, in the stormy north-west of Europe and over the North Polar regions. There have, however, been three important airship accidents which it is necessary to consider in some detail :—

(1) *British R.38, 1921.*—The R.38 was designed on specially light lines to fly at a height of 25,000 feet for military purposes, and failed on her fourth trial flight owing to structural weakness. The report of the Aeronautical Research Committee on the accident stated that, having regard to her size and speed, R.38 was considerably weaker than previous British rigid airships, and that during design the stresses due to aerodynamic forces had been overlooked.

(2) *French 'Dixmude,' 1923.*—This airship, like the R.38, was built specially light to fly at height for military purposes. The facts of the accident are extremely obscure; and, although it was attributed by the French Court of Inquiry to lightning, airships have on occasion been struck by lightning without such disaster, and it is at least probable that the true cause of the accident may have been similar to that of R.38.

(3) *United States 'Shenandoah,' 1925.*—The Court of Enquiry found that the final destruction of the airship was due primarily to large unbalanced external aero-dynamic forces arising from high velocity wind currents. The airship at the time was cruising over an area of the United States where severe squalls are known to occur; and, owing to the unusual movements of storm areas 25 to 50 miles to the northward, the meteorological officer had suggested a change of course to the south some hours before the accident occurred. This advice was not, however, acted upon. The Court of Enquiry concluded that "although the disaster to the 'Shenandoah' indicates that a rigid airship can probably be destroyed through external aerodynamic forces only, and that such forces can arise from air currents unaccompanied by visible signs recognisable by aerologists in the present state of knowledge, it is the opinion of the Court that such conditions and combinations are unusual and such a conclusion does not, therefore, throw doubt upon the safety and utility of rigid airships to a materially greater degree than does the fact that other types of craft for navigation in the air or on the water are likewise subject to destruction through unusual dangers which cannot invariably be foreseen and provided against."

Of these three major accidents, two occurred with airships designed on specially light lines for military purposes, and the third in a storm comparable to those which bring disaster to ships at sea. On the other hand airships have a record of practical achievement over a period of years. They have definitely proved their capacity on occasion to fly fast and continuously by day and night through great distances over sea and land while carrying relatively heavy loads.

2. Government Policy, 1919–24.

(1) *Airship Policy,* 1919–24.—After the war it was realised that, unlike aeroplanes, airships were particularly adapted to long continuous flights over large distances, and that they were likely to prove of special value to the British Empire, the different parts of which are separated by great oceans. It was desired, therefore, to encourage airship development. Accordingly, in 1919, the Royal Air Force carried out with R.34 the Baltic and Transatlantic flights mentioned above; the first mooring mast experiments were undertaken with R.24 at Pulham; the construction of R.38 was continued at the Royal Airship Works; and R.36 was completed and fitted with a passenger car by Messrs. Beardmore and Company, Limited. In 1920, however, when a reduction of expenditure was enforced on all Government Departments, the Air Ministry reluctantly closed down the airship branch of the Royal Air Force, and it was decided to endeavour to maintain airship

construction and operation solely on a commercial basis. From 1919, onwards, various proposals were put forward for the commercial operation of the Government fleet and the construction of further airships. Amongst others who formulated schemes were Sir Alan Anderson, a director of the Orient line, and Mr. A. H. Ashbolt, Agent-General for Tasmania. The main features of some of these proposals were considered by the Imperial Conference of 1921, but none were finally adopted by the Government of the day. Thus, at the end of 1921 there was a possibility that airship operation in this country would be finally closed down and the airships and stations disposed of; but in March, 1922, fresh proposals were received from Commander Burney. Negotiations with Commander Burney proceeded during 1922 and 1923, since the outline of his scheme appeared to afford a satisfactory solution of the problem. When, however, the scheme came to be translated into a series of formal contracts, certain technical and financial difficulties impressed the members of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Government. A Cabinet Committee was therefore appointed to reconsider the position. The enquiry went to show that if airship development was to proceed upon a sound technical basis, it was inevitable that the Government should undertake the research and experiment which the disaster to R.38 had shown to be necessary, and His Majesty's Government, therefore, decided to adopt the programme of airship development which is now being carried out.

(2) *The Experimental Programme, 1924.*—The experimental programme adopted in 1924 was to extend over three years and to cost £1,350,000. It is now, however, estimated that the cost will be between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{3}{4}$ million pounds. The purpose of the programme was to make a real advance in airship development and thoroughly to test the capacity of modern rigid airships as a standard means of long distance transport. In general, the programme consisted of a period of research and investigation in preparation for two practical operations :—

(i) The construction of two airships of such improved speed, range and load-carrying capacity as would enable them to make long voyages overseas with a substantial margin of lifting power; and

(ii) The carrying out of successful flights to and from an overseas terminal, in order to demonstrate that the airships were suitable for the work for which they were designed.

It was held that once this programme had been successfully carried out the further development of airships would be assured and it was recognised that the practical progress of the experimental programme might well prove to be of decisive importance in the history of airship development. It was, therefore, decided to develop the programme in a spirit of scientific caution, holding considerations of prudence and safety to be of paramount importance. Two airships were to be built, one by the Air Ministry (R.101) and one by the Airship Guarantee Company (R.100). This ensured competition in design and provided that a purely accidental failure of one ship should not terminate the whole programme. Elaborate researches and experiments were to be made; new sheds and masts were to be erected in England, Egypt, and India; and the weather conditions of the route were to be carefully investigated in their application to airship navigation. During the last two years work has been proceeding under this programme, and in several departments there has been practical progress which it is desirable to consider in some detail.

3. The Progress of Fundamental Research.

(1) *The Development of the Theory of Airship Design in England,* 1921–24.—It has already been stated that the considerable success attained by Germany in the development of the Zeppelin airships by the end of the war rested on a comparatively slight basis of fundamental research work. It seems clear that the later Zeppelins were evolved from the earlier types by a process of slight but continuous variation,

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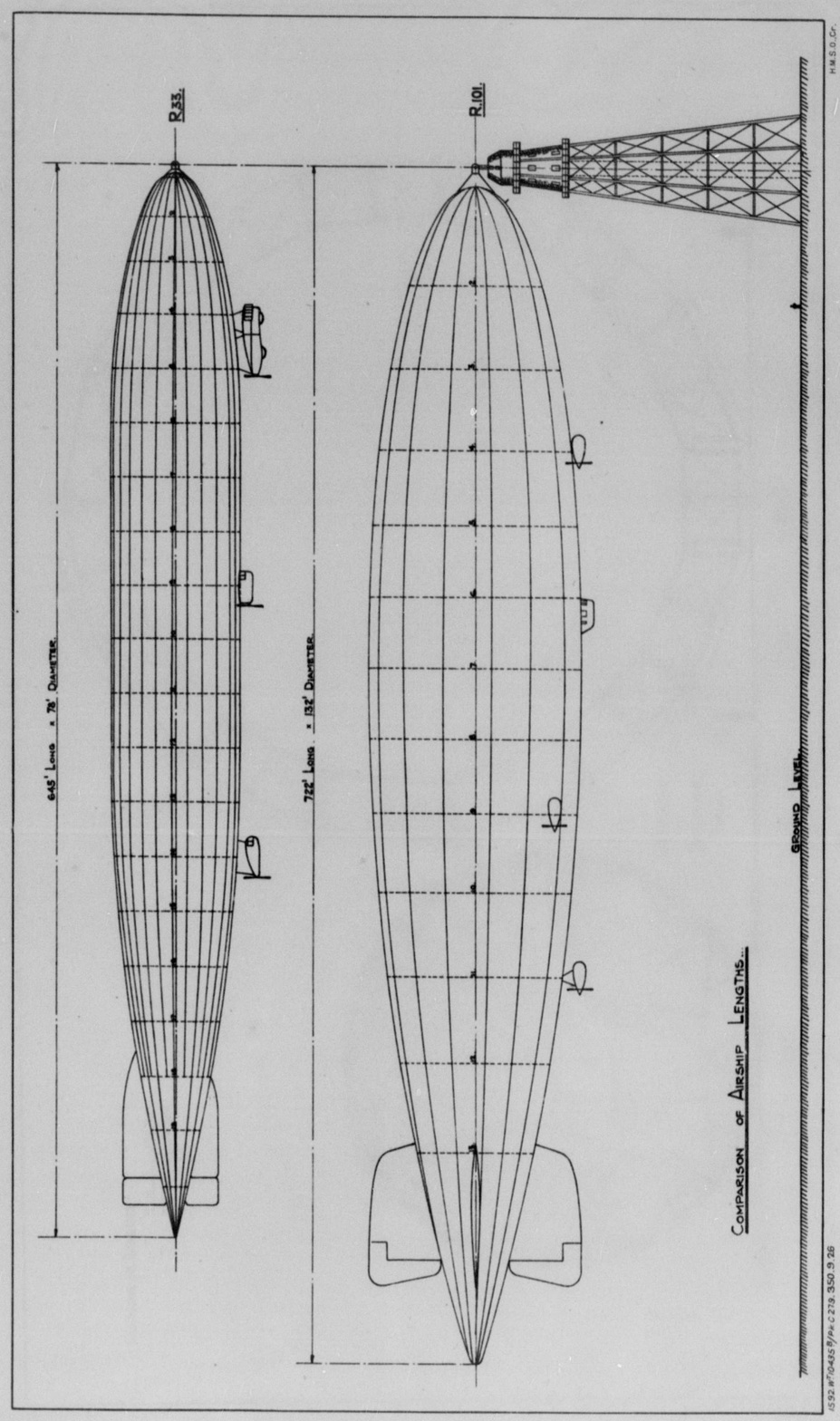
and that the German methods were empirical to a degree which no longer persisted in other branches of aeronautical engineering. In England the large rigid airships up to and including R.37 were little more than copies of Zeppelins. The design of R.38 represented a departure from the older types, but was based rather on the empirical knowledge of her designers than on fundamental research. The collapse of this airship during her trials in 1921 was investigated by the Accidents Investigations Sub-Committee of the Aeronautical Research Committee. The Committee found that the design staff, in working out the calculations of the strength of the airship, had disregarded the aerodynamic forces to which the airship would be subjected. They stated that research by both model and full scale experiment was essential to determine and verify these forces, and that " in the construction of such an airship, reference to first principles of design was necessary, and that for progressive development of airships in size and speed, it was not sufficient to place exclusive reliance on a comparison with existing ships, using the routine methods adopted for R.38. As a result of this report a series of important theoretical investigations was undertaken, under the supervision of the Aeronautical Research Committee on behalf of the Air Ministry, into two main problems :—

(i) What are the forces acting upon an airship while in flight as the result of her motion through the air (aerodynamic forces) ?

(ii) What is the distribution of the strains and stresses in the structure of an airship caused by these aerodynamic forces and by the static forces imposed by the loading of the airship ?

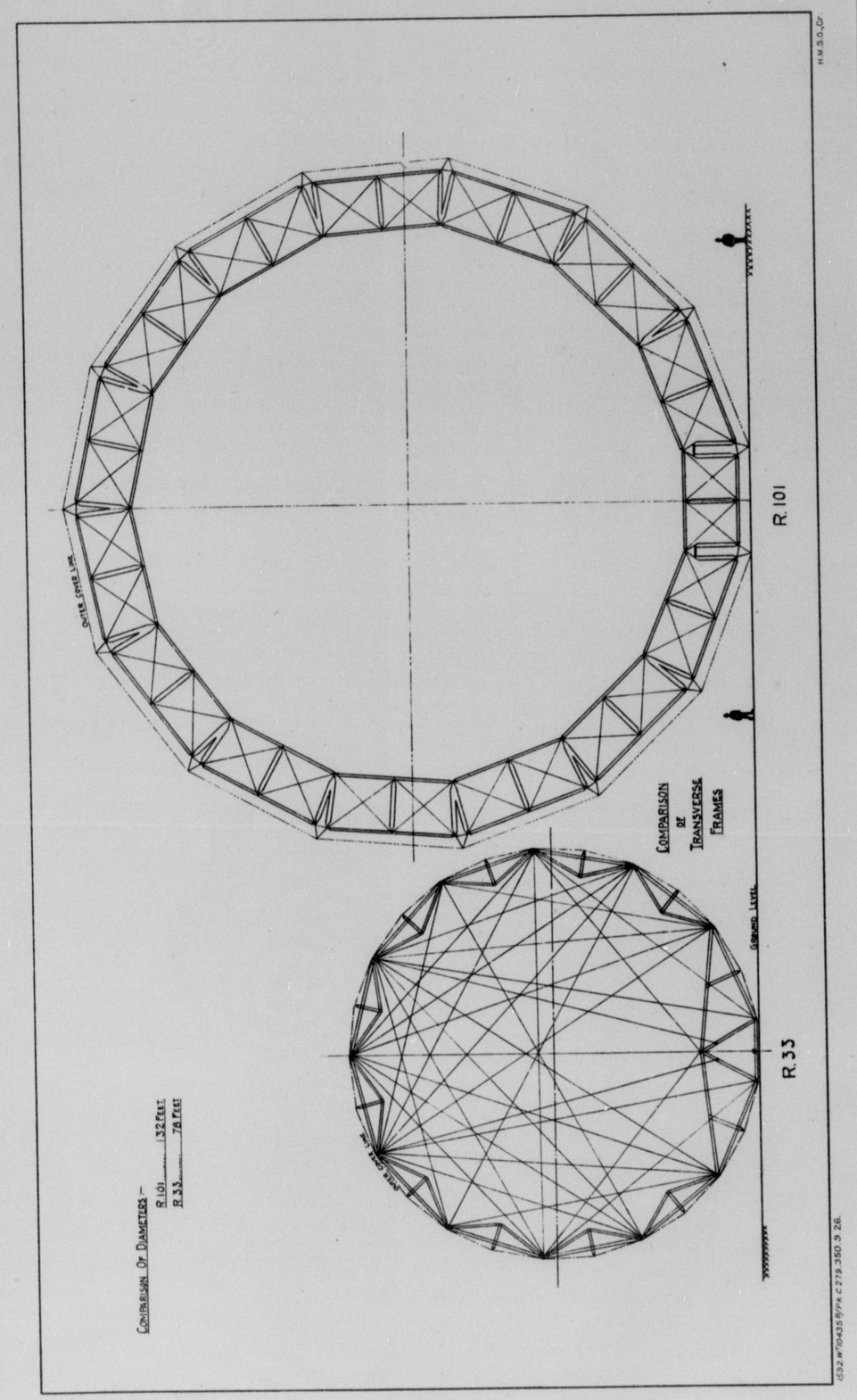
The practical object of this investigation was to develop a method of accurately calculating these forces and strains so that the designer might know what should be the strength of the structure necessary to resist them. By 1924 appreciable progress had been made, and there was available a considerable body of theoretical knowledge, so that it was possible to lay down in general terms the principles which should govern the airworthiness of airships from the structural point of view. Further important investigations, however, remained to be made ; in particular, the full scale research recommended by the Aeronautical Research Committee. The carrying out of this research was consequently the first item in the Government's programme.

(2) *The Calculation of Aerodynamic Forces.*—In order to investigate the nature of the forces which the rapid motion of an airship through the air causes to act upon her hull, experiments were made with model airships in the wind tunnels at the National Physical Laboratory, making use of the technique which has long been successfully used to elucidate problems of aeroplane design. These experiments eventually led, in 1925, to the selection of a shape of hull which for a given volume has half the resistance of older airships. These important results were subject to the one uncertainty that it was not known how accurately the behaviour of a full size airship would correspond to that of its model. This was a fundamental difficulty, and its removal was one of the main objects of the full scale research included in the Air Ministry's experimental programme. R.33 was therefore inflated and equipped with an elaborate system of instruments designed to measure the forces exerted by the air on the hull, fins and rudders of the airship in flight. Disposed over the surface of the ship's hull were 300 specially designed holes which were connected by rubber tubes to batteries of pressure gauges distributed at convenient points inside the ship ; and all these gauges were photographed simultaneously by illuminating a system of electric lights governed from the control car. In one long flight of 36 hours in November of last year 42 readings were taken covering straight, pitched and circling flight at different speeds and with various rudder and elevator angles. The results of this experiment with R.33 were then worked out and compared with those given by her model in the wind tunnel. The slight differences between the two



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indicated the extent to which reliance could be placed on model figures, and a standard for use in calculating the behaviour of other airships from model tests. The aerodynamic forces to which the two new airships will be subjected can now be assumed with much more confidence from the experiments on their models in the wind tunnel. Further experiments of this kind will, however, be necessary, and it is intended to equip R.101 with similar pressure gauges and to check the calculations based on the behaviour of her model by observation of the actual aerodynamic forces as recorded in the completed airship in flight.

(3) *The Calculation of the Strength of Airships.*—When the aerodynamic forces which act on an airship are known it becomes possible to consider the way in which these forces distribute themselves through the airship structure and therefore how strong the various parts of the structure must be made. In consequence of the report of the sub-committee which investigated the accident to R.38 a Panel of the Aeronautical Research Committee was appointed, under the Chairmanship of Mr. R. V. Southwell, to investigate " certain questions relating to the structural strength of airships." The Panel reported, analysing in considerable detail the nature of the stresses to which airships are subject, and in 14 technical appendices treated the whole question in the light of existing knowledge. This report, however, dealt only with the purely theoretical problem of stress calculations and it was necessary to check the theoretical conclusions by actual experiments. For this purpose, at the recommendation and under the auspices of the Aeronautical Research Committee, Professor Pippard carried out, on behalf of the Air Ministry, an investigation of redundant structures consisting of a series of experiments on a specially simplified model. The results generally supported theoretical conclusions, and when airship construction was again started there was sufficient material available to enable the Airworthiness of Airships Panel of the Aeronautical Research Committee, under the Chairmanship of Professor Bairstow, to lay down in general terms the structural requirements for the airworthiness of airships. The report of this Panel specified certain factors of safety which were considered necessary in various parts of an airship structure to provide for all normal flying manœuvres and conditions, and will govern the construction of the two new airships. During the present programme experiments have also been carried out at Pulham with special strain gauges on the hull of an old, but sufficiently representative, airship further to test the theoretical conclusions as regards the new airships; strength tests, not only of the individual members, but of a complete transverse ring have been or will be carried out by the two designing staffs ; and at the Royal Airship Works a complete section of R.101 was erected in the summer of 1926, and submitted to stringent tests, with satisfactory results. It may therefore be said, that every possible experiment, test and check has been made in the initial stages of the new designs. It is intended, further, to equip R.101 with special instruments which, during flying trials, will simultaneously record the actual stresses at a large number of important points in her structure.

(4) *The New Basis of Airship Construction.*—It will be seen that in consequence of the work of English scientists there has been a considerable development in the theory of airship construction in recent years. As a result of this theoretical progress the strength required in different parts of the airship structure can be calculated with far greater confidence than before. Simultaneously, the advance to greater size has rendered practicable the use of materials and methods of construction which were not previously possible. Indeed it may be said that airship construction, on the side both of theory and practice, is now being developed in a way which for the first time makes full use of knowledge available from the aeronautical engineering experience of the past.

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4. The Two 5,000,000 cubic foot Airships.

(1) *Dimensions and Estimated Performance.*—The airship being constructed by the Airship Guarantee Company will be known as R.100, and that being built at the Royal Airship Works will be called R.101. Both airships have a maximum diameter of approximately 130 feet, but R.101 is somewhat longer than R.100, having a length of 730 feet as compared with 709 feet. The large size of the airship has made practicable the use of steel in the girder work of R.101; while in the hull of R.100 a new form of duralumin girder is being used which is claimed to be more effective than any duralumin girder previously used in airship work. The full speed laid down in the contract for R.100 is 70 miles an hour at 5,000 feet, with a cruising speed of 63 miles an hour; and the same requirements are being called for in the case of R.101. These speeds have been put on a conservative basis, and it is hoped that they will be exceeded by both airships. At this cruising speed the airships should be able, without refuelling, to fly in still air a distance of some 4,000 miles with a normal commercial load.

(2) *Engines.*—The use of petrol in an airship has long been recognised as a potential source of danger, and for commercial airships the substitution of a less inflammable engine fuel is regarded as of the first importance. Two lines of experiment have been pursued—the use of a mixture of kerosene and hydrogen, and the use of heavy oil in a compression ignition engine of the Diesel type. Some progress has been made with the hydrogen kerosene engine, but it is not anticipated that it will be developed in time for the trials of the two new airships. The practicability of a heavy oil aircraft engine had already been the subject of research and experiment at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, before 1924. When the present programme commenced, the Air Ministry decided to develop this type of engine for R.101, and the work was given to Messrs. Beardmore and Company, Limited. Although a successful railcar engine was quickly produced, and is now in commercial use in Canada, the problem of combining strength and lightness has made the development of the aircraft engine proceed more slowly. It is confidently hoped, however, that heavy oil engines will be available for both airships on their trial flights. Another problem of considerable interest to the commercial future of airships which is being attacked is the recovery of water from the exhaust gases of the engine.

(3) *Passenger Accommodation.*—Both airships are being designed to carry approximately 100 passengers, luggage, and 10 tons of mail; and the accommodation provided will be far more comprehensive than that of any previous aeroplanes or airships. It will include sleeping cabins with two or four berths, promenade decks, lounges and smoking room; and dining rooms capable of seating 50 people at a time. Special arrangements are being made for ventilation and heating, and there will be fully equipped kitchens capable of serving normal meals for the passengers and crew. A plan of the upper deck of R.101 is reproduced on the opposite page, from which it will be seen that the size and arrangement of the passenger quarters of the airship are beginning to approach that of a steamship. In point of comfort, however, a large airship has two advantages over an ocean-going vessel: the airship flies with considerably less rolling and pitching; and there is no vibration since the engines are carried in cars slung away from the main structure.

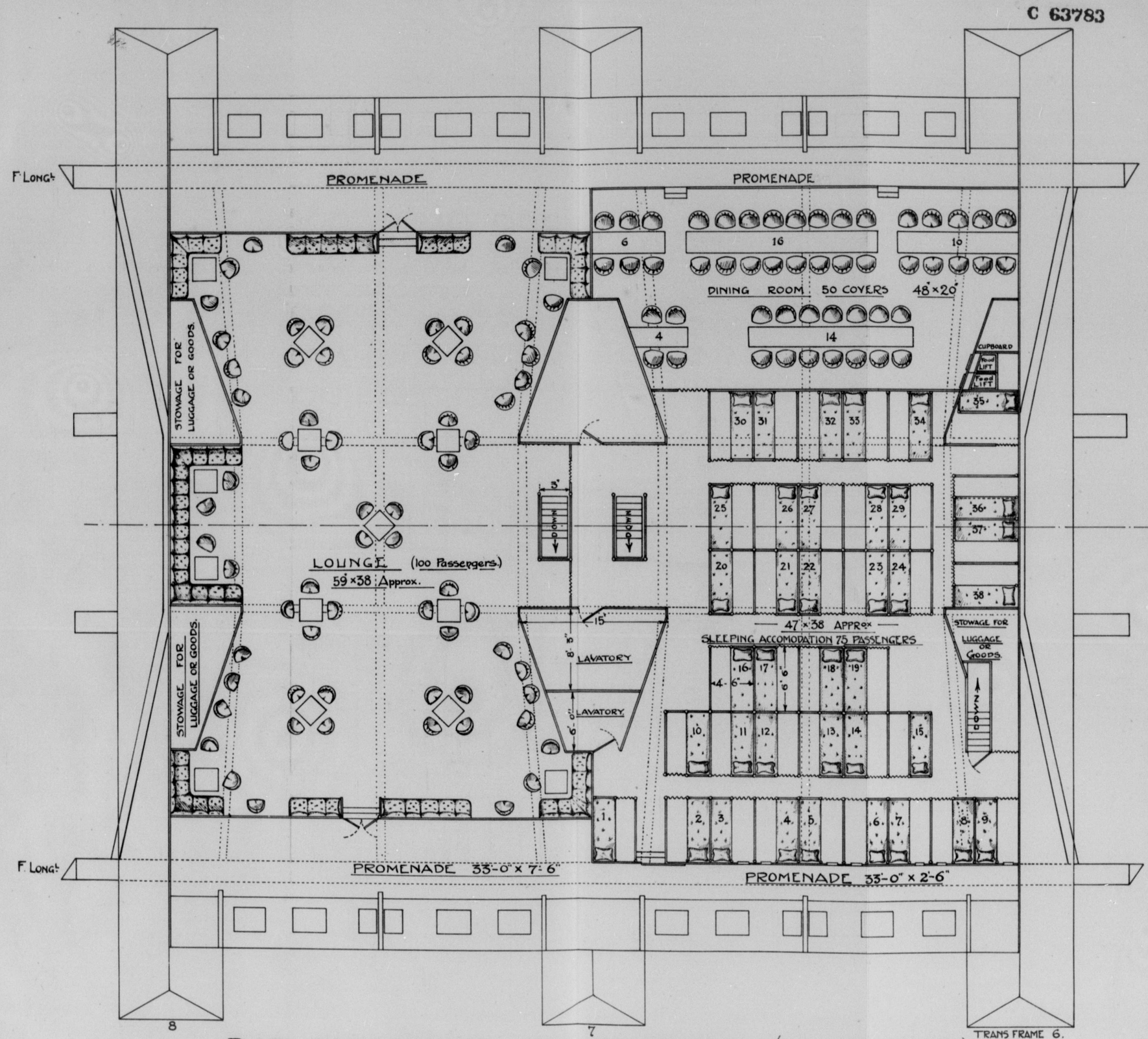
5. The Provision of Airship Stations for the Experimental Voyages.

(1) *The Development of the Mooring Mast, 1919–25.*—The chief cause of the irregularity of airship flying in the past has been the difficulty of handling ships on the ground and the risk involved in taking them in and out of the sheds in anything but light winds. Regular operations were obviously impossible with an airship which in the face of a very moderate wind had to be laboriously manœuvred by several hundred assistants into the shed, from which it could only emerge when the weather was calm. In order to solve this problem considerable attention has been given in recent years to the development of a system of mooring airships at masts. The first real attempt to do this was made at Pulham in 1919 with the airship R.24, and a mast designed and erected to the order of the Air Ministry by Messrs. Vickers, Ltd. During

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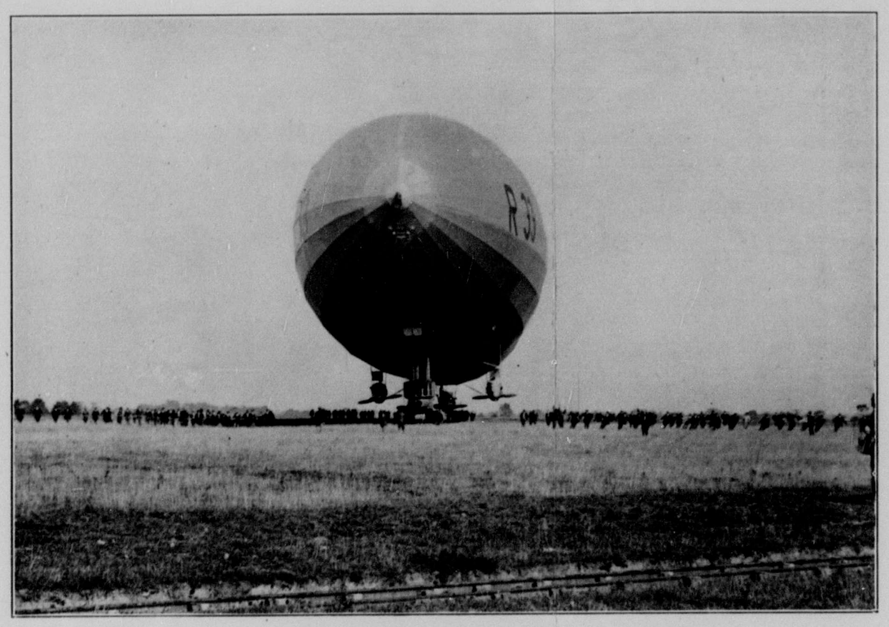
R.101. PASSENGER ACCOMMODATION (UPPER DECK.)

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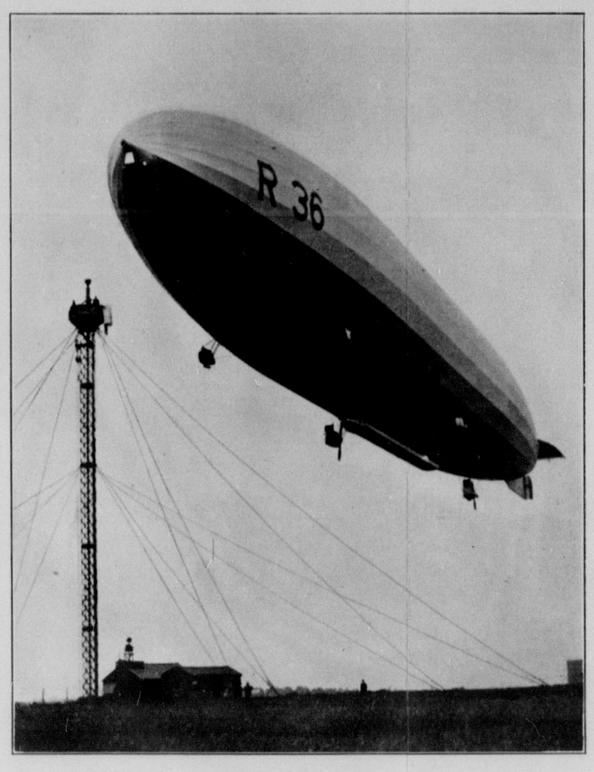
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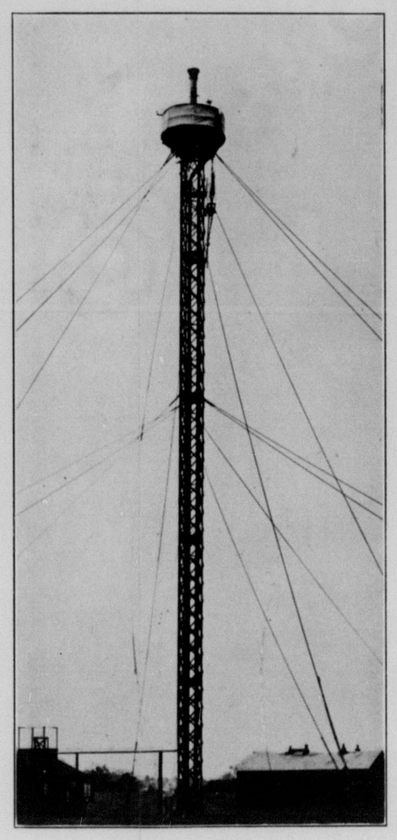
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An Airship being brought to her shed by a landing party of 250–300 men.



An Airship landing to a Mooring Mast operated by a crew of ten men.



The old Mast at Pulham.

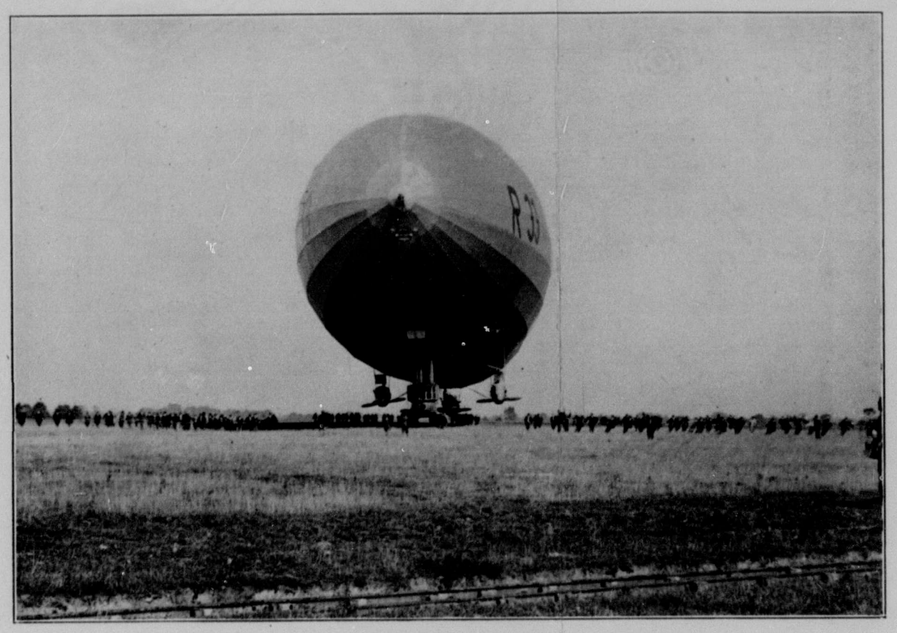


The new Mast at Cardington.

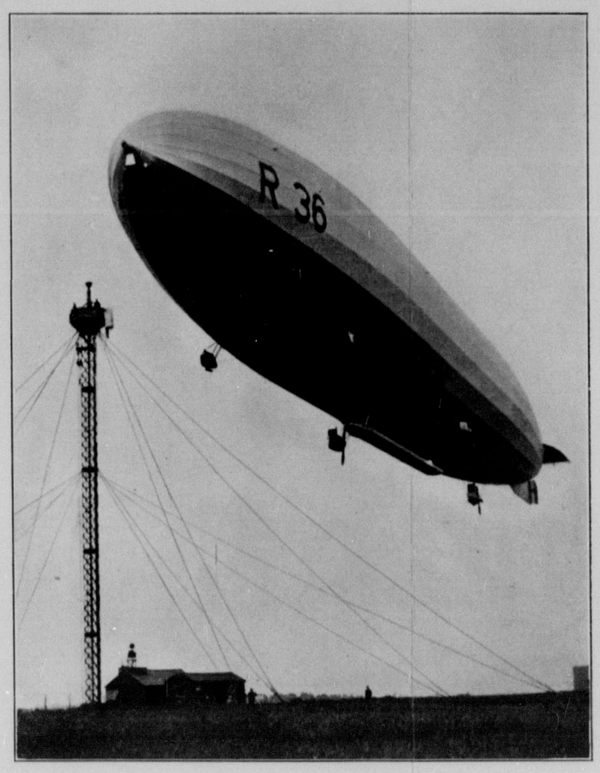
These photographs have been reproduced to scale and show the actual relative sizes of the two Masts.

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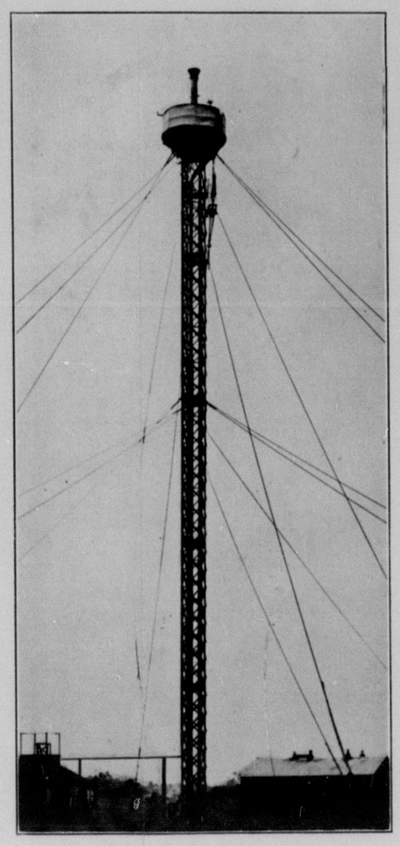
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An Airship being brought to her shed by a landing party of 250–300 men.



An Airship landing to a Mooring Mast operated by a crew of ten men.



The old Mast at Pulham.



The new Mast at Cardington.

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these trials the airship remained at the mast for periods of 21, 42 and 4 days and weathered a maximum wind of 43 m.p.h. Difficulty was, however, experienced in landing to the mast and to obviate this a different system of landing was devised, a new head was constructed at the Royal Airship Works, and further trials were carried out in 1921 with R.33.

These trials covered a period of four months. A variety of weather was experienced, including rain, hail and snow, but no difficulty was found either in landing, leaving or riding at the mast in winds up to 28, 40 and 51 miles an hour respectively. The same system of mast mooring has been adopted in the United States, and both the 'Shenandoah' and 'Los Angeles' have carried out operations in climates ranging from the temperate conditions of New York to those of the Southern States. Since the adoption of the system only two mishaps of any consequence have occurred. The 'Shenandoah,' owing to the weakness and breakage of a fin and the faulty design of a bearing which jammed when she began to roll, wrenched herself free but returned safely to her shed. In the case of R.33, which was not designed for mast mooring, the airship was struck by a violent side gust during a heavy gale; a girder in the nose and certain bolts on the masthead failed under stress, and the airship broke away from the mast, but returned safely to Pulham after fighting the gale for some 30 hours over the North Sea. In both these accidents there were failures of the airship while at the mast for which it is thought that a comparatively small increase of strength can provide; and the problems of mooring are being taken into account in the designs of the new airships. In temperate climates the critical and expensive operation of bringing an airship to the earth and housing it in a shed after every flight is a thing of the past. An airship can now be moored to a mast by a mast crew of 10 men; and it should be able in the future to operate from the mast for long periods, refuelling and changing engines and even gasbags while moored at the mast. The airship shed should then be more analogous to the dry dock of a surface ship than to its ordinary harbour.

(2) *The Airship Stations of the England–India Route.*—In order to provide the conditions for safe experimental voyages to India and back it was considered essential to construct a mooring mast at Cardington, in addition to the shed in which R.101 is to be constructed, a mooring mast for refuelling at Ismailia, and a shed at Karachi. The masts at Cardington and Ismailia are nearly completed and work has been begun on the shed at Karachi, the site for which has been presented by the Indian Government, together with a grant-in-aid of import duties of four lakhs of rupees. The masts under construction are of a new and improved design. They are nearly twice as high as the mast at Pulham from which the R.33 operated; and they are designed to resist a pull at the mast head six times greater than that which the Pulham mast can resist. Powerful and sensitive winches are operated by oil-fired boilers and controlled electrically from the top of the mast; pumps are installed capable of delivering fuel at the rate of 2,000 gallons an hour and water ballast at the rate of 5,000 gallons an hour to the moored airship; and a fast lift is located in the centre of the mast structure.

(3) *Further Mast Mooring Investigations.*—We have no first hand experience of the problem of landing an airship at a mast and of maintaining it there under the varying conditions of temperature prevailing in the tropics. Actual experiments are necessary to establish a technique and to determine what equipment is required. It is one of the objects of the present programme to supply information on these points as an essential preliminary to the operation of airships on those Empire routes which lie through the tropics. In addition, it has been thought desirable to investigate in detail some of the weather conditions which may affect an airship landing and riding at the mast. A specially devised system of electrically synchronized anemometers is being installed at Cardington to obtain information as to the changes of speed and direction of the wind in gusts. It is also in contemplation to carry out experiments in Egypt and India to measure the variations of temperature which occur between ground level and 250 feet, *i.e.*, variations which would affect mast mooring.

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6. Meteorological Investigation of the England–India Route.

(1) *Weather Conditions in relation to Airship Navigation.*—Most forms of transport are in some degree affected by weather conditions; but to the airship or the aeroplane a study of meteorology is all important, since it is the study of the element in which aircraft move. The air and its currents (the winds) are to aircraft what the oceans and their currents are to ships. The task of charting the sea has proceeded for generations because of its importance to the sailor. In the same way, the upper air must be charted if aerial transport is to be carried out with regularity and safety. If comparisons are to be made, the task of the meteorologist would seem, if anything, to be more difficult and complex than that of the hydrographer, since winds attain far greater velocities than do ocean currents and vary in direction and intensity with far greater rapidity. For the same reason aircraft, although they fly at speeds more than twice as great as that of the fastest steamship, may be affected to a greater extent by adverse winds; on the other hand, by making use of favouring winds they can correspondingly increase their speed. For example, an aircraft cruising at a speed of 60 miles an hour through the air, would, against a head wind of 20 miles an hour, only make good a speed of 40 miles an hour over the ground; but with a 20 miles an hour wind behind her, her speed over the ground would be 80 miles an hour. In the same way a high wind, even of gale strength, should cause no more danger or discomfort to an aircraft in flight in free air than an increase of speed in an ocean current to a surface vessel in mid-ocean. There are, however, certain atmospheric disturbances, such as tornadoes or water spouts and violent vertical currents associated with thunderstorms and line-squalls, which do constitute a potential source of danger to airships. It will be the duty of the meteorological service to warn airship commanders when such dangerous weather conditions are to be expected on any given route. With such a warning, supplemented by ocular or instrumental observation from the airship herself, the high speed and great range of the large airship should generally enable her to fly round rather than through disturbances of this type. It is particularly on long distance airship flights that such alterations of routes will be made in order to avoid adverse, and utilise favouring, weather conditions. It will, in fact, be the rule rather than the exception for the commander of an airship to choose his route between any two points for each separate flight having regard to the meteorological conditions prevailing at the time. He will only be able to do so when the areas through which lie all possible routes have been thoroughly studied beforehand, and when there is an adequate ground organisation for transmitting reports of the prevailing weather conditions and probable changes, at frequent and regular intervals.

(2) *The Progress of the Investigation of the England–India Route, 1925–26.*—A special division of the Meteorological Office was established early in 1925, and a considerable amount of work has already been done. First, using general experience and readily available existing summaries of meteorological information, the probable flying area between England and India was chosen. It will be seen from the map opposite page 72, in Appendix E, that this area covers almost the whole of France and a large part of the Mediterranean; while beyond Egypt there are alternative provisional areas, one by Iraq and the other by the Red Sea and Aden. Next a programme of work was drawn up for the intensive investigation of the chosen area, providing for an exhaustive search of existing meteorological records and the supplementing of these by special observations in certain parts of the area. The following are some examples of the work already done :—

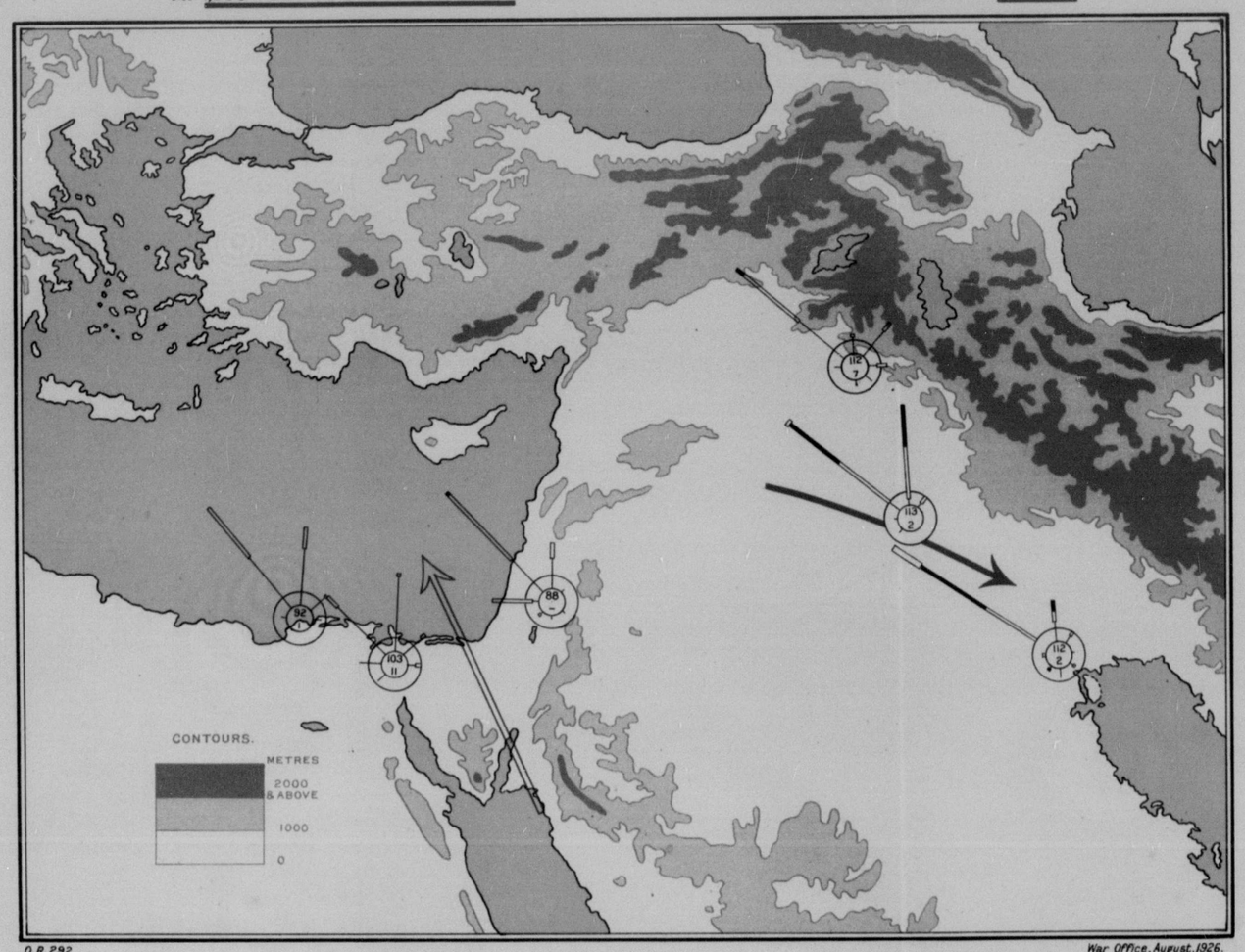
(i) Monthly summaries and charts of the upper winds over the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Iraq have been made, using data from 30 stations involving the classification of some 120,000 individual readings. A chart of these winds is prepared for each month for four levels above the ground (1,500 feet, 3,000 feet, 6,000 feet and 10,000 feet). A part of one of the charts is reproduced on the opposite page. The observations used for the

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MAP SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE FREQUENCY OF WINDS OF DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS & SPEEDS
AT 1,500 FEET ABOVE THE GROUND OVER LOWER EGYPT, TRANS JORDANIA & IRAK IN JULY.



O.R. 292. War Office, August, 1926.

The interpretation of the "wind roses" is as follows:—The **total** length from the inner circle to the other extremity of each arrow, which is to be taken as flying **with** the wind, shows the **total percentage** frequency of winds from that particular direction. The frequencies of winds of **various speeds** are indicated by widening and shading the arrows in accordance with the following scheme:—

———	4 to 15 miles per hour.
═══	16 to 31 „ „
▬▬▬	32 to 47 „ „
▭▭▭	48 miles per hour and above.

The circles supply a scale for readily estimating the approximate frequency of winds from any direction, the distance between the circles representing 5 % of the whole number of observed winds on which the "wind rose" is based. The figures in the circle are:—

Upper figure ... ... Total number of observations used for that "wind rose."
Lower figure ... ... Percentage of these which were "calms" (here defined as 3 miles per hour or less).

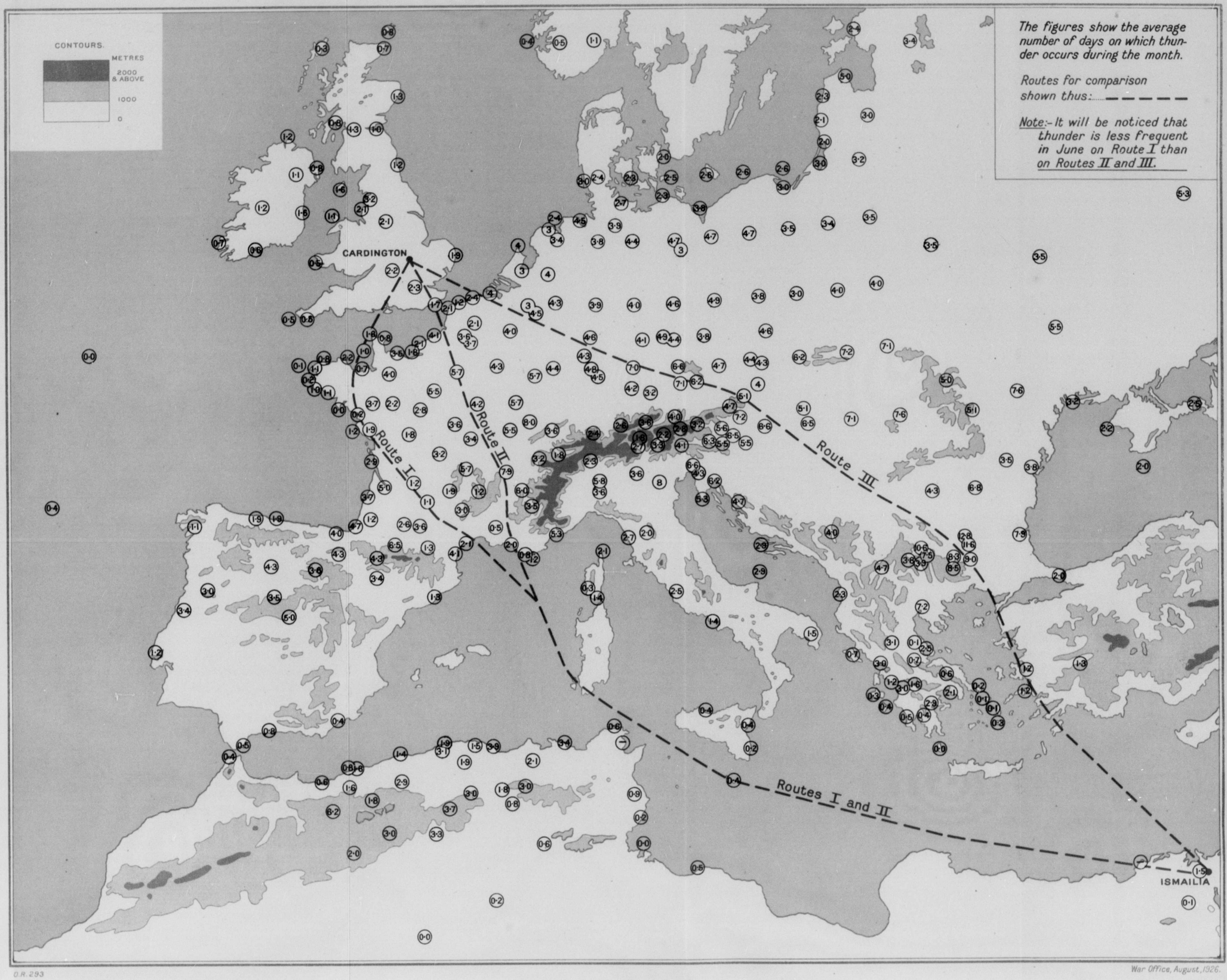
THE RED ARROWS INDICATE THE MOST DESIRABLE ROUTES, SO FAR AS WINDS OVER THIS AREA ARE CONCERNED, FOR AN AIRSHIP FLYING EAST (⟶) OR WEST (⟹) IN JULY.

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MAP SHOWING THE FREQUENCY OF THUNDERSTORMS DURING THE MONTH OF JUNE ON THE ENGLAND–EGYPT SECTION OF THE ENGLAND–INDIA AIRSHIP ROUTE.



The figures show the average number of days on which thunder occurs during the month.

Routes for comparison shown thus: — — — —

Note:– It will be noticed that thunder is less frequent in June on Route I than on Routes II and III.

O.R. 293

War Office, August, 1926.

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section shown are those which have been made at Royal Air Force meteorological stations during four years. It will be seen that the prevailing winds over this area in July are from the north and the north-west, and that they are markedly stronger over Iraq than over northern Egypt. In flying east in July an airship could take advantage of this disposition of the winds by flying over Iraq, thus increasing her ground speed by the assistance of the wind, which as will be seen from the chart is frequently as high as 32 to 47 miles an hour. An airship flying west, however, would wish to avoid such high contrary winds and in order to do so might, as far as the area illustrated is concerned, fly up the Red Sea to Suez, where the north-west winds are much less strong in July.

(ii) A detailed examination has been made of the monthly distribution of thunderstorms, employing up to the present observations at some 550 stations over a period of years, in some cases more than 50, and in two cases 100. A part of one of the series of 12 charts in course of preparation is reproduced on the opposite page. The method of representation is to place the figure representing the average number of days of occurrence of thunder in the month of June against the station where the observations were made. The averages are given to one decimal place : thus the figure 0·1 is to be interpreted as meaning that, on the average, thunder only occurs on one day in the course of ten Junes. Three routes are shown on the chart between England and Egypt, all avoiding high land, Route III being nearest to the "Great Circle Route," which is the shortest. Considering thunderstorms alone, Route I is readily seen to be normally superior to Route II in June, since it traverses areas with a lesser frequency of thunder. Further data have yet to be collected, but there are sound reasons for believing that the low frequencies shown at stations near the combined portion of Routes I and II over the Mediterranean are typical of the whole of this stretch. Thus it is seen that in June Routes I and II are both normally much superior to Route III, which traverses large areas in which the thunder frequency is from three to five times that of the area where the routes start in England. Route III encounters over the Balkans the highest frequencies shown on the map.

(iii) Work has been begun on the preparation of a series of daily weather charts, using data for land stations extracted from the daily bulletins of some 20 countries and for sea areas from ships' logs. One chart is being prepared for each day for a whole year. The chart for each day in its initial form exhibits on an average over 4,000 meteorological facts relating to some 750 observing stations. The object of these charts is to study in the light of past experience the variety of *actual* weather conditions which may be encountered during individual flights, both as bearing on the problem of airship operation and navigation, and as providing initial experience for the forecasters before flying begins. A part of one of these charts relating to the weather at 7 o'clock on the morning of 16th February, 1925, is reproduced on the opposite page. The chart indicates a squally disturbance which extends along a line from the south of England down the west coast of France and which is moving slowly eastwards. In front of this, over France, are rather strong winds from a southerly point, and in its rear are north-westerly winds over the Bay of Biscay. From these observations it is obvious that the most favourable winds for an outward voyage from Cardington would be found off the west coast of France ; and this route would have the additional advantage of taking the airship into the area in the rear of the

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disturbance, which on this occasion was safer than that in front of it. Knowing from the study of the charts relating to previous days how these weather systems were changing, and assuming that an airship left Cardington at midnight on 15th–16th February and flew over this route at an air speed of 60 knots, then the progress for the ensuing 12 hours would have been as follows :—

Time.	Section of Route.	Wind.	Average speed made good over the ground allowing for wind.	Weather.
			Knots.	
0000–0350	Cardington to Lizard.	Calm, increasing to N.W. 20 knots.	57	Mainly fair, some mist.
0350–0700	Lizard to off Bordeaux.	N.W. 30 knots.	83	Mainly fair.
0700–0950	Off Bordeaux to Toulouse.	W. 22 knots.	76	Fair.
0950–1100	Toulouse to off Narbonne.	Calm	60	Fair.
1100–1200	Off Narbonne to Lat. 42° 30′ N. Long. 4° 6′ E.	N. 5 knots.	62	Fair.

Thus in 12 hours the airship would have cruised 900 nautical miles, having made good an average speed of 75 knots over the ground. If there had been no meteorological information available the navigator would naturally have taken the shorter route from Cardington to the Mediterranean *via* Paris and Lyons. On working out this route with the aid of the weather charts it appears that the airship would have passed through an area of low cloud and rain, with the added risk of an approaching squally disturbance ; and that after 12 hours' flying, as a result of the contrary winds encountered over France, she would have reached a point on the south coast of France 80 nautical miles short of that reached by taking the longer route. Having arrived at mid-day on the 16th at a point off the south coast of France, the navigator would have had to consider what course to shape for Egypt, taking into consideration the wind and weather over the Mediterranean and its probable changes. The most important feature of the weather over this area was a line of disturbance extending from the north of Italy southwards to the African coast, flanked on the east by a belt of very strong southerly winds. The navigator would have learnt from his weather forecast that this disturbance was likely to move north and that by keeping to the south he would probably experience improved weather and decreasing winds. He would, therefore, have taken the route by Malta shown on the map. A study of the weather charts for the succeeding days shows that, having done this, serious bad weather and adverse winds would, in fact, have been avoided and the airship would have been approaching Ismailia at mid-day on 17th February. The total distance from England to Egypt by this route is 2,350 nautical miles, the time taken would have been $37\frac{1}{2}$ hours and the average speed over the ground $62\frac{3}{4}$ knots.

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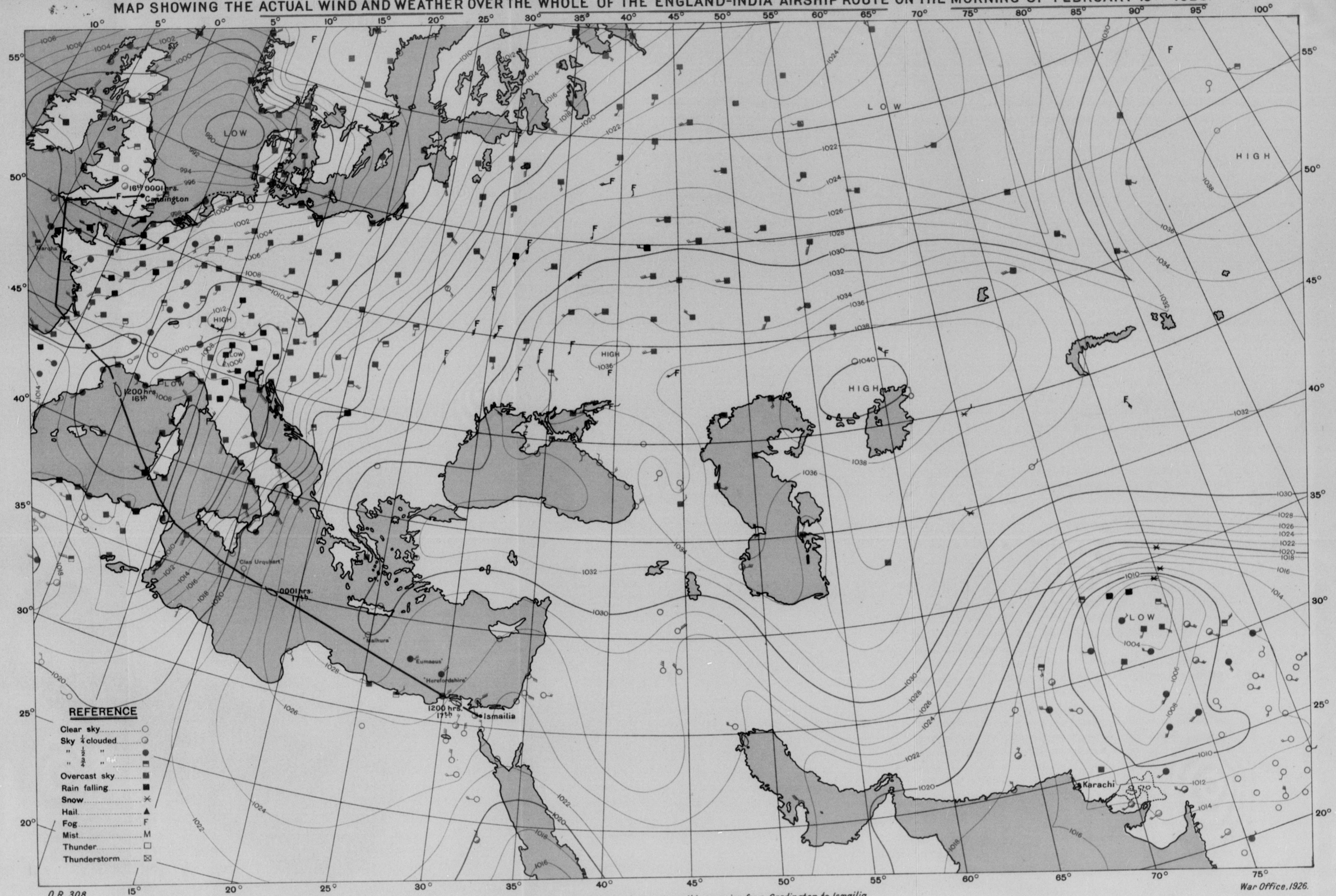
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MAP SHOWING THE ACTUAL WIND AND WEATHER OVER THE WHOLE OF THE ENGLAND-INDIA AIRSHIP ROUTE ON THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY 16TH 1925.



O.R. 308.

BAROMETER :— Isobars are drawn for intervals of two Millibars.

WIND :— Direction is shown by arrows flying with the wind.
Force, on the scale 0-12, is indicated by the number of feathers.

The blue line on the map shows the best route on this occasion from Cardington to Ismailia, leaving Cardington at midnight of Feb. 15th/16th, and taking into account the distribution of wind and weather on the morning of the 16th, as shown on this chart, and their subsequent changes. The position of the airship at the intervals of 12 hours is indicated.

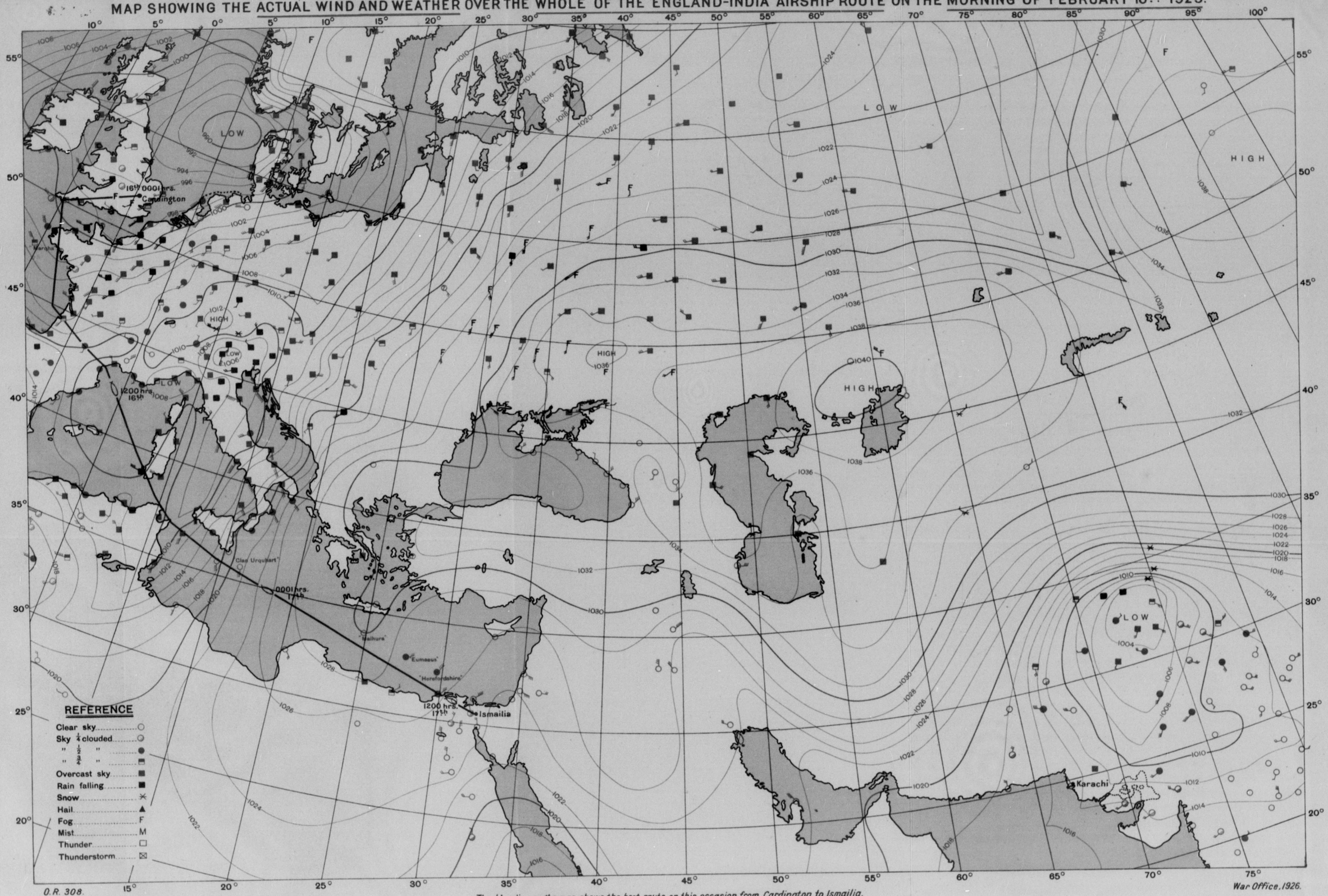
War Office, 1926.

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War Office, 1926.

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These examples give an indication of the amount and kind of investigational work which has already been done. It remains to complete the series of charts for each month of the year for the whole area of the route and to produce them in atlas form for the use of airship navigators. When the charts are sufficiently advanced normal routes for the easterly and westerly voyages will be chosen for each month in the year; and it is thought that these routes would be followed unless the meteorological situation of the day indicated the desirability of following some other route.

(3) *Meteorological Arrangements for the Experimental Flights to India.*—The investigational work which has been described is a preparation for the actual meteorological daily reporting and forecasting organisation which will be established along the whole route to India on the occasion of the experimental voyages of the new airships. This organisation will be similar to that provided for the operations of His Majesty's airship R.33 in 1925 and the Rome–Pulham–Oslo stages of the Polar voyage of the Italian 'Norge I' in 1926. Frequent observations from meteorological stations surrounding the area of the route will be communicated by wireless to the airship in flight, together with special advice from ground forecasting centres situated at points along the route. With the aid of this information weather charts and forecasts will be prepared in the airship and will be considered by the captain in shaping his course. The preparation of the necessary organisation has been started, but a great many arrangements remain to be made before it will be completed over the whole route to India.

7. The Progress of the Experimental Programme, 1924–26.

Work under the experimental programme has now been proceeding for about 18 months. The varied and complicated problems of airship construction and operation have been approached by a cautious and scientific method, and a considerable amount of practical progress has been made. Important investigations into the principles of airship construction have been carried out and submitted successfully to the test of full-scale experiment. Two new airships of greatly increased size, speed and carrying power have been designed and are in the first stages of production. The problem of the recovery of water from the exhaust gases is being attacked; and a heavy oil engine is being developed with a view to the elimination of petrol as an engine fuel. The new sheds and mooring masts which were considered necessary for the safe navigation of the England–India route are in an advanced stage of construction. A comprehensive meteorological investigation of the area of the route has been proceeding, and has already resulted in the collection of a body of special meteorological knowledge which will enable the experimental flights to be made with a greater prospect of safety and success than would otherwise have been possible. It remains to build the airships; to overcome the mechanical difficulties of the heavy oil engine; to finish the sheds and masts; to complete the meteorological investigation; to establish the meteorological and wireless organisation; to carry out the home trials; and to fly the two airships to India and back. When this experimental programme has been successfully completed there can be no doubt that airship design and construction will have been placed upon an entirely new and more practical basis; and the way will then be clear for carrying out the further experiments which are required to establish the practicability of regular airship operation throughout the Empire.

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IV.—THE FUTURE OF IMPERIAL AIR TRANSPORT.

1. The Development of Air Transport.

It has been shown in this memorandum—

(1) that regular aeroplane services are a proved method of fast transport, and are constantly improving and expanding.

(2) that France, Germany, and the United States have already achieved considerable air transport development, and that the first Imperial aeroplane services are in course of organisation.

(3) that though the large airship is not yet a proved instrument of regular transport, airships have demonstrated their capacity to make long continuous flights carrying relatively heavy loads.

(4) that the technical problems of airship development are being approached in England by a method of cautious and scientific investigation which is at present yielding encouraging results.

In the light of these facts it is reasonable to suppose that aeroplane services, being already on a solid technical basis, will continue to increase; and it may be considered at least likely that the resources of modern science and industry which have been successfully employed in developing the aeroplane will also eventually succeed with the airship. If in fact this happens air transport will receive an impetus the greatness of which it is important to realise. First, a balanced system of air transport would become possible. Airships would be able to operate over the main long-distance routes of world communication, while aeroplanes would be able to form local air transport systems which would feed the main terminal airship stations. Secondly, the comfort of air transport would be enormously increased by the standard of passenger accommodation possible on large airships. Lastly there would be a really large saving of time on long journeys between different parts of the world.

2. Air Transport and the British Empire.

The following table indicates the magnitude of the saving of time which would result from the operation of airship services between different parts of the Empire. The table is based on a speed made good over the ground of 50 miles an hour :—

Route.	*Total Times.*		*Saving.*
	Steamship.	*Airship.*	
England–Egypt ..	6 days	2½ days	3½ days
On to Bombay ..	15 ,,	5 ,,	10 ,,
On to Perth	28 ,,	11 ,,	17 ,,
England–South Africa—			
via W.A.	20 ,,	6½ ,,	13½ ,,
via E.A.		6 ,,	—
On to Australia ..	—	10½ ,,	—
Australia–New Zealand	6 ,,	1½ ,,	4½ ,,
England–Canada ..	6 ,,	2½ ,,	3½ ,,
India–Australia	22 ,,	6½ ,,	15½ ,,
India–Canada—			
via England	24 ,,	9 ,,	15 ,,
Australia–Canada—			
via South Africa and England	48 ,,	15¾ ,,	32¼ ,,

Regular transport services of this order of speed would place the system of Imperial communications upon an entirely new basis. It would then be possible to develop very greatly, and in several spheres, an Imperial co-operation based upon frequent personal consultation.

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A Map of the World, showing Existing and Proposed Imperial and Foreign Air Routes, is enclosed inside the cover of this Memorandum.

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APPENDIX A.

The Aeroplane Transport Development of the Principal Nations.

I.—THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

I.—The Early Experimental Air Mails.

In September, 1911, the first "United Kingdom Aerial Post" was run between London and Windsor. The experiment did not last long, but it demonstrated the possibilities of the aeroplane as an instrument of fast transport and showed also that those possibilities would never be realised until flying could be made reasonably independent of the weather. It was not until after the war that the next experiment was tried. In the winter of 1918, the Royal Air Force established a Military Air Mail Service in conjunction with the British Army Post Office in France; but the weather proved a serious handicap, the services were irregular, and in general the results were not encouraging. Nevertheless, in the Spring of 1919, the Royal Air Force began another service to carry the mails of the British Army of Occupation in Germany between Cologne and Folkestone. This time the air mails sometimes gained as much as 24 hours in delivery, but the service was not very regular.

II.—The Early Companies and the First Subsidies.

In the summer of 1919, Aircraft Transport and Travel, Ltd., established a service between London and Paris, and Handley Page, Ltd., established one between London and Brussels. The fare from London to Paris was £25 and the fee for carrying a letter was 2s. 6d. The companies were not able to secure much traffic at these prices and were already in difficulties when the French air transport companies reduced their fares by the aid of a subsidy from the French Government.

Mr. Churchill, when Secretary of State for Air, then appointed an Advisory Committee on Civil Aviation and instructed it "to consider the essential steps in the national interest which the Government should take to develop civil aviation, bearing in mind the need for the utmost economy." The Committee, which reported in April, 1920, considered that State financial assistance was justified as a temporary measure and recommended "that direct assistance should be given, limited to a maximum amount of £250,000 within the two financial years of 1920–21 and 1921–22," payments to be made on the basis of 25 per cent. of certified gross revenue. This recommendation was, however, not adopted, as it seemed possible for a time that the companies might be able to continue without Government assistance. But when the French companies were given increased subsidies by their Government and reduced their rates in consequence, the British companies were unable to compete and discontinued their services. Mr. Churchill then appointed a small Cross-Channel Subsidies Committee and, as a result, the so-called "temporary" scheme of subsidies was adopted in order to keep the British air transport companies working until 31st March, 1922. In April, 1922, the so-called "permanent" scheme of subsidies recommended by the Committee came into operation. The chief feature of this scheme was that the British companies (the number of which had then increased to three) were to share the comparatively large traffic which was growing up on the London–Paris line and it was hoped that operating costs would be reduced under the pressure of competition. But the traffic did not increase as had been expected, and the three British companies found themselves competing for traffic which yielded too small a revenue to support them. In October, 1922, therefore, the scheme was revised so that each company operated a separate route.

As time went on it was seen that the position was not satisfactory, either for the Government or the companies. It became apparent that if British air transport was to continue, subsidies would be necessary for several years, and if it was to develop, adequate capital would have to be attracted to the enterprise. Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for Air) therefore appointed the Civil Air Transport Subsidies Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Hambling, "to consider the present

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working of the scheme of cross-Channel subsidies and to advise on the best method of subsidising air transport in the future." This Committee was the first to formulate a comprehensive policy. It considered that although there were generally many advantages to be derived from competition in business, yet in the particular circumstances of the time British air transport could not be expected to flourish under competitive conditions. The Committee therefore recommended that on the termination of the then existing agreements with the four subsidised operating companies a new company with a capital of £1,000,000 should be established and should be guaranteed a subsidy of not less than £1,000,000, spread over 10 years. It was recommended that the Government should not exercise any special direct control over the activities of the company, other than by being represented on the Board by two directors.

III.—The Agreement with Imperial Airways, Ltd.

The new company, known as Imperial Airways, Ltd., came into existence on 1st April, 1924, and into it were merged the interests of the four companies, who thereupon ceased to operate.

The terms of the agreement with Imperial Airways, Ltd., followed closely the detailed recommendations of the "Hambling" Committee. Brief particulars of the leading points will be sufficient to indicate the system of subsidy payment :—

(1) The company enjoys a monopoly of British subsidies for air transport in Europe.

(2) The company undertakes to maintain services on the routes upon which development work was carried out by the four companies previously operating or on such other approved routes as the company may consider commercially desirable.

(3) The subsidy payable to the company will be £137,000 per annum for the first four years, after which a "tapering" subsidy will be paid, diminishing in amount until, in the tenth year, the company will receive £32,000 as a final payment.

(4) In return for this subsidy the company undertakes to perform a minimum amount of flying. Under the original agreement, dated 15th May, 1924, the mileage flown on charted routes was taken as the basis of calculation, the company being required to fly a minimum of 1,000,000 miles per annum, except that during the first four years the annual minimum in any one year might be 800,000, provided that not less than 4,000,000 miles was flown in the four years. After the first year's operation, however, it was seen that "mileage" was not the most satisfactory basis of reckoning, since the company did not benefit from the use of more modern aircraft of larger capacity, as they counted for subsidy purposes on equal terms with small machines with less accommodation. The agreement was therefore amended on 18th December, 1925, so that 425,000,000 "horse-power miles" was substituted for 1,000,000 "miles." The work done by the company's aircraft is, therefore, now reckoned proportionately to the horse-power employed and the company has a direct incentive to develop larger and more economical types of aircraft. A further modification provided that every mile flown by a marine aircraft should count as one mile and a half, in view of the smaller carrying capacity of marine aircraft at their present stage of development.

(5) The subsidy of £1,000,000 is not a gift, but is repayable when the company has reached a definite profit-earning condition. The agreement provides for the distribution of profits on the following lines :—

(i) Ten per cent. on the paid-up capital of the company shall be made available for distribution amongst the shareholders.

(ii) The balance, if any, shall be divided into three parts :—

(*a*) One-third shall be utilised for the repayment to the Government of the annual subsidy advanced.

(*b*) One-third shall be devoted to the development and improvement of the air services provided by the company.

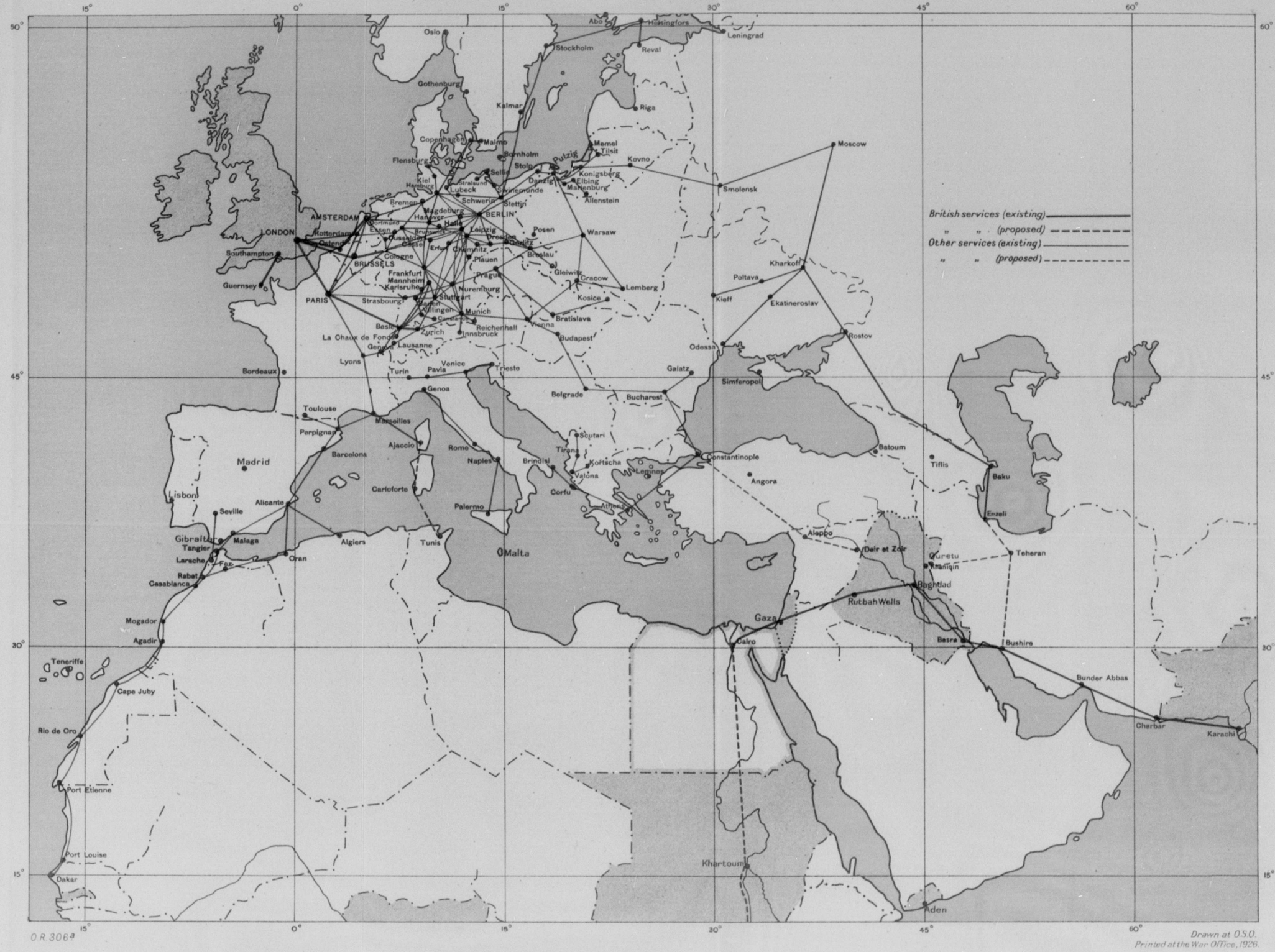
(*c*) The remainder shall be available for distribution amongst the shareholders of the company.

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MAP SHOWING BRITISH AIR SERVICES IN 1926.



O.R.3068

Drawn at O.S.O.
Printed at the War Office, 1926.

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Under this arrangement, repayment will not take place to the exclusion of development and the shareholders will not lack an inducement to see repayment begin. Up to the present, however, no profits have been made.

In addition to the subsidy, the Air Ministry assists the company indirectly by the establishment of aerodromes, wireless communications, and other services which are described more fully in Appendix B.

In general, Imperial Airways, Ltd., have security of a subsidy monopoly in Europe during a 10 years' period, until April, 1934, in which to create the operational and commercial organisation which is required to make the services self-supporting.

IV.—Routes Operated.

Since 1924, when Imperial Airways, Ltd., was established, there has been practically no change in the routes. In 1926, the Company is operating the following routes :—

(Extensions in brackets are operated by foreign companies.)

	May to September.	*October to April.*
1. London–Paris	Twice daily.	Daily.
2. London–Paris–Basle–Zurich	Daily.	—
3. London–Ostend–Amsterdam .. .. [Hamburg–Copenhagen–Malmo].	Twice daily.	—
4. London–Cologne [Hanover–Berlin] ..	Daily.	Daily.
5. Southampton – Channel Islands ..	Weekly.	Weekly.

There has lately been a growth of co-operation between the various air lines and railways, with the result that the following four long journeys may be made by definite connections :—

1. *London–Malmo–Stockholm and Oslo*—The route of approximately 700 miles to Malmo, *via* Ostend, Amsterdam, Bremen, Hamburg, Copenhagen, can be flown in one day between 8 a.m. and 7 p.m., with one change at Amsterdam. At Malmo, night trains can be taken to Stockholm and Oslo. British machines are used between London and Amsterdam, and Swedish machines between Amsterdam and Malmo.

2. *London–Moscow.*—Departing from London at 8.30 a.m. a machine of Imperial Airways, Ltd., reaches Cologne 12.45 p.m. A machine of the German " Lufthansa " departs from Cologne at 1.15 p.m. arriving at Berlin at 5.35 p.m. Thence, a machine of the German–Russian " Deruluft " leaves at 2 a.m. and (flying by night) arrives at Moscow at 5.30 the next afternoon, with four intermediary landings. Thus, the route of 1,760 miles is traversed by air with machines belonging to three different companies in a total time of 33 hours.

3. *London–Casablanca.*—A passenger leaves London by French machine at 9 a.m. and arrives at Marseilles at 5.45 p.m. where he spends the night. At dawn next morning an aeroplane of the French Latecoere Company leaves for the West African coast and arrives at Casablanca at 8 o'clock in the evening, having stopped at six intermediary places en route. This route of 1,737 miles is thus covered in 35 hours. If he prefers it, a passenger can leave London by British machine three hours later, arrive in Paris at 2.30 p.m. and take the night train to Toulouse, thence continuing by air next morning. Time 32 hours.

4. *London–Milan* (*via Basle*).—Leaving Croydon by a British machine at 7.55 a.m. Paris is reached at 10.25 a.m. and Basle at 1.55 p.m. Connection is made with the Milan express at 2.40 p.m. On the return journey the train leaves Milan at 10.5 a.m. arriving at Zurich the next morning at 5.22 a.m. Breakfast is taken at Zurich and the British machine leaves at 8.20 a.m. arriving at Paris at 12.45 p.m. A stop of one hour is made, and Croydon is reached at 4.15 p.m.

In spite of progress in efficiency during the past seven years, no British air route is longer than 520 miles. Amsterdam, Cologne and Zurich represent the furthest points reached in Europe. This is largely due to European complications which centre around Germany. The German Government stipulated that only machines which complied with the " Nine Rules " imposed on German aircraft could be used over German territory. Thus the gateway to central Europe via Germany has in the past been closed, except to small and uneconomical machines. Again, the money allocated

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as subsidies has not gone so far as was anticipated, partly owing to the fact that the British subsidy system in Europe aims at attaining commercial success as soon as possible and does not attempt to maintain uneconomical lines with a view to establishing British prestige and influence.

V.—Traffic Results.

The shortness of the British routes and the fact that Great Britain and the Continent are connected by excellent systems of surface transport, limits the saving in time that can be effected by air transport. With this handicap the naturally conservative attitude of the public towards air transport has not been overcome swiftly, but it is being overcome, as the statistics of traffic show.

1. *Passengers.*—The total number of passengers carried by air between Great Britain and the continent, by British and foreign air services combined is increasing at the rate of nearly 3,000 a year. Goods traffic has reached fair proportions and shows promise of a large expansion. Mail traffic is comparatively small.

The following table illustrates the growth of passenger traffic across the Channel :—

Year.	*Passengers.*		
	By British Aircraft.	*By Foreign Aircraft.*	*Total.*
1919 (5 months)	870	52	922
1920	6,799	584	6,383
1921	5,256	5,475	10,731
1922	9,490	2,869	12,359
1923	11,947	3,189	15,136
1924	10,456	7,402	17,858
1925	10,602	10,119	20,721
Grand Totals ..	54,420	29,690	84,110

It will be seen that last year over 20,000 passengers crossed the Channel by air. Over 5,000 flights were made and the average load per flight was four passengers and 400 lb. of goods.

The fares charged for air transport across the Channel are fixed according to the traffic demand. For example, on the London–Paris route where the demand is heaviest a comparatively higher charge can be made than on other routes. On an average the extra charge for air transport over first class ordinary transport is relatively small. The average extra cost for each hour saved is under 3*s*., excluding the appreciable saving in tips, taxis, meals and sleeping berths when travelling by air.

2. *Freight.*—Passenger traffic has the serious disadvantage to the operating companies that it is seasonal. By far the largest part of it is forthcoming during the summer months, and in the winter the companies have to face a large drop in revenue. For this reason they have a special incentive to develop goods traffic, which remains fairly constant all the year round. The carriage of goods by air has several important advantages apart from the mere speed of the aircraft. All the *en transit* customs formalities involved at every point of transhipment in surface transport are eliminated. Customs clearance at the place of destination is effected immediately, and a rapid system of collection and delivery is available at the beginning and end of the journey. Because handling is reduced to a minimum and the goods are under no risk of pilferage during most of the period of transit insurance rates for air borne goods are actually lower than for goods conveyed by surface transport. The following comparative table of insurance rates illustrates this advantage :—

Freight Insurance Premium per £100.

	Surface Transport.	*Air Transport.*
	s. d.	*s. d.*
London to Paris	6 8	2 0
Amsterdam	6 8	3 0
Cologne	7 6	4 0
Zurich	7 6	5 0

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These factors have led to a considerable transport of gold, precious metals jewellery and other objects of high value. During the year ending 31st March, 1926, for example, the cross-Channel services carried bullion and specie to the value of over £11,328,829.

The carriage of ordinary merchandise apart from bullion and specie is increasing steadily and the total weight carried across the channel annually is nearing 1,000 tons. The following figures illustrate the improvement in this branch of traffic :—

Year.	Ordinary Freight. Total Value.	Ordinary Freight. Weight.		
		By British Aircraft.	By Foreign Aircraft.	Total.
	£	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1919 (5 months) ..	90,936	†	†	†
1920	1,028,812	†	†	†
1921	571,300	†	†	†
1922	713,020	182·7	294·6	477·3
1923	776,251	326·5	498·9	825·4
1924	1,350,960	541·8	391·4	933·2
1925	1,586,936	454·8	437·9	892·7
	6,118,215	(4 years) 1505·8	(4 years) 1622·8	(4 years) 3128·6

† Totals not available.

VI.—Some Lessons of Flying Experience in Great Britain.

The operation of the cross-Channel services has always been looked upon as a full-scale experiment in air transport, from which lessons could be learnt and data collected for use in the development of the main Imperial routes. The fruits of this policy are now ready to be gathered. The weak points of air transport and the directions in which improvements must be made before it can become financially self-supporting are now apparent.

1. *Safety and Reliability.*—In regard to safety, the record of the British air lines proves that air transport when properly administered and efficiently operated is reasonably safe. Imperial Airways, Ltd., and its predecessors have in seven years carried over 75,000 passengers in the course of flying approximately 5,000,000 miles, equal to 200 times round the world at the equator. In all this flying only four accidents have occurred causing the death of passengers. Thirteen passengers have been killed and five injured.

The reliability of the services is most easily expressed by the percentage of flights commenced which were completed without interruption, although this basis admittedly gives a more favourable impression than is justified, since it disregards scheduled services not begun. On this basis, then, in the year ending 31st March, 1926, the reliability was 93 per cent. Of the remaining 7 per cent. of flights, about one-half were completed on the same day after interruption and the remainder completed later or abandoned. This represents the average reliability all the year round, including the periods of winter fogs and gales when reliability is at its lowest point. In the summer months the reliability rose to 99·2 per cent.

The main causes of interrupted flights in the year in question were the following:—

Weather	52 per cent.
Mechanical defects	33 ,,
Miscellaneous	15 ,,

Weather, therefore, accounted for more than half of the interruptions. From a meteorological point of view Great Britain is in a very unfavourable situation. Fog, very low cloud, and snow (in other words bad visibility) are frequent, and this is the principal obstacle to greater reliability. In bad visibility the pilot of an aircraft has cause to fear three things: failure of his power plant when he is unable to see the ground prior to choosing a suitable landing place; inability to fix his position; and loss of control when flying through cloud. Solutions to these difficulties are in preparation which will by degrees overcome them.

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(i) Failure of power plant is being met by the provision of three-engined aircraft which can fly safely with one engine stopped. Such a machine has two advantages : the fact that all three engines are functioning simultaneously enables them to be run at low revolutions and so reduce wear and tear ; and if one engine stops, the other two can be opened up to their full power and the journey completed, or at the worst a recognised landing place reached in safety. Some machines of this type are already being used by Imperial Airways, Ltd., and should eliminate any chance of a forced landing on account of power plant failure.

(ii) Inability of the pilot to fix his position is being met by an application of wireless telephony. Wireless navigation for aircraft has only been seriously developed during the last four years. Great progress has been made, and to-day all aircraft belonging to Imperial Airways, Ltd., are equipped with wireless which provides the pilot with the means of ascertaining his exact position, and keeping in touch with local weather conditions prevailing in the vicinity of the aerodromes in front of him. This system has proved so successful that pilots are flying more and more through weather which would have been considered impossible a short time ago.

(iii) Lastly, loss of control while flying through clouds is being met by several methods. Gyroscopic rudder control has been tried, and further devices to give lateral and longitudinal stability are being developed.

These and other aids to navigation which are under investigation are explained in detail in Appendix B. Of outstanding interest is a very promising combination of devices which it is hoped will render flying and landing in fog a matter of reasonable safety. The following brief particulars will serve to indicate the general lines of this system.

Firstly, a method of directional wireless reception, depending upon fixed loop aerials in the aircraft, is being developed. A wireless signal is transmitted from the aerodrome and affects the receiver in the aircraft in such a manner that it enables the pilot to steer directly on to the transmitting station. Relying upon this device, the pilot will be able to leave his route in order to avoid storm, local low cloud, etc., and, as soon as he desires to do so, to fly straight to the aerodrome which is emitting the wireless signals, without having any knowledge of his actual position relative to the ground, which may be completely obscured by clouds or fog.

Next, it is hoped that by means of the Leader cable system, the pilot, on nearing the aerodrome, will be guided to a point directly over the landing ground in any degree of bad visibility.

Sunk in the landing ground, flush with the surface, will be a system of Neon lights which will indicate the best position and direction for landing. Tests of these lights have proved them to possess remarkable fog-penetrating properties. In the third stage, therefore, the pilot having been brought over the landing ground, will come into the range of these lights and with their guidance will be able to land in safety even though the surface of the aerodrome is invisible.

It needs no imagination to realise that with the perfection of such a system aircraft will be able to operate in really bad weather, and air transport will be able to run with a degree of safety and reliability equal, if not superior, to that achieved by trains and steamers.

2. *Night Flying.*—A parallel problem to flying in bad visibility is flying by night, the solution of which is equally essential to the full development of air transport.

The problem is largely one of navigation. By a rigorous use of an efficient compass, in fine weather, night flying presents no difficulties, but in bad weather the difficulties are considerably greater than in day flying. One feature which makes night navigation easy in fine weather is the fact that the lights of towns at a distance take on the nature of beacons. Considerable experimental work has been carried out in this country to evolve an efficient system of air lights which will serve the same purpose, while also solving the problem of locating the aerodrome and facilitating landing. An account of the work done and experience gained in this subject is given in Section 3 of Appendix B.

Lest the attention devoted to night flying should be obscured, however, it is desirable to outline briefly in this chapter the subsidiary problems introduced by bad weather at night. First among these is control of the aeroplane. This problem is precisely similar to that of control in cloud or fog by day, but it is accentuated by the fact that when there is no moon and a general lack of illumination, fog or cloud

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banks are not easily visible, and the pilot enters them without warning. The importance of turning indicators and automatic controls such as the gyro rudder control and pendulum aileron control is therefore emphasised.

The second problem is that of landing both at a prepared aerodrome and in emergency. No difficulty is experienced in landing on a night with good visibility at an aerodrome equipped with efficient lights, while the problem of landing in fog at a prepared aerodrome will probably be overcome by the methods which have already been described in connection with day flying. An emergency landing in fog at night is the most serious problem, and no solution to this is in sight. The use of pyrotechnic flares on the wing tips is a satisfactory aid to landing in clear weather and in normal country, but the existence of fog at night makes it necessary entirely to eliminate forced landings—in other words, multi-engined aircraft are a necessity for regular night flying.

Night flying calls for the use of similar aids in the form of wireless communication and direction-finding to those described for day flying. In this connection, it is only necessary to say that certain directional errors are apparent in wireless bearings taken at night, and that further investigation of these errors is required.

It is fortunate that fog, the enemy of safety and reliability in air transport, is unknown in many parts of the world, and that the British Dominions and Colonies are practically free from the difficulties caused by bad visibility which have to be faced in Europe.

VII.—Development of Experimental Aircraft.

The Air Ministry has devoted considerable attention to the production of improved types of commercial aircraft as a part of its programme of experiment and research. Several machines of experimental commercial types have been built to the order of the Ministry and put into service with Imperial Airways, Ltd., in order to test them under conditions of commercial operation. In this way it is hoped that the company, in common with civil aviation enterprises throughout the Empire, will be enabled to secure the improved types of aircraft that are necessary without having to bear the heavy cost of experiment that is involved in their development.

CANADA.

In Canada, aviation has had to face requirements of a totally different order from those in other countries and air transport on fixed routes has not been one of the most important uses of aircraft. Forest fire protection and air survey, to name but two of these requirements, have demanded the first and principal attention.

Even so, there are occasionally opportunities for a regular service of aircraft to be operated with advantage. For example, on the opening up of the Rouyn mining district in north-west Quebec, a service of flying boats was run which covered in 30 minutes a stretch of country that could not be crossed in less than three days on the ground. The air service not only carried the prospectors and their kit to the field, but kept up a supply of fresh provisions.

Conditions of a similar type are found from time to time in different parts of Canada and it cannot be doubted that with more experience and increased public interest there will be many opportunities for commercial air transport both on fixed routes and in taxi service. As in the United States, the great distances separating the principal centres of Canada favour air transport, and the advantages of connecting these centres by air are immediately apparent. But for the time being, other work takes precedence.

AUSTRALIA.

1. Rapid Development of Civil Aviation.

Civil aviation in Australia has been developed with remarkable rapidity and success. It was not until the end of 1920 that the Civil Aviation Branch of the Australian Ministry of Defence came into existence and began to draw up plans for the utilisation of £100,000 which had been granted for the development of civil aviation during the financial year 1920–21. The task was taken up with great enthusiasm however, and the co-operation of the Shire and Municipal authorities was enlisted. Routes were surveyed by the Air Force ; aerodromes were acquired ; invitations to commercial firms to tender for the operation of the services were issued ; and by the end of 1921 the first Australian commercial air service—that between Geraldton and Derby—had been inaugurated. The people of Australia, particularly

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those in some of the outlying parts which were to be served by the air routes, had still to be convinced that aeroplanes had uses other than those connected with warfare and that flying was not inherently dangerous and uncertain, but the successful operation of the earlier routes produced a great effect on the public mind. To-day, more so perhaps than is the case in any other country in the world, the air services in Australia are a useful and important feature of the regular transport system. By their means the delivery of mails and newspapers is accomplished in hours instead of days or days instead of weeks; and business men and others, either by utilising the regular services, by chartering a special "taxi" machine or by a combination of both methods, are able to embark on long journeys which would previously have been impossible or would have meant a great loss of valuable time.

2. Air Transport Companies and Routes Operated.

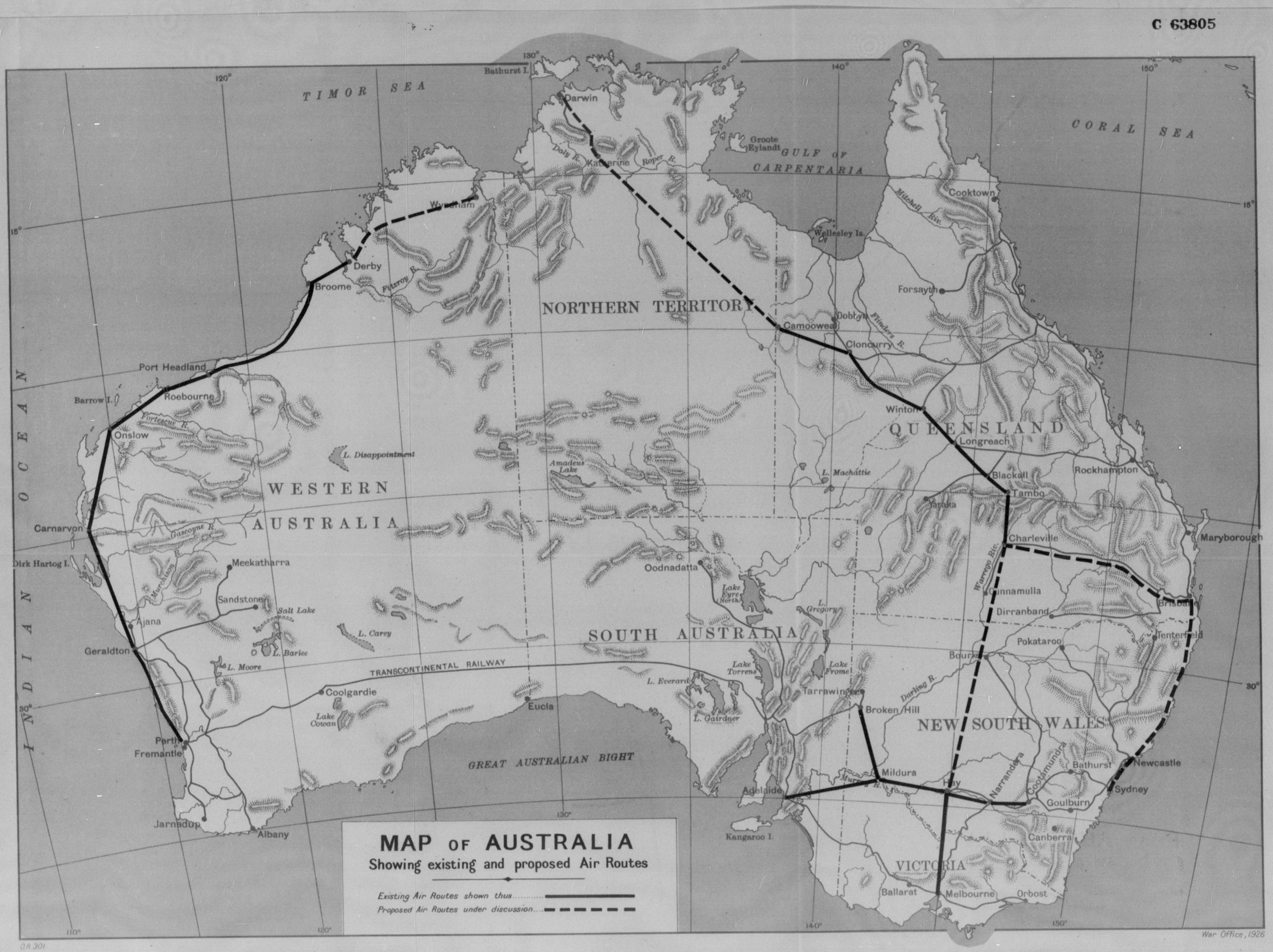
(i) *Western Australian Airways, Ltd.*—This company was formed during 1921 by Major Brearley as a result of his having been granted the contract for the operation of the Geraldton–Derby service. The service was actually inaugurated in December, 1921, but an accident caused a temporary suspension and it was not re-opened in full until April, 1922. From that date, however, the service proceeded without interruption and soon began to attract increasing patronage, with the result that an extension from Geraldton to Perth was opened in January, 1924. The extended route from Derby to Perth which is 1,442 miles long and is covered in 2½ days, as compared with the average of 13 days by the irregular service of coastal steamers, provides a rapid and comfortable means of access to the rich pastoral and metaliferous regions of the North-West and will, no doubt, play an important part in the further development of those districts. Up to the end of 1925 the company's machines had carried a total of 631,632 letters, 2,731 paying passengers and 27,027 lb. of freight and had covered a distance of 542,741 miles. The progress made by the company may be judged from the fact that 1,056 passengers were carried in 1925 as compared with 774 in 1924 while the amount of freight carried showed an increase of almost exactly 100 per cent. A further extension of the route, from Derby to Wyndham, 300 miles, has been decided upon.

(ii) *The Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services, Ltd. (Q.A.N.T.A.S.).*—In February, 1922, this company was granted the contract for the operation of the Charleville–Cloncurry service. During the previous 18 months the company had been operating in the districts concerned, and having flown upwards of 40,000 miles without serious accident had already partly prepared the public for the opening of a regular air service. The Charleville–Cloncurry service which was successfully inaugurated in November, 1922, was the means of linking the inland terminals of three railways running inland from ports on the Queensland coast, and after over two years of successful operation the service was extended from Cloncurry to Camooweal. This new extension not only served to connect Camooweal with the railways but also passed through the new mining district of Mount Isa, in this case reducing a journey of two to three days by car through difficult country to a three to four hours' journey by air. The total distance of 825 miles from Charleville to Camooweal is covered in 2½ days as against seven days by rail and road. Taxi work has been a special feature of the activities of "Q.A.N.T.A.S." and it was reported in May, 1925, that during the previous two and a half years 240 taxi passengers had been carried on urgent errands both to places on the main route and to many remote districts and that not once had the company failed to carry out a flight. In many cases patients have been conveyed to hospital when road travel might have proved fatal and doctors have been carried on many urgent missions as, for example, when an epidemic of typhoid fever had broken out at Mount Isa, and the Cloncurry Shire doctor was sent with his matron on three occasions to inoculate the residents. Each trip entailed an absence of only eight hours from the doctor's headquarters instead of the two or three days which would have been occupied if ordinary means of transport had been used. Similarly when owners of cattle and sheep have been threatened by heavy losses through drought they have utilised aircraft in the search for new grazing land and watering places, travelling in a few days by air journeys that would otherwise have occupied weeks. As an example of the value of aeroplane transport to isolated districts may be cited the special trip carried out primarily to convey a business man, who had already travelled from Charleville to Cloncurry by the regular service, to Brunette Downs, 451 miles west of Cloncurry by road. Brunette Downs, although situated in the centre of a large

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MAP OF AUSTRALIA

Showing existing and proposed Air Routes

Existing Air Routes shown thus.....

Proposed Air Routes under discussion.....

O.R.301

War Office, 1926

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area of good grazing country, is not even connected by telephone with any of the large towns, and was at the time entirely isolated by flooded roads. By aeroplane the whole journey from Charleville was accomplished in three days, and amongst the freight conveyed to Brunette Downs was the first mail received for over a month and a batch of Brisbane papers which were only three days old instead of the usual five to six weeks. Up to the end of 1925 the company's machines had flown 215,990 miles and had carried 45,826 letters, 2,333 paying passengers, and 22,010 lb. of freight. Nearly twice as many letters and passengers and nearly three times as much freight were carried during 1925 as in 1924.

(iii) *The Larkin Aircraft Supply Company.*—The company opened a contract service between Adelaide and Sydney, in June, 1924, but owing to the particularly good express night train service between the two capitals the traffic attracted was not considerable, and it was eventually decided to alter the route to Adelaide–Cootamundra, leaving passengers to utilise the existing railway facilities between the latter town and Sydney, and to open branch services between Broken Hill and Mildura, and between Melbourne and Hay. This new programme was brought into operation in July, 1925, the services serving to connect several important centres which previously had very poor communications with the capital cities. Broken Hill, for instance, a town of 30,000 inhabitants, was separated from Sydney by a train journey of 69 hours, whereas, by using the air service via Cootamundra and Mildura, it can be reached from Sydney in 19 hours. The total length of the system is 1,000 miles, while up to the end of 1925 the company's machines had carried 8,752 letters, 309 passengers, and 95 lb. of freight, and had flown 163,647 miles. Traffic over this company's routes has shown a considerable increase during the first part of the current year.

3. Subsidies.

The Australian Government has recognised from the beginning the necessity of assisting the development of civil aviation, and all three companies have received regular and adequate subsidies on the basis of a mileage rate for a fixed number of contract flights a year. At present the companies are working under agreements of three years' duration and the subsidy rates are the same for each company, namely, 4s. per mile in the first year, with possible reductions to 3s. 6d. and 3s. per mile in the second and third years respectively. The dates upon which these agreements came into force and the maximum annual subsidy for the individual services are as follows :—

Perth–Derby	Commencing December, 1923, maximum annual subsidy, £30,000.
Charleville–Camooweal ..	Commencing November, 1925, maximum annual subsidy, £17,160.
Adelaide–Cootamundra ..	Commencing July, 1925, maximum annual subsidy, £12,022.
Mildura–Broken Hill ..	Commencing July, 1925, maximum annual subsidy, £7,862.
Melbourne–Hay	Commencing July, 1925, maximum annual subsidy, £9,692.

4. Conclusion.

It would appear that there is a great future for civil aviation in Australia. The standard of reliability is very high, a total distance of over 1,000,000 miles has been flown in regular transport and taxi-work with only one fatal accident (that which occurred at the opening of the Geraldton–Derby service), and public confidence in the services is firmly established. Traffic is increasing steadily as the services become better known, and although the day when Australian civil aviation will be self-supporting is not yet definitely within sight, the fact that at least one company has been able to pay a dividend is encouraging. With regard to extensions of the air transport system in the near future a service between Melbourne and Launceston is now receiving consideration and a number of other services are in prospect, notably one between Brisbane and Charleville. Further steps in the expansion of Australian air transport are likely to follow as a natural outcome of the proved utility of the existing services.

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SOUTH AFRICA.

1. Subsidy Offered.

Up to the present there have been no air transport services in South Africa except an experimental service operated for a short period during 1925 by the Union Air Force between Cape Town and Durban. The Government, however, have decided to subsidise air transport in its early stages and £8,000 a year has been offered for this purpose. There are several important routes over which an air transport service could operate without difficulty, but at present acceptable proposals have not been made.

2. Connection with Imperial Aeroplane Routes.

The recent flights by a Royal Air Force unit and Mr. A. J. Cobham from Cairo to the Cape have again demonstrated the fact that this route presents no insuperable obstacles to aircraft, and the establishment of a regular air service over this main highway is therefore an important factor in questions of African air transport. As a beginning of this development the experimental service being organised between Khartoum and Kisumu has special interest.

3. Route under Investigation.

The establishment of an air service in the Union upon which a foundation of experience can be built up is being closely studied. The route from Walvis Bay (S.W. Africa) to Johannesburg and Durban has been suggested as one offering very favourable possibilities for this purpose. As the European mails are at present taken by liner to Cape Town and are from there distributed by rail, there would obviously be a valuable saving of time in stopping the liner at an earlier point and distributing by air. If, therefore, the mails were landed at Walvis Bay and an air service ran from the west coast to the east coast, touching at all the principal intervening centres and reaching Johannesburg in one day's flying, a large part of this saving would be realised at comparatively small cost. The route is shown on the map on the opposite page.

At present the proposal has not attained a concrete form, but it is being carefully investigated, since it certainly appears to promise immediate and useful benefits to the Union. The following time-table has been prepared :—

	Miles.	*Arrive.*	*Depart.*
Walvis Bay	—	—	6.00 a.m.
Rehoboth	165	7.50 a.m.	8.20 a.m.
Matsa	310	11.45 a.m.	12.15 p.m.
Munguaban	260	3.10 p.m.	3.40 p.m.
Johannesburg	165	5.50 p.m.	6.00 p.m.
Durban	330	9.40 a.m.	—

WEST INDIES.

1. Favourable Conditions for Operation.

The West Indies form a very favourable field for air transport. Consisting as they do of a group of islands extending over roughly 1,800 miles and separated by considerable distances, the West Indies are in a position to derive the maximum benefit from the rapid transport facilities afforded by air services, while from a technical point of view the operation of seagoing aircraft would present small difficulty.

2. Investigation by Air Ministry Committee.

In order to investigate the question a committee has been set up in the Air Ministry " to consider what opportunities exist for the operation of civil air transport in the neighbourhood of the West Indies." At the moment the report of the Committee has not reached final form, though the general conclusions reached are clear. A service throughout the West Indies is recognised to be impracticable at the present stage owing to the comparatively small volume of traffic likely to be forthcoming and the necessity of a large subsidy. The Committee, therefore, considers that local services should first be established on those sections which offer the best chance of early commercial success, and when their value has been demonstrated the scope of operations should be gradually extended until they embrace the whole area.

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MAP SHOWING EXISTING AND PROPOSED AEROPLANE SERVICES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA


BELGIAN CONGO
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
GABON
MIDDLE CONGO
ANGOLA
NORTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
NYASALAND PROTECTORATE
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
KENYA COLONY
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
NORTHERN BECHUANALAND PROTECTE
BRITISH BECHUANALAND
SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
NATAL
BASUTO LAND
SWAZI LAND
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
KALAHARI DESERT
Brazzaville
Leopoldville
Boma
Matadi
Loanda
Benguella
Mossamedes
Port Alexander
Elizabethville
Bukama
Kabalo
Albertville
Kindu
Stanleyville
Ponthierville
Lowa
Bukoba
Nairobi
Mombasa
Pemba I.
ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE
Zanzibar
Dar-es-Salaam
Tanga
Mafia
Kilwa
Lindi
Mozambique
Beira
Salisbury
Bulawayo
Livingstone
Victoria F.
Lourenço Marques
Inhambane
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Kimberley
Bloemfontein
Durban
Pietermaritzburg
East London
Port Elizabeth
CAPE TOWN
Cape of Good Hope
C. Agulhas
Walfish Bay
Windhoek
Swakopmund
Lüderitz Bay
Port Nolloth
Orange R.
R. Kunene
C. Frio
Mossamedes
Port Alexander
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Victoria
Lake Albert
Lake Mweru
Lake Bangweulu
L. Nyasa
L. Rudolf
L. Edward
L. George
L. Kivu
L. Tumba
L. Leopold II
L. Ngami
Great Makalakari Lake
Chobe Swamp
Marshes of the Kubango R.
Etosha P.
Victoria Falls
Kasai R.
Zambezi R.
Limpopo R.
Orange R.
Congo R.
Kuango R.
Cassai R.
Kwango R.
Kwilu R.
Kwa R.
Kasai R.
Luena R.
Kubango R.
Kwando R.
Kwando R.
Kwando

C 63809

3. Routes Suggested.

The Committee considers that the following services offer the best prospects in the early future :—

(a) *A service in British Guiana.*
(b) *A service from British Guiana to Trinidad.*
(c) *A coastal service from Trinidad to Curacoa and Maracaibo.*
(d) *A service from Trinidad to Barbados.*

(*a*) The conditions prevailing in British Guiana are peculiarly favourable for air transport from Georgetown into the interior, where there is a floating population of 18,000 persons employed in connection with the diamond and gold mining industries. Communications along the rivers are slow and precarious, accidents involving loss of life and freight are frequent in the rapids and whirlpools, and damage to freight through exposure is a serious risk, while during times of flood there is the possibility of disaster through an interruption of the river traffic causing a stoppage of food supplies to the men at the workings. The river journey, which at present occupies from two to three weeks, could be accomplished by air in 1½ hours.

(*b*) Mails from the United Kingdom to British Guiana are forwarded to Trinidad, where they await local sailings, and are delayed for a period varying from a few hours to as much as 10 days. Return mails for England are similarly delayed, and crossing letters may thus lie together in Trinidad for several days. These disabilities apply also to the passenger service. The route of 350 miles from Trinidad to Georgetown could be flown in 3¾ hours and the cost of establishing an air service would be considerably less than that of improving the steamship facilities.

(*c*) Owing to the oil boom in Venezuela there has been a considerable increase in traffic on the route between the oil districts at Maracaibo and Curacoa and Trinidad, and in the opinion of the Committee a service on this route would form a practical extension of the route from Georgetown to Trinidad. It is understood that the Royal Dutch Shell Company would be willing to subsidise a British air service from Trinidad to Curacoa to the extent of £5,000 per annum.

(*d*) There is a considerable traffic between Trinidad and Barbados, and a fast air service to supplement the existing steamship service on this route would in all probability attract full loads provided the rates were reasonable. The journey could be flown in two hours. Such a service could readily be made to fit in as an extension of service (*b*) and might well form a stepping stone to further extensions to the islands of the Windward and Leeward Groups.

4. Proposed Scheme.

Estimates have been prepared by the Committee for the four services above mentioned to be combined in one operational organisation based on Georgetown. The type of machine recommended for use is a three-engined all-metal float seaplane of 1,200 h.p. capable of carrying 20 passengers or a paying load of 4,000 lb.

In the view of the Committee the possibilities of these services are so far-reaching that they have no doubt of their ultimate commercial success.

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II.—FRANCE.

I.—Policy.

The policy of the French Government in regard to civil aviation has seemed to be inspired by political rather than commercial aims. In the first few years of its existence commercial aviation was regarded mainly as a reserve for the military Air Service and the Government subsidies were given for machines adaptable to war uses. This resulted in the French companies maintaining fleets larger than were needed for the routes they were operating, and the machines themselves were uneconomic and uncomfortable. The French Government, however, gradually modified the subsidy conditions in order to encourage development on a more commercial basis, but the subsidy system remains a generous one, and the French air lines now serve the political purpose of providing rapid transport from France to the chief cities of her colonies and allies.

The following table shows the subsidies voted and miles flown since 1919 :—

	Total Mileage Flown.	*Subsidies Voted Frs.*
1919	166,115	2,437,250
1920	533,725	8,000,000
1921	1,470,910	31,700,000
1922	1,748,980	45,382,000
1923	2,116,997	46,922,000
1924	2,279,891	46,922,000
1925	2,945,555	57,210,000

II.—The French Aeroplane Transport System.

There are four main French air lines :—

(1) *Paris–London.*

(2) *Paris–Amsterdam.*

(3) *Paris–Prague–Bucharest–Constantinople* (with a branch from Prague to Warsaw).

(4) *Toulouse–Casablanca–Dakar* (with branches from Alicante to Oran and Algiers ; and from Perpignan to Marseilles).

Line (3) connects Paris with the capitals of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, and the ancient capital of Turkey. Development has been hindered until recently by the lack of agreements allowing flight over Germany and Turkey, but this difficulty no longer exists and development work will certainly be pressed forward energetically. At present it is possible to travel by this service from Paris to Constantinople in 36 hours, thus saving 2¼ days on railway time, and this saving will be much greater after the adoption of night flying (which has already been tried experimentally between Belgrade and Bucharest). It is planned to extend the service from Constantinople into Syria, and perhaps on to Baghdad.

Line (4) is perhaps the most interesting and important of the French air transport systems and is the practical result of a comprehensive policy laid down in 1919. This policy aimed at the establishment of commercial air transport services—

(*a*) Between France and her North African Empire.

(*b*) Between the units of the North African Empire (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia).

(*c*) Between North Africa and French Equatorial Africa.

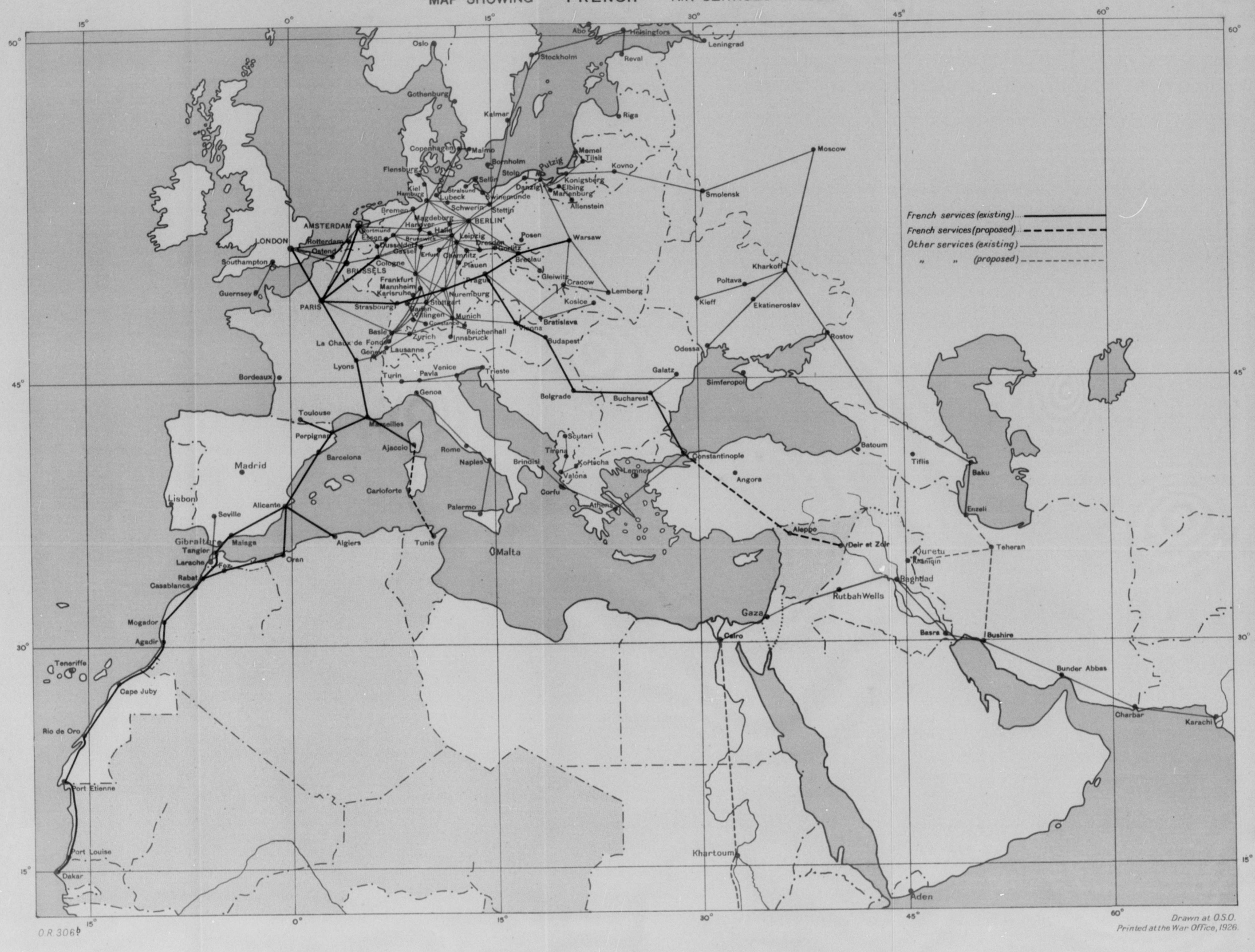
The Latecoere Company has free use of the aerodromes established at strategic points by the Army and Navy, and received 23,210,000 francs as subsidy in 1925.

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MAP SHOWING FRENCH AIR SERVICES IN 1926.



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How great has been the increase in the load of mails carried between France and Morocco will be seen from the following table :—

1919.	Total number of letters carried ..	9,124
1920.	,, ,, ,, ,, ..	182,061
1921.	,, ,, ,, ,, ..	327,805
1922.	,, ,, ,, ,, ..	1,407,352
1923.	,, ,, ,, ,, ..	2,958,863
1924.	,, ,, ,, ,, ..	4,026,593
1925.	,, ,, ,, ,, ..	7,502,191

The system is at present composed of the following services :—

(i) Toulouse–Casablanca (Morocco). Landplanes leave Toulouse daily at 5.30 a.m. and arrive at Casablanca, in summer, at 7 o'clock the same evening, and in winter at 10 o'clock the next morning.

(ii) Oran–Casablanca (connecting Algeria and Morocco). This service has been regularly operated twice weekly since 1922.

(iii) Oran–Alicante (completing the connection Toulouse–Oran). There are four seaplane services a week and at present only mails are carried.

(iv) Algiers–Alicante seaplane service (completing the connection Toulouse–Algiers). This service is temporarily suspended.

(v) Casablanca–Dakar (connecting Morocco and Senegal in French West Africa). Services twice a week.

(vi) Antibes–Ajaccio seaplane service (with proposed extension to Tunis). This line is operated by the Air Union.

The French capital, through this Mediterranean system and the line Paris–Lyons–Marseilles, is therefore connected by air with Algiers, Morocco, and French West Africa. A scheme has been proposed for extending the line from Dakar to South America, using fast steamers for the crossing of the Atlantic from Dakar to the coast of Brazil, until seaplanes have been developed capable of flying over this stage.

III.—Air Services in the French Colonies.

Indo-China.—On 3rd April, 1926, a regular weekly air mail service was begun between Saigon–Kratie–Savannakhet. It is proposed to extend this service to Hanoi, when it is hoped to complete the journey from Saigon to Hanoi in 12 hours. This service has lately been suspended during the period of the monsoon.

The attempts to establish an air service in Madagascar have not yet proved successful.

Experimental air mail services have been operated in Syria with good results.

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III.—GERMANY.

1. One Large Company.

German air transport, following the lead given in Great Britain, has been combined and placed in the hands of one large well-capitalised company, which is known as the Deutsche Lufthansa. This step was taken at the end of last year and was primarily the result of destructive competition between the earlier companies and the need for financial re-organisation. The subsidies paid may be divided roughly into two classes: subsidies granted by the Reich Government for main lines and subsidies found by local authorities for subsidiary lines, of which there are a great number. Reich subsidies take the form of a flat mileage rate and the local subsidies consist of a lump sum grant. The Municipalities have been generous in helping to establish aerodromes, and this system of local subsidies is a particular and important feature of German Civil Aviation.

2. Constricted Development.

The Deutsche Lufthansa has commenced its life in promising circumstances. The restrictions on German civil aviation have been raised, a keen air spirit permeates the German public, and adequate subsidies are available. In the past Germany has been handicapped by the political situation in organising long international routes, and, as the map shows, her principal route mileage at present is within Germany. The admission of Germany to the League of Nations affords a still smoother path for the advance of her air transport, and it is probable that the German lines will in a very few years assume an entirely different appearance and many local lines disappear in favour of extensions outside Germany.

3. Russia.

A plan is already being discussed for an extension of the Berlin–Moscow route eastward across Russia to the Pacific coast. Russia provides a natural outlet for German aviation enterprise, and a foundation has been laid in that country for German participation in future aeronautical developments. Russia, with her immense area, scattered population, and rich untapped resources, is in a somewhat similar position to the British Empire as regards the advantages she can gain from improved communications, but she must go outside for help.

4. German Manufacturers Abroad.

German aircraft manufacturers have for some years been very active outside Germany and have established several factories in foreign countries. Their propaganda has, in fact, at one time or another, been carried into almost every part of the world, resulting in some cases in the organisation of a semi-German air transport company or in the direct operation of air transport services.

5. Statistics.

The following tables show the money spent on Civil Aviation and the progress of German Air Transport in recent years :—

German Civil Aviation Votes.

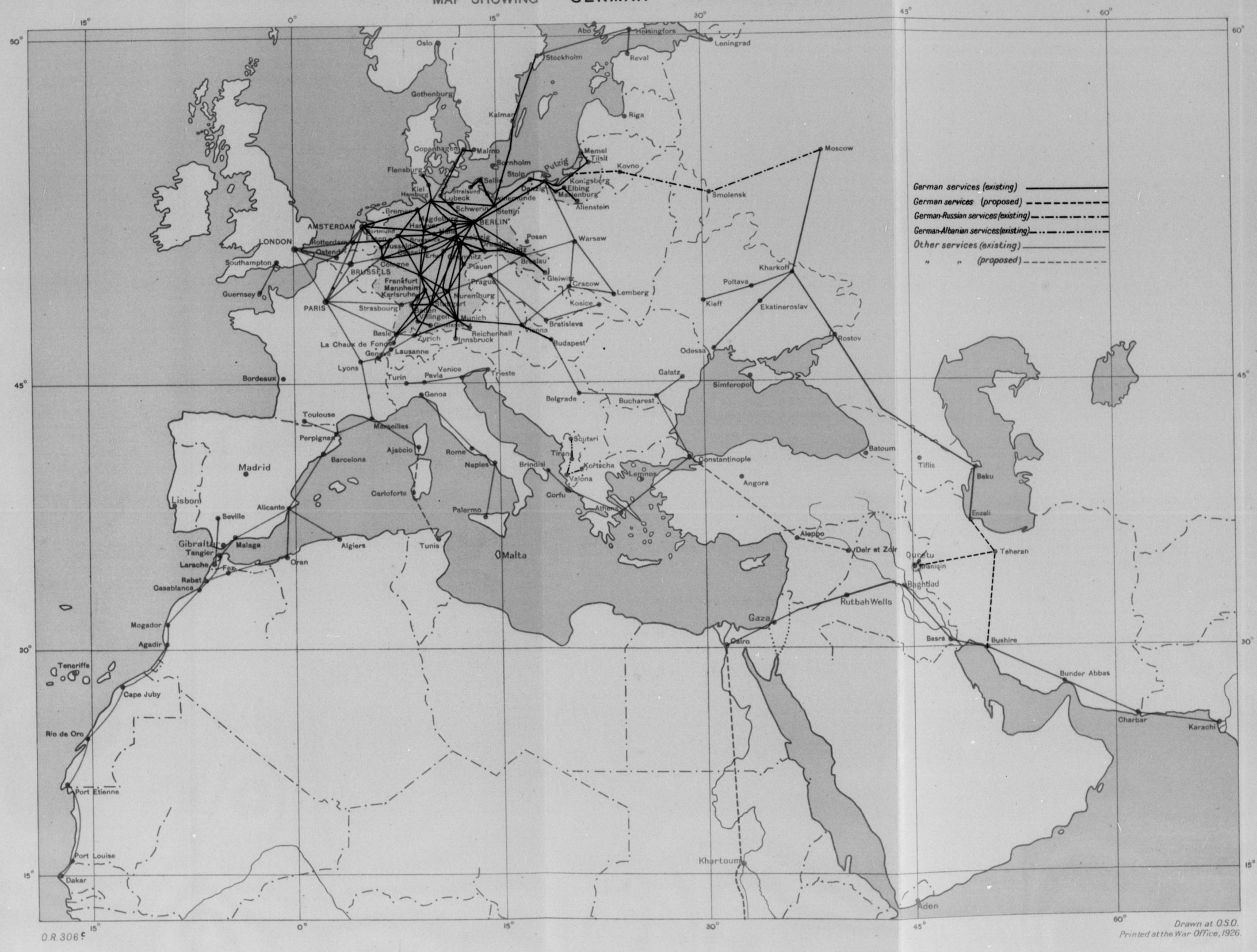
Year.	*Gold Marks.*	£ (*approx*).
1924–25	10,457,500	522,875
1925–26	24,157,500	1,207,875
1926–27	26,511,500	1,297,040

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MAP SHOWING GERMAN AIR SERVICES IN 1926.



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German Air Transport Statistics.

	1923.	*1924.*	*1925.*
Total number of aeroplanes ..	145	249	324
Distance covered daily in miles	6,009	9,339	21,856
No. of miles flown during the year	446,046	983,940	3,075,209
Regularity per cent. ..	84·0	84·4	89·7
Passengers carried :—			
Total number	8,507	13,422	55,185
Passenger miles	1,283,322	2,029,608	6,588,409
Freight carried :—			
Goods	39 tons	71 tons	521 tons
Mails	5 ,,	22 ,,	287 ,,
Total	44 ,,	93 ,,	808 ,,
Ton miles	5,904*	25,795	110,808

* Not including mails.

The statistics of air transport are perhaps based on a less rigid system of reckoning than in other countries, and may give an exaggerated idea of the amount of air traffic in Germany, but they show fairly correctly the rapid rate of expansion during the past few years.

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IV.—THE UNITED STATES.

1. A Special Policy.

Conditions in the United States are probably more favourable to the development of air transport than those in any other part of the world. The country has a good climate and is of vast area ; a great population is obtaining constant employment and a high standard of life from an active and prosperous industry ; and the minds of the people have long been accustomed to the habit of travel and the necessity of speed. The United States, in its special circumstances, did not adopt the European practice of subsidising air transport services. Instead, the Government left general commercial flying unregulated and unassisted, but decided that the Post Office should itself thoroughly test the possibilities of air transport for the rapid carriage of the mails.

2. The Development of the Air Mail.

The first experimental air mail route was begun in May, 1918, between Washington, Philadelphia and New York, a distance of about 200 miles. It soon became apparent, however, that the air mail had no great advantages for short distances, and by September, 1920, the full trans-continental route of 2,665 miles was in operation. Following some years of experiment, the practicability of night flying was regarded as proved, and in July, 1924, the through trans-continental air mail service was established, covering the route in about 32 hours as against 3 days by the fastest train. The lighted route for night flying now extends from New York City, over the Allegheny Mountains, through Chicago to Salt Lake City ; it is just over 2,000 miles long and has cost $270 a mile to establish, while the annual maintenance expenditure is $147 per mile.

3. The Success of the Air Mail.

Since 1918 over $12,000,000 has been spent on this official experiment and it has been a complete success. In the year ending 30th June, 1925, a distance of 2,501,555 miles was flown (of which 696,126 miles were flown at night) ; 96 per cent. of scheduled flights were carried out ; and the revenue derived from the air mail surcharge was $600,000. The revenue from the surcharge has now reached a rate which is expected to produce $1,000,000 in the current year.

4. A New Policy.

The Government have now decided on a new policy which is designed to follow up the success of the Post Office experiment and which is based on the belief that further developments will be made more cheaply and more quickly by commercial enterprise. The carriage of the air mails is to be transferred to contractors, who will combine the transport of passengers and goods with the mail services. Already contracts for 12 new routes have been awarded, and others are under consideration ; while the original trans-continental route itself will be entrusted to contractors when they are considered to have gained sufficient experience. Surcharges will be levied on letters carried by air mail, but no subsidies will be paid to the companies operating the routes. The experience of the Post Office gives ground for the belief that the revenue derived from the air mails, together with that from passengers and goods, will be large enough to make the services a commercial proposition. In any case, there is at present no lack of bidders for the contracts.

5. Routes Operated.

The following routes are in actual operation : –

Post Office Routes.	*Miles.*
New York–San Francisco	2,680
New York–Chicago	780

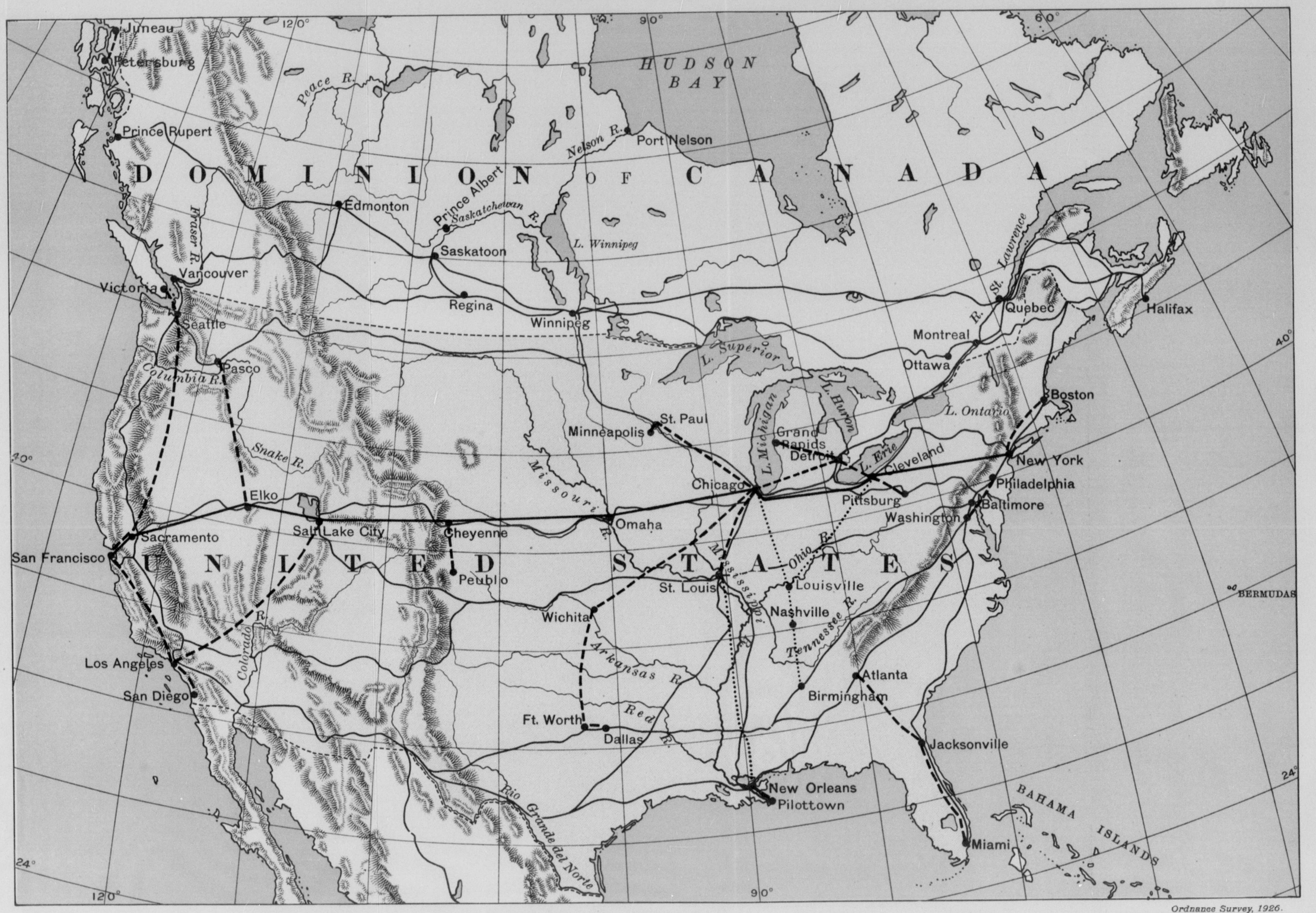
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MAP OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Air Routes in the U.S.A. shown in Blue.



O.R. 303

Post Office Air Mail Route ——————

Contract Routes in operation – – – – –

Proposed Contract Routes .....

Ordnance Survey, 1926.
Printed at the War Office, 1926.

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Contract Routes.	*Miles.*
Boston–New York	192
Chicago–St. Louis	278
Chicago–Dallas–Fort Worth	1,000
Salt Lake City–Los Angeles	660
Elko–Pasco	437
Chicago–St. Paul–Minneapolis	377
Atlanta–Miami	550
Chicago–Detroit–Cleveland	328
Cheyenne–Pueblo	205
Washington–Philadelphia	124
Detroit–Grand Rapids	135
Juneau–Petersburg (Alaska)	115
Seattle–Victoria	84
New Orleans–Pilottown	80
	8,025

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V.—SOVIET RUSSIA.

1. German Companies in Russia, 1921–1923.

The history of civil aviation in Russia really commences with the formation at the end of 1921 of the Russo-German air transport company known as the " Deruluft," part of the capital of which was provided by the Soviet Government and part by the group of German air transport companies which soon afterwards became the " Deutsche Aero-Lloyd." In 1922 the " Deruluft " opened a service between Konigsberg and Moscow, which having been operated with increasing frequency and success during the past four summers, has outlived several more ambitious schemes and experiments and remains the most definite achievement as regards regular air transport in Russia.

It was the year 1923, however, which saw the commencement in Russia of a great effort to establish air transport services on a large scale. The Russians, finding that the railway services, which had never been very good, were becoming more and more inadequate as a means of traversing the enormous distances between their scattered towns, had begun to look towards aerial transport not only as a solution of the problem of ordinary transport but also as a means of extending and consolidating the influence and power of the Soviet Government, both in Russia and in neighbouring foreign countries. The Germans appeared already to have achieved considerable success in the organisation of air transport services—the Konigsberg–Moscow service was, as mentioned above, actually being operated in Russian territory—and it was to Germany that the Russians turned for assistance in carrying out their own schemes.

During this year, 1923, the German Junker company, as the result of an agreement entered into with the Soviet Government, opened an aircraft factory in Moscow, founded a Russian branch of their air transport section, and commenced to carry out preliminary work with the idea of organising a large air route linking Sweden and Persia via Leningrad and Moscow, to include eventually a connection with Berlin. A service was operated for a short period over the section Moscow–Tiflis, and experimental flights were also carried out over other portions of the route.

2. The Formation of Russian Companies, 1923.

At the same time the Russians themselves did not remain idle. A body known as the " Society of the Friends of the Air Fleet," which had recently been organised, embarked on a widespread propaganda campaign with the object of arousing public interest and obtaining funds for the organisation of both a military air fleet and civil air transport companies. This society appears to have been practically a Government organisation and funds were obtained not only by more or less voluntary subscriptions from workers' and peasants' unions, and the proceeds from competitions and exhibitions, but also, it was reported, by compulsory deductions from salaries and wages. As a result of the activities of the society and partly with the assistance of the Junkers Company, three Russian air transport companies came into existence. The first and most important of these was the " Dobrolet," which was organised on the lines of the Russian Volunteer Mercantile Fleet and received considerable financial support from the Soviet Government. The other companies formed were the " Ukrvozdukhput " (Ukrainian–Crimean Air Traffic Company) and the " Zakavia " (Trans-Caucasian Air Company). None of these companies did much more than preliminary experimental and organisation work during 1923, the only attempt at a definite service being the Moscow–Nijni-Novgorod service, which was operated by the " Dobrolet " during the fair at the latter town.

Considering the efforts put forward in 1923, the progress made in 1924 was disappointing. The Konigsberg–Moscow service was, of course, again operated, but the Junkers company were unable to re-open their service between Moscow–Tiflis owing to lack of passengers, and practically confined themselves to carrying out preliminary work in connection with a proposed service Baku–Enzeli–Tehran–Bushire. The following services were operated with fair regularity by the three Russian companies during the year :—

Moscow–Nijni-Novgorod–Kazan (Dobrolet).
Tashkent–Alma Ata (Dobrolet).
Kharkoff–Kiev, Kharkoff–Odessa (Ukrvozdukhput).
Tiflis–Baku (Zakavia).

The Society of the Friends of the Air Fleet, however, continued its intensive propaganda during 1924, and at the beginning of November it was reported to have 15,000 branches throughout the Union with a total membership of approximately 1½ millions and to have collected 4,500,000 roubles ; while a grant of 1,000,000 roubles was made during the year by the Soviet Government for the purpose of developing the aviation industry.

3. The Development of the Russian Companies, 1925.

By 1925 the German influence in Russian aviation had dwindled considerably, especially as regards the activities of the Junkers company, whose agreement with the Soviet Government had proved unworkable for various reasons, and the Moscow-Tiflis service was, after another brief attempt to operate, forced to close down. Attempts have since been made, so far without success, to negotiate a second agreement on more satisfactory lines. The Konigsberg–Moscow line was still, it is true, practically a German operated line. The use of German machines on most of the Russian air lines was continued, but numbers of German pilots were replaced by Russians, and increasing support was given to the manufacture of Russian machines and engines which, however, were often only poor copies of foreign models. During this year the " Society of the Friends of the Air Fleet " amalgamated with the " Dobrokhim " (Volunteer Chemical Society) under the title of the " Aviokhim," the membership of the combined society being reported as approximately 3,000,000, but the nominal abolition by law of the compulsory subscriptions to the society caused a check in the flow of funds. Nevertheless, the society continued to extend its influence and foreign branches were opened at Berlin, Hamburg, and Kabul, while in conjunction with the " Dobrolet " a propaganda flight to Pekin by six machines was organised and was carried out during June and July, 1925. Five of the machines succeeded in reaching Pekin, two subsequently going on to Shanghai and one to Tokyo. Demonstration flights within Russia were also carried out by machines belonging to the " Aviokhim."

Numerous experimental services were organised by the Russian companies during 1925, but it would appear that, apart from the Konigsberg–Moscow service, the following were the only routes operated with any degree of regularity :—

(1) Moscow–Kharkoff–Rostoff
(2) Kiev–Kharkoff
(3) Kharkoff–Odessa
} (" Ukrvozdukhput ").

(4) Pishpek–Alma Ata (irregular service)
(5) Bokhara–Khiva, later extended to Teschaus
} (" Dobrolet ").

(6) Bokhara–Dushambe.

None of these services was scheduled to operate more than three times weekly, and it is probable that in many cases the actual frequency was very much less ; but it must not be overlooked that owing to the comparatively infrequent railway services in Russia, and the general difficulties of inter-communication between the towns, a weekly connection might in many cases be regarded as an adequate and frequent service.

4. The Present Position.

Of the extensive and ambitious programme drawn up for 1926, the first three routes mentioned below are reported as the regular air mail services at present in operation (in addition to the Konigsberg–Moscow service) and it is probable that services are also being operated over the other two routes shown :—

(1) Moscow – Orel – Kharkoff – Artemovsk – Rostoff – Mineralnia Vody – Enzeli (" Ukrvozdukhput.")
(2) Kagan (New Bokhara)–Khiva–Teschaus
(3) Kagan (New Bokhara)–Termes–Dushambe
} (" Dobrolet ").

(4) Tzaritsin–Astrakhan–Gurier.

(5) Kharkoff–Odessa
(6) Kharkoff–Kiev
} (" Ukrvozdukhput ").

In addition to the above the " Dobrolet " has under consideration an important route, Irkutsk–Urga (Mongolia)–Pekin, in connection with which a certain amount of preliminary survey work has already been carried out, and proposals to organise

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services between the Aldan gold fields and the Amur railway, between Irkutsk and Yakutsk, and to the northerly fur depots. The company also proposes to undertake air photography and survey. The " Zakavia " company intended to operate a service Tiflis–Tabriz this summer, but it has not yet been reported as running.

Another important scheme which has been under consideration since the latter part of 1925 is for an extension of the Berlin–Konigsberg–Moscow route through Omsk, Irkutsk, and Vladivostock to Tokyo. The introduction of night flying on the Berlin–Konigsberg–Moscow service, which has taken place this year and which enables the journey to be completed in one day, may be regarded as a preliminary step towards the realisation of this scheme.

It will be realised that the organisation of civil aviation in Russia is intimately bound up with the needs and aspirations of the Soviet Government. When the Konigsberg–Moscow service was first opened all the seating accommodation was reserved for the use of the Government and one seat in each machine is still thus reserved. In a similar way considerable use has been made of practically all the services so far operated for the conveyance of Soviet officials and Government mail and propaganda, and there is no doubt that all the companies are largely financed by the Government. Too much importance, however, should not be attached to the Soviet air services as a serious contribution towards the technical and operational development of air transport.

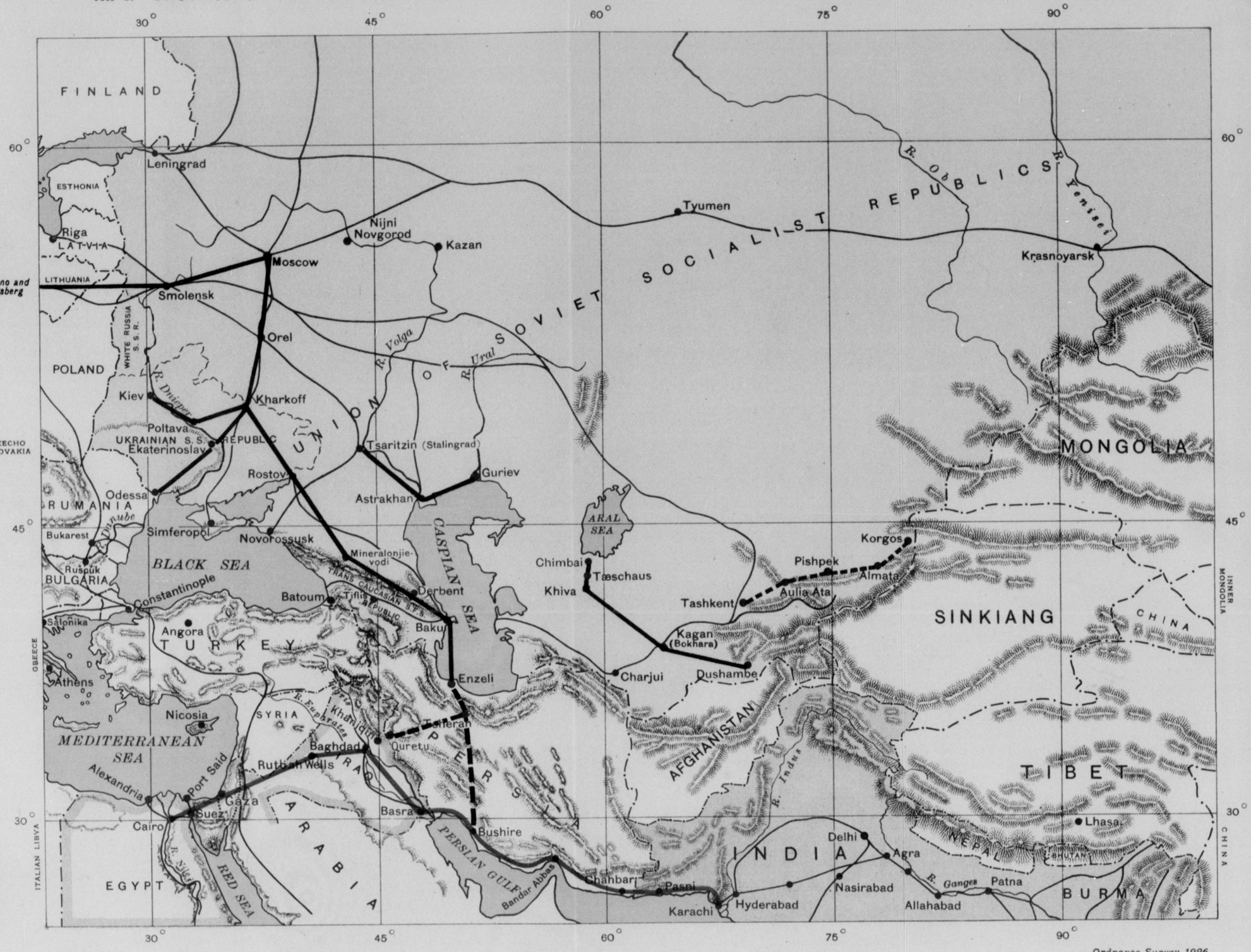
The Soviet Government is taking an active interest in the schemes mentioned above for linking Russia with China and Japan, while the penetration of Afghanistan by the establishment of a branch of the " Aviokhim " at Kabul and the occasional visits of Russian machines to that town suggests the possibility of an attempt to extend their aerial transport system in the direction of India.

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C 63822

MAP SHOWING EXISTING AND PROPOSED AIR ROUTES IN SOVIET RUSSIA AND ADJACENT AREAS



O.R. 305

Soviet Russian Routes probably in regular operation during 1926

" " " which have been operated, but concerning which no recent information is available

German proposed Routes

British Routes

Ordnance Survey 1926.
Printed at the War Office, 1926

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VI.—HOLLAND.

Holland ranks as one of the pioneers of air transport in Europe, and has in the K.L.M. (Royal Dutch Air Service Company) an organisation of outstanding efficiency and enterprise which has an excellent record of reliability and safety. Having started in May, 1920, with a service between Amsterdam and London, this company now runs an independent service from London through Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Hamburg to Malmo and Copenhagen, with a connecting service between Amsterdam and Paris.

The K.L.M. has been subsidised from its commencement by the Netherlands Government, and has this year entered into negotiations with the Government for an extension of the subsidy period until 1934, after which the company hopes to be in a position to operate on a self-supporting basis. Holland is anxious to participate in the organisation of an air service to the East, which would provide her with a rapid connection to the Netherlands East Indies, and the K.L.M. is anxious to expand in this direction. Attempts to start operations in the East Indies have hitherto been checked by financial difficulties, but there are signs that these difficulties are becoming less formidable.

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VII.—MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

1. European Nations.

Sweden is the most forward of the smaller European countries, and has a company known as the Aerotransport A.B., which runs in conjunction with other companies to Berlin, Paris and London. Italy has started three services this year, one from Turin to Trieste, another from Genoa to Palermo, and a third from Brindisi to Athens and Constantinople. Belgium, Poland, Denmark, Switzerland, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Finland all have services in operation. There is a scheme for a service from Athens to Egypt, with a northerly branch to Bucharest. This has been formulated by a Greek company, and, it is understood, has been given the support of the Greek Government.

2. Belgian Congo.

The Belgian company, S.A.B.E.N.A. (Société Anonyme Belge d'Exploitation de la Navigation Aerienne), maintains a very successful aeroplane service, using machines of British type, from Kinshasa (Leopoldville) to the Katanga, in the Belgian Congo. The Katanga is brought within 3 days (instead of 45 days) of the capital, Leopoldville, and Elizabethville (Katanga) can now be reached in 23 days from Brussels, entirely by Belgian means of transport. An extension of the service to Boma, the coastal port, is in course of organisation. The Katanga was formerly served for passengers and mails mainly by the railway from Cape Town to Elizabethville, a route necessitating a wide detour to the south on the journey to and from Europe.

3. Colombia—An Unsubsidised Service.

Colombia has a population of about 6,000,000 and is the second largest coffee producing country in the world. The centres of population and production are located on high plateaux, several hundred miles from the coast. The country is divided by three long parallel mountain ranges and traffic between the plateaux is forced to follow the lines of the valleys, principally the main valley of the Magdalena River, which is the only navigable waterway in the country and the only practical traffic route for exports and imports.

The air service has been running entirely without artificial assistance since 1921. It connects the port of Barranquilla with Bogota, the capital, following the course of the Magdalena River as far as Girardot. With its branch lines this service covers 790 miles. The only other means of communication are the river itself or mulepack; and the river boats are very slow, being delayed for long periods in times of low water. Normally, the service saves from 9 to 11 days between Barranquilla and Bogota.

Encouraged by its success in Colombia, the German-Colombian company responsible for this service is endeavouring to obtain support for a service linking up the central and adjoining South American Republics with the United States. An associated company has been formed in the United States and is now engaged in interesting the other countries concerned.

This service is an example of regular air transport running under typical colonial conditions and filling a need for improved communications which could not otherwise be satisfied except at great expense. It demonstrates the fact that difficult country from a flying standpoint is, on the whole, a less serious drawback than such difficult weather as is experienced in Europe.

4. Bolivia.

An air transport company known as the Lloyd Aero Boliviano was formed in Bolivia towards the end of 1925 by agents of the German Junkers Company, which has supplied the machines and operating personnel for the enterprise. The company is reported to have been granted a subsidy by the Government and hopes to link all the important centres of the Republic by aeroplane routes, but the only service operated so far is one between Cochabamba and Santa Cruz.

5. Argentina.

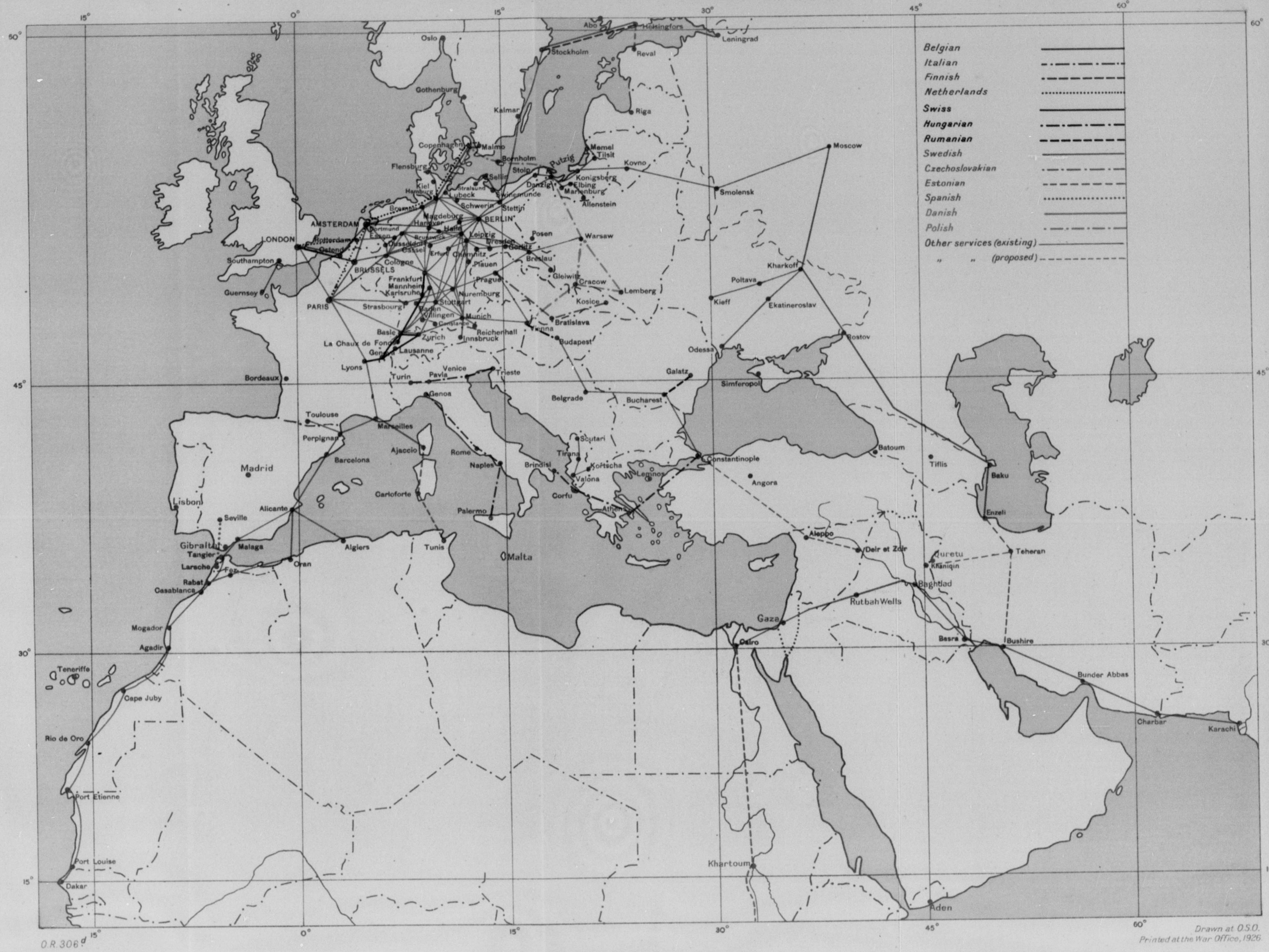
The River Plate Aviation Company, an English firm, which commenced a daily service between Buenos Aires and Montevideo in January, 1924, and operated successfully for three months, was compelled to cease operations owing to the inadequacy of the subsidy provided by the Argentine Government.

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MAP SHOWING MISCELLANEOUS AIR SERVICES IN 1926.



O.R.306d

Drawn at O.S.O.
Printed at the War Office, 1926

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On the 7th January, 1925, however, a mission sent out by the German Junkers Company commenced the operation of a service between Cordoba and Villa Dolores, the journey being made three times weekly in each direction and taking 45 minutes as compared with seven hours by automobile, and this was so successful that a company known as the " Aero Lloyd Cordoba " was formed and an additional service between Cordoba and Rio Cuarto opened during May, 1925. The company, which receives a subsidy of $7,000 per month from the Provincial Government of Cordoba, has opened a flying school and proposes to operate additional services in the near future between Cordoba and Rosario and between Cordoba and Mar Chiquita.

The Junkers Company has also operated an air mail and passenger service between Buenos Aires and Montevideo since 4th March, 1926, receiving a subsidy of $4,000 per month from the Argentine Government and undertaking in return to carry 300 kg. of mails thrice weekly.

6. Siam.

Air transport services in Siam are carried out by units belonging to the Royal Aeronautical Service. There are at present two lines in operation :—

(1) Korat–Roi Ech–Ubon (opened June, 1922), extended to Nong–Kai during 1924.
(2) Korat–Roi Ech–Udorn (opened in 1924).

Goods of all descriptions, passengers and mails are carried and both routes are operated weekly in each direction, the time saved over ordinary means of transport being two to three weeks. The machines engaged in these services have covered about 150,000 miles without serious accident, and during the year 1924–25 carried 255 passengers and approximately 50 tons of mail. The machines used are of French types and the pilots are Siamese trained by French instructors.

In addition to the machines employed on the regular services six ambulance machines are kept available for conveying invalids and doctors. Doctors and vaccines are carried free and patients requiring urgent medical attention are also carried free if they cannot afford the fare.

7. Japan.

Up to the present time the development of air transport in Japan has not been very substantial, but an elaborate policy of expansion has been under consideration. The programme would take 20 years to complete, and by the end of that time Japan would possess a comprehensive system of airways, covering 15,692 kilometres.

In the financial year 1926–27 a sum of yen 371,800 has been allotted for bounties to encourage civil aviation, this being an increase of yen 100,000 over the previous year. Bounties are provided in the current year for the operation of the following services :—

Company.	*Service.*
Tosai Teiki Koku Kai ..	Tokyo–Osaka, about three return flights per week. Tokyo–Sendai, about one return flight per week.
Nippon Koku Kabushiki Kaisha.	Osaka–Fukuoka, about three return flights per week. Osaka–Dairen, about six trial flights during the year.
Nippon Koku Yuso Kenkyujo.	Sakai–Oita, about three return flights per week.

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APPENDIX B.

THE REGULATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AVIATION.

Historical and International.

1. Before the war, civil aviation, in an organised form, did not exist. From time to time attempts were made to draw up regulations for the control of air traffic on an internationally acceptable basis, as, for instance, by the abortive Conference held in Paris in 1910 and by the Institute of International Law in 1911, which adopted rules for the marking and registration of aircraft. As regards British legislation, the Orders made under the Aerial Navigation Acts of 1911 and 1913 limited the landing areas for aircraft from abroad to eight small areas on the coast. The Home Office required notice of the proposed place of landing of aeroplanes, the approximate time of arrival, and the name and nationality of the person in charge. The carriage of dutiable goods or mails by aircraft was forbidden. Responsibility for safety measures and the certification of air pilots devolved upon the Royal Aero Club.

2. As a result of the impetus given to aviation by the war, the potential value of aircraft for commercial transport was appreciated, and in 1917 a Civil Aerial Transport Committee was appointed to consider the subject from its international and national aspects. This paved the way for the Committee which came into being immediately after the Armistice and whose labours resulted in the Act of 1919 and the Air Navigation Regulations, 1919, issued on the 30th April, provisionally regulating civil flying in the British Islands. Post-war civil aviation commenced officially on 1st May, 1919.

International Air Convention.

3. Meanwhile, the Convention for the Regulation of Aerial Navigation was drafted at the Peace Conference and signed on 13th October, 1919. This Convention recognises the exclusive sovereignty of each State over the air space above its own territory, and provides, *inter alia*, for freedom of innocent passage, except over prohibited areas, by the civil aircraft of other contracting States; the registration of aircraft; the reciprocal recognition of certificates of airworthiness and competency, and of licences; the establishment of "customs aerodromes," and the setting up of a permanent International Commission for Air Navigation. It contains Annexes dealing with the marking of aircraft, certificates of airworthiness, log books, lights and signals, rules of the air, pilots' and navigators' certificates, maps and ground markings, meteorology, and customs.

4. The Convention came into force on 11th July, 1922, and the following States are at present parties to it :—

Belgium.
Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
Canada.
Australia.
Union of South Africa.
New Zealand.
Irish Free State.
India.
Bulgaria.
Chile.
Czechoslovakia.
France.
Greece.
Italy.
Japan.
Persia.
Poland.
Portugal.
Roumania.
Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
Siam.
Uruguay.

5. Under the terms of the Convention the International Commission for Air Navigation, comprising representatives of each contracting State, was set up as from the same date, 11th July, 1922, to consider technical questions arising in the application of the Convention, generally to co-ordinate the operation of its provisions, including the amendment of its technical Annexes as necessity arises, and the collection and dissemination of aeronautical information. This Commission now meets regularly twice a year and has appointed six Sub-Commissions to deal with the various phases of the subject. The offices of the Commission are at 20, Avenue Kléber, Paris (XVI[e]).

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Agreements with Foreign Governments.

6. Provisional Agreements, the terms of which are in harmony with the Convention, have been negotiated by Great Britain and Northern Ireland with the following countries which are not yet parties to the Convention :—

Denmark.	Norway.	Switzerland.
Holland.	Sweden.	

7. Flights by British aircraft to or over the territory of States other than those mentioned in paragraphs 4 and 6 above are in general subject to special arrangements being made beforehand.

In the case of Germany, negotiations for a mutual air traffic agreement have been in active progress for some time and will, it is hoped, soon be concluded. In the meantime, British air services to Berlin and Cologne, and German services to London, are operated under special and temporary authorisations. Other flights to either State require to be individually authorised.

Air Navigation Act, 1920.

8. Civil aviation in Great Britain and Northern Ireland is to-day regulated by the provisions of the Air Navigation Act, 1920, and Orders in Council made thereunder. This Act replaced the Acts of 1911 to 1919, and its purpose is to bring British air legislation into conformity with the requirements of the Convention and the development of civil air traffic. It provides, *inter alia*, for additional safety regulations, the prevention of flying over prohibited areas, the compulsory investigation of accidents, penalties for dangerous flying, the application to aircraft of the law of wreck and salvage, etc., and delimits trespass, nuisance, and responsibility for damage caused by aircraft.

Air Navigation Orders.

9. The detailed regulations governing civil aviation in Great Britain and Northern Ireland are contained in the Air Navigation (Consolidation) Order, 1923, as amended by the Air Navigation (Amendment) Order, 1925. These Orders are applicable to British aircraft registered in Great Britain and Northern Ireland wherever such aircraft may be, as well as to aircraft, British and foreign, when in or over Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The discussions which are now proceeding with regard to the relaxation in certain respects of the existing regulations governing private flying in so far as certificates of airworthiness, licences of pilots, and carriage of log books are concerned, will necessitate consequential amendments of these Orders.

Air Navigation Directions.

10. For the purpose of supplementing or giving full effect to the provisions of the Air Navigation Orders or for other specific purposes, the Secretary of State has issued certain directions under the powers conferred on him by the Orders. The following directions are at present in force :—

(*a*) The Air Navigation Directions, 1922 (A.N.D.3), as amended subsequently by the Air Navigation Directions, 1923, 1924 and 1925 (A.N.D.3A–3F). These deal with a variety of requirements of too detailed a character for inclusion in the Orders, such as the conditions for the issue of licences and certificates, the rules as to instruments, and the use of log books.

(*b*) The Air Navigation Directions, 1922 (A.N.D.4), 1923 (A.N.D.4A) and 1924 (A.N.D.4B), regarding the aerodromes approved as customs aerodromes.

(*c*) The Air Navigation Directions, 1923 (A.N.D.5), containing the special rules to be observed by aircraft in landing and taking-off at Croydon and Lympne Aerodromes.

The foregoing directions will shortly be amended in consequence of impending amendments of the Order and will be replaced in a consolidated form by the Air Navigation Directions, 1926 (A.N.D.6), which are now in draft.

Miscellaneous Orders, etc.

11. An Order in Council dealing with the application to aircraft of the law relating to wreck and salvage and to the duty of rendering assistance to vessels in distress, was made under the 1920 Act on the 10th August, 1921 (S.R. and O., 1921, No. 1286).

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12. The Air Navigation (Investigation of Accidents) Regulations, 1922 and 1925 (S.R. and O., 1922, No. 650, and 1925, No. 1099), have been made under Section 12 of the Act.

13. Certain provisions of the Air Navigation Act, 1920, were under Section 4 of the Act extended to British Colonies and Protectorates by the Air Navigation (Colonies and Protectorates) Order in Council, 1922 (S.R. and O., 1922, No. 121).

The draft of a further Order is now under consideration to provide for the detailed regulation of civil aviation in the Colonies in conformity with the International Air Convention.

Administration.

14. The following paragraphs explain briefly the administration of civil aviation by the Air Ministry, with particular reference to the method of administering the regulations governing the registration and certification of aircraft and the licensing of personnel and aerodromes.

Responsible Authority.

15. The Air Council, established in 1918, under Section 8 of the Air Force (Constitution) Act, 1917, is the responsible authority for aviation in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. At the head of the Air Council is the Secretary of State for Air. The purposes of the Air Council, which in the first place were confined to the administration of matters relating to the Royal Air Force and to the defence of the realm by air, were by Section 2 of the Air Navigation Act, 1919 (afterwards replaced by Section 6 of the Air Navigation Act, 1920), extended to include all matters connected with air navigation. The Under Secretary of State for Air is the member of the Air Council responsible to the Secretary of State for civil aviation matters.

Department of Civil Aviation.

16. In February, 1919, a Department of Civil Aviation was formed, the head of which, now called the Director of Civil Aviation, is charged with the administration of civil flying and the consideration of all questions relating to civil aviation development.

17. The functions of the Directorate include the administration of the provisions of the Air Navigation Act, 1920, and of the Orders and Directions issued thereunder; representation on the International Commission for Air Navigation and consideration of all matters connected with the Convention and international civil aviation; organisation of civil air routes and administration of schemes of Government assistance for their operation; administration of the scheme of Government assistance to Light Aeroplane Clubs; the licensing of air stations; the registration and certification of civil aircraft; the licensing of pilots and technical personnel employed in civil aviation; the collection and dissemination of aeronautical information; the investigation of aircraft accidents; and the promotion of both the transport and constructional sides of civil aviation.

18. The Directorate is not entirely self-contained, and its services are supplemented by those of the other branches of the Air Ministry when their particular functions are concerned. In particular, it is assisted by the Directorates of Technical Development, Research, and Aeronautical Inspection in regard to the certification and inspection of aircraft and technical personnel, by the Signals Branch in regard to wireless and other forms of communication, and by the Meteorological Office in regard to weather reports and forecasts for the air routes. In matters of technical research, the Directorate is represented on the Air Transport Sub-Committee of the Aeronautical Research Committee; the latter carries out scientific investigations at the National Physical Laboratory, Teddington, Middlesex, and at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, South Farnborough.

Registration of Aircraft.

19. An aircraft may not fly (except under certain definite restrictions for the purpose of experiment or test, or except in accordance with directions or special permission of the Secretary of State in writing) unless it possesses a certificate of registration. Only British-owned aircraft can be registered in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and an aircraft which has been registered in another State cannot receive British registration, until the foreign registration has been annulled.

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20. Upon registration, an aircraft is allotted a registration mark, as laid down in the International Air Convention. Any change in ownership, or the destruction or permanent withdrawal from use of a registered aircraft must be notified to the Air Ministry. A certificate lapses on change of ownership, but the new certificate shows the aircraft under the original registration mark.

Certificates of Airworthiness.

21. No aircraft (with the exceptions mentioned in paragraph 19 above) may fly unless it has received a certificate of airworthiness. In order to obtain this certificate, which is normally valid for 12 months, the aircraft must comply with the following requirements :—

(*a*) Its design, including the design of its components, must be approved as satisfying the requirements of safety as regards strength, stability, etc. ; in regard to strength it must comply with the standards laid down by the Load Factors Sub-Committee and published in the " Reports and Memoranda of the Aeronautical Research Committee, No. 776." (H.M. Stationery Office, price 3d. net.) An engine of new type or new construction is tested in accordance with the " Schedule of Standard Type and Production Tests for Aircraft Engines, Appendix B," which is obtainable, price 3d., from H.M. Stationery Office.

(*b*) It must be constructed of approved materials and by workmanship of approved quality. An index to standard specifications of materials is obtainable from the British Engineering Standards Association, 28, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

(*c*) It must have provision for its equipment with such instruments as may be prescribed by the Air Ministry.

22. If an application for a certificate is in respect of a " type " aircraft (*i.e.*, a new design), drawings and other particulars must be furnished to the Director of Technical Development for checking in detail the safety of the aircraft. Inspection of the workmanship and materials of the aircraft is carried out by the representatives of the Aeronautical Inspection Directorate, but the inspection of all details and components is usually effected by the constructor, subject, however, to final official inspection and approval of each component. Upon completion of construction, flying trials are made, first by the constructor's pilot in the presence of official witnesses, and, secondly, by a pilot representing the Director of Technical Development. When these trials have been satisfactorily completed and any modifications considered necessary for safety have been carried out, the certificate of airworthiness is issued.

23. In the case of a " subsequent " aircraft, the conditions to be fulfilled are that the aircraft conforms in all essential respects with a " type " aircraft, for which a certificate of airworthiness has been issued, that the requirements as to inspection are complied with, and that the aircraft is fitted with the prescribed instruments. Provided that the constructor has set up a competent inspecting staff, he may carry out the entire inspection of a " subsequent " aircraft, but an official test of his inspection may be made.

24. A modification of this procedure in so far as small aircraft are concerned is contemplated. It is proposed that the Air Ministry should issue in respect of both type and subsequent aircraft a Certificate of Airworthiness valid both in this country and abroad, on receipt of a certificate from an approved constructor stating that the aircraft has been built by him in accordance with the inspection requirements set forth in the Air Navigation Directions and conforms in all particulars with the minimum requirements as regards design and performance.

Periodical Inspection and Overhaul of Aircraft.

25. It is provided that—

All Aircraft :—

(i) Before commencing any flight the pilot must satisfy himself that the aircraft and the instruments and equipment are fit for flight in accordance with the conditions laid down.

(ii) Periodical inspection and overhaul of the aircraft must be carried out and certified by a licensed ground engineer. This requirement will not apply under the modified procedure referred to above to aircraft used for private purposes only.

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Periodical Inspection and Overhaul of Aircraft.

25. It is provided that—

All Aircraft :—

(i) Before commencing any flight the pilot must satisfy himself that the aircraft and the instruments and equipment are fit for flight in accordance with the conditions laid down.

(ii) Periodical inspection and overhaul of the aircraft must be carried out and certified by a licensed ground engineer. This requirement will not apply under the modified procedure referred to above to aircraft used for private purposes only.

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Flying Machines Carrying Passengers or Goods for Hire or Reward .—

(i) Before commencing any flight the pilot must sign a certificate that he is satisfied that the aircraft and the instruments and equipment are fit for flight in accordance with the conditions laid down.

(ii) A flying machine employed on a regular air service or plying for hire other than under private charter may not fly unless it has within 24 hours of its last inspection been inspected and certified as safe for flight by a ground engineer, nor, if in the course of a flight it should land owing to a serious defect, until it has again been similarly inspected and certified. A privately chartered machine may not fly unless within the 24 hours next before it has left its ordinary station of operations it has been similarly inspected and certified as safe for flight.

Licensing of Pilots (Flying Machines).

26. All pilots of flying machines must be licensed in either one of two categories :—

Class A.—Private Pilot's Licence (valid for 12 months).

Class B.—Pilot's Licence for flying machines carrying passengers or goods for hire or reward (valid for 6 months or up to 250 hours' flying, whichever is the shorter).

27. The tests and examination for the Class A licence include practical tests in flying and a technical examination in knowledge of the rules of the air, rules as to lights and signals, international air legislation, etc. A certificate of medical fitness is also required. The practical tests may be dispensed with in the case of those qualified as Royal Air Force pilots, and both the practical tests and the examination may be waived for those holding the Royal Aero Club's certificate, issued on or after the 1st February, 1920.

28. To obtain a Class B licence, applicants must (i) pass a preliminary and a special medical examination ; (ii) undergo practical tests in flying unless qualified as a R.A.F. pilot ; (iii) submit proof of recent reasonable flying experience (*i.e.*, within not more than six months) on the class of machine for which a licence is required, or failing such proof, undergo practical tests on that machine ; (iv) pass a technical examination (*a*) in aircraft, aero-engines and instruments, unless qualified as a R.A.F. pilot, (*b*) in navigation, rules of the air, rules as to lights and signals, international air legislation, etc., and (*c*) in elementary meteorology.*

29. Medical re-examination is necessary before the renewal of a licence. It is proposed to waive this in the case of Class A pilots.

Licensing of Aircraft Navigators.

30. A licensed navigator must be carried on board passenger aircraft when carrying more than 10 passengers on a continuous flight between places more than 310 miles apart over land, or a night flight, or a flight between places more than 124 miles apart over sea.

31. There are two classes of navigators. Candidates will be required to produce proofs of competency by examination or otherwise in the subjects specified for the respective classes. In addition, in the case of an applicant for a second class licence, proof will be required of at least 50 hours' flight as a member of the operating crew of an aircraft ; and, in the case of an applicant for a first class licence, proof of at least 200 hours' flight as a member of the operating crew of an aircraft, including at least 100 hours' experience as a navigator and 15 hours' experience in night flying.

32. The requirements regarding the carriage of a navigator will, as from 1st January, 1928, be amended to conform with a recent decision of the International Commission for Air Navigation, which requires (i) a second class navigator to be on board every flying machine used for public transport and having to make a continuous flight of more than 100 miles over inhabited regions, or of more than 100 miles, but not more than 300 miles entirely over the high seas or uninhabited regions, or of more than 15 miles, but not more than 300 miles by night ; and on every airship of less than 700,000 cubic feet capacity, for every journey or flight ; (ii) a first class navigator to

* The syllabus of the examination in navigation, etc., is given in Notice to Airmen, No. 13, of 1921, and of the examination in elementary meteorology in Notice to Airmen, No. 55, of 1921.

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be on board every flying machine used for public transport and having to make a continuous flight of more than 300 miles either entirely over the high seas or uninhabited regions or by night ; and on every airship of 700,000 cubic feet capacity or more, for every journey or flight.

Licensing of Ground Engineers.

33. A ground engineer may be licensed for a period of 12 months in one or more of the following classes : (A) inspection of aircraft before flight ; (B) inspection of aircraft after overhaul ; (C) inspection of aero-engines before flight ; (D) inspection of aero-engines after overhaul. In each case his licence may be restricted to one or more types of aircraft or engines. Examinations of applicants for licences are held periodically at the Air Ministry, London, and at the large provincial towns. Candidates can obtain a syllabus of the examination for each category on application to the Secretary, Air Ministry. For renewal of a licence the holder must submit proof that he has been engaged on aircraft work during the year, and also that he has received a complete set of Air Ministry Notices to Ground Engineers. He may be required to undergo re-examination.

Licensing of Aerodromes.

34. A place used regularly for landing or departure of aircraft carrying passengers for hire or reward must be licensed for this purpose. Aerodromes may be licensed for a period not exceeding 12 months, either (*a*) for use only by the licensee and by individuals specifically authorised by him, or (*b*) for public use. The licence may cover all types of aircraft or certain specified types. Applications for aerodrome licences must be accompanied by a 6-inch ordnance survey map showing the proposed site. Applications should be made at least 14 days in advance of the date upon which the licence is required.

35. In every aerodrome licensed in category (*b*) there must be a single tariff of charges on a scale approved by the Air Ministry, which must be applicable alike to British and foreign aircraft.

Fees for Certificates, Licences, etc.

36. The fee payable for the issue or renewal of a certificate or licence must be forwarded when application is made. Should the services represented by the fee not be carried out, the sum, or an appropriate proportion of it, will be refunded. The schedule of fees is contained in Schedule VI of the Air Navigation (Consolidation) Order, 1923.

Log Books.

37. Log books must be kept for all aircraft registered in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and by all licensed pilots. The journey log book, to be kept for every aircraft, is issued by the Air Ministry at the price of 4s. Other log books must conform in all essentials with the authorised patterns, which are obtainable from H.M. Stationery Office, or through any bookseller. It is proposed to waive the requirement to carry a journey log book in the case of aircraft only used for private flying purposes within the limits of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Accidents.

38. The accident regulations apply to accidents arising out of or in the course of air navigation which occur in or over Great Britain and Northern Ireland, or which occur elsewhere to British aircraft registered in Great Britain and Northern Ireland ; they confer powers on the Air Ministry to investigate such accidents and provide for the compulsory notification of certain classes of accidents. The responsibility for such notification rests on the pilot, or, if the pilot is incapacitated by injury, on the owner or hirer of the aircraft.

39. If the accident occurs in or over Great Britain and Northern Ireland, notice must be given—

(*a*) To the Air Ministry, by telegram, within 24 hours.
(*b*) To the local police.

If the accident occurs elsewhere than in or over Great Britain and Northern Ireland, notice must be sent in writing to the Air Ministry.

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APPENDIX C.

Aeroplane Transport Operating Costs.

It is naturally most important that some fairly close estimate regarding the cost of traffic by air should be arrived at as soon as possible. At the present state of development, however, it is difficult to give reliable figures. In England in the years following the war four small companies were operating in competition, each with different methods and different equipment ; and during this period reliable financial data could not be obtained. Imperial Airways, Ltd., have now been operating for 2½ years and they are now reaching a position when reliable estimates can be made.

The annual charges of an air transport company fall into two classes : (1) Standing charges, and (2) Running charges. All charges and costs which are independent of the number of hours flown and remain the same whether a large or a small amount of flying takes place are treated as standing charges ; and those costs which directly depend on the amount of flying done are treated as running costs. The main expenses of air transport can conveniently be shown by the following items under the two headings.

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

(1) Standing Charges.

(*a*) Insurance of—
- (i) aircraft and engines complete,
- (ii) spare engines,
- (iii) equipment,
- (iv) buildings, plant, etc.,
- (v) motor transport,
- (vi) personnel.

(*b*) Depreciation of—
- (i) equipment,
- (ii) buildings, plant, etc.,
- (iii) motor transport.

(*c*) Obsolescence of aircraft and engines.
(*d*) Rents, rates and taxes.
(*e*) Housing fees.
(*f*) Office expenses, postage, telegram and telephone charges.
(*g*) Lighting and power.
(*h*) Cartage, travelling and salvage charges.
(*i*) Advertisement.
(*j*) Directors' fees and legal expenses.
(*k*) Salaries and wages.
(*l*) Sundry trading expenses.
(*m*) Interest on capital.

(2) Running Charges.

(*a*) Petrol and oil.
(*b*) Maintenance of aircraft and engines.
(*c*) Maintenance and running of motor transport.
(*d*) Pilots' and mechanics' flying pay.
(*e*) Wireless charges.
(*f*) Landing fees.

In any air transport service, in order to approach commercial success, the revenue earned from the carriage of passengers and goods should substantially cover the running charges. It is obvious that, having earned a gross profit on these running charges, provided that a sufficiently large number of flights can be made, the accumulation of these gross profits will eventually cover the standing charges. Already it has proved possible for modern multi-engined aircraft to cover their running costs on certain routes where a high rate of revenue is earned.

With the defective data available, a very rough estimate has been made that in the past air transport has operated at 85 m.p.h. over stages of 300 miles at a running cost of 3s. a ton-mile, plus standing charges of 2s. a ton-mile. Every effort has been made by the Air Ministry and by Imperial Airways, Ltd., to reduce these figures by the development of new aircraft specially suited for commercial work, and by increased efficiency of organisation.

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The following statement shows the extent to which success has rewarded these efforts :—

	Running cost per mile.
	s. *d.*
Single-engined type of machine, built and put into service 1922	4 2
Twin-engined machine, constructed and put into service 1922	3 2½
Twin-engined machine, constructed and put into service 1926	2 10
Three-engined machine, constructed and put into service 1926	1 10

Steady progress towards economical operation has been made along several lines.

Under the head of standing charges, one of the most important items is that of insurance. In the early days of air transport premiums as high as 30 per cent. per annum were charged ; to-day, with the latest type of 3-engined aircraft, a rate of 7½ per cent. may be obtained.

Obsolescence, on the other hand, is a very serious item and cannot be reduced in the near future. Technical progress is so rapid that constant improvements in design and construction will demand the rapid replacement of any existing fleet. The ideal for an air transport company to follow is so to expand its activities that it can use its obsolescent aircraft on new routes and replace them by the latest modern types on the more well-established services.

Under running charges, past experience has given the following percentages of distribution :—

Fuel and oil	30 per cent.
Maintenance and overhaul of engines	44 per cent.
Maintenance and overhaul of aircraft	20 per cent.
Miscellaneous	6 per cent.
	100 per cent.

Here, the three large items are susceptible of considerable improvement. In certain experimental engines greater horse-power is being obtained for the same rate of consumption of fuel. Beyond this, there is practically no doubt that in the next few years satisfactory aviation engines burning heavy oil will be produced. These will be used first for airships, and eventually will reach a weight suitable for their use in aeroplanes. The saving in expenditure on fuel will then be very large.

The maintenance and overhaul of engines have been the biggest item in the past, but considerable progress has already been made towards eliminating a large proportion of these costs. The introduction of the air-cooled engine has lowered the capital costs, and eliminated all water troubles, which are always an expensive item. Improved design and material are reducing the cost of small repairs and replacements enormously ; and hours of running before overhaul have on the average risen from about 150 to nearly 300.

Progress is also being made in the maintenance of aircraft. Metal aircraft are coming into production and, although at present their capital cost is high, it is anticipated that the cost of their maintenance will be very much lower.

Another line of progress towards economy is the increase of revenue for a fixed rate of running cost. Obviously, the volume of traffic is the first factor on this side of the problem, but improvements in design will also make it possible to carry a greater proportion of paying load in an aircraft of given weight and cost. The introduction of the air-cooled engine has resulted in a marked saving in total weight.

It seems clear that a considerable reduction in cost per ton-mile is possible in the near future, and it has been estimated that during the next ten years it should be possible to achieve a total cost of less than half-a-crown a ton-mile flying at 100 m.p.h.

The development of larger aircraft promises a still greater saving in the more distant future, when it seems possible that really big flying boats of several thousand horse-power may prove to be cheaper than large land-planes.

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APPENDIX D.

SECTION 1.

AIR NAVIGATION AND ITS AUXILIARIES.

The safe navigation of aircraft is a task which needs the co-operation of a number of auxiliary services.

The foundations of any system of navigation are the map and the compass. The map decides the direction, the compass maintains it. A word with regard to the development of these two is therefore necessary.

Though attempts have been made to produce special aeronautical maps, they have not been attended with a great measure of success, and in European air transport the ordinary topographical maps of the various countries are still in use. The International Convention lays down the outline of a system of large and small scale international aeronautical maps. The only serious contribution to this scheme has been provided by Great Britain, who has produced seven general sheets—Britain, Balkans, Iraq, Egypt, Kordofan, Yemen and Oman—as well as a number of experimental large scale sheets. Experience has shown that the scale laid down in the Convention for the general maps is too small for use in aeroplanes, but for the longer journeys undertaken by airships, these maps will have considerable value. Work has now been suspended pending the agreement of other countries to produce their share.

A great deal of development work in aircraft compasses has taken place in Great Britain since the later days of the war. The production of the aperiodic magnetic system has vastly improved the performance of compasses in aeroplanes and led to the abandonment of all other types. In air transport, the type 6/18, or its successor the P2, is almost universally used, with complete satisfaction.

If the aeroplane were subject to no disturbing forces other than its own motive power, the problem of navigation would be solved by the map and compass. The mariner, however, has currents to contend with and the airman has wind. While he remains in sight of the ground he can still solve the problem with practically no other instruments or aids than compass and map. When, however, fog or low cloud intervenes and obscures the ground, the real problem of air navigation begins, and the necessity arises for some auxiliary means of fixing position, for liaison with the ground and generally for the use of auxiliary services.

A point of some importance in connection with the flying of the aeroplane deserves notice before passing to wireless and other ground organisation. The magnetic compass is only true so long as the magnet system remains in a horizontal plane. When flying in a cloud the pilot finds difficulty in maintaining his machine on a level keel, since he lacks the reference marks usually provided by the horizon. In consequence, his compass begins to turn and he is totally unable to maintain the machine on its course—in fact the movement sometimes reaches the point where the machine becomes out of control. This danger has restricted flying both through cloud and fog. The development of turn indicators, however, has completely altered the position, and it is now perfectly safe to fly for long periods without seeing sky or ground. The instrument which is chiefly in use in British air transport is the Reid Turn Indicator, a gyro controlled instrument combining in itself an air speed indicator, turn indicator, and lateral tilt indicator.

This development is of considerable significance, because it means that the first step has been taken in making it possible to fly in the comparatively comfortable strata above the clouds instead of at a low height beneath them.

The second step towards which much progress has already been made is a means of fixing position, in or above clouds or fog. It may be said at once that for normal air transport by aeroplane, the sextant as an aid to navigation may be completely discarded. Its results are subject to such errors and take so long to obtain that it can only be considered for long flights of 400 miles or more where other aids are not available.

Air transport looks to direction finding wireless (radiogoniometry) for the assistance which it needs in over-cloud navigation. In this it is in some respects

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following recent developments in sea navigation in foggy areas such as the Newfoundland banks, though the actual routine and speed of working necessarily differ somewhat.

Briefly, there are three systems of using radio frequencies for direction and position finding :—

(1) Direction finding ground stations, working on transmissions from aircraft, and retransmitting positions or bearings to the aircraft.

(2) Direction finding apparatus in the aircraft, working on any ground W/T stations, or preferably on special beacon stations.

(3) Directional transmission.

The first system has been in operation on the London–Continental air route for some years. Stations of the Marconi–Bellini–Tosi type are established on the aerodromes at Croydon and Lympne, and at the airship station at Pulham in Norfolk. These stations, apart from being situated on the two customs aerodromes, so that homing bearings may be given to aircraft requiring them, are so placed as to give bearings which cut at a good angle over a large part of the country it is necessary to cover.

An aeroplane coming in from Paris, say, and finding the Channel covered with fog, calls up by radio-telephony the control station at Croydon and asks for a position. The two stations at Lympne and Pulham listen " out," and when the pilot transmits at Croydon's request, all three stations take bearings. Croydon collects all the bearings and plots them on a specially prepared and mounted chart and then transmits the result to the pilot.

Experience shows that positions so given may be relied on within 2 miles and can be given within one minute. This system has been of incalculable value and on many occasions has been the means of bringing machines safely to Croydon, when without its help they would have had to make a forced landing at considerable risk.

The second system consists of two methods—the Bellini–Tosi and wing coil methods. In each case two large closed loop aerials are fitted, one in the fore and aft plane round the fuselage, and the other in an athwartships plane round the wings. In the Bellini-Tosi method a small radiogoniometer is fitted, with which the direction of the incoming wave may be measured with reference to the fore and aft axis of the aircraft. These bearings are then plotted on a chart by the navigator. This system has only been used experimentally on commercial air transport machines, and it is clearly only suited to aircraft of such a size as to be able to carry a separate navigator and operator.

In the wing coil method, instead of measuring the bearing with reference to the fore and aft line of the aeroplane, the pilot listens to the signal and steers the aeroplane so that it is heading to the transmitting station. This method is therefore suitable for " homing " on a terminal station. Again this method is experimental as far as commercial air transport is concerned.

It should be said, however, that considerable success was attained with the Bellini–Tosi apparatus when fitted on Commander Franco's machine for his flight across the Atlantic and, it is understood, on Captain Amundsen's polar airship, the Norge. Good results have also been obtained with the wing coil apparatus on Royal Air Force machines, and further progress is anticipated at the conclusion of tests now going on.

The third system is still more experimental, and need only be given passing reference. It is not at present being used for aircraft, though experimental stations have been erected for shipping and there are possibilities of its being developed for aircraft use.

With these systems of direction finding wireless, it may fairly be said that the problem of general navigation has been sufficiently solved—in other words an aeroplane may be flown with sufficient precision out of sight of the ground to the near neighbourhood of the aerodrome at its destination. There remains the very important problem of landing in fog, or in conditions of visibility such that the pilot cannot land by the aid of his normal sense of vision.

Before dealing with this, however, a further reference to the problem of control in fog or cloud is necessary. It may be taken as axiomatic that aeroplanes will not be flown in fog or cloud if an alternative is open. Greater comfort for passengers and less strain on the pilot are secured by flying above the cloud. Complete control of the

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aeroplane, however, must be secured while passing through the cloud belt and, moreover, there are occasions when banks of cloud reach such a height that it is uneconomic to climb above them with present day aircraft. When the base of these clouds is near the ground it may often happen that the safest and most comfortable and practicable place to fly is at a moderate height within the cloud belt.

In order to secure perfect control of the aeroplane, independent of the pilot's sense of vision, and almost independent of the pilot himself, considerable development work on automatic controls has been undertaken by the Royal Aircraft Establishment. The gyro rudder control has been successfully tested on civil aircraft. This instrument, controlled by a small wind driven gyro, keeps the rudder in a neutral position by the action of two pistons working in compressed air cylinders, the relative pressure in which is dependent on the movement of the gyrostat, which in turn is dependent on the state of movement of the aircraft about its vertical axis. Provision is made for modifying the course of the aircraft so that in effect the aeroplane may be steered by the setting of a small lever. This apparatus is still in course of development to the state at which it may be said its mechanical efficiency renders it of commercial utility.

Apparatus for the control of lateral stability by means of a pendulum is also far advanced. This system may, if desired, be applied to fore and aft stability.

There is no question that this apparatus will, in a short time, enable aeroplanes to be flown without the intervention of a skilled pilot, except for landing. While experimental work proceeds, it must not be taken for granted that the carriage of this apparatus on commercial aircraft is justified by the improvement of revenue returns. To-day, a considerable proportion of scheduled flights are cancelled on account of weather, which means, in nearly all cases, bad visibility. It is probable that within a measurable period, the apparatus described, with other devices for assisting landing in fog, will reduce this proportion to a negligible quantity. It still has to be considered whether the additional weight carried is justified on the aircraft in use, and whether the reduction in paying load is compensated by the increase to 100 per cent. regularity. It also has to be borne in mind that experience in this country is gained in the worst climate in the world for aviation. It seems probable that, as far as weather is concerned, in many of the Dominions and Colonies 100 per cent. regularity could be attained without the intervention of any of these automatic devices.

It is now possible to consider the most difficult problem of all, that of landing in fog. The most promising method at the moment is the leader cable, which is a development of the system already found of value to shipping. A leader cable is established for shipping along the channel from Sandy Hook to New York.

The principle of the system as it is proposed to apply it for the use of aircraft is that a closed loop of cable is laid just below the surface of the ground, in the form of an oval, from one to two miles long and half-a-mile in breadth. Through this cable is passed an alternating current with a frequency of about 34 cycles per second. Around the cable is therefore formed a fluctuating magnetic field, which may be detected by suitable apparatus on the aircraft.

The detecting device consists of two search coils so arranged as to traverse the lines of force of the magnetic field at angles which differ by an amount dependent on the position and altitude of the machine with reference to the cable. The currents induced in these coils differ by a corresponding amount, and are measured by mirror galvanometers reflecting beams of light on to a scale. The apparatus is so arranged that when the aeroplane is flying immediately over and parallel to the cable, the currents, and therefore the indications of the two spots of light on the scale, are equal. When the aircraft turns to port or starboard or when it is displaced laterally to port or starboard, the indications become unequal, and by the nature of the indications the pilot is informed what action to take in order to return to his position and course immediately over the cable. Moreover, by making use of the intensity of the magnetic field, the instrument gives an indication of the height of the aircraft above the cable.

The apparatus has only been made in model form, but a full scale trial is being made at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, in which one straight section of the cable passes across the landing area. In use, the pilot will follow the cable while losing height, and when over that part which lies over the landing area, from which a special signal is emitted, he will bring his machine down to land.

Model tests have shown that it is possible to follow the cable with accuracy and to measure the height of the instrument over the cable within a few inches.

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No other system at present shows prospects of solving the whole problem of landing in fog, but experiments are being carried out with a view to guiding aircraft to the landing areaby acoustical means.

The problem of carrying on air transport in fog, therefore, involves the control of the aeroplane by the aid of turning indicators or, if necessary, automatic controls; navigation with the aid of radiogoniometry to within a short distance of the aerodrome, and the final guiding of the machine to the exact position of the landing area and its safe landing by means of the indications of some such device as the leader cable.

In general, the aim of developments in navigation is to make it possible to control the aircraft and guide it without visible reference to the surface of the earth, so that the dangers resulting from low flying amidst obstacles may be eliminated. It can be said that the achievement of this object along the lines outlined above is in sight.

SECTION 2.

THE ORGANISATION OF METEOROLOGICAL SERVICES.

I.—The Development of Meteorological Services in Europe, 1919–26.

1. The application of meteorology to a regular air route may be said to date from the inauguration, early in 1919, of a daily air mail service between Folkestone and Cologne, which was operated by the Royal Air Force for the benefit of the British Army of the Rhine. The meteorological service, which was provided by the Meteorological Section, Royal Engineers, was organised on lines which were closely followed at the end of the same year in providing a meteorological service for the commercial air routes emanating from London. Meteorological reporting stations were established at the terminal aerodromes and at intermediate points along the route and coded reports from stations on each half of the route were received by wireless telegraphy at regular intervals at the respective headquarters of the Section at Cologne and Wimereux. On receipt of the reports, collective messages were prepared at each centre and interchanged by wireless telegraphy, so that within a few minutes each office was in possession of a report of the existing weather conditions along the whole route. The complete reports were passed without delay to the terminal aerodromes, where they were decoded and issued to the pilots. A forecast of probable changes in the weather along the route was also issued to each pilot before a flight commenced.

2. The question of the application of meteorology to aviation was considered at Paris in 1919, when the Convention relating to International Air Navigation was drawn up. Annex G (Appendix IV) of this Convention dealt with the collection and dissemination of meteorological information for aviation, and the forms for reports given therein were based largely on those which had been adopted in connection with meteorological reports for the Folkestone–Cologne service.

3. In November, 1919, the question of the organisation of a meteorological service for the provision of adequate reports and forecasts for the civil air routes between London, Paris and Brussels was taken up at the Air Ministry. At a conference held with representatives of the Society of British Aircraft Constructors in that month, an agreement was reached regarding the nature of the reports which should be supplied in connection with commercial air routes. The fundamental information required from points along any route was considered to be—

(1) Wind at the surface and at 2,000 feet.
(2) Weather (present and past) in general terms.
(3) Amount and height of any low cloud.
(4) Visibility.
(5) (For seaplanes.) The state of the sea, particularly in regard to the nature and amount of the swell, which greatly affects the power of a machine to rise from the water.

The representatives of the Society of British Aircraft Constructors were so strongly of the opinion that the weather reports should contain no reference to fitness or unfitness for flying, even of supplementing the detailed particulars of the different elements as weather, that it was agreed to omit the estimate of fitness, for which the code for abbreviated reports given in Annex G of the Convention relating to International Air Navigation, Paris, 1919, provided, and a slightly modified form of this

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code was adopted as meeting existing requirements. It was further agreed that information given by radio-telephony to pilots of aircraft in flight should be in plain language and not in code.

4. On 1st December, 1919, a meteorological station was opened at Hounslow Aerodrome and reports of weather conditions on the London–Paris route, in so far as they were available, were received there hourly from 07.30 to 14.30. Forecasts for the London–Paris–Brussels routes, prepared at the Air Ministry, were transmitted to Hounslow at about 09.30 and 14.30 daily. Reports of conditions in S.E. England were also prepared and transmitted by wireless telegraphy to Paris hourly from 07.45 to 14.45.

A meteorological station at Lympne Aerodrome on similar lines to the Hounslow Station was opened on 14th January, 1920, and a subsidiary station at Biggin Hill on 17th February. The latter station was opened to meet the recognised need of a reporting station on the North Downs, where frequent difficulty was experienced by pilots on account of low cloud. A feature of the station at Lympne was that weather reports from different parts of the air route were supplied by radio-telephony to pilots of aircraft in flight. The weather reports from S.E. England were further improved by the addition of regular reports from the coastguard station at Beachy Head, which became a reporting station on 2nd February, and later, by the addition of regular information regarding the visibility over the Channel as observed from the coastguard stations at Hythe and Dungeness.

From the 20th February the hourly collective weather reports for S.E. England, which were now much more complete than formerly, were issued by wireless telegraphy to Paris in the code referred to in paragraph 3.

5. The next step was to attempt to secure uniformity between the weather reports issued from the Air Ministry and those issued from continental termini for those portions of the routes passing over the Continent.

During March, 1920, an informal conference took place between the British and French meteorological and wireless representatives, as a result of which it was decided that certain hourly observations should be made at several stations in each country and that these should be transmitted by the French at 30 minutes past the hour and by the British at 35 minutes past the hour, and that the arrangement should take effect from 13th April, 1920. It was also agreed to ask the Belgians to fall into line with this arrangement and to transmit reports at 25 minutes past the hour. Reports from Brussels on these lines commenced on 22nd April.

An extension of the system of hourly reports was rendered necessary by the opening of an air route between England and Holland, and from 17th May, 1920, reports were received by wireless telegraphy from Soesterberg giving the conditions on the Dutch coast and at Utrecht.

6. The informal conference referred to in the preceding paragraph was the forerunner of a regular series of conferences between representatives of Great Britain, France and Belgium. The Meteorological Sub-Commission discusses the practical working of the meteorological arrangements on the air routes and various modifications and improvements in these arrangements have been introduced from time to time as a result of the meetings. Since 1923 representatives of Holland have attended the conferences and, during 1926, a Swiss representative has also been present.

It was not till November, 1920, that uniformity was secured in the codes for transmitting weather reports on air routes. A revised code recommended by the International Commission for Weather Telegraphy (London, November, 1920) was introduced on 1st March, 1921, and early in 1922 a further revision was made, based on the recommendation of the same Commission which had met in London in September, 1921.

The hourly reports have been improved in detail from time to time and extended as necessary to cover a large period of the day in order to meet the needs of the various air services. Mention may be made of the addition to the reports, during 1920, of information regarding the speed and direction of the wind at selected heights, and of detailed short period forecasts of the weather conditions anticipated on the home section of the route. This information is transmitted three times daily.

7. The London–Brussels route was extended to Cologne in October, 1922, and since that month hourly weather reports have been transmitted from Cologne.

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Extensions of the London–Amsterdam air service to Berlin and of the London–Paris air service to Zurich were made in 1923. In connection with the latter service arrangements were made for the issue from a Swiss wireless telegraphy station of hourly meteorological reports on the same lines as those adopted by the other countries. Developments also took place by which certain foreign air services linked up with British air services at Amsterdam and Paris. Meetings were held at the Hague during 1923 between representatives of Holland, Denmark, Germany and Sweden, with reference to aviation between London, Amsterdam, Berlin, Copenhagen and Gotenborg, and meteorological arrangements were made for the exchange of reports on these routes on the same lines as those adopted for the routes dealt with at the Anglo-Franco-Belgian-Dutch conferences. Thus agreement was gradually being reached between the different countries of Europe on a common system of meteorological reports for aviation and the practical difficulties which arose in extending a system originally devised to meet the requirements of the comparatively short routes between London and Paris, Brussels or Amsterdam were gradually surmounted.

8. In August, 1920, a system of ground signals was brought into operation at Lympne Aerodrome to indicate to pilots arriving in this country the height of clouds and visibility at Biggin Hill and Croydon. An improved system of signals was introduced in July, 1921, and from February, 1922, the system was extended, for the benefit of pilots about to cross the Channel, by the addition of signals relating to conditions at St. Inglevert. Somewhat similar signals were introduced at a later date at Ostend, Flushing and Abbeville. An improved system of ground signals has been recommended recently by the International Commission for Air Navigation and is being adopted by the countries concerned.

9. The arrangements for transmitting weather reports to pilots of aircraft in flight were improved in 1922 and a form drawn up which was designed to give the necessary information in the briefest way.

10. In 1922 arrangements were instituted whereby, when bad weather conditions prevailed on the normal air route between Croydon and the Channel, supplementary reports were brought into operation from stations on an alternative route via the coast of North Kent. Such reports are made available at Croydon and Lympne and are also issued by wireless telegraphy to the Continent.

11. During 1922 an examination in meteorology became compulsory for all pilots applying for renewal of Class B licences, *i.e.*, licences to operate passenger-carrying aircraft for hire. It was thus recognised that pilots should possess a working knowledge of the application of meteorology to aviation.

12. In 1923 arrangements were made for the prompt issue of warnings of line-squalls or thunderstorms which were likely to affect the regular air routes. Such reports were transmitted by wireless telegraphy between the terminal aerodromes, and were also available at radio telephony stations for transmission to pilots of aircraft in flight.

In the following year the regular hourly reports were further supplemented by special reports of important changes in visibility at stations on the routes, such reports being immediately communicated to pilots of aircraft in flight and also transmitted to the continental terminal aerodromes. The arrangements were extended as from 1st January, 1925, to include important changes in cloud height, weather and wind. The latter reports are communicated by radio-telephony to aircraft in flight, but are not transmitted to continental aerodromes.

13. At a meeting in Paris in December, 1925, a figure code for the issue of forecasts on air routes was discussed and agreement arrived at. It enables the length of the messages to be reduced to about one-fifth of the length of the forecasts in plain language and it also makes the messages easily understood, as difficulties of language or difficulties arising from the special meaning of national terms for meteorological phenomena are avoided.

II.—The Principles of the Organisation of Meteorological Services.

(1) *General.*—The requirements of civil aviation in regard to meteorology vary according to the part of the world in which the air service is to be operated and also depend to some extent on the organisation of the air service itself. Nevertheless, there are certain general principles which may be laid down as fundamental. In enunciating these principles examples will be drawn from the existing meteorological

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organisation on the London–Continental air routes, while reference will be made, whenever possible, to obvious variations from this organisation which would be necessary in the case of an air route operated in other localities.

(2) *Preliminary Investigation of Meteorological Conditions along an Air Route.*—It is of great importance to investigate as fully as possible, before an air route is selected, the meteorological conditions over the area through which the route would pass. The investigation would be based upon past meteorological records analysed and summarised to show not only the weather experienced in the long run over the area, but also the seasonal and daily variations, at representative places, of the elements of importance to aviation. In general, the value of the investigation would be to indicate the prevalence of conditions liable to cause interruption of the service and so to assist the selection of the best route.

The sites proposed for aerodromes along the route should be subject to special investigation. It has been found, for example, that the frequency of fog and low cloud, which are the most adverse factors from the point of view of aviation in Great Britain, shows a marked variation according to the geographical position, and especially the topographical features of the station. Where, as not infrequently happens, a terminal aerodrome is situated near a large industrial town, it is important to place the aerodrome, other things being equal, on the side of the prevailing wind in order that visibility may not be unduly affected by smoke pollution. In the tropics, fog and low cloud are not so prevalent as in north-west Europe, but here, among other factors, the question of minimum air density has to be considered as affecting the load which can be carried by the aircraft without unduly increasing the length of take-off run.

(3) *Meteorological Organisation on an Air Route.*—To ensure the safety and regularity of civil flying, the following meteorological information should be available for the pilots and operating staff of air transport companies :—

(i) Reports of the existing weather conditions at selected stations on or near the route, made at regular intervals.

(ii) Detailed short-period forecasts of the weather conditions anticipated on the route, to be furnished to the flying personnel prior to the commencement of a flight.

(iii) Special reports of violent and sudden phenomena, which may be regarded as threatening the safety of aircraft, such reports to be transmitted to the aerodromes concerned and also to pilots of aircraft in flight likely to be affected.

It is necessary to describe in some detail the arrangements needed for the provision of these three types of reports.

(i) *Regular Reports from Stations on and near the Route.*—The distribution of reporting stations and the frequency with which regular reports are made will depend upon the climatic conditions which obtain over the area involved. This factor, in turn, is dependent partly on the nature of the country over which the route passes ; in general, it is desirable to obtain reports from any place on the route which is subject to exceptional meteorological conditions.

Meteorological stations in connection with the civil air route in S.E. England are of three classes :—

(*a*) *First Order " Distributive " Stations* at important aerodromes. The staff and equipment of such a station depend on the particular requirements of the air services concerned. At the station attached to the London Terminal Aerodrome at Croydon the staff is composed of an assistant superintendent and 2 senior professional assistants (with university degrees in physics and mathematics), 1 higher grade and 6 lower grade technical assistants and 2 telephone-typists. These work in relays to cover the 24 hours.

The duty of the professional staff is to supply information to the pilots and management of the air transport companies regarding the present and probable future weather conditions on the different routes radiating from Croydon. The technical assistants take observations, code outgoing and decode incoming reports, prepare charts and exhibit reports on notice boards. The telephone-typists are necessary as almost constant communication is maintained with the central office at the Air Ministry, which is responsible for the collection and distribution of aviation reports.

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The station is equipped as a first order meteorological station, with instruments both for eye-reading and for obtaining continuous records of the various elements at the surface, as well as pilot balloon equipment for upper wind observations.

The annual salaries of the staff amount to £3,300. The initial cost of the instrumental equipment of such a station is about £400. The cost of consumable stores averages £50 per annum. In addition, there are small charges necessary for maintenance of buildings, repairs to instruments, fuel and light.

(*b*) *Secondary Air Route Stations.*—This type of station is more modestly equipped than a main station and is manned by technical staff only, the number depending on the requirements of the station. The minimum would be two lower grade technical assistants.

Such a station furnishes regular reports for aviation to the central office for distribution to aerodromes affected.

The initial cost of the instrumental equipment would be about £50. If it were necessary, however, to include pilot balloon apparatus, this figure would have to be increased.

(*c*) *Auxiliary Reporting Stations.*—The third type of station has no regular meteorological staff, the observations being made by coastguards, lighthouse-keepers or officials of other departments of the public service whose duties necessitate a more or less continuous watch. A small additional payment is made in return for such observations as they are called upon to make. In some cases it is not considered necessary to provide instrumental equipment, but in others instruments similar to those of a secondary air route station are installed.

In S.E. England, a coastguard station at Beachy Head, to the west of the air route, furnishes regular reports, which are useful as giving warnings of adverse weather phenomena approaching from the west along the English Channel. A second station at Dymchurch reports regularly the sea visibility near the point where the air route leaves the English coast. Reports are also obtained at certain hours from the coastguard station at Dungeness.

The number of main meteorological stations on a particular route will depend on several factors. In general, any aerodrome which is a main port of call for machines should have such a station attached.

It is important to arrange for upper wind stations at frequent intervals along the route, as an accurate knowledge of the upper air currents is of great economic importance in air navigation. By selecting the right height for flying it is frequently possible to effect a considerable saving both in petrol and in time.

(ii) *Air Route Forecasts.*—The supply of forecasts for air routes necessitates the preparation of synoptic weather charts several times daily for which, in the case of S.E. England, data are collected from the whole of the British Isles and also from other countries in N.W. Europe. The forecasts for the air routes emanating from Croydon are prepared by the Aviation Forecast Service at the Air Ministry; but synoptic charts are also constructed at Croydon to enable the local meteorologist to advise the pilots and operating staff of the air transport companies. A detailed short period forecast is prepared for each service leaving Croydon. A more general forecast for the London–Continental air routes covering the following day is issued to all concerned during the afternoon. Forecasts for S.E. England are also transmitted by wireless telegraphy to the terminal aerodromes on the Continent three times daily.

(iii) *Special Reports.*—On the London–Continental air routes, exchange of regular reports from stations on and near the routes takes place hourly, each country issuing a collective message containing reports from stations in its own sector at fixed times after each hour. It has been found necessary, however, to supplement the regular reports by special reports issued with the minimum delay when adverse phenomena such as thunderstorms, squalls and fogs occur. Such reports are transmitted immediately to the aerodromes concerned and are also made available at the appropriate stations on the route for transmission by radio telephony to pilots of aircraft in flight.

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While it would not be necessary, probably, to issue regular reports at intervals as frequent as one hour in certain countries where weather conditions are more stable than in N.W. Europe, a system of warnings on the lines indicated would be desirable on all air routes.

Attention may also be directed to arrangements for ground signals and for reports from stations on an alternative route which it may be desirable to include in the general organisation.

(iv) *Ground Signals.*—On the London–Continental air routes, signals are displayed on the ground at certain aerodromes to indicate to pilots in flight the meteorological conditions (height of cloud, visibility and precipitation) existing at other aerodromes along the route. The signals were designed primarily for the use of pilots of aircraft not equipped with wireless apparatus, but they are useful in any case as affording relief to the wireless service and also in the event of the aircraft's wireless going out of action.

The system of ground signals in use is that recommended by the International Commission for Air Navigation and is described in Annex G of Official Bulletin No. 9, dated December, 1925. The cost of a complete set of signals recently installed at Lympne Aerodrome, showing conditions at three stations, was £345.

(v) *Weather Reports on an Alternative Route.*—If any portion of an air route is subject to exceptional meteorological conditions it is desirable to arrange for reporting stations on an alternative route which is not likely to be affected in the same way as the main route. In south-east England the civil air route passes over the North and South Downs, which are sometimes enveloped in low cloud. In such cases, a system of reports is brought into operation from stations on an alternative route which follows the estuary of the Thames and the coast of North Kent, where the country is flat. Three stations are utilised for this service, one (Shoeburyness) being a regular meteorological station, maintained primarily for other purposes, while the other two (North Foreland and Deal) are auxiliary reporting stations established specially for the purpose.

(4) *General Remarks.*—The foregoing summary will serve to indicate the main meteorological requirements of an air route. Details regarding the codes for meteorological messages, forms for the exhibition of meteorological information and the method of exhibiting air route information at aerodromes recommended by the International Commission for Air Navigation will be found in Annex G of Official Bulletin No. 9, already mentioned.

A map is attached showing the meteorological stations in south-east England which report in connection with the civil air route.

SECTION 3.

THE USE OF WIRELESS IN AIR TRAFFIC COMMUNICATIONS.

Wireless has proved itself to be peculiarly suitable for communicating with aircraft.

It has hitherto been the accepted idea that to communicate with an aircraft radio telephony should be employed. This was done in the first instance because it was difficult enough at the commencement for the pilot to fly his machine and to find his way, without hindering him with any more complicated method of communication than being able to speak and hear a spoken reply during the time he was in the air. The spoken word is naturally the most rapid form of communication, always provided that it is not misunderstood. But with the development of commercial aviation and all its attendant improvements, it has become more and more evident that radio telephony is not the most advantageous method of communication.

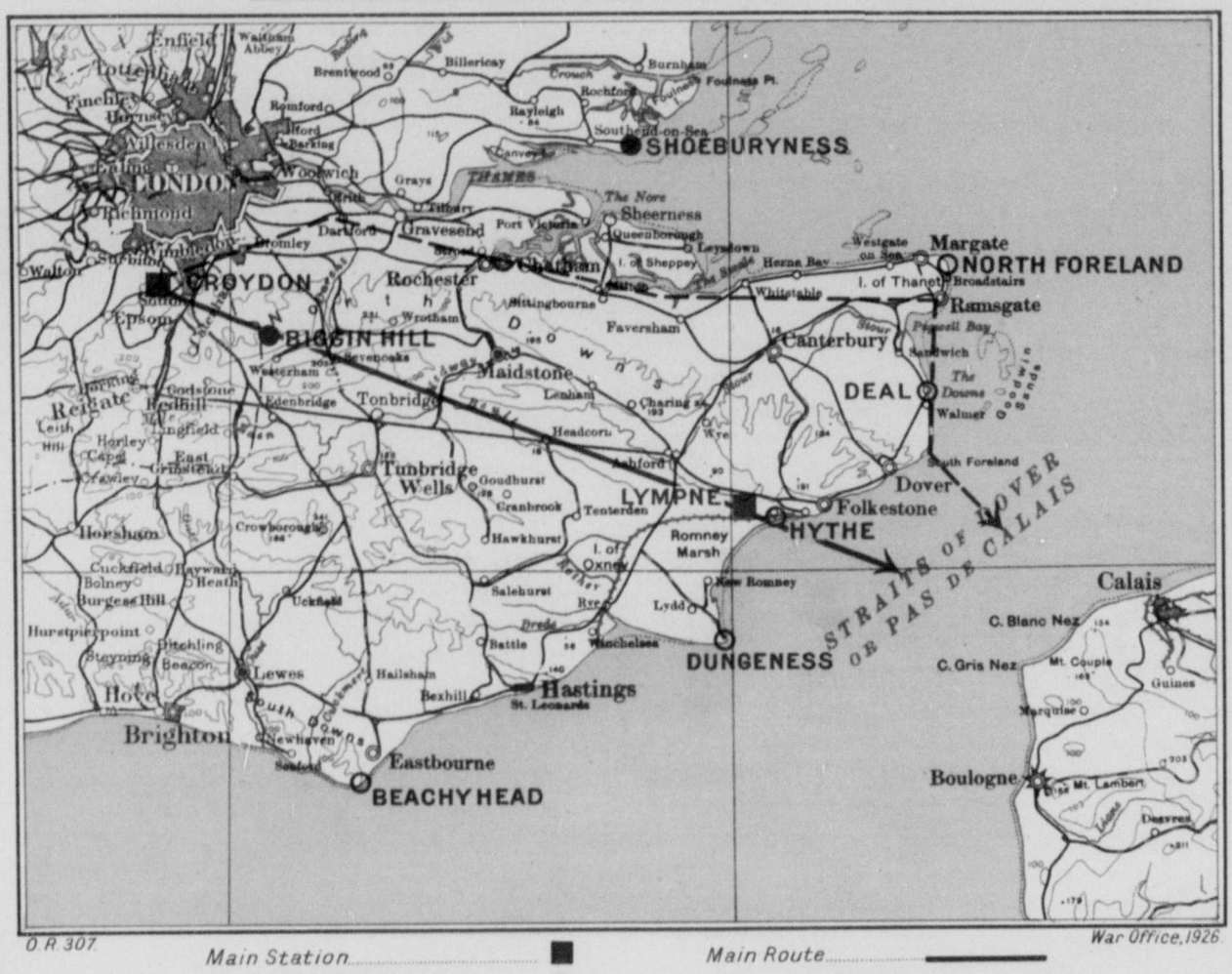
It is an inherent fault of radio telephony in its present stage of development that only a few machines are able to work in a comparatively small area at the same time without causing mutual interference. This fault has not, up to quite recently, given cause for much anxiety, but as the number of machines has increased on the routes it has steadily become more difficult to maintain touch with each individual aircraft. Such a fault is not inherent in the same circumstances in continuous wave

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MAP SHOWING METEOROLOGICAL STATIONS ON AIR ROUTES OVER SOUTH-EAST ENGLAND


Enfield
Tottenham
Finchley
Willesden
Ealing
LONDON
Richmond
Kingston
Walton
Sutton
CROYDON
Epsom
BIGGIN HILL
Reigate
Redhill
Horley
Crawley
Horsham
Cuckfield
Burgess Hill
Hurstpierpoint
Hove
Brighton
Lewes
Newhaven
Seaford
Eastbourne
BEACHY HEAD
Hailsham
Bexhill
Hastings
St. Leonards
Battle
Winchelsea
DUNGENESS
Rye
Lydd
New Romney
Romney Marsh
I. of Oxney
Tenterden
Hawkhurst
Cranbrook
Goudhurst
Tunbridge Wells
Crowborough
Uckfield
Salehurst
Ashford
LYMPNE
Folkestone
HYTHE
Dover
DEAL
Walmer
South Foreland
The Downs
Goodwin Sands
Canterbury
Faversham
Sittingbourne
Maidstone
Lenham
Charing
Headcorn
Tonbridge
Edenbridge
Westerham
Sevenoaks
Orpington
Bromley
Dartford
Gravesend
Rochester
Chatham
Wrotham
Sheerness
Queenborough
Port Victoria
Grays
Tilbury
Purfleet
Woolwich
Barking
Ilford
Romford
Brentwood
Billericay
Rayleigh
Southend-on-Sea
Shoeburyness
Foulness Pt.
Burnham
Crouch
Rochford
Canvey
THAMES
The Nore
I. of Sheppey
Leysdown
Herne Bay
Whitstable
Westgate on Sea
Margate
NORTH FORELAND
I. of Thanet
Broadstairs
Ramsgate
Pegwell Bay
Sandwich
Deal
Calais
C. Blanc Nez
C. Gris Nez
Mt. Couple
Guines
Marquise
Boulogne
Mt. Lambert
Desvres
STRAITS OF DOVER
OR PAS DE CALAIS
Waltham Abbey
Lea
Roding
Wid
Darent
Medway
Stour
Rother
Arun
Adur
Ouse
Cuckmere
Brede
Ditchling Beacon
Leith Hill
Hayley Capel
East Grinstead
Godstone
Ingfield
Haywards Heath
Bolney
Heath
Pitching
Steyning
Seaford
Wye
Lyminge
Folkestone
South Foreland
Margate
Ramsgate
Canterbury
Dover
Deal
Walmer
Faversham
Maidstone
Ashford
Tenterden
Hythe
Romney Marsh
Rye
Lydd
New Romney
Hastings
Eastbourne
Lewes
Brighton
Croydon
Biggin Hill
Gravesend
Chatham
Rochester
Sittingbourne
Sheerness
Southend-on-Sea
Shoeburyness
Rayleigh
Billericay
Brentwood
Romford
Ilford
Barking
Woolwich
Grays
Tilbury
Purfleet
Dartford
Bromley
Orpington
Sevenoaks
Westerham
Edenbridge
Tonbridge
Tunbridge Wells
Crowborough
Uckfield
Salehurst
Battle
Winchelsea
Hailsham
Bexhill
St. Leonards
Seaford
Newhaven
Lewes
Hove
Brighton
Eastbourne
BEACHY HEAD
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Goodwin Sands
The Downs
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Headcorn
Ashford
Tenterden
Hawkhurst
Cranbrook
Goudhurst
Tunbridge Wells
Crowborough
Uckfield
Salehurst
Rye
Lydd
New Romney
Romney Marsh
I. of Oxney
Hythe
Folkestone
Dover
South Foreland
Deal
Walmer
Ramsgate
Margate
NORTH FORELAND
I. of Thanet
Broadstairs
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Herne Bay
Whitstable
Sandwich
Pegwell Bay
Canterbury
Faversham
Sittingbourne
Chatham
Rochester
Sheerness
Queenborough
Leysdown
I. of Sheppey
The Nore
Port Victoria
Gravesend
Tilbury
Grays
Purfleet
Woolwich
Barking
Ilford
Romford
Brentwood
Billericay
Rayleigh
Southend-on-Sea
Shoeburyness
Foulness Pt.
Burnham
Crouch
Rochford
Canvey
THAMES

telegraphy, and for this reason it has been decided that only the small types of aircraft, *i.e.*, those capable of carrying between 5 and 10 passengers shall continue to be equipped with radio telephony, and that the larger machines, *i.e.*, those capable of carrying 10 passengers or more, shall be equipped with wireless telegraphy. It is, of course, probable that future development will be in the direction of larger machines.

It is interesting to enumerate the methods by which wireless is at present employed on organised air routes. Ground stations have been erected at convenient intervals along the routes by the various Governments concerned and are operated by their respective staffs. The introduction of the telegraphic method of communication for the larger aircraft not yet having taken place, every route station at the present time maintains a continuous watch on a normal wave-length of 900 metres, throughout the time that any aircraft is in flight. The actual working wave lies within the aircraft wave-length band of 850 metres to 950 metres and radio telephony only is employed.

It has already been explained in Section I how the aircraft is able to ask for its position by calling up the ground station or stations. This operation and all other communication between the air and the ground are carried out by the same ground stations since the receiver which intercepts aircraft signals is capable of taking bearings of the aircraft making those signals.

After 1st January, 1927, telegraphic apparatus will be introduced on the larger machines and an alternative wave-length will then be set aside for such work on a normal wave-length of 1,550 metres. This will, of course, necessitate the duplication of the ground stations, but will make for infinitely better control and much smoother working.

Apart from the question of communicating with aircraft, there is perhaps the equally important question of notifying various aerodromes along the intended route of the departure or arrival of a machine. For this work—known as " route traffic " —the various States concerned have allocated a wave-length of 1,400 metres. Telegraphy only is used and any message may be passed by an air operating company free of charge, providing it has undoubted reference to the safety of aircraft or regularity of the service.

There is further the necessity of reporting weather conditions from time to time. By international agreement, it has been decided that hourly reports are satisfactory for commercial air routes as they exist to-day ; and as a result meteorological readings are taken once every hour at points along the air routes and are consolidated into station reports and exchanged with every other station at pre-arranged times, on a wave-length of 1,680 metres. By this method it is possible for the pilot of an aircraft, prior to his departure, to obtain recent information concerning the weather at the chief points along his line of flight. Sudden changes of weather can, of course, be notified from the ground station concerned to any aircraft in its vicinity, by means of the 900 metre service.

A further use of wireless is in warning machines of their proximity to each other at various points of the route during periods of fog or poor visibility, thereby preventing risks of collision.

It is quite probable that with the trend of development of wireless generally towards the higher frequencies (*i.e.*, " shorter waves ") it will prove possible to utilise a wave-length of the order of 200 metres in place of either the 900 or 1,550 metres waves before mentioned. Research is going on in this direction at the present time, but it has not yet developed sufficiently to allow of a more definite statement being made.

Wireless staffs at Government civil aerodromes are specially selected men, frequently ex-wireless N.C.O.s and operators of the Royal Air Force, and they must have had experience in—

(1) Continuous wave telegraphy.
(2) Radio-telephony.
(3) Direction finding.

They must also be able to speak a foreign language, preferably French, and have a good knowledge of aircraft generally, internal combustion engines and petrol electric generating plant, electric direct current and alternating current work, and must be medically fit to fly.

For discipline they are under the control of the Civil Aviation Traffic Officer of the aerodrome on which their station is situated, but for all their technical work

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they are responsible to the Signals Branch, Air Ministry, which branch has a special section controlling civil aviation signal matters.

There are two grades of operators and they are paid at the following rates :—

(1) Operator-in-charge at £6 to £7 10s. per week.
(2) Operator at £4 10s. to £6 per week.

Increments are 5s. per week per annum ; 75 per cent. of these operators are about to be established on a permanent basis ; overtime is paid at 1¼ times for first 6 hours and 1½ times subsequently up to a maximum of 12 hours per week.

A standard terminal aerodrome station (*e.g.*, Croydon) consists usually of :—

(1) 1½ kilowatt continuous wave and radio telephony transmitters for 900 and 1,550 metre work with aircraft.
(2) Direction finding receivers for 900 and 1,550 metre aircraft work.

It is intended to include in such a station, in future, other apparatus for carrying out 1,400 metre point-to-point route traffic signalling and possibly 1,680 metre hourly route weather traffic.

The initial cost of (1) and (2) is approximately £2,000, and annual maintenance costs are £200–£300 for plant and £3,000–£4,000 for staff. This excludes buildings.

An intermediate aerodrome station (*e.g.*, Lympne) consists usually of :—

(1) ¼ kilowatt continuous wave and radio telephony transmitters for aircraft work.
(2) Direction finding receivers for aircraft work.

The initial cost of (1) and (2) is £1,000, approximately, with annual charges of £200 for gear and £1,500–£2,000 for staff. This also excludes buildings.

SECTION 4.

AERODROMES AND LANDING GROUNDS.

I.—The Development of Government-owned Civil Aerodromes, 1919–26.

At the beginning of May, 1919, the aerodrome situated at Hounslow Heath was acquired from the Royal Air Force by the Controller General of Civil Aviation as a London Terminal Aerodrome for continental traffic, and air transport services to the Continent were inaugurated on 25th August, 1919. Hounslow was established as an appointed aerodrome where Customs clearance facilities could be obtained, and Customs facilities were also provided at Cricklewood Aerodrome, from which the aircraft of Handley Page Transport, Ltd., operated direct to the Continent.

In March, 1920, Hounslow Aerodrome was relinquished for reoccupation by the War Office and it was decided to acquire the Waddon Aerodrome, Croydon, which aircraft flying from the Continent could reach without crossing a densely populated portion of the London suburbs and which, in addition, was less affected by fog during the winter months. A coastal aerodrome at Lympne, in Kent, was also taken over from the Royal Air Force in 1919, and Customs clearance facilities were provided there as well as at Croydon.

Services to the Continent operated by British and foreign firms steadily expanded until, in 1922, aircraft were plying to Paris, Brussels, Cologne, Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and in the same year a daily service from London to Manchester was inaugurated.

Emergency landing grounds were established at Penshurst, Kent, in 1920, and Marden and Littlestone, Kent, in 1922, for the use of cross-channel aircraft which, owing to weather, engine trouble, or other causes, were unable to proceed to their destination. Combined lighthouses and illuminated wind indicators were later installed at Penshurst and Littlestone for the assistance of night-flying aircraft.

As the traffic developed it was found that the two large permanent hangars and four Bessonneaux hangars at Croydon were inadequate to meet the requirements of the operating firms, and three additional Bessonneaux hangars and one wooden Hervieu hangar were erected as a temporary measure.

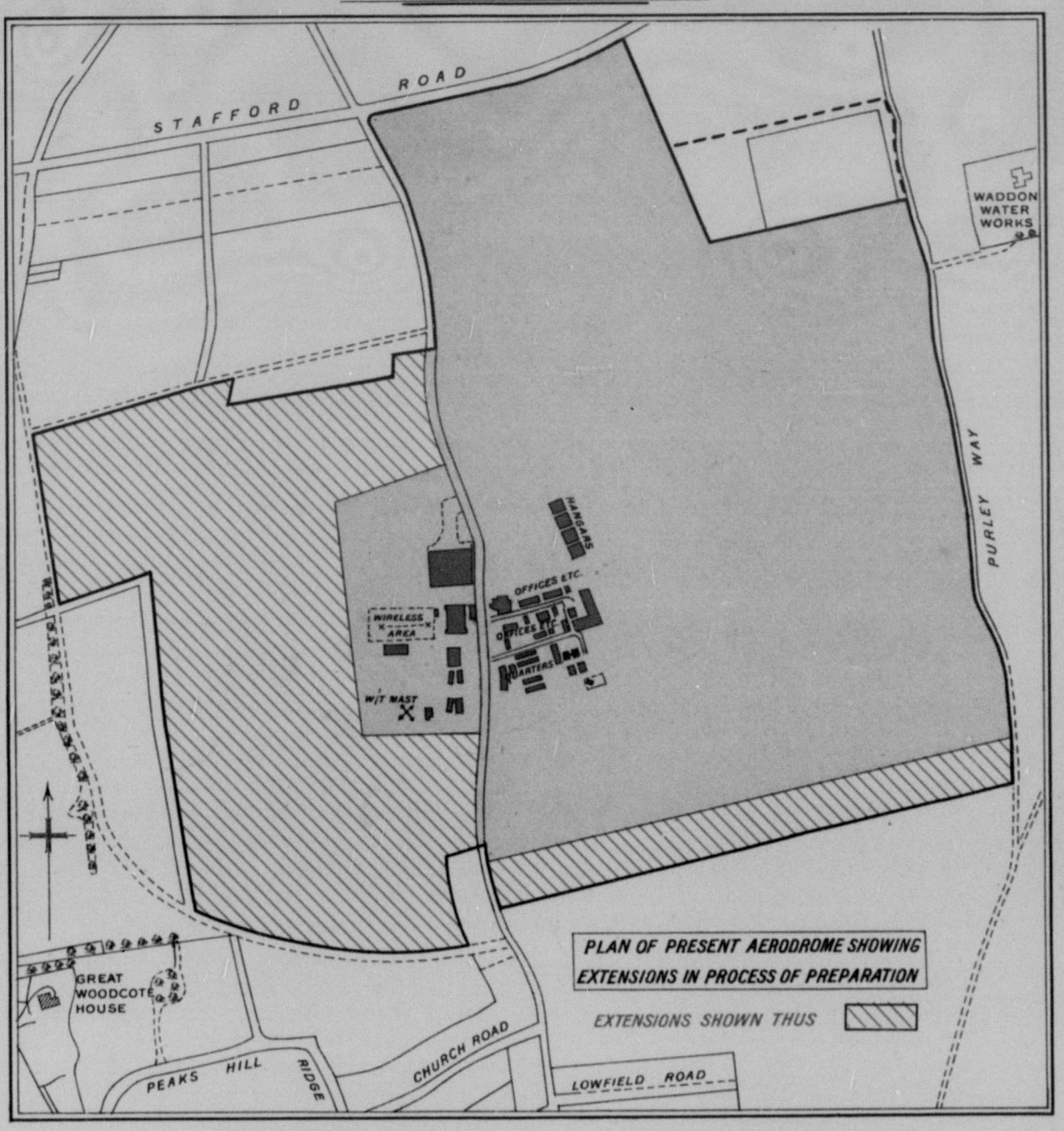
In 1924 Imperial Airways, Ltd., extended their services to Zurich and Berlin, employing large twin-engined aircraft on these routes, and in 1926 contracts were placed for three-engined aircraft to carry 23 passengers. The existing hangar accommodation therefore required revision, and the buildings of the London Terminal

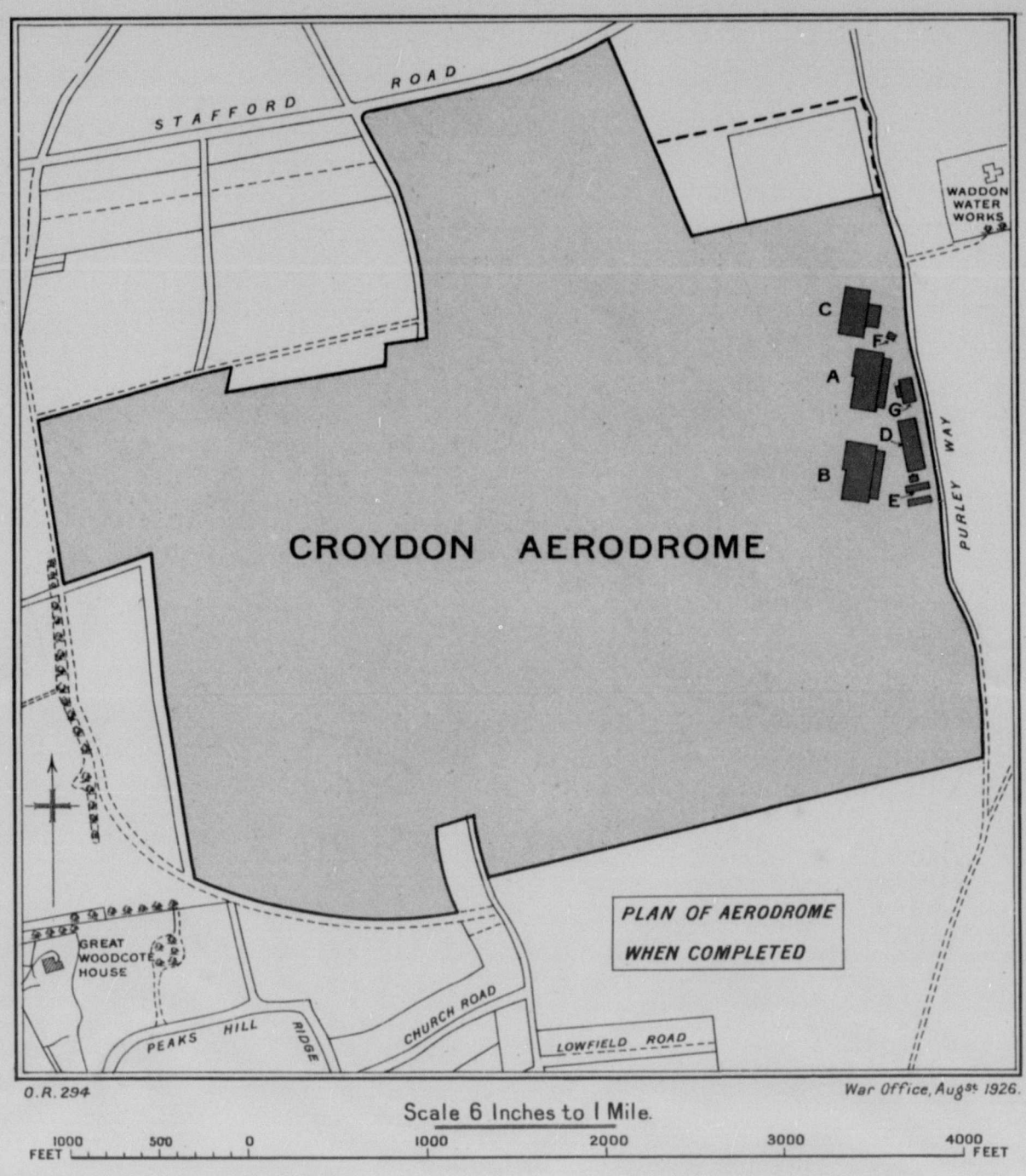
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CROYDON AERODROME





O.R. 294

War Office, Aug^st 1926.

Scale 6 Inches to 1 Mile.

1000 500 0 1000 2000 3000 4000 FEET

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Aerodrome are now being resited on the eastern side of the aerodrome. Large permanent hangars are being erected, and Plough Lane, which separates Croydon from the Wallington Aerodrome, is being diverted to permit of more land being acquired.

A central control tower has been installed at Croydon, from which a traffic officer constantly on duty is able to control all air traffic on the routes. He is assisted by a wireless operator, who passes orders and information direct to pilots in the air by radio-telephony and is thus able to advise as to weather conditions over the whole route and to issue any orders which from time to time may be necessary in the interests of safety.

The London Terminal Aerodrome is under the immediate control of a civil aviation traffic officer, who is assisted by four assistant traffic officers, one cashier, one stores officer, A.I.D. inspectors, and by wireless, meteorological, and other staff. He has also two traffic foremen and 24 traffic hands under his control.

II.—The Situation of a Terminal Aerodrome.

On a recognised air route a series of aerodromes is necessary, classified according to the purpose which they serve, as terminal aerodromes, aerodromes, landing grounds, and emergency landing grounds.

A " terminal " aerodrome is one that is usually situated as close as possible to the capital of a country, where naturally the headquarters of the main air transport companies are to be found. The London Terminal Aerodrome, situated at Croydon, is the chief centre in Great Britain.

The ideal situation for a terminal aerodrome is near the heart of the city, but in many of the older countries, including England, this ideal cannot be realised owing to the impossibility of finding within the heavily populated area a large unobstructed space, which has not become indispensable as a park or recreation ground.

The next best situation is one provided with good transport facilities, either of road or rail, preferably both. The site should be free from adverse meteorological conditions, especially fog, with well-drained soil and open surroundings.

III.—The Lay-out of an Aerodrome.

The ideal lay-out of an aerodrome, where space permits, would be one in which the main buildings were located in the middle of the aerodrome. This arrangement would avoid all unnecessary taxying and give the maximum amount of room for machines departing, arriving and manœuvring on the ground. The drawbacks to this system are that it is necessary to have a road running across a part of the aerodrome, with consequent danger and inconvenience, and that a much bigger area is required, since it must provide a clear take-off in any direction from the departure platform. The normal practice at present is to group all buildings together on the side of the aerodrome on which ground access is most convenient, and it is on these lines that the London Terminal Aerodrome is being rebuilt.

VI.—The Choice of a Site.

(1) The soil should be medium to light. It has been found by experience that heavy soils are unsuitable and become sticky in winter ; grass grows too freely and drainage is difficult.

(2) The land should be level and preferably on a plateau. A plateau site sloping away very slightly from the centre to the boundaries on all sides is very desirable and it is more likely to present low approaches into every wind.

(3) Ridge and furrow should be avoided as this usually indicates a naturally wet soil ; levelling is expensive and a system of land drainage is a necessity.

(4) The site should afford at least 1,000 yards run into any wind. Such sites are in this country very difficult to find, and preference should be given to a site giving this length of run at any rate in the direction of the prevailing wind.

(5) The neighbourhood selected should be free from fog.

(6) The area should, if possible, consist of large fields, thus saving the work of removing hedges, etc., and subsequent levelling.

(7) A site which consists of permanent pasture is a great asset, especially if time is a consideration.

(8) The land immediately surrounding the site should be free from obstructions. Any obstacles, such as church spires, chimneys, or sharply rising ground near the

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boundary of the site, are a great disadvantage, especially if night-flying is contemplated, as night markings will be necessary. High trees can generally be removed by arrangement.

(9) Large sized fields in the vicinity of the site are an advantage as they give facilities for forced landings.

(10) Good road access to the site is an advantage and if an extensive building programme is intended will save a considerable sum of money. The same thing applies to railway facilities in the immediate neighbourhood.

(11) Consideration should also be given to the availability of supplies of water and electric current.

(12) The price of the land is an important consideration and is affected by the number of ownerships on the selected site and the severance entailed.

V.—Accommodation.

The following buildings are necessary at a terminal aerodrome :—

(1) Hangars for aircraft.
(2) Workshops for operating firms.
(3) Petrol and oil storage.
(4) Traffic control accommodation.
(5) Wireless installation.
(6) Meteorological office and space for meteorological instruments.
(7) General accommodation for operating firms, including offices, booking hall, waiting rooms, etc.
(8) Vehicle sheds.
(9) Office accommodation for controlling staff of the aerodrome.
(10) Accommodation for Customs and alien immigration authorities.
(11) Bonded stores.
(12) First aid facilities.
(13) Accommodation for guard and police.
(14) Lavatory accommodation.
(15) Hotel accommodation or refreshment rooms.

The extent of the accommodation provided will naturally depend on the traffic which is expected at the aerodrome, bearing in mind the probability of rapid development ; similarly, the hangars must be of such a size as to admit the largest aircraft that will visit the aerodrome, so far as can be foreseen.

VI.—The New London Terminal Aerodrome.

Owing to development of traffic it has now become necessary to enlarge and rebuild the London Terminal Aerodrome, Croydon. The plans adopted therefore furnish a good example of present-day views on the accommodation required at a principal aerodrome in the present state of air transport in Europe. A plan of the aerodrome, indicating the changes to be made, is on the opposite page.

The present aerodrome has a maximum run north and south of 1,300 yards, and east and west of 900 yards. It is bounded on the west side by a road. This road is to be diverted and further land on the west of the road will be thrown into the aerodrome. This extension,together with a strip of 200 feet at the south of the existing aerodrome, will give a maximum of 1,350 yards north and south and 1,450 yards east and west.

The existing buildings are to be removed and replaced by new buildings on the east side of the aerodrome. The following is a brief description of the accommodation which will be provided in the new buildings, together with the cost of construction. It is hoped to acquire, in addition, hangar accommodation which is already in existence at the north-east corner of the aerodrome. With the two new hangars which are being built, accommodation will thus be provided for 35 large type aircraft.

Hangar Accommodation (*A and B*).—A total floor area of 90,000 square feet is provided for storage of aircraft in two sheds with a clear span of 150 feet and clear height of 30 feet. Offices, stores, workshops, etc., with a floor area of 36,000 square feet are included in the annexes to the hangars. Total cost, £75,000.

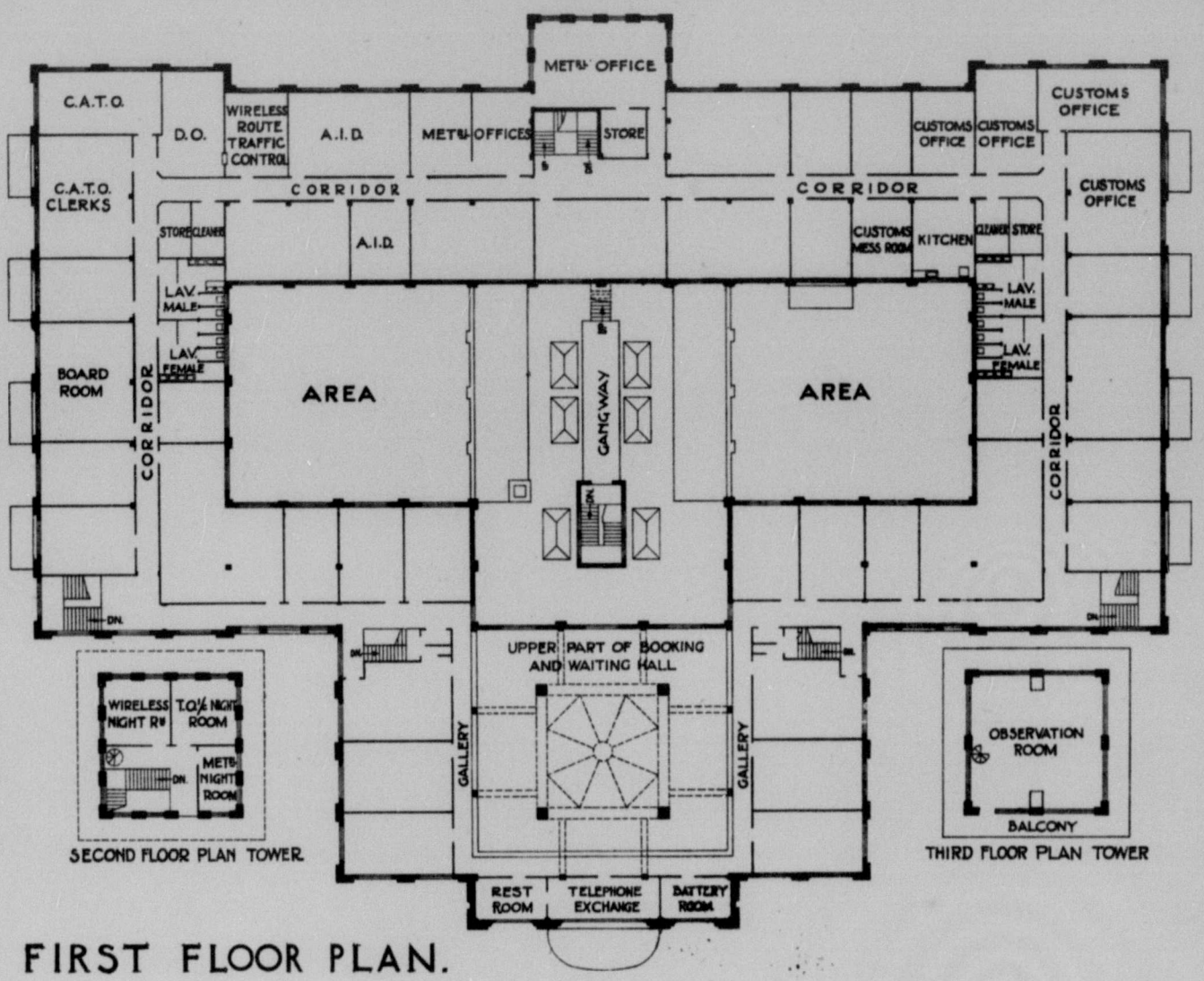
Terminal Block (*C*).—This building provides 32,000 square feet of office accommodation subdivided as required for the use of control staff, operating companies and customs and immigration authorities.

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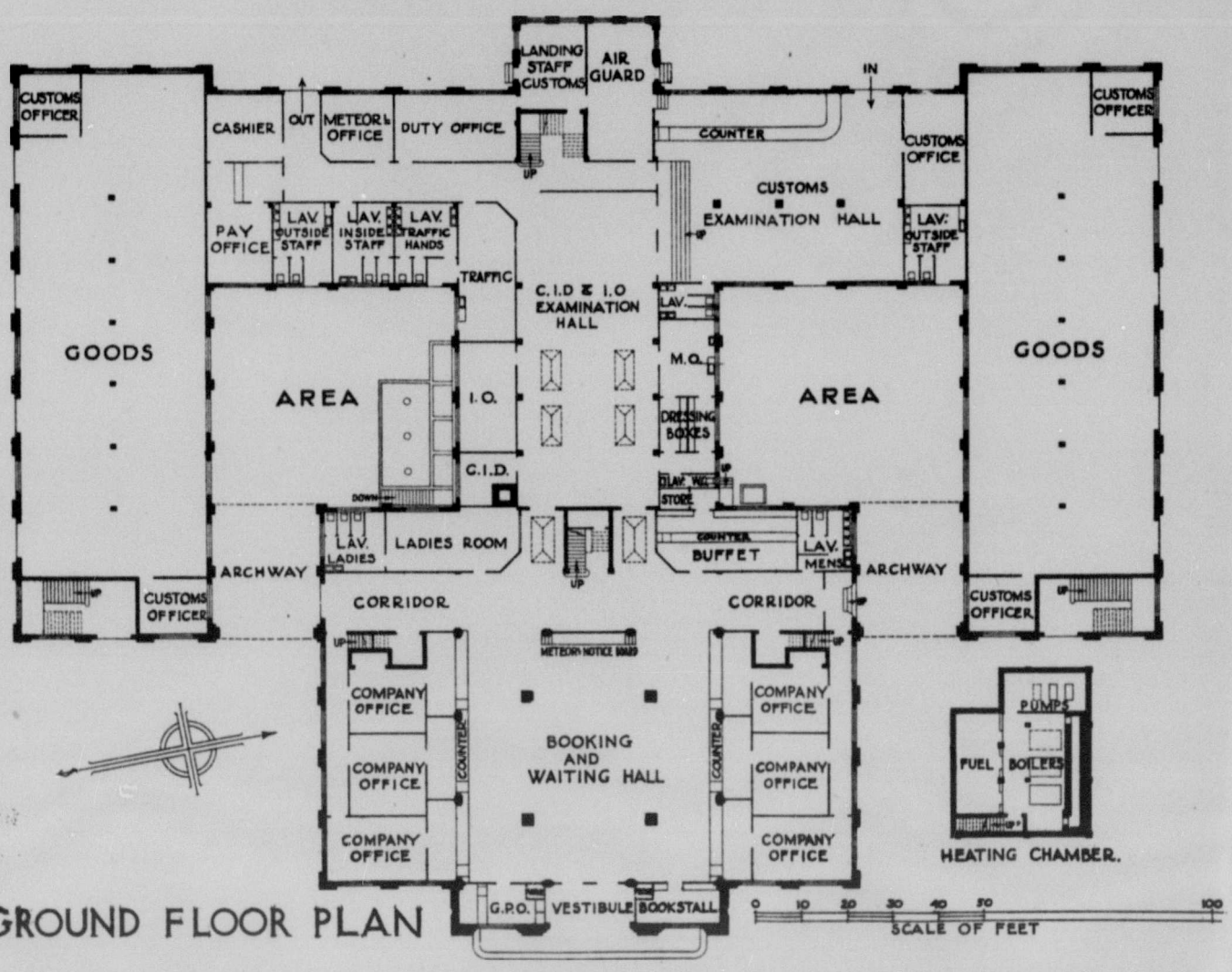
THE NEW BUILDINGS AT CROYDON AERODROME



SECOND FLOOR PLAN TOWER.

THIRD FLOOR PLAN TOWER

FIRST FLOOR PLAN.



HEATING CHAMBER.

GROUND FLOOR PLAN

1592 W 10435 B/Pk C 279. 350. 9. 26.

H.M.S.O., Cr.

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Waiting rooms and booking hall, 6,000 square feet; customs and immigration examination halls, 5,000 square feet; and freight stores, 9,500 square feet floor area, are also provided in this block.

The building is of two-storey construction with a 50 feet high control tower placed centrally, with a clear view over the aerodrome. Total cost, £62,000.

Fitters', Carpenters' and Fabric Workshops (*D*).—A floor area of 28,000 square feet is provided in this block. Total cost, £17,000.

Vehicle Sheds (*E*).—Accommodation is provided for housing transport vehicles in two buildings with a total floor area of 7,200 square feet. Total cost, £6,000.

Police Block (*F*).—Accommodation for police, together with first aid facilities and detention quarters, is provided in this block. Total cost, £1,500.

Hotel (*G*).—This will be built by a private company and will contain bedroom accommodation for about 30 visitors, together with suitable dining room, lounge, etc., and canteen for labour employed on the aerodrome.

The total cost of the new station will be £267,000, which figure includes, in addition to the above, all roads and pavings, drains, water mains, electrical services and minor buildings. All buildings are of permanent type of construction.

SECTION 5.

THE LIGHTING OF AERODROMES AND AIR ROUTES.

To carry on successful night flying in this country, experience has shown that lighting is required for three purposes. The first requirement is a series of beacon or route lights, situated on suitable high ground, but not necessarily on aerodromes; secondly, each aerodrome or landing ground requires to be marked by a location light, enabling the position of the aerodrome to be recognised from a moderate range, it being assumed that the aircraft can be navigated by the aid of the route lights to the neighbourhood of the aerodrome; the third requirement is the illumination of the actual landing ground to facilitate landing. In this third category is included the indication of wind direction and the marking of the boundary of the aerodrome.

The following notes briefly summarise the experience gained up to the present in the lighting of aerodromes and air routes:—

(*a*) Air Route Lights.

At two points on the Croydon–Lympne route high-powered automatic unattended lighthouses of the Gas Accumulator Company's "AGA" design have been erected in order to assist night flying aviators to locate their position; these lights are placed one at Cranbrook in Kent, and the second at Tatsfield Hill in Surrey, both being on high ground and visible in all directions. These units have been constructed to produce the particular requirements of the aviator regarding light distribution, and operate without attention for periods of six months.

It is considered that the automatic unattended apparatus described above will probably remain standard for some years, as it is entirely satisfactory in operation and the maintenance costs are very low.

(*b*) Local Pilotage or Aerodrome Location Lights.

In order to assist pilots to locate aerodromes from a distance at night aerial lighthouses have been installed on the aerodromes and emergency landing grounds at Croydon, Lympne, Littlestone and Penshurst. At Croydon and Lympne these lights are specially designed to meet the needs of the aerial navigator; at the former aerodrome there is in operation a Neon beacon, consisting of 16 glass tubes, each 20 feet long and charged with Neon gas; suitable transformers, etc., are provided in order to incandesce this gas by the passage of a high tension electric current through the gas from the electrodes at each end of the tubes. The 16 tubes are arranged in the form of a narrow truncated vertical cone, apex upwards, and suitably spaced around a central supporting structure; the net result is that a "pillar of fire" is visible on clear nights up to ranges of about 45 miles. On foggy nights with a ground visibility of approximately 5 yards this Neon beacon is visible at ground level at

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50 yards, and has also been seen at some two to three miles from an observer stationed above such a bank of fog, which on that occasion happened to extend from ground level to about 300 feet.

In addition, a white flashing light is exhibited at both Croydon and Lympne aerodromes, the illuminant employed being a number of 1,500 watt, ½ watt lamps placed at the focal centre of a suitable lenticular apparatus, so designed as to project light through 360 deg. in azimuth and 180 deg. in the vertical plane, *i.e.*, from the horizontal to the zenith in an all-round direction.

Experience gained with the Neon beacon at Croydon has led to a decision to instal a similar beacon at Lympne and to dismantle the white flashing light both at Croydon and Lympne.

At Littlestone and Penshurst landing grounds, automatic gas-operated lights are also in operation ; these lights also have been specially designed for aviation purposes, having regard to the necessity for the distribution of light throughout the whole of the upper hemisphere ; this has been effected by the employment of suitably designed external prismatic elements in conjunction with a panel lens. In other respects these lights are of standard marine type of the latest Gas Accumulator Company's "AGA" pattern, being entirely automatic and operating unattended for periods of six months.

(*c*) **Flood-Lighting of Aerodromes.**

Systems tried out are as under :—

(1) Searchlights, with 10-inch projector, and carbon arc lamp.
(2) ,, ,, 24 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
(3) ,, ,, 36 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
(4) ,, ,, 36 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
and with dispersing lenses 16 deg. and 45 deg., placed over the front of the projector.

(5) Floodlights, portable, consisting of 200 mm. drum lenses, split vertically, with a 100 watt, ½ watt electric lamp placed at the focal centre and fitted with a metal reflector behind the light source.

(6) Floodlight, portable, consisting of a 180 deg. drum lens of 500 mm. diameter composed of 21 dioptric elements ; this lens is mounted in a suitable sheet metal lantern and has at its focal centre a carbon arc lamp (automatic feed) absorbing about 150 amperes at 75 volts. The necessary adjusting gear, switchboards, etc., are contained in the lantern and the whole mounted on a four-wheeled truck of a type suitable for towing about an aerodrome.

Of these systems, (6) has proved to be infinitely better than any other type for use on civil aerodromes.

It is employed as follows :—

Four petrol electric generating plants are installed in suitable positions on the outer circumference of the aerodrome to enable the 180 deg. beam of light to be directed in accordance with the wind prevailing ; the illumination obtained is evenly distributed and does not cast confusing shadows, landings being made into wind and leaving the light source behind and to one side of the aeroplane.

It is considered improbable that any new system will supersede (6) for some years as a means of flood-lighting an aerodrome.

(*d*) **Aerodrome Boundary Lights.**

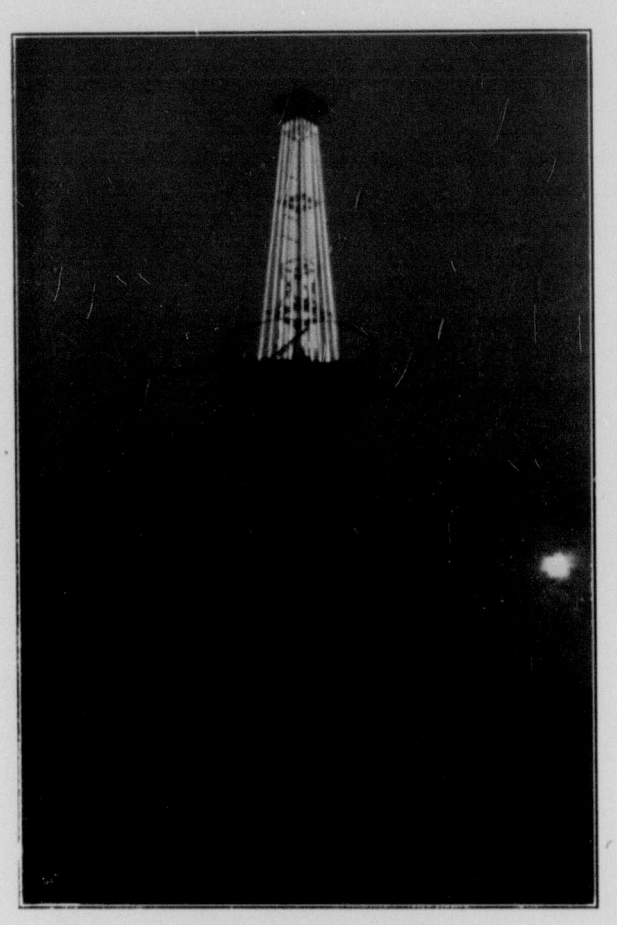
In accordance with the International Air Convention, Annex D, paragraph 48, obstruction lights have been placed where necessary at the Croydon and Lympne aerodromes. The lights are red (fixed character), electricity being employed where convenient, and oil lamps in other cases. This system was satisfactory in the earlier stages of night flying, but with the increase of night traffic it proved desirable to outline completely the landing area on the aerodrome, *i.e.*, even those sides of an aerodrome offering unobstructed approach (except for a low hedge or fence) should be outlined by suitable lights.

This has been done at the aerodromes at Croydon and Lympne and at the emergency landing grounds at Penshurst and Littlestone ; the lighting units employed are spaced on the perimeter of the good landing area at intervals of from 150–250 yards, dependent on the circumstances of each case.

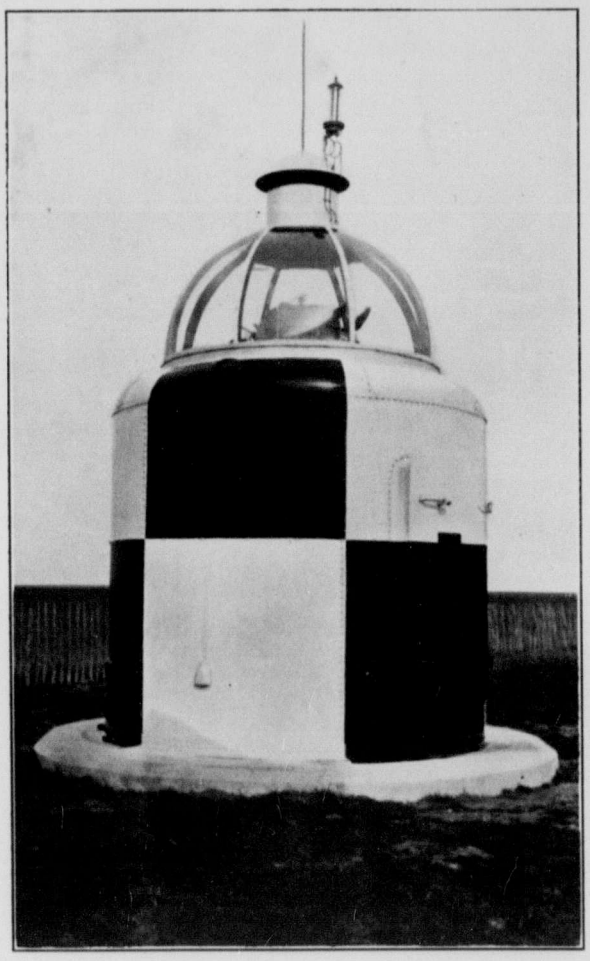
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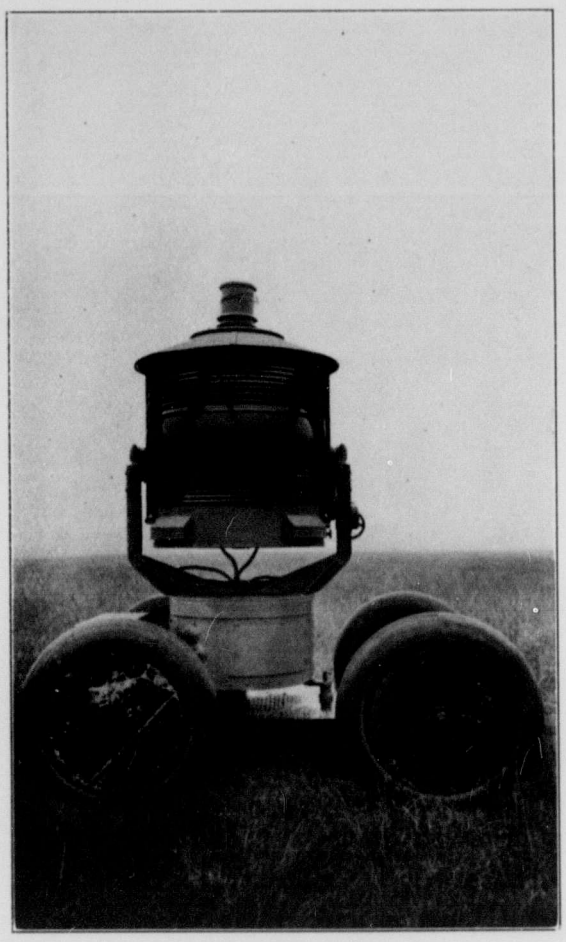
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The Neon Fog-piercing Light—(Croydon Aerodrome).



Littlestone Location Light.
(This light has a revolving lens and gives a double flash.)

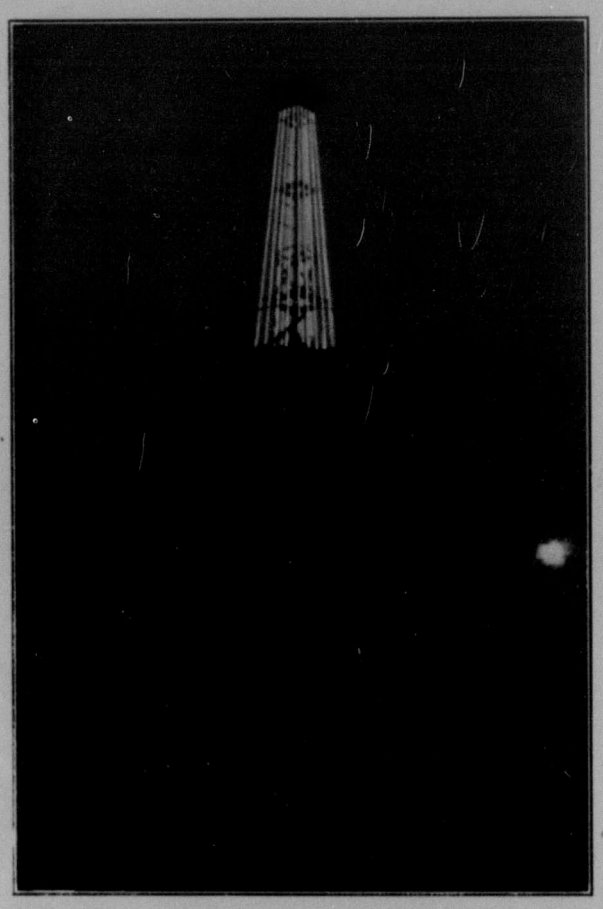


The Portable Floodlight
(which is being superseded by a floodlight mounted on a power-driven chassis).

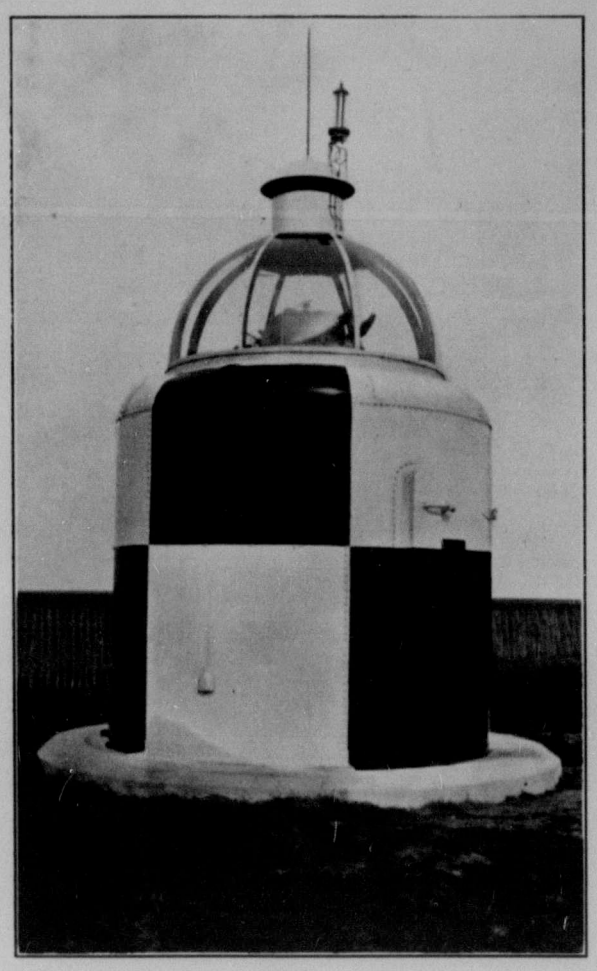
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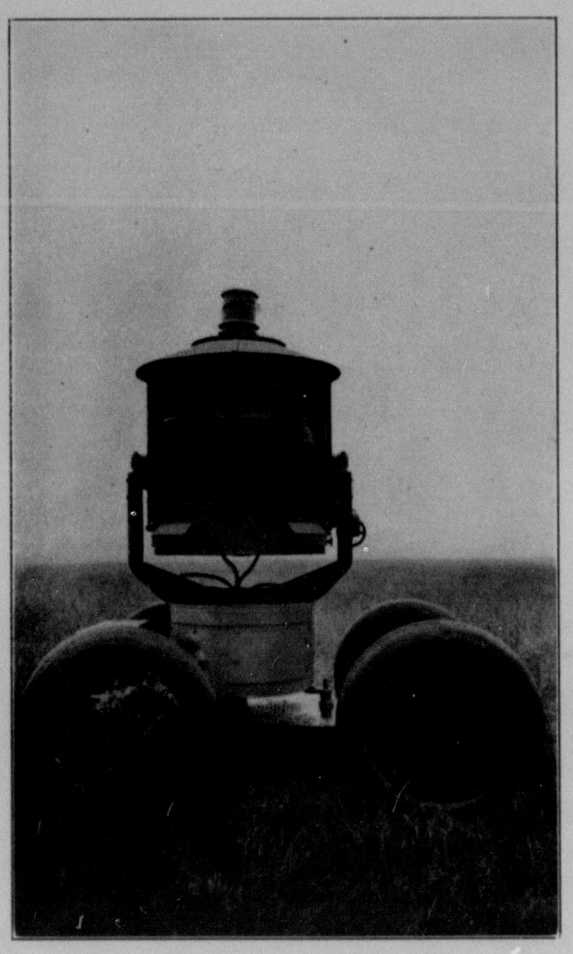
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The lights as at present employed exhibit a flashing red light showing 1/10 second flash and 9/10 second eclipse, the effect being an almost continuous light. Each light is visible through 360 deg. in azimuth and 180 deg. in the vertical plane, *i.e.*, from the horizontal to the zenith, and it was found that the most economical method available was in the employment of " AGA " automatic gas-operated lights, which are in constant operation night and day and run without attention for periods of six months at a time, at the end of which period the exhausted cylinders of dissolved acetylene gas are replaced by fully charged cylinders.

The result of this system is that a pilot approaching an aerodrome to land has indicated beneath him the existing outlines of the area within which it is safe for him to land and manœuvre his machine when on the ground ; this information has proved of great value in assisting pilots to avoid underestimating or over-shooting when making night landings.

(*e*) **Wind Indicating Lights.**

The Croydon aerodrome has been equipped with apparatus to conform to the system prescribed in the International Air Convention, Annex D, paragraphs 44 and 46.

Twenty-four 100 c.p. lights, covered by suitable glass lenses, are sunk flush with the ground and arranged so as to show a double " L " formation with a neutral zone between the " L's." These lights are switch-controlled from the aerodrome control office and permit of eight different wind directions being indicated. The system is entirely satisfactory in operation ; running and maintenance costs are very low, but it is costly to instal. Furthermore, the present control exercised over the arrival and departure of aircraft, which is itself the result of five years' practical experience, eliminates the necessity for a double " L." There are other objections to this double " L " scheme which need no explanation, and it is now being abandoned, and the Convention amended accordingly. Final agreement has not yet been reached regarding the system which will replace the double " L," but it is probable that either three lights arranged in an isosceles triangle will be substituted for the " L," or that an illuminated wind " T " will be employed. This will effect a considerable economy in installation cost, and will also allow full advantage to be taken of whatever good landing area may be available—an important point on the majority of aerodromes.

In the case of aerodromes at which night flying is a regular feature, it will undoubtedly be found advisable to employ electricity as an illuminant for whatever system is finally specified in the Convention, but at those aerodromes at which night flying is infrequent it should be possible to meet the requirements of the Convention by the use of " Money " flares.

The indication of wind direction at emergency landing grounds, at which neither personnel nor electric current are available, has been carried out at Penshurst on the Croydon–Lympne route, by the installation of an automatic illuminated " T." This apparatus consists of a whitened vane-structure forming a horizontal capital " T," with the long arm 20 feet in length, and kept head to wind by suitable vertical fins. Light beams of 27,000 c.p. illuminate the arms from sunset to sunrise, the illuminant being dissolved acetylene gas. The whole apparatus is automatic and operates without attention of any kind for periods of six consecutive months, and has been found an entirely satisfactory method of attaining the object in view.

(*f*) **Fog Lighting.**

The problem of obtaining adequate illumination during fog and mist is the subject of constant investigation and experiment ; up to the present there has not been produced any apparatus which can definitely be regarded as the solution of the fog problem, but recent tests carried out by balloon and aeroplane during fog and mist indicate that the Neon lighting system is of very considerable value in assisting aircraft to locate an aerodrome during fog.

Investigations into the methods of employing the Neon system in conjunction with a form of leader cable apparatus are being pursued, and it is hoped to find a method by which it will be possible to reach, in the operation of civil air transport, a regularity which is at present denied to surface transport during really thick fogs, but this end of course will not be attained without much careful experiment and research.

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(*g*) **Cost of Air Lights.**

Name and Type.	First Cost.	Annual Maintenance.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Tatsfield route light— 53,000 c.p. 3rd Order, alternating group flashing light ..	11,285 0 0	168 0 6
Littlestone location light— 13,500 c.p. 5th Order, group flashing light	2,414 0 0	169 12 6
Littlestone automatic, illuminated wind indicator— 27,000 c.p. flashing light	1,820 0 0	118 4 0
Boundary marking light— Red flashing light	155 0 0	14 8 11
Croydon Neon beacon— Flashing, red fog—penetrating light	600 0 0	*

* No figure yet available. A maintenance contract has been placed on the basis of cost of materials and labour plus 10 per cent. profit.

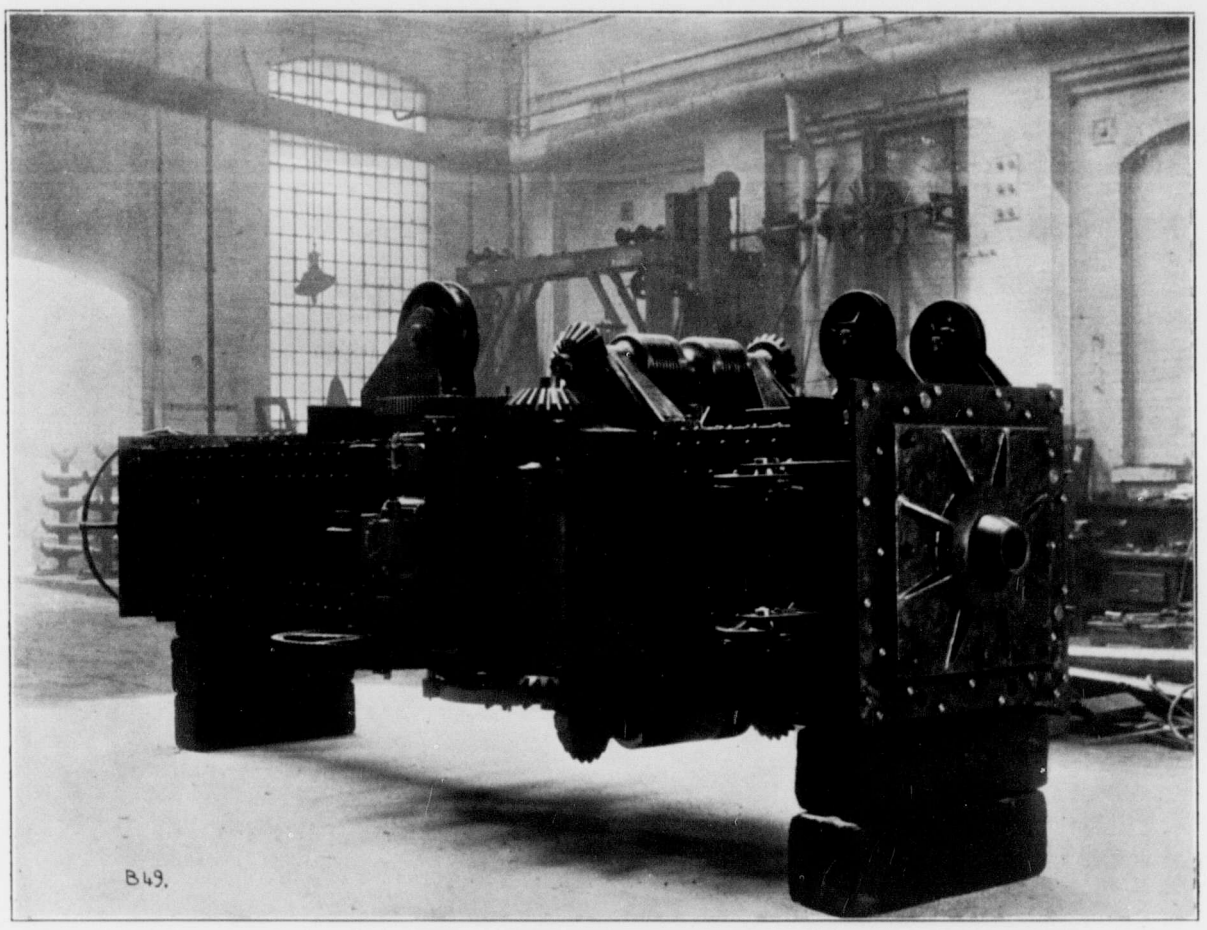
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The Intermediate Refuelling Base in course of construction at Ismailia, Egypt.



The Outer Sleeve of the Receiving Arm which is mounted at the top of the new mooring masts.

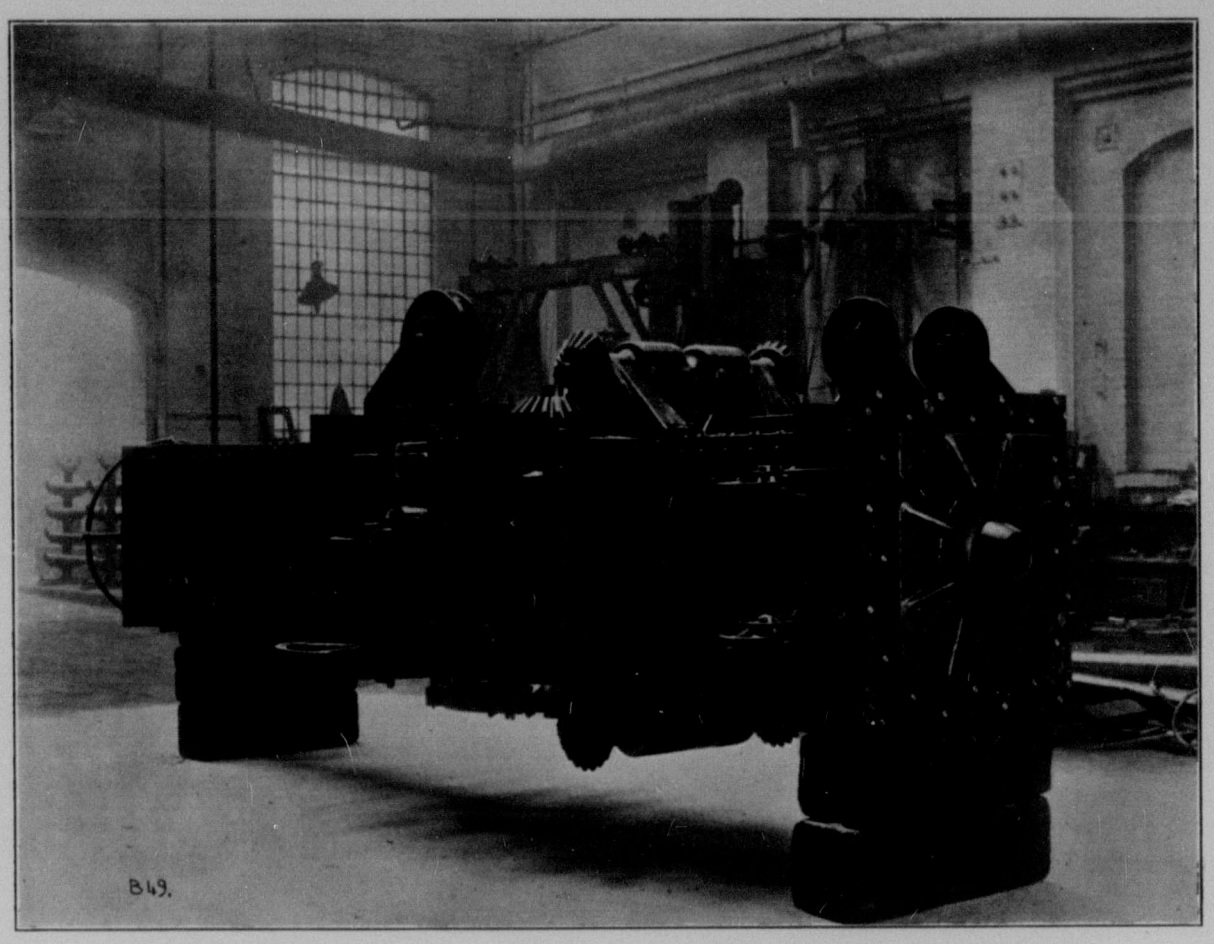
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APPENDIX E.

Notes on the Organisation of Airship Services.

I.—THE SITING AND LAY-OUT OF AN AIRSHIP BASE.

Selection of Site.

Whilst the linking up of commercial centres is the main object of high speed airship transport, there are certain operational factors which have to be borne in mind in selecting the precise site for an airship base and settling the type of base to be erected. A commercial airship will normally fly at a height above the ground of about 2,500–3,500 feet. While there is no difficulty in flying higher than this, every 1,000 feet of height means a loss of about one-thirtieth of the total lift, and consequently diminishes the airship's carrying capacity. It follows from this that a site for an airship base should be selected as nearly as possible at sea level, since, if an airship base is situated, say, 2,000 feet above sea level, the airship on leaving would have less useful lift for freight. For the same reason the base should, if possible, not be sited so as to necessitate flying over mountain ranges at the outset or in the early part of the journey, since the ascent can only be made by reducing the load of the airship which is uneconomic from the operating point of view. On the other hand when an airship has been flying for some time and has thus used up a certain weight of fuel, an increase of height can be gained without the same loss of useful load. Due regard should also be paid to weather conditions, especially in choosing a site for a shed base with docking facilities, where an airship may have to be man-handled into the shed. They are not of so great consequence for an intermediate base with mooring mast only, as the airship would always be flown from the mast and not handled on the ground. At the same time local meteorological conditions might affect regularity of service ; thus a locality in which thunderstorms are prevalent would generally be unsuitable.

It was on account of climatic conditions that the shed base for India was sited at Karachi, leaving the question of bases at Bombay and Calcutta to be dealt with later.

In the immediate vicinity of a base there should be no obstruction such as hills, high buildings, etc., and any high masts for wireless telegraphy or meteorological purposes should be located as far as possible from the mast and shed, so as not to be a source of danger to an airship landing or leaving.

Local communications should be good to permit of passengers and freight being dealt with expeditiously. A main railway line should be in the vicinity. Feeder services by aeroplane should also be kept in view.

Area for Shed and Mooring Mast Base.

A minimum area of about 600 acres is necessary, but a larger area (up to 1,000 acres) is preferable in order to provide for future extensions, in particular additional mooring masts.

Area for Mooring Mast Base.

A clear space of about 800 yards square (about 130 acres) will suffice for a base with one mast provided there are no buildings of a greater height than 40 feet within 300 yards of the aerodrome. As the space required for landing operations at the mast is only about 100 acres, it is possible to use the remainder for grazing or other purposes. All electric cables in the vicinity of a base should be laid underground.

Drainage and Foundations.

The land should be well drained and not subject to floods. In order to avoid expensive foundations the soil should be suitable for loads of not less than 2 tons per square foot.

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Water Supply.

There should be a plentiful supply of fresh water for ballast and general purposes. Salt water will not serve, owing to its corrosive action on aluminium alloys. The total amount of water required when a base is fully functioning is one of the questions on which the experimental flights will throw light. As an approximate estimate, the following figures may be given :—

For ballast for each airship at the mast	50,000 gallons per day.
For general purposes	20,000 ,, ,,
For hydrogen, assuming a production of 1,000,000 cubic feet per week—	
by water gas process *or*	20,000 ,, ,,
by electrolytic process	3-5,000 ,, ,,
Average weekly total, say	700,000 gallons.

If a temporary hydrogen plant (silicol) is erected, an additional 200,000 gallons per week would be required.

To meet any emergency a 100,000 gallon reservoir will be necessary, at most sites.

Shed.

The dimensions laid down for the shed in course of erection at Karachi are :—

Length	850 feet.
Width	180 feet.
Height	170 feet.

The shed is constructed to stand a wind pressure :—

(*a*) 35 lbs. per square foot horizontally on roof.
(*b*) 30 lbs. per square foot horizontally on sides or ends.
(*c*) 30 lbs. per square foot horizontally on main sliding doors with doors open or shut.

A shed of the above dimensions will probably meet future requirements for the next 10–15 years, but in any case as sufficient height has been allowed to meet further developments in the design of airships, the question of extension is not a serious matter.

Good ventilation is necessary to allow easy escape of hydrogen, and all electric fittings should be gas tight to prevent explosions.

As contracts for such buildings are of considerable magnitude, the design and execution should be supervised by an Engineer of repute, and only Contractors experienced in this work or used to erecting similar large engineering structures should be invited to tender.

Mooring Mast.

The existing type of mast consists of a steel structure 200 feet high, fitted with a receiving arm at the top to which the airship is anchored. The structure is built to withstand the pull of the airship up to 30 tons in any direction, in addition to a wind force on the structure of 30 lbs. per square foot.

A lift is provided to convey passengers up and down the mast. Mains for hydrogen, water and fuel run up the mast for the replenishment of the ship, and are joined to similar mains in the ship by flexible connections.

The mast should be sited in such a position that an airship arriving or departing does not have to fly over the shed or other high buildings, and in any case these should be at least 800 to 1,000 yards away.

Anchor Points.

Twenty-four snatch block anchor points should be provided to take the sideguys when the airship is landing to the mast. These should be spaced in a circle round the mast at a radius of 750 feet from it, and should be designed to take a maximum pull of 25 tons in any direction. They should be placed flush with the ground to avoid obstruction.

Machinery.

Winches and Boilers.—The machinery for hauling in the airship to the mast, in the existing masts, consists of three steam winches, capable of a 15-ton pull at a speed of 50 feet per minute, and steam is raised by means of oil-fired water tube

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boilers. The winches are operated by remote controls from the passenger platform at the top of the mast, but duplicate controls are also fitted on the winches for use in emergency.

Pumps.—The pumps for fuel and water should have a capacity of 2,500 gallons per hour each, against a head of 400 feet. It is essential that the water pumps should be in duplicate. All machinery is housed in a building at the foot of the mast.

Hydrogen Plant.

The type of hydrogen plant to be provided will vary according to locality and requirements.

There are a number of processes used in connection with hydrogen production, but only three of these have been used to any extent in this country in making hydrogen for aeronautical purposes, viz., iron contact or water gas process, electrolytic process, silicol process.

The latter would not normally be used at permanent bases on account of its high cost of production, but is useful as a temporary arrangement when a large output of gas is required intermittently at low capital cost. An output of 1,000,000 cubic feet per 24 hours can be obtained from a plant costing £20,000 to £25,000. Plants of the iron contact and electrolytic types cost about £80,000, including cost of storage holders of 1,000,000 cubic feet capacity (about £30,000), which are necessary on account of slow rate of production. These figures are for plants capable of producing about 1,000,000 cubic feet per week, which is the amount of gas which should be available at any one time, on a route operated by airships of 5,000,000 cubic feet capacity.

In both the iron contact and electrolytic processes work has to be continuous, and shifts are necessary. The selection of one or the other will depend largely on whether cheap coke or cheap electricity is available.

Power and Light.

If local current is not available, a power plant of 100 kilowatts will probably be required, preferably two 50 kilowatt sets, and two 10 kilowatt sets for light loads such as lighting, and wireless sets, for use when the larger plant is not running. An additional 100 kilowatt set might be needed for a permanent station in regular operation.

Fuel Storage.

A minimum supply of 10,000 gallons of fuel should be available for refuelling airships.

Personnel.

For the experimental flights of R.100 and R.101 it is estimated that the ground staff at the shed base at Karachi will be about 150, of whom 100 will probably be natives ; at the mooring mast base at Ismailia the total may be 100, of whom about 70 may be natives. These figures will be checked and possibly revised as the result of the experimental flights.

Meteorological and Wireless Telegraphy Arrangements.

A local meteorological section is necessary at each airship base to deal with local conditions and to receive reports from other stations, and transmit them to airships in flight. Too much importance cannot be placed on this organisation, as not only is it an aid to safe navigation, but it will also enable an airship to take the most favourable route, and thus facilitate the economical running of an airship line. The main function of Wireless Telegraphy at an airship base will be the transmission of the meteorological data, and the carrying out of direction finding work, as an aid to the usual navigation methods. A local Wireless Telegraphy set should also be available to relay messages through the nearest high-power station. The receiving station and meteorological office should be housed as far as possible in the same building or in the immediate vicinity of each other.

Capital Cost of Bases.

It is very difficult to give a figure for the cost of bases when a regular service is in operation, as so much will depend on the scale and type of accommodation provided for dealing with passengers, mails and freight. The cost of erection will also

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vary in different dominions and localities. The following figures, which are based on the cost of the works carried out for the Air Ministry for the purpose of the experimental flights, may serve as a guide to the scale of expenditure involved. Permanent stations on a regularly operated route would probably cost £80,000–£100,000 more to build and equip.

	Mast Base. Demonstration or Experimental Flights.	*Shed and Mast Base. Demonstration or Experimental Flights.*
	£	£
Shed, 850 feet by 170 feet by 180 feet	—	200,000
Mooring mast, 200 feet, including machinery, fuel storage, hydrogen, water and fuel mains	50,000	50,000
Hydrogen plant, with 500,000 cubic feet gasometer	30,000	30,000
Roads, water mains, electric cable ..	20,000	30,000
Buildings and accommodation for personnel	4,000	14,000
Power house and generating plant ..	6,000	6,000
Total, exclusive of cost of land ..	£110,000	£330,000

II.—NOTES OF A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF MAIN AIRSHIP ROUTES.

1. This note sets out the result of a brief preliminary examination of readily available meteorological information with a view to delimiting the areas in which the following main airship routes, if developed with the bases mentioned or with bases similarly distributed, would probably lie :—

Route.	*Bases.*
(*a*) England–Egypt–India	Ismailia (Egypt) Karachi.
(*b*) England–Egypt–S. Africa	Ismailia, Mombasa, Durban.
(*c*) England–S. Africa via West Coast ..	Bathurst, Cape Town.
(*d*) England–Australia via India ..	As in (*a*) together with Colombo, Perth, Melbourne.
(*e*) England–Australia via S. Africa ..	As in (*b*) or (*c*) together with Perth, Melbourne.
(*f*) England–Canada	Ottawa.

2. The maximum flying height is taken as 6,000 feet above mean sea level so that in addition to meteorological factors the topography of the land areas has to be taken into account.

The meteorological factors to be considered in such a preliminary examination as this are :—

(i) The prevailing winds and their constancy.

(ii) Areas particularly subject to strong vertical atmospheric currents such as pronounced thunderstorm areas.

(iii) Regions subject to heavy rains or to considerable snowfall.

(iv) Regions subject to strong vertical temperature gradients such as desert areas in the daytime.

(v) Areas subject to intense disturbances of the tropical cyclone or tornado type.

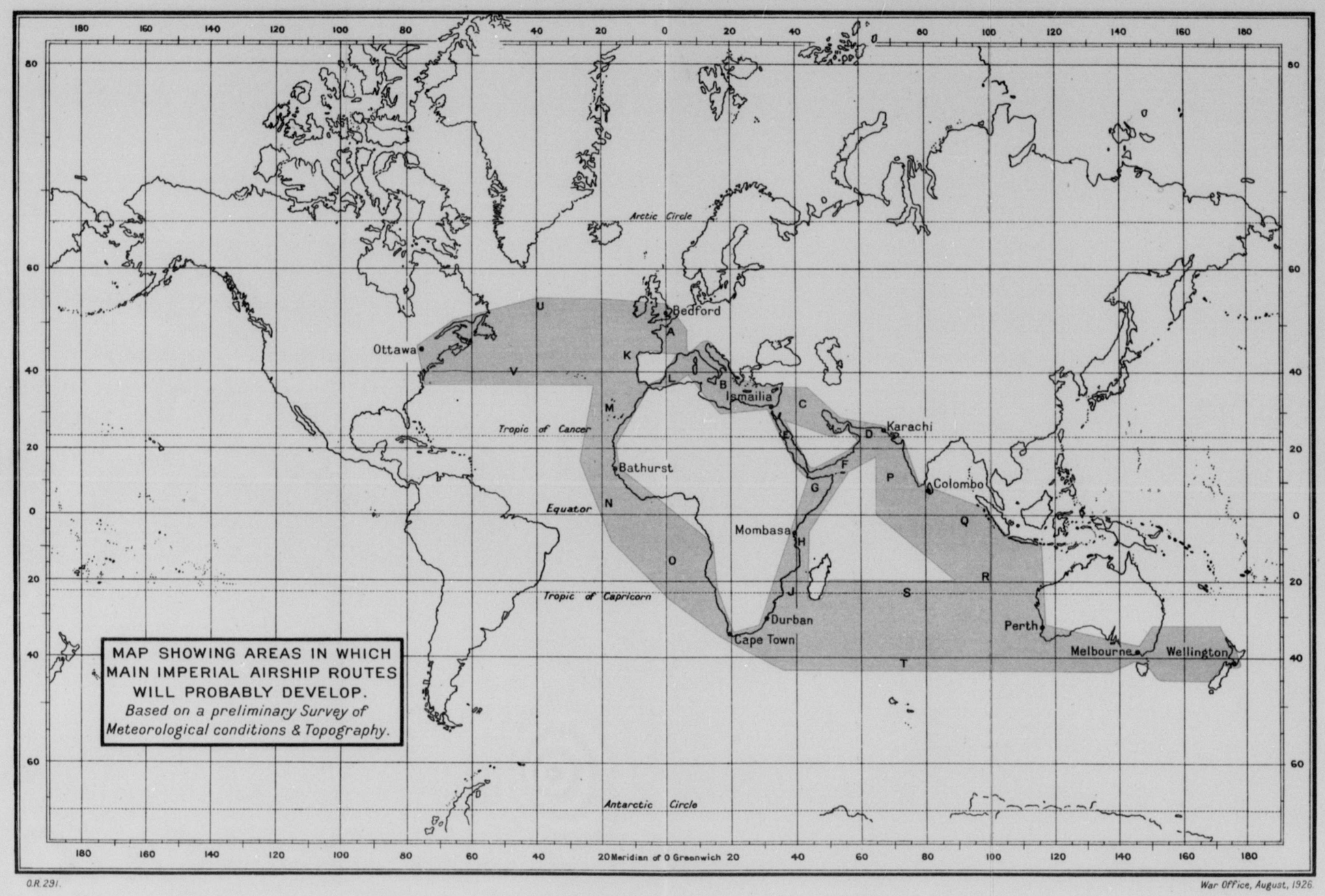
3. The coloured portion of the accompanying map shows the areas chosen from the above considerations, within which it is probable that the best main Imperial Airship routes could be developed. There are of course no large areas free from the undesirable phenomena mentioned above, but the areas chosen are those which probably offer the best possibilities for long distance airship flying.

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IMPERIAL AIRSHIP ROUTES



MAP SHOWING AREAS IN WHICH MAIN IMPERIAL AIRSHIP ROUTES WILL PROBABLY DEVELOP.
Based on a preliminary Survey of Meteorological conditions & Topography.

O.R.291.

War Office, August, 1926.

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4. Before the development of actual routes for regular services, the next step is to subject each of the chosen areas to an intensive meteorological investigation, each route needing a period of about two years work, for the purpose of :—

(*a*) Choosing the best *normal* routes from base to base. These may be different for different months and may be different in the two directions.

(*b*) Exhibiting the various types of conditions which may be met in individual flights.

(*c*) Developing a meteorological and communications organisation for reporting actual conditions along the routes and for forecasting changes, so that the *normal* route, which would be followed in the absence of any reason to the contrary, might be varied on any particular occasion if necessary for safe or economical flying.

(*d*) Examining in detail the conditions in the vicinity of airship bases.

Such an investigation involves the examination and co-ordination of all relevant data and information, and the supplementing of those by special observations where necessary.

The intensive investigation of the England–Egypt–India route is now in progress, and a later section sets out details of what is involved in such a study of any route. In the next paragraph, which briefly describes the generalised routes indicated on the accompanying map, reference will therefore be confined to one or two points special to each route, requiring particular attention.

5. (*a*) **England–Egypt–India.**

The areas in which the *first part* of this route, viz., England–Egypt, are likely to develop are indicated on the map by the letters A, B, i.e., France and the Mediterranean. Apart from any political reasons which there may be, routes via Central Europe and the Balkans, although possibly shorter in actual distance, are not considered practicable, on account of the distribution of high land, summer thunderstorms and winter snowfall, as compared with the areas chosen.

The distribution of summer thunderstorms over France will play a large part in deciding the route across the South of France, whether by the Rhone Valley or over the Toulouse area.

The wind distribution over France and Southern England will play an important rôle, too, in the choice of routes. For example, with light winds over the south of France and stronger south-westerly winds over northern France and southern England it would be economical for an airship to follow a route from the south of France to England via the *west* coast of France to secure the assistance of the wind during the latter stages of the passage.

The " Mistral " or strong northerly winds which often occur on the south coast of France need special investigation, both as to horizontal and vertical extent, and as to persistence, as all possible routes here pass through a relatively narrow neck in which the " Mistral " occurs.

In the Mediterranean area B, there is a marked contrast of weather conditions between the south and north of the area, especially in winter and this merits special attention.

The *second part* of the England–India route is calling for the examination of alternative areas, viz. : via the Persian Gulf, lettered C, D, or via the Red Sea, lettered E, F, these alternatives being suggested by the prevailing winds at different seasons, e.g., during the period of the south-west monsoon a following wind should be obtained along the whole route from Egypt to India via Aden, N.W. winds in the Red Sea, area E, and S.W. in the Arabian Sea, area F.

Area C may have to be crossed in the night during the hot weather on account of strong vertical temperature gradients. This is possible in the direction Egypt–India but the prevailing north-westerly winds need close examination as to variability of strength, horizontally, vertically and in time, as affecting the passage in the other direction.

Areas F and D are affected by Arabian Sea cyclones in the seasons April to June and October to November.

At the airship bases two important investigations in connection with airship mooring are (*a*) the rate of change of wind speed and direction in gusts and the horizontal extent of these, which is being treated experimentally at the Cardington

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base in England ; (*b*) the vertical temperature gradient in the first 250 feet above the surface and its diurnal variation, which is important at bases in *hot* climates such as those of Ismailia and Karachi.

The above are given as examples of special points needing attention. The systematic meteorological investigation of this route is proceeding in the manner indicated in a later section.

(*b*) **England–Egypt–South Africa.**

The *first part* lies in the areas A, B, already referred to in connection with the England–Egypt–India route.

The *second part* from Egypt to South Africa would probably develop in the area E, G, H, J. A direct inland route from Lower Egypt to South Africa compares unfavourably as regards thunderstorms, tropical rains and probably as regards vertical temperature gradients while the distribution of high land is an additional factor.

Section G may have to be crossed by night in view of strong vertical temperature gradients during the day. The route crosses the " Doldrum " belt H, with its tropical rains and thunderstorms, as any route from northern to southern hemisphere must, but on this coast of Africa this belt is very much reduced in intensity during the period of the south-west monsoon in India.

The need for crossing the tropical rain belt would call for special examination of the distribution of rain and thunder from day to day, its variability, diurnal variation over the land, relative width of the belt over land and sea, etc.

In area G strong persistent head winds would be met on a southward passage during the south-west monsoon period. Investigations would be needed as to whether a route over the inland part of the area G would be an advantage when southward bound at this time, or whether a variation of flying height within the possible range of 6,000 feet would serve. A special investigation by pilot balloon ascents would be called for.

The hurricanes of the South Indian Ocean normally remain east of Madagascar, and do not as a rule affect area J, but the bad reputation this area has with seamen as regards squally weather calls for special examination from the airship point of view.

The rate of rainfall at Mombasa during tropical rains may have an important bearing on the mooring of airships there and would require attention.

(*c*) **England–South Africa, via West Coast.**

The route would be either via K, M, N, O, or A, L, M, N, O, the second being employed, for example, on a southward passage when strong south-westerlies were blowing over southern England and the Bay region to Portugal.

The use of the west coast route to South Africa turns largely on the variation of wind with height in the north-east trade wind, region M, and the south-east trade wind, region O. Available records suggest that the trade winds in both these areas, which lie on the eastern side of the Atlantic Ocean, are often shallow, calms or an anti-trade being encountered within the first 6,000 feet. During a passage in either direction a low altitude would be chosen at first and a higher altitude later, when the " Doldrum " belt N, had been crossed. This would be convenient, for it is during the latter part of a long voyage that it is most practicable to increase altitude. Further observations of upper wind in areas M and O would be required, by means of pilot balloon ascents from ships and island stations.

The " Doldrum " belt is crossed in the region N, and as in the case of the Indian Ocean, conditions here as to showers, thunderstorms and squalls need special attention.

The area chosen avoids the part of the Gulf of Guinea where thunderstorms and tornadoes are particularly prevalent.

(*d*) **England–Australia, via India.**

The *first part* from England to India would be as already mentioned.

The *second part* from India to Australia would probably develop in the area P, Q, R, thus avoiding the Java area, which is the worst known region in the world for thunderstorms, and the Bay of Bengal, where cyclones are more frequent than in the Arabian Sea.

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The prevailing winds are an important factor in this case. For example, during the south-west monsoon period a following wind would be obtained all the way from Perth to Karachi by following the western margin of the area, the south-east trade serving first and then the south-west monsoon.

In the reverse direction the south-east trade would be encountered as a head wind at all seasons, especially the south-west monsoon period. A special investigation would be called for in this connection to determine whether the south-east trade is shallow in area R. More favourable conditions from the wind point of view would probably be obtained by keeping to the east side of the area in the direction India–Australia, but investigation would be needed to see how near the Java thunderstorm maximum it would be practicable to go in area Q.

Area P in common with D and F, is subject to tropical cyclones in the seasons April to June, and October to November.

Area R is subject to tropical cyclones in the period December to April.

(*e*) **England–Australia, via South Africa.**

The *first part* would be as in (*b*) or (*c*) above.

The *second part*, South Africa to Australia, would lie in the area S, T.

The route from South Africa towards Australia would lie in the southern area T, where westerly winds prevail, and the route in the other direction would lie in the northern area S, where advantage would be taken of the south-east trades. There would be a small north and south seasonal displacement of the routes, within the area S, T.

Special points for consideration are (*a*) the occurrence of hurricanes in area S, in the period November to May; (*b*) to what extent line squalls or snow occur in area T, which lies on the northern margin of the belt in which the depressions of the southern temperate zone move from west to east.

(*f*) **England–Canada.**

This route would probably develop in the area U, V, the passage from England to Canada tending to be made in the southern part, and the passage in the other direction more nearly along the great circle track which bounds the area on the north.

The whole area is subject to the depressions of the northern temperate regions, and a special subject for attention would be the occurrence and intensity of line squalls, thunderstorms and snowfall over the sea.

III.—METEOROLOGICAL ORGANISATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION OF AIRSHIP SERVICES.

1. General Procedure.

1. The meteorological work in connection with airship development and operation falls into two sections :—

(*a*) Investigational work.

(*b*) Provision of a meteorological reporting and forecasting service in conjunction with the communications organisation.

2. The purpose of the investigational work is to provide essential information in connection with—

(*a*) The development of airship design.

(*b*) The development of airship mooring.

(*c*) The choice of airship bases.

(*d*) The choice of " normal " airship routes.

(*e*) The development of the meteorological reporting and forecasting service.

3. The purpose of the meteorological reporting and forecasting service is to provide, on the occasion of actual flights, immediate information as to the existing meteorological conditions over the area between the bases, and at the bases, together with forecasts of changes.

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4. The information provided by the meteorological organisation serves two distinct purposes by assisting in securing—

(*a*) Economical flying.

(*b*) Safe flying.

5. A division of the Meteorological Office, Air Ministry, was created early in 1925, to deal specially with the projected England–Egypt–India airship service, and the experience gained forms the basis of this memorandum.

6. Having decided the points between which it is desired to develop an airship service, the first step is to make a preliminary examination of meteorological conditions on the basis of existing knowledge and, considering this, together with topography, since 6,000 feet above mean sea level may be taken as the maximum flying height, to delimit *areas* within which the most practicable routes from base to base would probably develop.

In the case of the England–Egypt–India service, this was done when meteorological work commenced. It has now been extended to Australia and New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. Further details are given in the preceding section.

7. The next step is to undertake an intensive and systematic meteorological investigation of the chosen areas (and such other areas as the development of methods of forecasting for the airship routes may demand). This meteorological investigational work is considered in greater detail below, where illustrations are given from the work already carried out in connection with the England–Egypt–India route.

8. The systematic meteorological investigation having reached a sufficiently advanced stage, the choice of " normal " routes in each direction for each month of the year may be made, avoiding as far as possible regions where undesirable phenomena, such as thunderstorms, have a maximum frequency and selecting as far as possible regions (or heights) where favourable winds predominate.

9. It is an important principle that these " normal " routes are not necessarily routes which will *always* be followed. In the absence of any reason to the contrary the " normal " route would hold, but it is to be expected that alternative routes on either side will be followed from time to time when the meteorological reports indicate that it would be in the interests of economy or safety to do so.

10. A two years' systematic study of the area in which each main airship service is to be developed should result in the collection of sufficient information for the preparation of a first edition of a handbook and a meteorological atlas for each service, providing for the upper air descriptive matter and charts, such as the mariner has for the oceans.

Investigational work would then proceed, having in view the periodic amendment and amplification of these, and by this time the airships themselves would be in a position to assist by the keeping of a systematic log on board.

11. In addition to the systematic meteorological investigations, it is necessary to undertake the development of the required meteorological reporting and forecasting service. The two pieces of work can proceed simultaneously, the results of the former being taken into account in connection with the latter. The reporting and forecasting service is dealt with in more detail below where reference is made to the organisation at present being developed between England and India.

A period of two years' work on these is the minimum required prior to the inauguration of each airship *service*, though circumstances may necessitate a shorter period of preparation for demonstration flights.

2. Meteorological Investigational Work.

1. The first step in the meteorological investigational work is the provision of a suitable working chart, conforming as far as is practicable to the resolution of the International Meteorological Committee, on the subject of the projection and scale of meteorological charts, passed at the meeting in London, 1921.

(The working chart specially prepared for the investigational work for the England–Egypt–India route is an outline map in green on paper 40 inches by 30 inches, shaded to show contours for 200, 1,000, 2,000 and 3,000 metres. The projection is conical orthomorphic with two standard parallels, 50° N., and 20° N., where the scale is $\frac{9}{10}$ of 1 : 10,000,000. The area covered embraces Iceland, Jan Mayn and

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Bear Island in the north, the Azores, Madeira and Canaries in the west, the Sudan, Abyssinia and Ceylon in the south, and Rangoon and the Andaman Islands in the east. This area is considerably greater than that in which the actual routes between England and India are likely to develop (areas A, B, C, D, E, F of accompanying map), the reason being that in studying meteorological conditions in that area with a view to forecasting, it is necessary to consider those outside it, especially to the north, on which they largely depend.)

2. The study divides itself into two sections :—

(*a*) Conditions in the vicinity of airship bases ;

(*b*) Conditions in the areas chosen to contain the airship routes ;

and consists in co-ordinating all available data and information and the supplementing of those by special observations where necessary.

3. In each section of the study it is necessary to consider not only

(*a*) the average conditions for each month of the year, but also

(*b*) the meteorological conditions which may occur on individual occasions and the way in which they change,

the latter being the more important in many ways.

4. The study of the meteorological conditions in the vicinity of airship bases aims at the provision of—

(*a*) An ordinary climatological summary giving the monthly means and extremes of the usual elements and the frequency of occurrence of gales, thunderstorms, etc.

(*b*) Information as to the wind, temperature and humidity régime at the surface and up to a height of about 10,000 feet, particularly diurnal variation.

(*c*) More detailed information as to wind and temperature in the first 250 feet above the surface, which includes the level at which an airship is moored. This is specially important in hot climates.

(It may be mentioned, by way of example that, in connection with the England–Egypt–India service—

(1) A special study of the rate of change of wind in gusts and the horizontal extent of gusts has been initiated at the Cardington Airship base, employing an electrically synchronised network of four self-recording anemometers of pressure-tube type.

(2) The study of the diurnal variation of wind in the upper air at the Ismailia base in Egypt is being made by a special programme of pilot balloon ascents, and a study of the diurnal variation of temperature and humidity in the upper air is proceeding by means of a special programme of observations from aeroplanes with the co-operation of the Royal Air Force.

(3) Details of a suitable installation for giving a continuous record of temperature and temperature gradient from the ground up to a height of 250 feet have been worked out with a view to erection at Ismailia.)

5. The study of conditions in the areas chosen to contain airship routes aims at the provision of—

(*a*) Charts showing the average monthly distribution of the usual meteorological elements, sea-level pressure, temperature, rainfall, etc.

(*b*) Information, as detailed as possible, of the average distribution of thunderstorms in each month.

(*c*) Information as to the occurrence of hail, snow, heavy rain, sand storms, water-spouts or tornadoes, line squalls, tropical revolving storms, etc.

(*d*) Information as to the normal distribution of wind and temperature up to about 10,000 feet ;

and, in addition to the above,

(*e*) Particulars of the types of meteorological conditions which occur on individual days and their day to day changes, necessitating the preparation of a series of daily synoptic charts for the whole route, for a period of at least a year.

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(In the case of the England–Egypt–India service this work is proceeding, the results being represented cartographically, wherever possible, on the charts described in paragraph 1 of this note.

Particular mention may be made of—

(1) the monthly charts of the average frequency of thunderstorms. These are found to exhibit regional variations likely to play a large part in the choice of " normal " routes.

(2) the distribution of upper winds. Observations by pilot balloon are available over a large section of the area, including Egypt and Iraq, and these are being summarised on the plan recommended by the International Commission for Air Navigation, which provides for frequency summaries for the levels 500, 1,000, 2,000, 3,000 m, for each month. The results are being represented by means of " wind roses " on a set of 48 charts (for four levels for twelve months), and these charts are also to show the computed distribution of barometric pressure at the corresponding level. This will provide for the upper air a set of charts analogous to those for the surface, which have long been available to seamen.

(3) the examination of the types of conditions which occur on individual days along the whole stretch from England to India. Various sections are covered by the daily weather charts published by various countries. Utilising these, and supplementing them by data extracted from climatological registers, ships' logs, etc., a set of daily weather charts for a whole year is being constructed on the working charts described in paragraph 1 of this note, and covering the area of those charts. The map on the opposite page shows approximately the distribution of stations readily available. These charts will provide valuable experience before flying commences and will provide the means of studying the various types of conditions, their evolution or persistence, situations in which dangerous or undesirable phenomena occur and the warning obtainable.)

3. Meteorological Reporting and Forecasting Service.

1. The service must be arranged to meet the separate requirements of—

(*a*) Airships moored at a base.

(*b*) Airships in flight.

2. The main requirements of airships moored at a base embrace the provision of—

(*a*) A meteorological register, and continuous records from self-recording instruments of all the usual meteorological elements.

(*b*) Continuous records from special self-recording instruments, of the vertical temperature gradient from the ground up to a height of 250 feet, and also of the wind at a level approximating to that of the top of the mooring mast (200 feet).

(*c*) Routine reports and forecasts of local conditions, normally four times a day.

(*d*) Special warnings at intermediate times when necessary.

(*e*) Charts showing conditions along the routes, for discussion with the airship officers and copies of the latest charts to be handed to the responsible officer when an airship is leaving a base.

The meteorological elements of *special* importance in the present connection are—

Wind.—Strength and direction, gustiness and sudden changes.

Temperature.—Vertical gradient, fluctuations, and sudden changes.

Precipitation.—Rain, hail or snow. Rate of fall.

3. The main requirements of airships in flight embrace the provision by wireless of—

(*a*) Data for the construction of weather charts on board the airship.

(*b*) Routine forecasts, for use in conjunction with these charts.

(*c*) Special warnings at intermediate times when necessary.

The meteorological conditions of *special* importance in this connection are—

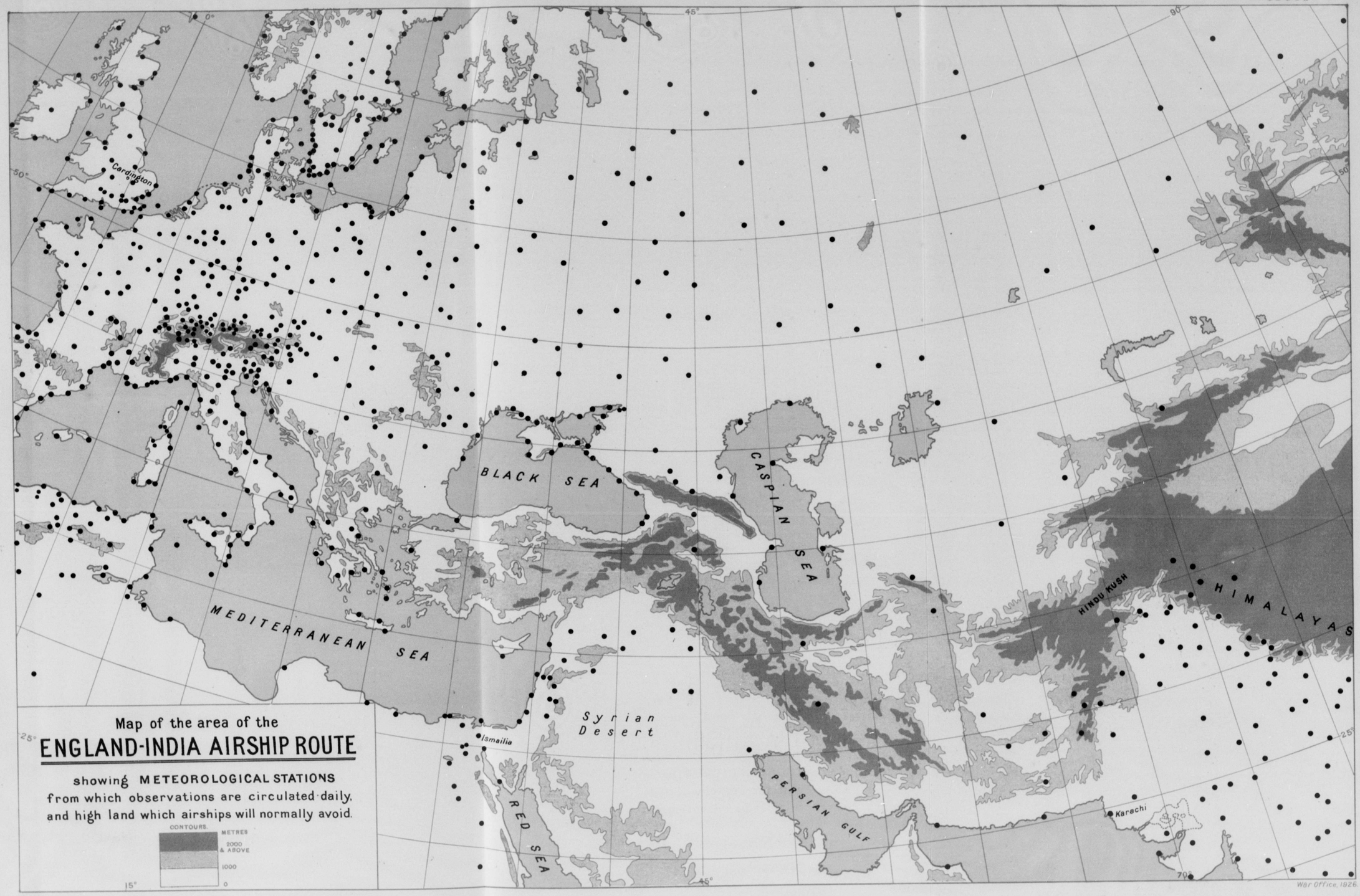
Wind.—The wind distribution at various heights up to 6,000 feet.

Vertical atmospheric currents.—Indication of areas where they are likely to be pronounced.

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Map of the area of the

ENGLAND-INDIA AIRSHIP ROUTE

showing METEOROLOGICAL STATIONS
from which observations are circulated daily,
and high land which airships will normally avoid.

CONTOURS. METRES
2000 & ABOVE
1000
0

O.R. 300

War Office, 1926.

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Temperature.—Vertical Gradient up to 6,000 feet, especially levels of stable layers or " inversions."

Thunderstorms or squalls.—Particularly as being associated with pronounced vertical atmospheric currents, or with violent whirls such as tornadoes or waterspouts.

4. In order to meet the above requirements it is necessary to have—

(*a*) A network of meteorological observing stations along and for some distance on either side of the stretches containing the airship routes, a selection of the stations being equipped for the measurement of upper winds (and some, when practicable, for upper air temperature and humidity). In addition, a first order, specially equipped station at each airship base.

(*b*) A number of centres for the collection of reports from this network of observing stations normally four times a day, for the co-ordination of the reports and for the distribution of information to the airship staff. These centres consist of the airship bases, with intermediate centres where necessary, with a staff so qualified as to be capable of developing the meteorology of their section on modern lines based on physical principles, and sufficient in number to maintain a continuous 24 hour watch, when an airship is in the air or moored at a mast.

(*c*) A communications organisation for—

(1) the transmission of the individual reports to the centres.

(2) the transmission of information between any centre and the airship in the air in the region between that centre and the next.

(3) rapid intercommunication between adjacent centres.

The efficiency of the meteorological service depends largely on that of the communications organisation.

(In the case of the England–Egypt–India service—

(i) the network of observing stations will be composed largely of the existing network of the various countries, the observations at which are broadcast by wireless from the meteorological centres of these countries at fixed hours daily, forming a regular international exchange of information. It remains to establish certain new stations in the eastern half of the route, and to bring this section into the scheme of international broadcasting. Further it will be very necessary to supplement the land network by reports from ships in the Mediterranean, Red Sea, Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, and this is under consideration.

(ii) the proposed forecasting centres are four in number, viz., the three airship bases Cardington (England), Ismailia (Egypt) and Karachi (India), together with an intermediate centre at Malta.

(iii) the proposed communications organisation for the distributive part of the meteorological service involves the use of high power wireless stations associated with each of these four meteorological forecasting centres, together with intermediate wireless stations at Baghdad and Aden.

In addition, there is the organisation required for the collection of data at the forecasting centres from individual stations in its own area, and for the interception of the international broadcasts for other areas).

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APPENDIX F.

SOME SPECIAL USES OF AEROPLANES.

1. Air Survey.

It is doubtful if there is any branch of aviation which holds out a greater prospect of commercial success, with corresponding benefits to the service which it aids, than air survey.

It is hardly necessary to recall that while some of the problems had been studied in connection with ground photography, particularly in mountainous regions, and while attempts had been made to obtain photographs from balloons, air survey had its real birth during the war, when, following the use of air photographs for reconnaissance purposes, they were used for such purposes as the revision of trench maps and the plotting of hostile battery positions. In the brief space of 10 years immense progress has been made in the study of the many mathematical and physical problems involved, and in the design of apparatus, both for photography and for plotting from the photographs.

In the application of air survey in a practical way, no country has gone further than Canada, where it was early recognised that the peculiar conditions of terrain to be dealt with, while opposing great difficulties to the ground surveyor, lent themselves very readily to treatment by air photography. A simple graphical method of plotting was evolved which gave all the accuracy required, and in consequence, a constantly increasing area has been surveyed each year, reaching 40,000 square miles in 1924 and approximately 60,000 square miles in 1925.

While no other country has carried out air survey on this scale, experimental work, as well as actual surveys have been carried out in all the more progressive countries of the world, with the result that many countries have now definitely included air survey in their survey programmes. In Great Britain, which is generally recognised to possess the finest survey in the world, there has been little scope for practical work on a large scale, and activities have mostly centred in the Air Survey Committee, an inter-departmental body, whose function is to study the whole problem, mainly from a military point of view.

The principal difficulty in air survey—that of plotting from the photographs—is introduced by the departure of the camera axis from the vertical, the inequalities of height of the ground surface and to a less extent, the imperfections of the camera, particularly the lens. Were these disturbing factors removed, the air photograph would be the pictorial equivalent of a map of slightly varying scale. The means by which they are corrected and the scale rendered uniform depend on the provision of adequate control points fixed by ground surveyors. Many different methods of carrying out the corrections depending on graphical, mathematical and mechanical means have been devised in this and other countries. Some of the more recent developments in this direction have gone far to remove the difficulty, which once existed, of plotting from an air photograph of hilly country. Not only can the plan be drawn, but contours of considerable accuracy can also be plotted. An excellent idea of the graphical method, as applied to oblique photographs in Canada, can be obtained from the illustration on the opposite page.

British Apparatus.—The most notable development in this country has been the production of the " Eagle " aerial camera, which is the commercial prototype of a camera developed by the Royal Aircraft Establishment; it is now marketed by Vickers, Ltd. This is a film camera taking film spools of 100 exposures, 7 inches by 7 inches, and interchangeable lenses of varying focal length. It is entirely automatic in action, and provision is made for recording on the film certain essential data with regard to time, altitude, etc. It is generally considered that this camera represents a marked improvement on other existing cameras for topographic air survey.

The Air Survey Committee has also been responsible for the development of instruments to assist in plotting, notably the tilt finder, the camera plastica and a photogrammetric plotter, which is now nearing completion.

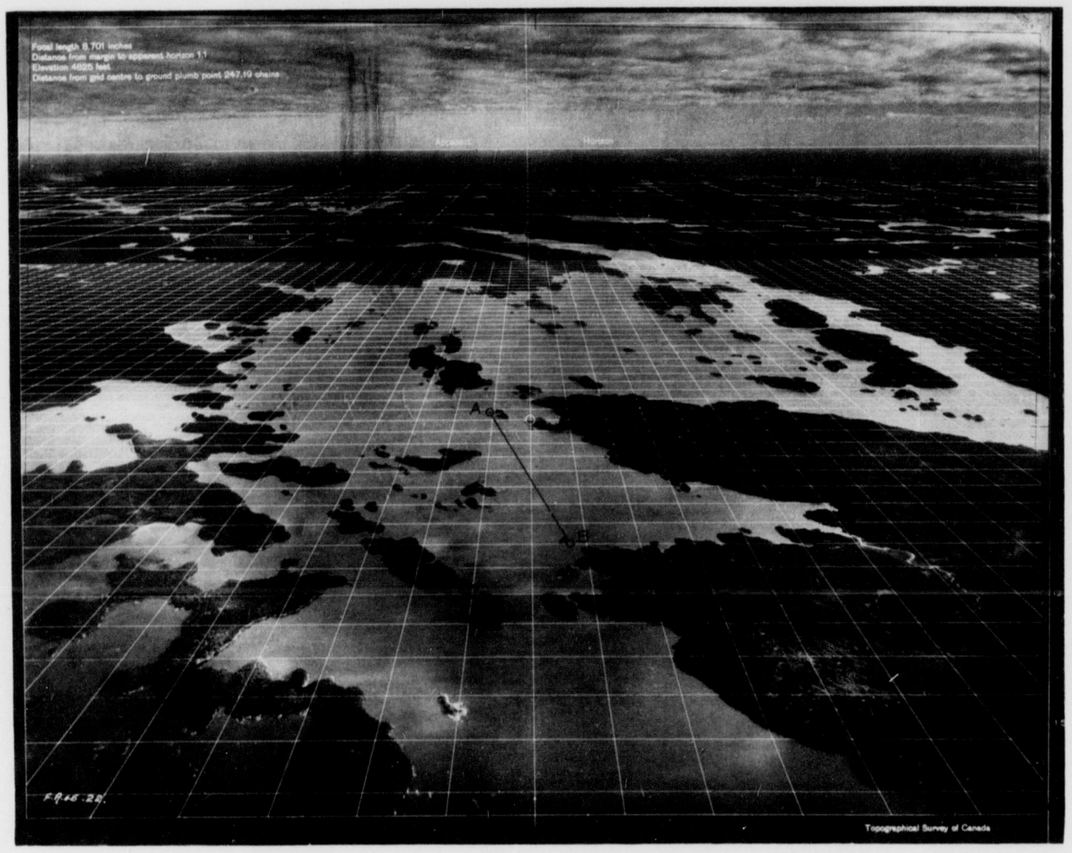
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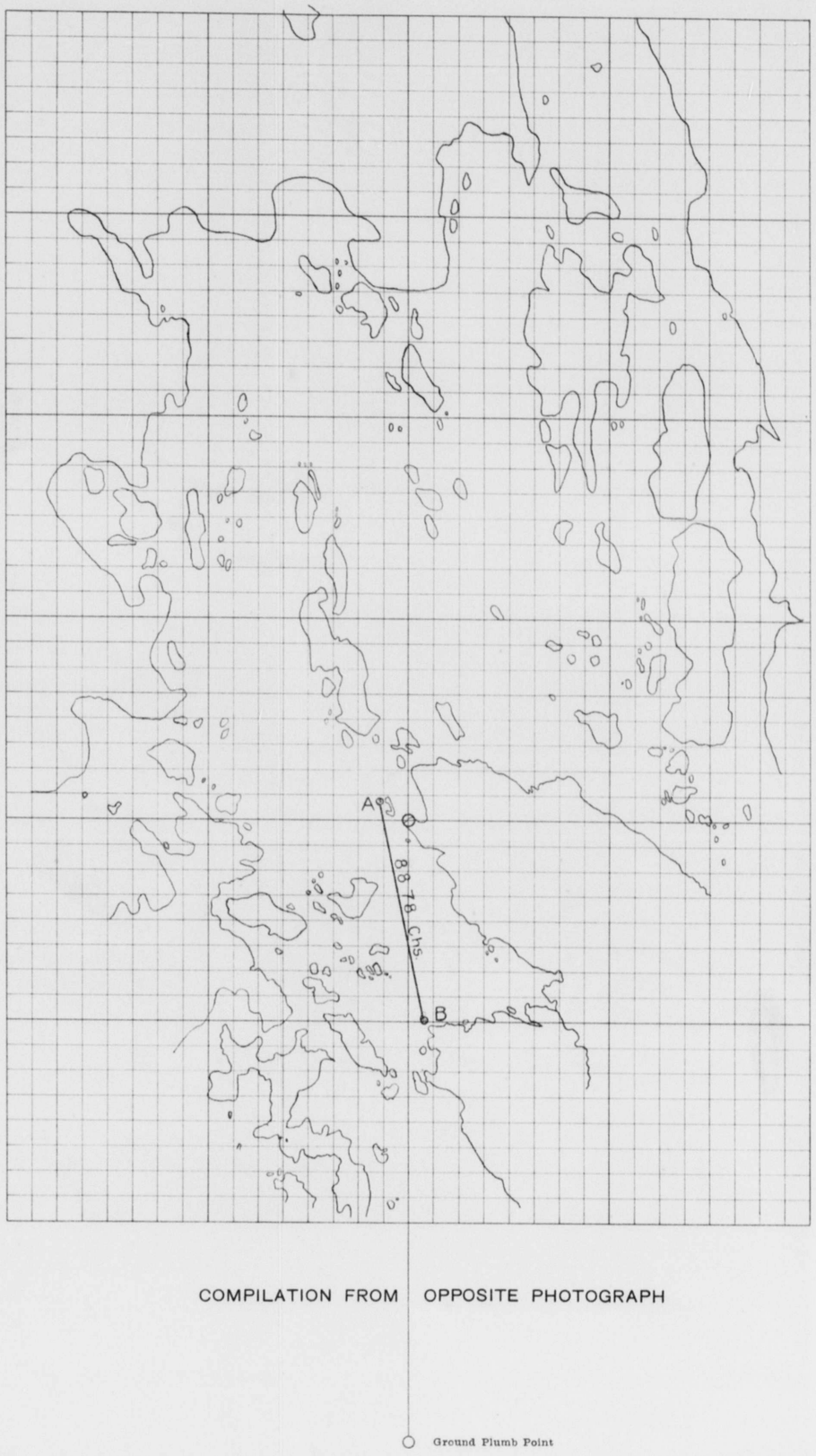
CORRECT GLASS GRID SUPERIMPOSED ON PHOTO

ELEVATION–4825 FEET

MARGINAL DISTANCE–1.1 INCHES



An illustration of the method used in Canada for plotting the detail from an oblique photograph of level country, by means of a perspective grid.



COMPILATION FROM OPPOSITE PHOTOGRAPH

Ground Plumb Point

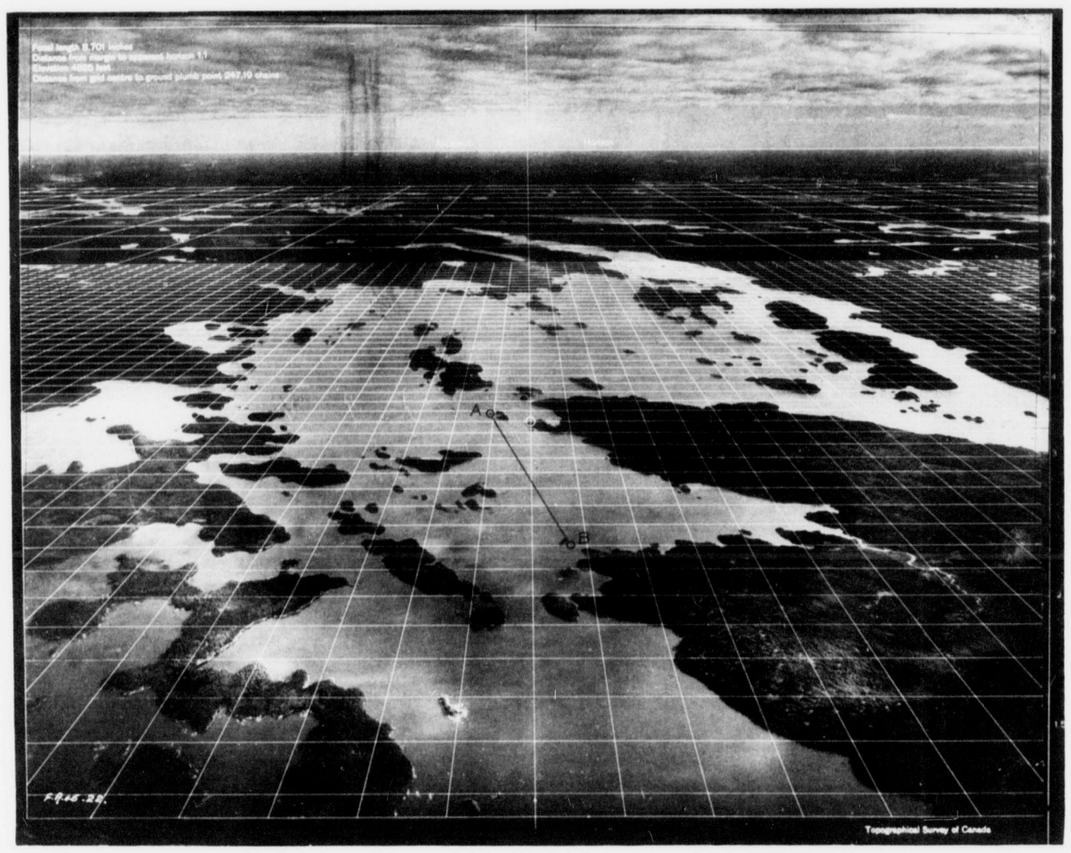
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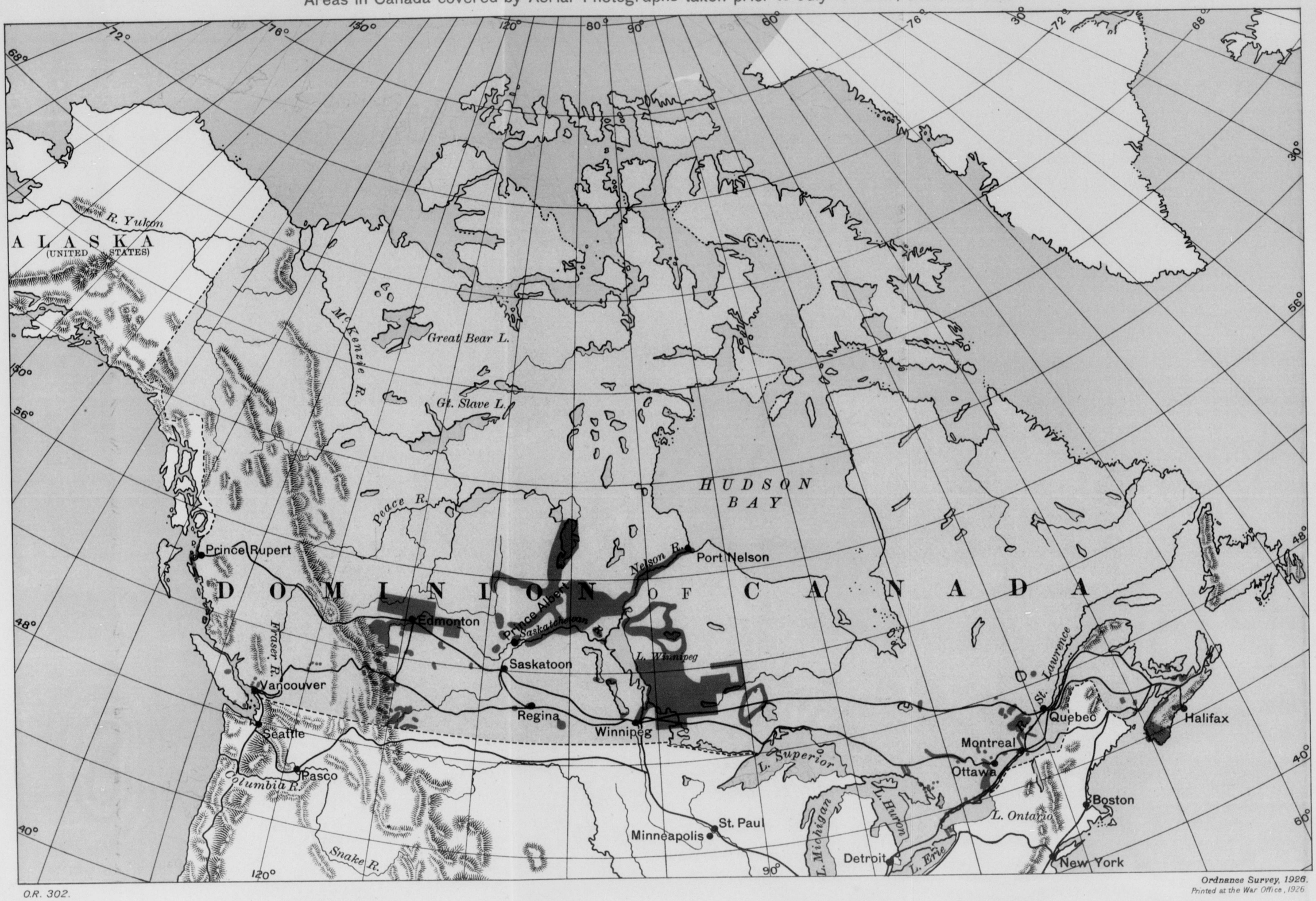
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MAP OF CANADA

Areas in Canada covered by Aerial Photographs taken prior to July 1st 1926, shown in Red.



O.R. 302.

Ordnance Survey, 1926.
Printed at the War Office, 1926

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Instruments have been produced also to assist the pilot and photographer in the more accurate navigation of the aircraft, a point of very considerable importance in relation to costs. The most notable of these sights is the Aldis camera aiming sight.

While, as yet, no aircraft has been produced in this country specially for air survey, there is fairly general agreement among all operators in this and other countries as to the type of machine required. Such machines will go far to reduce costs, and will be produced as soon as the volume of commercial air survey warrants it. It is of interest to note that a special machine is being produced in Canada for this work.

Surveys done, and Costs.—It is not possible to give anything approaching a comprehensive statement of the air survey work which has been carried out. It would in itself be too extensive, and the task is rendered more difficult because the work has been spread over a vast number of minor operations, many of which have been of an experimental nature. For the same reason, it is difficult to give figures which give any indication of commercial costs for future work. Estimates are of little value, since varying conditions greatly affect costs. There are now, however, clear indications from many countries that air survey has reached a practical stage, and on purely economic grounds is taking its place in the normal mapping programmes of the world, particularly under the conditions for which it is specially adapted.

The survey work of Canada has already been referred to. Most of the photographic work has been carried out by the Royal Canadian Air Force. The survey work, the mapping from photographs, and the co-ordination of the demands of all Departments for air photographs is carried out by the Topographical Survey Department. The Province of Ontario established its own civil air service of 15 aircraft in the spring of 1924 for air survey and forest protection work. The Province of Quebec on the other hand has adopted the practice of placing work out to contract. In this Province, the Dominion Aerial Exploration Co., the Fairchild Aerial Surveys (of Canada), Ltd., and Brock & Weymouth all carry out photographic air survey work. While most of the photographic survey work carried out both by the R.C.A.F. and the civil organisations is mapping of undeveloped regions or forests, a considerable amount of map revision of settled districts has been carried out by air photography. The Report on Civil Aviation in Canada for 1924 emphasises that " the survey services are now certain that by the use of aerial photography they can reduce this ground work by more than half ; and, at the same time, can produce maps infinitely more complete and accurate, in much less time, than by the older methods." At the same time, with regard to map revision in settled districts, it is emphasised that a mass of useful information is immediately available from air photographs which " could be obtained by ordinary survey methods only after laborious field work." The opinion is quoted that " there is a remarkable saving of time and labour by having available the air photographs."

Costs of work in Canada are not available, but the Report referred to leaves no doubt that all Departments are satisfied that they obtain economy, not only of time, but of money by the use of aircraft in survey operations. One authority says : " We use the aerial sketch method of survey for economy as well as for speed in obtaining required information. Although the ground work necessary to complete the report on the area surveyed has not yet been done, we are confident that we shall effect a saving of one-third of the cost of our regular 2½ per cent. strip survey, by this method."

Australia, through the medium of the Royal Australian Navy and Royal Australian Air Force, has undertaken a task of great interest in the photographic survey of the Great Barrier Reef.

In the United States, operations of considerable magnitude have been carried out both by the military air service and by commercial organisations. Brock & Weymouth, and Fairchild Aerial Surveys Inc., are the principal commercial air survey operators. In 1925 the United States Geological Survey used air photographs for the mapping of 6,857 square miles, this being 39 per cent. of the entire area mapped by them. The Department's demand for 1926 covers 36,000 square miles. In the " Report of the Committee on Photographic Surveying of the Federal Board of Surveys and Maps " it is stated that " as a result of the recent work of the United States Geological Survey, savings have ranged from 0 to 50 per cent. and there has been a considerable shortening of the time required to accomplish the field work."

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In the United States, as in Canada, air photographs are used in the preparation of plane table field sheets, with results which indicate greater savings than those quoted above. The report quoted states that the greatest saving is shown in map revision by air photography. In some cases practically the whole of the work has been done by air photography, with a saving of as much as 75 per cent. of the cost of ground methods. In all cases the time has been greatly reduced and " in practically every case where aerial photography has been employed, improvement in the quality of the maps has resulted." In conclusion the report states that, in estimating the cost of the standard topographic mapping programme, " If the use of aerial photography had not been contemplated, the estimate of total cost to the Federal Government of the mapping part of the work would have been about $43,000,000 instead of $33,000,000."

In France, a recent law enforced the production of up to date large scale maps of all communes. As a result, the photographic companies in that country have carried out a large amount of air photography for the production of large scale maps of towns and villages, in some cases to a scale as large as 1/1000.

In Great Britain, the only noteworthy operation has been the experiment carried out by the Ordnance Survey Office, in conjunction with the Aircraft Operating Co., Ltd. (a company whose personnel have gained their experience of air survey in British Guiana, the Orinoco Delta and elsewhere) to determine whether air photographs can be usefully employed in the revision of the large scale (1/2500) Ordnance Survey maps. The factor which makes this of note among much larger operations is the high standard of accuracy which is maintained in the Ordnance Survey of Great Britain. While it is not yet possible to state definite results, there are indications that, even in a survey of this order, the use of air photographs simplifies the work and gives all the accuracy required in highly developed areas, where the wealth of detail at the same time ensures adequate control for the rectification of the photograph. Thus, the development which necessitates map revision itself places difficulties in the path of the ground surveyor, while easing the task of survey from the air.

British companies abroad have carried out very successful air survey operations. In 1924 Mr. R. C. Kemp, who afterwards formed The Air Survey Co., Ltd., carried out the photographic work for the survey of 1,350 square miles of forest and creek country in the Irawaddy Delta. The mapping was done by the mosaic method. The cost of the photography was £14 0s. 6d. per square mile, the total cost of the mapping being £18 5s. 0d. per square mile. In spite of the fact that the photographic costs were very high, and do not in any way represent commercial costs of the present time, it was estimated by the surveyors that a ground survey would have cost nearly double this figure and would have taken three to four years as against some six months. The surveyors also expressed the opinion that a ground survey of this area " would compare most unfavourably with air survey as regards accuracy of local detail and would scarcely be superior in accuracy of position."

The Air Survey Co. has since obtained further contracts in the east, notably a contract to map, by photography and sketching, the forest in Tenasserim. A contract for the photography of 1,400 square miles of swamp and jungle in the Miri oilfields of Borneo for the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co. was completed in 1925. The company is now working on a similar area amounting to about 1,750 square miles in the Rejang Delta for the Sarawak Government.

A contract of considerable magnitude has been negotiated by the Aircraft Operating Company for a reconnaissance type of survey in Northern Rhodesia for a firm of mining concessionaires—Minerals Separation, Ltd. The whole area of the concession covers about 52,000 square miles. An expedition will shortly be despatched to Rhodesia to carry out reconnaissance work, using oblique photography, from the results of which areas will be selected for a more detailed survey by vertical photography.

An illustration of a special type of survey in which air photography is peculiarly useful is afforded by the survey of the Nile at high and low water, which was carried out with the aid of the Royal Air Force.

In the following table are given some figures of the cost of air photography for survey purposes. The figures are quoted with some reserve, bearing in mind the

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A vertical photograph taken during the survey of the Irawaddy Delta by the Air Survey Co., Ltd., showing forest and paddy fields.

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incorrect conclusions which may be drawn from a study of figures without the relevant data, which it is not possible to compress into a small space :—

COSTS OF AIR PHOTOGRAPHY.

Date.	Place.	Operator.	Area (sq. miles).	Scale of map.	Cost per sq. mile.	Remarks.
					£ s. d.	
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1925	Quebec	Fairchild Aerial Surveys (Canada) Inc.	400	1/14400	4 3 4 (approx.)	
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Air Survey and the Empire.

In conclusion, it is proposed to examine the case for air survey as a factor in the development of the British Empire, and to state in broad outline the conditions in which it can usefully be employed.

The most obvious demand for air survey is in regions which by reason of the difficulty of access, present insurmountable obstacles to the ground surveyor. Such regions are often of great value either actual or potential on account of their timber products and mineral deposits, as in Canada and the Irawaddy Delta, or their survey is vital to the development of the country for reasons of health or transportation. In such regions, the figures quoted for the Irawaddy Delta are an illustration of how air survey costs become a fraction of those which would be incurred by a ground survey, while time is reduced still more and the result, by reason of the record of timber types and conditions, geological outcrops, etc., is of more value than the most complete ground survey. On the score of accuracy it is of course patent that greater accuracy *can* be obtained by ground than air methods, but the surveyor responsible is in the best position to judge how often, in such conditions, the organisation required to obtain this greater accuracy is necessary.

At the other extreme there is, in the British Empire, much territory of such a nature that it presents no difficulties to the ground surveyor working with his plane table. In such conditions, ground survey costs can be reduced so low that, in the matter of cost alone, air survey cannot at present compete. In this type of country the justification for the use of air survey rests on certain problematical factors. It may be that the urgent need for development calls for the speed which only the air method can give, or it may be that the requirements of an important developing area call for a more detailed survey than the normal topographic map gives, and to supply such detail involves an increase in the cost of the ground method to a point at which the air method competes, not only in speed, but in price. An example of this is the survey of property boundaries. It is for this reason that Canada has undertaken the survey by vertical photography of rapidly developing areas in the prairie provinces. The method is chosen with a full realisation that there is hardly one of the public services which does not find its own peculiar use for the photographic record so obtained. The air photograph if made to do its full work, thus serves the geologist, the forestry officer, the railway engineer, irrigation engineer, draining engineer, the town planning department and the department of agriculture, the archæologist and the medical officer, as well as the surveyor himself, and the hydrographer in coastal regions.

Air survey in this paper is not referred to as a substitute for ground survey, but as a means of reducing the labours of the ground surveyor, extending his field of activity, and providing him in a convenient form with the detail which he would otherwise have to obtain with the plane table or the chain.

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2. Forest Fire Protection.

Experience in Canada has shown that in certain circumstances aircraft patrols are the most efficient method of controlling the fire hazard in forests. The maximum efficiency is reached in areas where population is sparse and ground forces cannot be fully organised. In these localities the higher cost of protection by air is amply justified.

The organisation for fire patrols in Canada takes three forms.

The Royal Canadian Air Force undertakes forest patrol duties in conjunction with other civil duties, on behalf of the Dominion Forest Service, and it has been responsible for most of the pioneer work. In 1925, the R.C.A.F. operated 33 aircraft on civil duties, and out of 2,443 hours flown in 1925, 1,347 hours of flying were done for the Forest Service.

The Province of Ontario operates its own fleet of aircraft as an adjunct to the Provincial Forest Service. Nineteen flying boats were employed in 1925, and they carried out 2,739 hours of flying.

In the Province of Quebec, the necessary air work is carried out by contractors, who are paid a fixed rate per hour flown. Two companies were employed in 1925.

Almost the whole of the Canadian forest area is dotted with small lakes, and the most suitable type of aircraft is therefore the flying boat, or float seaplane. During the period of high fire hazard in the summer months the aircraft are stationed at lakes in the vicinity of the area to be patrolled. In the winter they are withdrawn to bases for overhaul.

The outbreak of a fire is reported by an aircraft, usually by W/T, to the nearest ground station, and forest rangers are despatched immediately to the spot. If the fire is difficult to get at on foot or by canoe, the fire fighting party and their kit are carried by air to the nearest lake affording a landing place.

As to the actual results of aircraft protection, the Province of Ontario have published the following comparison between fires in 1923, before aircraft were in extensive use, and in 1924, when they were operated by the province on a large scale :—

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Over 100 to 500	14·3	5·9
Over 500 to 1,000	5·0	1·4
Over 1,000 to 10,000	8·4	1·5
Over 10,000	2·9	0·6
Total	100·0	100·0

It will be noted that, in 1924, 90 per cent. of the fires did not spread over more than 100 acres, which was largely due to the fact that as soon as a fire was detected men were placed in a position to control it immediately.

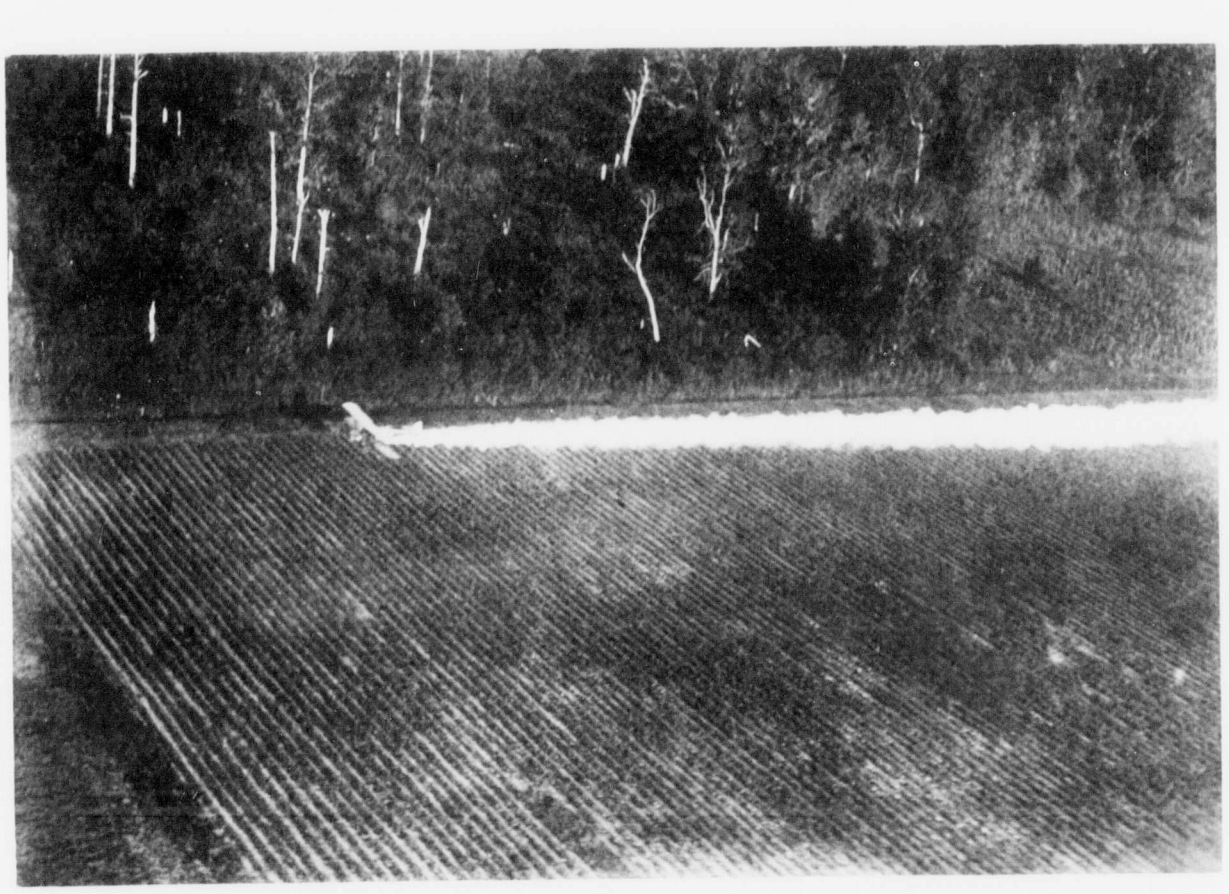
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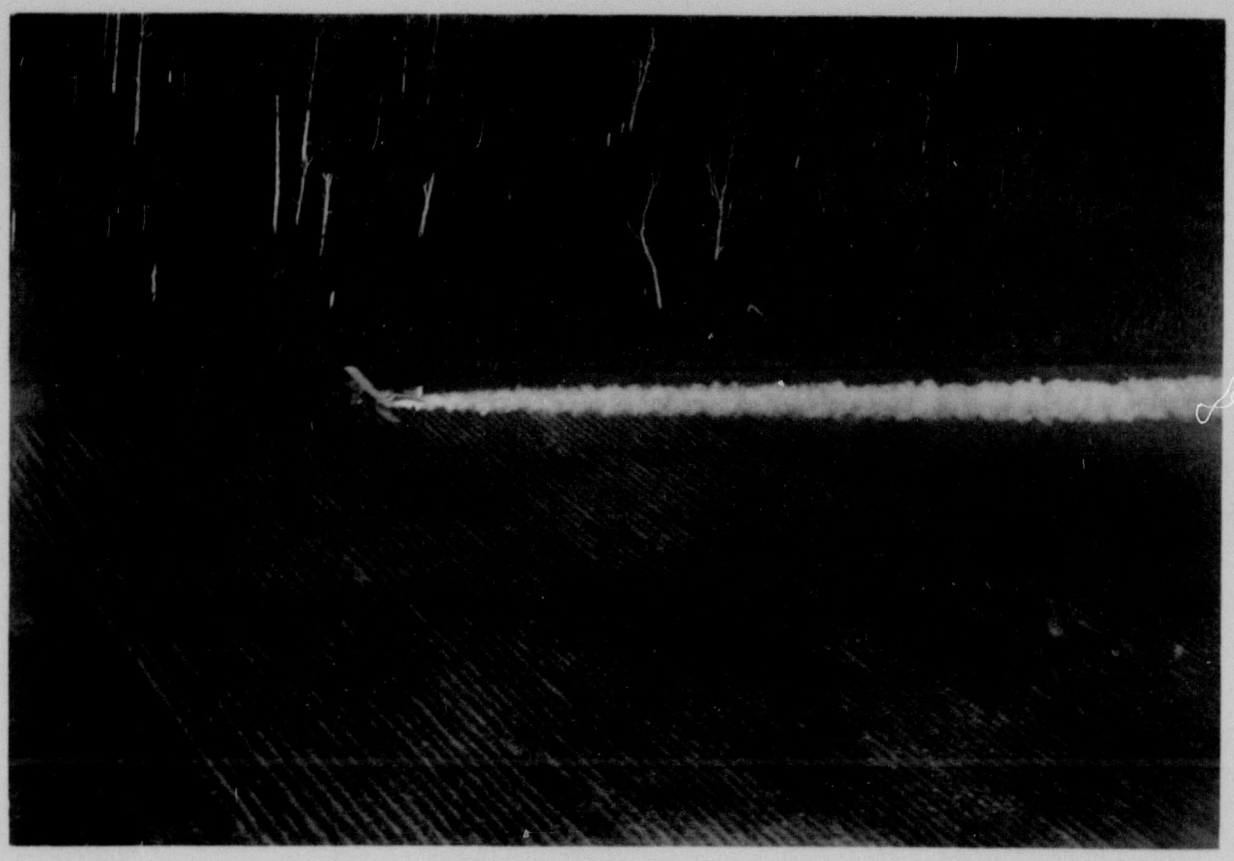


Aeroplane discharging calcium arsenate dust over cotton field for control of cotton boll weevil.

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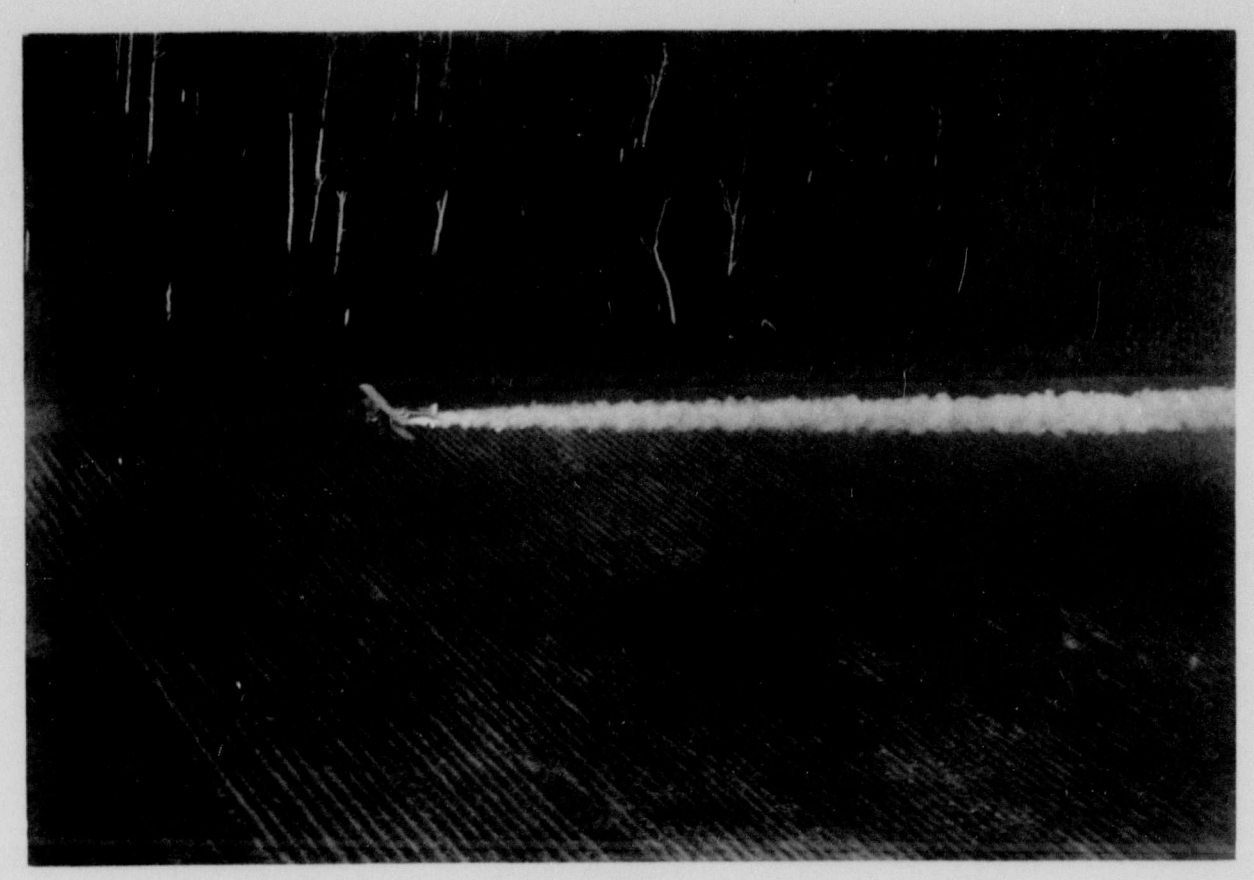
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Aeroplane discharging calcium arsenate dust over cotton field for control of cotton boll weevil.

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of sites for water power and lumbering plants, transportation of prospectors and Government inspectors, investigation of the spread of plant and timber diseases, etc. The time saved in transportation is enormous in a country where the only alternative to flying is travelling on foot or by canoe, with a load of provisions and kit.

In the United States a similar system exists, though on a smaller scale. Nine U.S. military aeroplanes were engaged on forest duties in 1925.

3. Protection of Cotton and other Crops.

The protection of cotton plants, fruit trees and crops generally from the attacks of destructive pests has been developed to a commercial stage in the United States.

In 1921, an aeroplane was used successfully to apply insect poison to catalpa trees near Dayton, Ohio, and the possibility of similar treatment in cotton fields immediately became apparent. Tests were made in 1922, by the United States Bureau of Entomology, in co-operation with the Army Air Service, and it was shown that the " boll-weevil " and the " army-worm " could be controlled as effectively by aeroplane as by ground methods, and with a much smaller expenditure of larvicide. Powdered calcium arsenate was used, carried in a hopper on the aeroplane and released at an even rate under the control of the pilot.

On large and favourably situated fields 400 to 500 acres per hour were treated by air, rising to 1,000 acres under the best conditions. Each run of the aeroplane across the field dusted a strip 250 feet wide at a speed of 70–90 miles per hour. With a single aeroplane 45 acres were dusted a minute—equal to the work of 40 cart dusting machines.

An aircraft constructing company took up the question of producing a special type of aircraft for the work, and in 1924 developed two machines, one for small fields, carrying 500 lb. of arsenate. and another for large fields carrying 1,000 lb. On the basis of experience with these machines a subsidiary company, the Huff Daland Dusters, Inc., was formed to undertake dusting operations on a commercial scale.

Eight districts have been selected and a flying base is located in each district. Contracts are arranged to dust between 5,000 and 7,000 acres within 10 miles of each base. Two aeroplanes, two pilots, and an entomologist are stationed at each base, and the company is under contract to dust immediately upon notification from the farmer. The work is supervised by Government agricultural officers and all farmers using the service can have their crops insured against weevil damage. During 1925, the company applied 375,000 lb. of poison.

Up to nine applications may be necessary, the average being about five. The charge made at present is $7 per acre for five applications, as against an average of $7·26 for ground dusting. Moreover, the work is done by air 100 times faster. 98 per cent. of the farmers who have subscribed to the service are contracting for increased acreage.

There are very big possibilities of expanding this service. Of 40 million acres under cotton cultivation, about 15 millions are suitable for dusting by aeroplane. It is estimated that the improved yield brought about by dusting this area might be expected to produce about $130,000,000 to the farmers, whilst approximately 3,000 aeroplanes would be needed.

The machines would not be required in the cotton fields all the year. Cotton dusting starts at the earliest in April, and finishes at the latest in September. For the remainder of the year the machines might find employment elsewhere in treating other crops or mosquito swamps. For example, early in 1925, before the cotton dusting started, the Huff Daland Dusters, Inc., treated 200,000 peach trees in Georgia, and have used the method on pecans and sugar canes.

4. Destruction of Mosquitoes.

The United States Department of Agriculture have tested the efficacy of dusting the breeding places of malarial mosquitoes with poison by means of aeroplanes.

A detachment of the U.S. Army Air Service was engaged in cotton dusting experiments at Tallulah, Louisiana, only a short distance from the mosquito investigating station at Mound, and opportunity was therefore taken to utilise their services for this experiment.

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The machines were already fitted with hoppers for holding and distributing the poison dust. Paris green mixed with a diluent was the larvicide used. Several kinds of dust of a density about equal to the Paris green were found suitable as a diluent ; that principally used being finely ground silica earth.

Preliminary experiments were made to determine the approximate number of granules of the poison per square inch required to kill the larvæ.

Tests were then made on open ground of the drift of the dust distributed from the air and the quantity which settled on the ground. In the best of these it was found that a strip from 300 to 400 feet wide was effectively dusted at one time and that the quantity of Paris green required was about 1 lb. to 20 acres. A mixture of 10 lb. of Paris green to 100 lb. of dust was found suitable.

The next tests were made to determine whether the dust would descend through a growth of leaves and brush. Two or three trips were made by the aeroplane along approximately the same line and a satisfactory dosage was found almost everywhere over a strip 750 feet wide.

Practical tests over lakes and on a small field of rice were finally undertaken. As had been anticipated, the most difficult conditions were encountered in heavily wooded areas where the water was protected by dense overhead foliage and marginal vegetation and the aeroplane had to fly high enough to clear the tallest trees. Even in such places the dust penetrated the thick growth and reached the water in sufficient quantities when enough was applied to offset the increased wastage. The most favourable conditions were those represented by the rice field and open water. One ½ lb. of Paris green per acre was considered sufficient for open conditions, the amount being increased as necessary for protected areas.

The two final tests carried out in 1924 gave particularly clear cut results. The lakes selected were overgrown with aquatic vegetation and had an abundance of larvæ well distributed throughout. In the first test a reduction of 88 per cent. of the larvæ occurred as a result of the treatment and in the second over 99 per cent. were killed. For testing the effects of the dusting, pans of water containing a known number of larvae were laid down at different points on the surface treated.

5. Investigation of Spread of Wheat and Timber Diseases.

The Royal Canadian Air Force is giving assistance to the Canadian Department of Agriculture in experiments to determine the origin and spread of the wheat rust disease which occurs in the prairie provinces.

The objects are to detect when and where the spores first appear, to ascertain the direction from which they come and the rate at which they increase in the upper air over various areas, to establish whether the spores found in the upper air currents are living and capable of causing infection, and to investigate the conditions governing the precipitation of the spores.

Striking results have already been achieved. It has been definitely established that the spores responsible for the epidemics are wind borne. They are carried high up in the air, apparently from the south, and spread over the entire region under wheat culture and far beyond.

Further experiments will be necessary, and as more complete data is collected it is hoped that the origin of the disease will be traced and means found eventually to stamp it out.

The method of trapping the spores is to expose microscope slides lightly smeared with vaseline at suitable heights. Before and after exposure the slides are protected from contamination by being enclosed in corked bottles. The presence of spores on the slides is easily detected under the microscope.

Experiments of a similar character have been made in British Colombia in connection with the control of a disease known as white pine blister rust, again with successful results. An examination of the slides exposed showed a great variety of spores and traces of insect life. Blister rust spores were evident at all heights.

Incidentally, in the course of this work, a special flight was made in order that the officer in charge could examine the progress of the disease on marked specimens of affected white pine. This operation was completed in one day, whereas a trip of probably two weeks would have been necessary if the ordinary method of travel had been taken.

Experiments on similar lines have also been carried out with aircraft in the United States.

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6. Ambulance and Medical duties.

In undeveloped countries, where methods of transport are elementary if they exist at all, and particularly in countries where tropical diseases are rife, one of the greatest drawbacks to settlement is the difficulty of countering outbreaks of disease and rendering medical attention to the sick.

Aircraft offer a means of solving this problem and there are already a considerable number of lives that have been saved through the prompt action made possible by aircraft.

The only organised medical service by air is in Siam, where the military air service is available at all times for the despatch of doctors and vaccines to places where outbreaks of disease are reported. This service, however, owes its existence to special conditions, since the Siamese military air service is on a somewhat different footing to those in other countries. It is supported partly by voluntary contributions, and carries out postal as well as medical services in addition to its military duties.

An example of a different type is found in British Guiana, where the proprietors of a balata estate have purchased a seaplane, fitted up as an ambulance, for the conveyance of fever patients from up-country plantations to the hospital at Georgetown. A journey which formerly occupied from 17 to 21 days can now be made in two hours.

From February to November last year this machine made 54 flights. It was chartered on two occasions to carry out the relief of sick Wireless Telegraph operators at the Government Wireless Telegraph station at Apoteri.

In Australia, as we have seen, the aircraft which normally operate on regular routes are utilised by doctors for getting to urgent cases in inaccessible districts, and for conveying patients quickly and comfortably to hospital. There is no doubt of the material and moral effects of this improvement in medical facilities on the opening up of the remoter parts of the country. A man who would hesitate to take his family out of the ordinary reach of medical aid, has little to fear when he knows that in case of need he can obtain help promptly.

In Canada, the aircraft engaged on fire patrols and survey over the forests are often able to render assistance to sick or injured individuals encountered at remote points. Three cases occurred last year in Manitoba. A mining engineer seriously ill with pneumonia, a woman who was too ill to travel by canoe, and a miner who had lacerated his foot were each brought in by air. The miner was operated on by the doctor at the Air Station. In addition, the visits of medical officers to the Indian Reserves are made regularly by aircraft, in conjunction with the payment of treaty money.

7. Fishery Protection.

The duty of protecting fisheries is often most difficult to fulfil. On the west coast of Canada, particularly in the salmon fisheries in the Prince Rupert district, the task of the Fishery Officers has been made much easier and their work rendered more effective by the use of aircraft patrols. Following operations in 1924, three flying boats were based at Carey Cove, near Prince Rupert, during the fishing season of 1925 and carried out 122 patrols. The area patrolled extended from the Alaskan boundary on the north to Cape Caution on the south. 5,000 miles of coast line and intricate waterways lie between these points, and the fishery patrol boats in the past had found it almost impossible to cover the ground completely.

The main offences against fishing regulations are fishing with too great length of net, or nets of illegal mesh, fishing during the week-end closed season, fishing in restricted areas, and fishing without a licence.

In the early part of the 1925 season numerous offenders were detected, and it was soon made evident that the regulations were to be strictly enforced. During the season 24 breaches of the regulations were detected and the offenders prosecuted. In cases where fishermen were using illegal nets, these were confiscated immediately and taken on board the flying-boats if the loading permitted.

There is no evidence available as to the cost of the aircraft patrols in comparison with the possible cost of effecting equal results by additional surface patrols. That the aircraft patrols have proved remarkably effective is indicated by the following

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extract from a letter addressed by the Chairman of the International Fisheries Commission to the Officer Commanding, Vancouver Air Station :—

> " Permit me to state that in my forty odd years of fishing service, I have never seen such an effective patrol of seine fishing as has been conducted by the Canadian Air Service on the Skeena and Naas Rivers during the last two years. It is a masterly way of handling such a situation, the most effective yet devised."

The use of aircraft in this manner is not confined to Canada. During June and July, 1925, the Danish Government stationed a seaplane at Skagen to assist the Fishery Inspectors. It was intended as an experiment and it gave very good results.

8. Observation of Shoals.

Experiments with the object of assisting the fishing industry by employing seaplanes to report the presence of shoals have been started in many parts of the world.

The results obtained in Europe are so far inconclusive. On occasions it has been found possible to observe shoals with an ease that encourages great hopes in the system. On the other hand, the spotting of shoals from the air is not always an easy matter ; if the fish are not close up to the surface or if visibility is poor they are difficult to see. More experience must be gained before any final conclusions can be drawn.

The sealing industry of Newfoundland is also interested in aircraft observation and has made tests, likewise without definite results. As the whole success of a sealing expedition rests on good fortune in coming upon the seals in the limited period available a means of extending the range of vision is obviously very important.

9. Prevention of Smuggling.

Several countries have experimented with aircraft observation as a possible solution to the problem of preventing drug and liquor smuggling. The most interesting results are those secured in Canada.

The Canadian Government found it extremely difficult to check the smuggling of drugs from ships entering Vancouver Harbour. It was known that members of the crew or passengers were evading the Customs examination by throwing overboard packages of drugs, buoyed and made up in watertight covers, at selected spots where they were picked up by launches and landed secretly. The smugglers used very fast boats and it was difficult to catch them.

Arrangements were therefore made to escort incoming liners from the Orient by aircraft. While the liner is under air observation it is practically impossible for any package dropped overboard to be picked up without detection. Launches have been seen unmistakably standing by for no good purpose and apparently chagrined at the presence of the aircraft. Not every ship is so escorted, but only selected vessels, at intervals and without warning. The smugglers are therefore unable to make arrangements for smuggling by any particular boat and the risks of identification and capture are immeasurably greater.

Besides escort duty, the aircraft are employed for transporting Customs officers on urgent business, the examination of suspected steamers and launches, etc. One flight resulted in the seizure of a fast motor boat which was suspected of illicit traffic in liquor.

10. Conveyance of Administrative Officers.

There is nothing visionary in the idea of aircraft being used for the conveyance of administrative officers over long distances in undeveloped country, as freely as motor cars are used where roads exist to-day. Such an aeroplane as the " Moth," easy to fly and maintain, and comparatively cheap to buy and operate, brings this prospect fairly close.

Colonial Legislators, Political Officers, Justices, Officers of the Health, Agricultural, Lighthouse, Postal and Customs services, and many others, must certainly benefit from the establishment of a system of air communications, on whatever basis it is organised.

The French, in West Africa, Syria and Indo-China, make extensive use of the local units of the Military Air Service for conveying urgent official despatches and moving political officers from place to place. Flights by the Governors-General on official visits are not infrequent. In West Africa, particularly, administration and aviation are closely linked.

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In Australia, the regular air services carry administrative officers on the same footing as the general public. Law officers, Lawyers, Cattle Inspectors and many others, whose business keeps them constantly moving, find the services a great boon in visiting places separated by days of travelling on the ground. The Governor-General, His Excellency the Earl of Stonehaven, has an aeroplane for his own use.

In Canada, the transportation of Government officers by the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Ontario Forest Air Service is a general practice. One notable example is the carriage year by year of treaty-money parties to the Indian reserves.

The Soviet Russian Government are relying more and more upon aircraft to uphold their system of Government in the remoter parts of their enormous territory. Machines carrying propagandists and officials are sent to many districts not easily reached by ground transport.

What has already been done merely indicates the possibilities. Although the time is still distant when air communications have become the principal arteries of political and administrative organisation, there are many opportunities to-day for the increased use of aircraft in administrative service.

Furthermore, almost every aviation scheme, be it transportation, survey or crop protection, has a bearing on administrative work in some form, and it is therefore important that the possibilities of assisting the administrative services should be given due weight in every scheme put forward. The effects on prestige with native races is also important. The power of the white man to fly is extraordinarily impressive to the native mind. When that power is allied with administration the moral effects must certainly be valuable.

11. Light Aeroplane Clubs and Private Flying.

The encouragement of private flying is recognised to be of high importance in developing an " air sense " among the public, but it has been found that in order to overcome the initial difficulties due to the present high costs it must have special assistance. In England and Australia the formation of light aeroplane clubs which provide facilities for flying at a comparatively small cost has been facilitated by Government grants. For each of the six light aeroplane clubs in England, the Air Ministry has provided equipment worth £2,000 and a grant of £1,000 towards expenses in the first year. A further grant limited to the same amount will be paid in the second year, the actual amount depending on the results of the first year's operations. The Australian Government has given assistance on similar lines to two clubs and intends shortly to extend assistance to five more. The English clubs have already a total membership of over 640 flying members and 410 associate members and some 50 flying members have qualified or are about to qualify as class A pilots.

The French Government provides private aircraft with free accommodation at aerodromes for 48 hours, and reduced charges thereafter. Many Frenchmen learn to fly during their period of military service, and keep in practice afterwards at schools run by private individuals on behalf of the State. Private flying is a natural consequence.

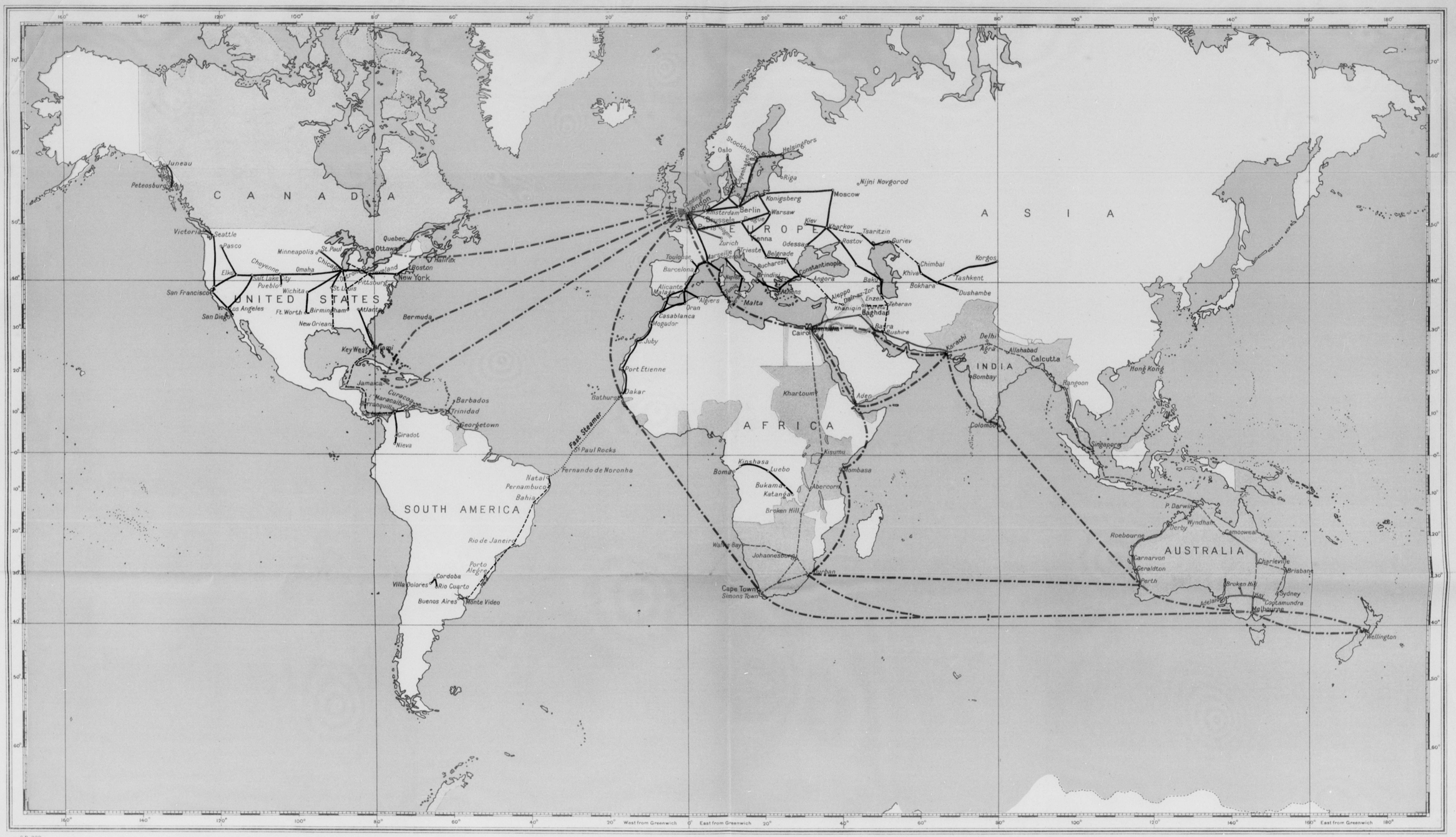
In Germany, private flying is encouraged by numerous privately operated schools, and by large gliding and flying competitions, the expenses of which are contributed mainly by patriotic citizens and associations. Aerodromes have been established by local efforts in all parts of the country and flying clubs or associations exist almost everywhere. As a sport, flying has made an intense appeal to German youth.

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MAP OF THE WORLD SHOWING EXISTING AND PROPOSED AIR TRANSPORT ROUTES.



O.R. 299.

War Office, 1926.

REFERENCE.

Existing Aeroplane Routes ..... British ——— Foreign ———

Possible extension of Aeroplane Routes ..... British - - - - - Foreign - - - - -

Possible Imperial Airship Routes ..... — · — · —

NOTE.—Local services in Europe are not shown.

P.C.1569.

C 63887 E-1302-3
W2-1

to be a true
Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 9 TH OCTOBER 1926

PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 7th October, 1926, from the Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitting that after consultation with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on the subject of the holding of a conference of the Prime Ministers of the Empire for the purpose of discussing certain matters of common interest, it has been decided that such Conference should he held in London during the present month.

The Prime Minister accordingly recommends that he be authorized to proceed to London for the purpose of representing the Government of Canada at this conference, accompanied by such staff as he may consider advisable.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Right Honourable
the Prime Minister.

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P.C.1605 C 63888 E-1302-2 W.L.K.

PRIVY COUNCIL CANADA

Certified copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee to be a true of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 9 TH OCTOBER 1926

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, advise that the Honourable Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, be authorized to proceed to London, with the Right Honourable the Prime Minister, for the purpose of representing the Government of Canada at the Conference of the Prime Ministers of the Empire to be held in London during the present month, and be accompanied by such staff as he may consider advisable.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Right Honourable
the Prime Minister.

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P.M. 59

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926

CONFIDENTIAL. LIST OF DOMINION AND INDIAN DELEGATIONS.

(REVISED TO OCTOBER, 19th, 1926)

NOTE: Those shown in capitals are Delegates.

Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
CANADA.				
RT.HON. W.L. MACKENZIE KING C.M.G.	Prime Minister.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	119	Regent 0060
Major L.C. Meyer, D.S.O.	Private Secretary.	"	119	
Mr. W. H. Measures.	Assistant Private Secretary.	"	119	
THE HON. E. LAPOINTE, K.C.	Minister of Justice.	"	112	
Mr. L. P. Picard	Private Secretary.	"	124	
Dr. O. D. Skelton.	Deputy Minister, External Affairs.	"	114	
Miss M. McKenzie.	Private Secretary.	"	104	
Mr. Jean Desy.	Counsellor, Dept. of External Affairs.	"	230	
Lt.Col. J. Reid-Hyde, C.B.E.	Secretary to the Delegation.	"	110	
Dr. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G.	Deputy Minister.	"	116	
Mr. F.C. Blair.	Assistant Deputy Minister	"	118	
Mr. A. S. Cudmore.	Technical Adviser.	"	101	

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Major General J.H. MacBrien, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	Chief of the General Staff.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	107	Regent 0060.
Captain J.F. Cummins.	Assistant to Chief of the General Staff.	"	228	
Commodore W. Hose, C.B.E., R.C.N.	Director of the Naval Service.	"	207	
Mr. J.S. Nicol.	Confidential Messenger.	"		
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION ROOM 118).			
The Hon. P.C. Larkin.	High Commissioner.	Canadian Building, Trafalgar Square, S.W.1.		Gerrard 9741.
Mr. L. Pacaud.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"		"
Hon. Vincent Massey.	Canadian Privy Council.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	108	Regent 0060
COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.				
RT. HON. S.M. BRUCE, M.C.	Prime Minister.	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C. 2.	439 - 40	Gerrard 4343.
Mr. G.B. Cooke.	Private Secretary.	"	425	
THE HON. SIR NEVILLE HOWSE, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.	Minister of Defence and Health.	"	434 - 37	
Mr. F.A. McLaughlin.	Private Secretary.	"	431	
Mr. P.E. Deane, O.M.G.	Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept. (Secretary to the Delegation).	"	419 - 20	

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Mr. A.W. Stuart Smith.	Assistant Secretary to the Delegation	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C.2.	417.	
Mr. H.W. Gepp	Chairman, Development and Migration Commission.	"	438	
Mr. H.E. Farrando	Secretary, Commonwealth Immigration Office	"	485	
Dr. S.C. Leslie	Publicity Officer	"	416	
Miss Thomas	Lady Secretary	"	814	
	(CENTRAL OFFICES OF THE DELEGATION - ROOMS 426 and 430).			
The Rt.Hon.Sir Joseph Cook, G.C.M.G.	High Commissioner	Australia House, Strand,W.C.2.	-	City 1740
Mr. A.L. Shepherd, I.S.O.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"	-	

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RT. HON. J.G. COATES, M.C.	Prime Minister.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	327	Gerrard 0060
RT. HON. SIR FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C.	Minister without Portfolio.	"	325	
Mr. J.S. Hunter.	Private Secretary	"	325 & 307	
Rear Admiral A.G. Hotham, C.B., C.M.G., R.N.	Naval Adviser.	56, Belgrave Road, S.W.		Victoria 213
Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G.	Clerk of the Executive Council, and Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept. Secretary to the Delegation.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	326	Gerrard 0060
Mr. C.A. Berendsen.	Imperial Affairs Officer.	"	322	
Miss I. Piper.	Stenographer	"	331	
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 326).			
The Hon. Sir James Parr K.C.M.G.	High Commissioner.	415, Strand, W.C.2.	-	Gerrard 0840
Mr. A. Crabb	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"	-	
Mr. H.T.B. Drew	Publicity Officer.	"	-	

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UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.				
GENERAL THE HON. J.B.M. HERTZOG.	Prime Minister.	Claridge's Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	210	Mayfair 7160
Mr.D.Steyn.	Private Secretary.	"	208 - 209	
THE HON. N.C. HAVENGA.	Minister of Finance.	"	102	
Mr.F.V.Ashpole.	Private Secretary.	"	141	
Mr. H.Gordon Watson, I.S.O.	Secretary to Prime Minister and Clerk of the Executive Council. Secretary to the Delegation.	"	242	
Sir William Hoy, K.C.B.	General Manager of Railways.	"	121	
Mr.G.Hamilton	Private Secretary.	"	306	
Dr. A.J.Bruwer	Chairman, Board of Trade and Industries Department of Mines and Industries.	"	124	
Mr. J.Collie	Department of Finance	"	57	
Mr. J.H.Haddon	Department of Customs and Excise.	"	143	
Miss C.van Ginkel.	Typist	"	145	

(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - Room 209)

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Name.	Office.	Address	Room No.	Telephone No.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Contd.)				
Mr. J.S.Smit.	High Commissioner	Trafalgar Square W. C. 2.	-	Regent 6760
Mr. J.P.J. Brunt.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office	"	-	

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Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
IRISH FREE STATE.				
MR. W.T. COSGRAVE, T.D.	President of the Executive Council.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	122	Gerrard 0060.
MR. KEVIN O'HIGGINS, T.D.	Minister of Justice.	"	124	
MR. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D.	Minister for External Affairs.	"	125	
MR. P. McGILLIGAN, T.D.	Minister for Industry and Commerce.	"		
Mr. D.O. Hegarty.	Secretary to the Executive Council.	"	118	
MR. JAMES McNEILL	High Commissioner.	York House, 15, Regent St. S.W.1.	-	Regent 6755
Mr. J. Costello, K.C.	Attorney General	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	120	Gerrard 0060
Mr. J.P. Walshe.	Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.	"	117	
Mr. J.J. Hearne	Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.	"	119	
Mr. T.J. Kiernan.	Secretary to the Delegation and Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2. also York House, 15, Regent St., S.W.1.	121 -	Gerrard 0060 Regent 6755

(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 121, HOTEL CECIL)

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NEWFOUNDLAND.				
THE HON. W.S. MONROE.	Prime Minister.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	431	(Gerrard 7826. (" 3244.
Mr. W.J. Carew	Private Secretary	" "	476	
THE HON. W.J. HIGGINS, K.C.	Minister of Justice.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	192	Gerrard 0060.
THE HON. A.B. MORINE, K.C.	Minister without Portfolio.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	441	(Gerrard 7826. (" 3244.
Mr. C.A. Fraser	Private Secretary.	" "	476	
The Hon. Sir P.T. McGrath, K.B.E.	President of the Legislative Council. (Expert Adviser)	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	192	Gerrard 0060
Miss Ruth Emerson	Typist.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	476	(Gerrard 7826. (" 3244.
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 476, CARLTON HOTEL).			
Mr. V. Gordon, C.M.G.	High Commissioner	58 Victoria St. S.W.1.		Victoria 2302.
Mr. W. Hutchings	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	" "		

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INDIA.				
THE RT.HON. THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD.	Secretary of State for India.	India Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.	-	Victoria 8920
THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.	-	Hyde Park Hotel, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.	704	Sloane 4567
The Maharaja Kumar of Burdwan.	Private Secretary.	"	706	"
MR. D.T. CHADWICK, C.S.I., C.I.E.	Secretary to Government of India, Commerce Department.	"	719	"
Major-General W.M.St.G.Kirke, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India.	"	715	"
Mr. G.H. Spence, I.C.S.	Secretary to the Delegation.	"	411	"
Mr. G.S. Bajpai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.	-	Berkeley Hotel, 77, Piccadilly, W.1.	-	Gerrard 4321.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT.

Name.	Office.	Address.	Telephone No.
Sir Maurice P.A. Hankey, G.C.B.	Secretary to the Imperial Conference.	2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.	(Through Private Secretary).
Capt.L.F. Burgis, M.V.O.	Private Secretary.	"	Victoria 9250 Ext.96.
Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G.	Deputy Secretary to the Imperial Conference.	"	" Ext.136
Mr. C. Longhurst, C.B.	Assistant Secretary (Establishment).	"	" Ext.122
Mr. R.B. Howorth, C.B.	Assistant Secretary (General Organisation).	"	" Ext.156.
Mr. G.H. Creasy	Deputy Assistant Secretary (General Organisation)	"	" Ext.115.
Mr. H.J. Hutchinson.	Assistant Secretary (Economic subjects)	"	" Ext.245
Mr. F.A. Griffiths, M.C.	Deputy Assistant Secretary (Economic subjects).	"	" Ext.245
Mr. H. Broadley.	"	"	" Ext.245
Mr. H.W. Acres.	"	"	" Ext.245
Lieut. F.W. Rawlins, M.B.E.	Chief Clerk.	"	" Ext.180
Mr. C.G.L. Syers	Liaison Officer with Secretat Delegation.	Dominions Office.	Victoria 8640 Ext.260

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
October 19th, 1926.

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C 63899

Name.	Office.	Address.	Telephone No.
Sir Maurice P.A. Hankey, G.C.B.	Secretary to the Imperial Conference.	2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.	(Through Private Secretary).
Capt.L.F. Burgis, M.V.O.	Private Secretary.	"	Victoria 9250. Ext.96.
Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G.	Deputy Secretary to the Imperial Conference.	"	" Ext.136.
Mr. C. Longhurst, C.B.	Assistant Secretary, (Establishment).	"	" Ext.122.
Mr. R.B. Howorth, C.B.	Assistant Secretary, (General Organisation).	"	" Ext.156.
Mr. G.H. Creasy.	Deputy Assistant Secretary, (General Organisation).	"	" Ext.115.
Mr. H.J. Hutchinson.	Assistant Secretary, (Economic subjects).	"	" Ext.245.
Mr. F.A. Griffiths, M.C.	Deputy Assistant Secretary, (Economic subjects).	"	" Ext.245.
Mr. H. Broadley.	"	"	" Ext.245.
Mr. H.W. Acres.	"	"	" Ext.245.
Lieut.F.W. Rawlins, M.B.E.	Chief Clerk.	"	" Ext.180.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
26th October, 1923.

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Major Moyer

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

CONFIDENTIAL.

LIST OF DOMINION AND INDIAN DELEGATIONS.

(REVISED TO OCTOBER, 26TH, 1926).

NOTE: Those shown in capitals are Delegates.

Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
CANADA.				
RT.HON. W.L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.	Prime Minister.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	119	Regent 0060
Major L.C. Moyer, D.S.O.	Private Secretary.	" "	119	
Mr. W.H. Measures.	Assistant Private Secretary.	" "	119	
THE HON. E. LAPOINTE, K.C.	Minister of Justice.	" "	112	
Mr. L.P. Picard.	Private Secretary.	" "	301	
Dr. O.D. Skelton.	Deputy Minister, External Affairs.	" "	114	
Miss M. McKenzie.	Private Secretary.	" "	104	
Mr. Jean Desy.	Counsellor, Dept: of External Affairs.	" "	302	
Lt.Col. J. Reid-Hyde, C.B.E.	Secretary to the Delegation.	" "	118	
Dr. A.G. Doughty, C.M.G.	Deputy Minister of Archives.	" "	116	

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Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
CANADA. (Contd.)				
Dr. J.H. Grisdale.	Deputy Minister of Agriculture.	Canadian Building, Trafalgar Square, S.W.1.		Gerrard 9741.
Mr. F.C. Blair.	Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Immigration.	" "		" "
Mr. S.A. Cudmore.	Technical Advisor.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	101	Regent 0060
Major-General J.H.MacBrien, C.B.,C.M.G.,D.S.O.	Chief of the General Staff.	" "	107	" "
Captain J.F. Cummins.	Assistant to Chief of the General Staff.	" "	228	" "
Commodore W. Hose, C.B.E.,R.C.N.	Director of the Naval Service.	" "	207	
Mr. C.A. Bowman.	Publicity Officer.	" "	126	
Mr. J.S. Nicol.	Confidential Messenger.	" "	122	
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION ROOM 118).			
The Hon. P.C. Larkin.	High Commissioner.	Canadian Building, Trafalgar Square, S.W.1.		Gerrard 9741.
Mr. L. Pacaud.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	" "		" "
Hon. Vincent Massey.	Canadian Privy Council.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	109	Regent 0060

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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.				
RT. HON. S.M. BRUCE, M.C.	Prime Minister.	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C. 2.	439 - 40	Gerrard 4343.
Mr. G.B. Cooke.	Private Secretary.	"	425	
THE HON. SIR NEVILLE HOWSE, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.	Minister of Defence and Health.	"	434 - 37	
Mr. F.A. McLaughlin	Private Secretary.	"	431	
THE HON. J.G. LATHAM, K.C., C.M.G.	Attorney General.	"		
Mr. M. Bonniwell.	Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman. Secretary to Mr. Latham.	Australia House, Strand, W.C. 2.		City 1740.
Mr. P.E. Leane, C.M.G.	Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept. (Secretay to the Delegation).	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C. 2.	419 - 20	Gerrard 4343.
Mr. A.W. Stuart Smith.	Assistant Secretary to the Delegation.	"	417	

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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA (Contd.)				
Mr. H.W. Gepp.	Chairman, Development and Migration Commission.	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C. 2.	438	Gerrard 4343.
Mr. H.F. Farrands.	Secretary, Commonwealth Immigration Office.	"	485	
Mr. F.L. McDougal, C.M.G.	Technical Adviser.	Australia House, Strand, W.C. 2.		City 1740.
Dr. S.C. Leslie.	Publicity Officer.	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C. 2.	416	Gerrard 4343.
Miss Thomas.	Lady Secretary.	"	814	
	(CENTRAL OFFICES OF THE DELEGATION - ROOMS 426 and 430).			
The Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Cook, G.C.M.G.	High Commissioner.	Australia House, Strand, W.C. 2.		City 1740.
Mr. M.L. Shepherd, I.S.O.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"		

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RT. HON. J.G. COATES, M.C.	Prime Minister.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	327	Gerrard 0060
RT. HON. SIR FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C.	Minister without Portfolio.	"	325	
Mr. J.S. Hunter	Private Secretary	"	325 & 307	
Rear Admiral A.G. Hotham, C.B., C.M.G., R.N.	Naval Adviser.	56, Belgrave Road, S.W.		Victoria 2132
Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G.	Clerk of the Executive Council, and Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept. Secretary to the Delegation.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	326	Gerrard 0060
Mr. C.A. Berendsen	Imperial Affairs Officer.	"	322	
Miss I. Piper	Stenographer	"	331	
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 326).			
The Hon. Sir James Parr K.C.M.G.	High Commissioner	415, Strand, W.C.2.	-	Gerrard 0840
Mr. A. Crabb	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"	-	
Mr. H.T.B. Drew	Publicity Officer	"	-	

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UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.				
GENERAL THE HON. J.B.M. HERTZOG.	Prime Minister.	Claridge's Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	208	Mayfair 7160.
Mr. D. Steyn.	Private Secretary.	"	208	
THE HON. N.C. HAVENGA.	Minister of Finance.	"	102	
Mr. F.V. Ashpole.	Private Secretary.	"	104	
Mr. H. Gordon Watson, I.S.O.	Secretary to Prime Minister and Clerk of the Executive Council. Secretary to the Delegation.	"	209	
Sir William Hoy, K.C.B.	General Manager of Railways.	"	121	
Mr. G. Hamilton.	Private Secretary.	"	306	
Dr. A.J. Bruwer.	Chairman, Board of Trade and Industries Department of Mines and Industries.	"	146	
Mr. J. Collie.	Department of Finance.	"	146	
Mr. J.H. Heddon	Department of Customs and Excise.	"	146	

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Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Contd.)				
Miss C. van Ginkel.	Typist.	Claridge's Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	209.	Mayfair 7160.
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOMS 208 AND 209).			
Mr. J.S. Smit.	High Commissioner.	Trafalgar Square, W.C. 2.	-	Regent 6760.
Mr. J.P.J. Brunt.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"	-	

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IRISH FREE STATE.				
MR. W.T. COSGRAVE, T.D.	President of the Executive Council.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	122	Gerrard 0060
MR. KEVIN O'HIGGINS, T.D.	Minister of Justice.	"	124	
MR. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D.	Minister for External Affairs.	"	125	
MR. P. McGILLIGAN, T.D.	Minister for Industry and Commerce.	"		
MR. JAMES McNEILL	High Commissioner	York House, 15, Regent St. S.W.1.	-	Regent 6755
Mr. I.O'Hegarty	Secretary to the Executive Council.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	118	Gerrard 0060
Mr. J. Costello, K.C.	Attorney General	"	120	
Mr. J.P. Walshe	Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.	"	117	
Major-General Peadar McMahon	Chief of Staff.	York House, 15, Regent St. S.W.1.	-	Regent 6755
Colonel Seamus O'Higgins	Chief Staff Officer, General Staff.	"	-	"

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Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
Commandant Daniel Bryan	General Staff, Defence Forces.	York House, 15, Regent St. S.W.1.	-	Regent 6755
Mr. A.C. Forbes	Director of Forestry, Ministry of Lands and Agriculture.	"	-	"
Mr. J.J. Hearne	Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	119	Gerrard 0060.
Mr. T.J. Kiernan	Secretary to the Delegation and Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2. also York House, 15, Regent St., S.W.1.	121 -	Gerrard 0060 Regent 6755
Mr. J.J. Dulanty	Commissioner for Trade in the Office of the High Commissioner.	"	-	
Mr. E.J. Smyth	Principal Officer, Department of Industry and Commerce.	York House, 15, Regent Str. S.W.1.		

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THE HON. W.S. MONROE.	Prime Minister.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	431	(Gerrard 7826. (" 3244.
Mr. W.J. Carew.	Private Secretary.	" "	476	
THE HON. W.J. HIGGINS, K.C.	Minister of Justice.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	192	Gerrard 0060.
THE HON. A.B. MORINE, K.C.	Minister without Portfolio.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	441	(Gerrard 7826. (" 3244.
Mr. C.A. Fraser.	Private Secretary.	" "	476	
The Hon. Sir P.T. McGrath, K.B.E.	President of the Legislative Council. (Expert Adviser).	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	192	Gerrard 0060.
Miss Ruth Emerson.	Typist.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	476	(Gerrard 7826. (" 3244.
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 476, CARLTON HOTEL).			
Mr. V. Gordon, C.M.G.	High Commissioner.	58, Victoria St. S.W.1.		Victoria 2302.
Mr. W. Hutchings.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	" "		

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Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
INDIA.				
THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD.	Secretary of State for India.	India Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.	-	Victoria 8920
THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.C.M.	-	Hyde Park Hotel, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.	704	Sloane 4567
The Maharaj Kumar of Burdwan.	Private Secretary.	"	706	"
MR. D.T. CHADWICK, C.S.I., C.I.E.	Secretary to Government of India, Commerce Department.	"	719	"
Major-General W.M.St.G. Kirke, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India.	"	715	"
Mr. G.H. Spence, I.C.S.	Secretary to the Delegation.	"	411	"
Mr. G.S. Bajpai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.	-	Berkeley Hotel, 77, Piccadilly, W.1.	-	Gerrard 4321

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For Mr. King's files: C 63911

Minutes of Committee on Inter-imperial Relations.

No minutes were taken of the 2nd, 3rd, 10th, 12th, and 13th meetings.

M. McK.

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Mr Mackenzie King

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E. (I.R.- 26)
1st Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

FINAL COPY.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of the First Meeting of the Committee held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W.1., on Wednesday, October 27th, 1926, at 3.0 p.m.

P R E S E N T :-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

The Right Hon. Sir Douglas Hogg, K.C., M.P., Attorney-General.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr.P.McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry & Commerce.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

Mr. D.T. Chadwick, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department.

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THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:-

GREAT BRITAIN.

Mr. J.C.C. Davidson, C.H., C.B., M.P., Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir William Tyrrell, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., Permanent Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office.

Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Mr. H.F. Batterbee, C.M.G., C.V.O., Assistant Secretary, Dominions Office.

CANADA.

Dr. O.D. Skelton, Deputy Minister, External Affairs.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA:

Mr. R.G. Casey, D.S.O., M.C., Political Liaison Officer in London.

NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G., Secretary to the Delegation.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. J.S. Smit, High Commissioner.

Mr. D. Steyn, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

Mr. J.P. Walshe, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B., ... Secretary.

Mr. F.E.F. Adam (Foreign Office))
Mr. C.W. Dixon, O.B.E., (Dominions Office)) Joint Assistant Secretaries to the Committee.
Mr. Jean Désy (Canadian Delegation))

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After a brief preliminary discussion concerning procedure and publicity, Lord Balfour read the following statement:-

Since the shock of the Great War has, for good or for evil, hastened so many movements which were in any case inevitable, it is no matter for surprise that men ask themselves how the structure of the constitution of the British Empire has fared in this changing world. Before 1914 it seemed to alien observers the frailest of political structures. A State which (so far as its western elements were concerned) consisted in the main of six self-governing communities, bound together by no central authority, not competent to enlist a single recruit or impose a shilling of taxation, might look well painted on the map, but as fighting machine is surely negligible.

The war refuted this plausible conjecture; but it left the Empire unexplained and undefined. Then came the Peace; and the constituent States took their full share in framing and signing the Treaty which they had done so much to secure. But this procedure, though it demonstrated the effective reality of the British Empire, did little to make its position clear to students of comparative politics.

ii.

The difficulty which so many find in "placing" the British Empire arises largely from the fact that its character and constitution are entirely without precedent, and that, as a result, it does not comfortably fit in to any

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familiar theories, nor can it be described by the ordinary concepts of international law. Yet its general character is not difficult to delineate.

iii.

It may be conveniently divided into elements of four different kinds:-

(1) The seven self-governing communities - Great Britain and the North of Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland.

(2) India.

(3) The Dependencies of the self-governing State, - namely - the Colonies, the Protectorates, and the Mandated Territories of Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa.

iv.

In what consists the unity of this varied assortment of communities, scattered over the whole globe, and differing from each other in language, race, religion and history?

From a strictly juridical point of view, there are only two attributes which they all share with each other and with nobody else. They are all under one Crown; and their inhabitants are all citizens of one Empire. But juridical formulas, if they stand alone, are but a brittle bond. On what solid foundation of patriotic sentiment does the fabric of the Empire

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rest? It rests upon the well founded conviction that the Empire makes for general peace, and for the security of its diverse portions. Whether in war or in peace there is no constituent of the Empire which does not gain in consideration and status by being part of a greater whole; and what is gain to them is far from being any loss to others. For the very existence of this complex unity makes for the maintenance of world peace, and on the maintenance of world peace depends the future of civilisation.

v.

It is true no doubt that while in our knowledge of present needs and in our hopes of future security we may all of us find adequate ground for Imperial patriotism, the different parts of this varied whole cannot draw their strength from memories of a common history. Their history has been too diverse; their ancient differences have been too acute. Yet Imperial unity gives us all the right to a share in the glories of each other's past, and to claim an interest in each other's contributions to the wealth of the world in the spheres of literature, science, politics and war. I at least, as a Scotsman am not going to surrender my share of Magna Charta and Shakespeare on account of Bannockburn and Flodden. This may seem fanciful; but I hope it is as real to others as it is to me.

vi.

These general reflections are a necessary prelude to the more particular business of the Committee of Prime Ministers; and I turn to the problems raised by the most novel and yet most characteristic peculiarity of the British Empire, - I mean the co-existence within its unity of seven autonomous communities. This statement

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of fact, though very simple, is barely intelligible to foreigners, and no doubt has among ourselves given rise to some secondary difficulties. It is with these secondary difficulties that the Committee has to deal; but in dealing with them it is vital to remember that they <u>are</u> secondary, and that the fundamental truth to which they are subordinate is the equality of status which is the essential foundation of this part of our imperial fabric.

vii.

It is undoubtedly true that this equality of status is combined at present, and probably will always be combined in some form or other, with differences of function. For example, - four out of the seven self-governing communities - Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa - have Dependencies belonging to the Empire. Canada, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland have not. Great Britain has special relations with India, the Colonies, the Protectorates and the Channel Islands not directly shared by the Dominions. She also takes a leading part in the all important and most burdensome task of Imperial Defence and in the direction of Foreign Affairs which has no exact parallel elsewhere.

viii.

Her relations with these two great departments of Imperial activity are no doubt due in part to historic reasons. But there is a more fundamental explanation arising out of the actual conditions with which, as practical statesmen, we have all got to deal. The principles determining the general direction of Foreign Affairs may be, and ought to be, the product of consultation; and it will be among our chief duties to make that consultation more continuous and more effective. But there are always moments in the

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conduct of fleets, of armies, and of negotiations, when decisions, if they are to be of use, must be rapid, and when consultations, if they involve delay are a danger rather than a strength. If this be so, it must be on one of the seven self-governing communities that the greatest weight of responsibility must be thrown; and so long as the centre of difficulty is Europe, and the present distribution of population in the Empire suffers no overwhelming change, it seems impossible to ask any other portion of the Empire to perform the major duties which now devolve upon Great Britain. We must content ourselves with improving to the utmost the machinery of imperial consultation, which in any case will work more rapidly and smoothly as the progress of invention enables us to overcome more effectually the obstacles presented by Time and Space.

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MR. MACKENZIE KING said that Lord Balfour had very fairly stated the position. The situation did not raise any question for the present, but questions might arise as to how far the practice is consistent with the principle stated. For example, the question might be raised whether the distinction should not be made between the Government and the King and whether the Governor General should be considered as the Representative of the King and not as the representative of the Government in London.

MR. AMERY said that this might be a subject for discussion. Traces of a former constitutional regime remain, but in practice have no effect. How far these old forms are still an obstacle to recognition of full equality is a matter for discussion.

GENERAL HERTZOG then read the following statement:-

1. Importance of Dominion relations in the Empire being known both to the Empire Communities themselves and to the world at large.

In discussing the constitutional relations of the associated members of the Empire, as I intend doing, and the necessity of those relations being made known publicly and authoritatively to the communities of the Dominions themselves and to the world at large, - I wish it to be clearly understood that I am speaking as representing South Africa and with a view to South African interests and requirements in the first place. If those interests and requirements are not the interests and requirements of this or that Dominion, I can only apologise to their representatives at this Conference if I take up time upon matters in which they may not feel themselves equally concerned. I can quite understand, that in matters of this kind national feeling and national requirements must vary and decide, and that therefore what may be felt as an imperative necessity in the one case, may be considered as quite immaterial, if not harmful, in the other.

It is for that reason, that within the Empire we have every grade of freedom and autonomy; and that even amongst the Dominions themselves, the exercise of their autonomous rights is availed of

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in different degrees, according to the dictates of circumstances and interests.

It would, therefore, indeed be monstrous, and certainly disastrous, if the freedom of the one Dominion, or its exercise of the rights pertaining to that freedom, were made dependent upon the will of, or upon the exercise of similar rights by, the other. The Dominions are each and all free and equal in status, but no one has the right to claim, and I hope no one will claim, that the exercise of the rights and privileges inherent in that freedom and equal status, shall be standardised for all with mechanical monotony. That would be the death of organic development within the Empire, - a stagnation leading to decay.

With these few introductory remarks, I now wish to make it clear to this Conference, why I hold it imperatively necessary, that the relations between the various member states of the Commonwealth shall no longer remain uncertain with the Dominion Communities, nor with the world at large; but that the time has come for an open declaration of the relations in which these states stand to one another, of their independent equal status within the Empire and the sameness in character of that independence with all.

Fortunately, as far as Great Britain and the British Government are concerned, there is no longer any question as to the character or degree and extent of Dominion independence. Ever since 1921 the British Government have at Imperial Conferences and upon other occasions assured the Dominions, and the Dominions have accepted, that they are "independent states", "equal in status as nations" and separately "entitled to international recognition as independent states", "absolutely independent of each other as Governments"; "accepted into the Comity of nations", united by the common bond of allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated with Great Britain as members of the British Empire.

All this has already been conceded, and is today conceded, by the British Government. There can, therefore, no longer be any doubt that as between us as members of the Empire, we are fully

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agreed, as Governments, as to what our relations are, both as members of the Empire and as over against other nations and states outside the Empire. We stand each and all, including Great Britain, on an equal footing of independence, domestically and internationally. From other nations we differ only in this, that we all belong, as free nations, to the close circle of members of the British Empire, whose relationship to that Empire has, even by the League of Nations, and therefore internationally been recognised, as something to be respected by it at all times.

The relations between us as members of the British Empire, are either what has been indicated by me, or they are not. If they are not, then I submit that it is our duty to have all uncertainty immediately removed, and that it be made abundantly clear just where the Dominions stand as over against Great Britain, and what their rightful place is within the Empire. If their independence with Great Britain be not of an equal character, the Dominions should know, as I think they have a right to know, where, in what, and to what extent, their independence or freedom is of a lesser or different character.

If, on the other hand, that independence is what I have maintained it to be, equal in character and extent with that of Great Britain, then there should be no reason why it should not be made public, and proclaimed in such a manner that not only we sitting at this table, but also our respective peoples and the world at large, shall have full knowledge of our relationship to one another.

We are not a secret society; and the interests of the Empire demand, that we shall not give either our own peoples or the world the impression, that there is something which we seek to hide or which we fear to have revealed in our position and relationship.

You will excuse me if I reject the idea that such openness and certainty is calculated to destroy the Empire. Secrecy and suspicion will do that. Open frankness rooted in the feeling of freedom and certainty, creates trust and confidence, without which unity in purpose and action cannot be either secured or insured.

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2. Necessity of Dominion Status being openly proclaimed to Dominion Communities.

Allow me now to point out to the Conference how essential it is to the Dominion Communities themselves that they should not be kept in darkness or uncertainty as to Empire Constitutional relations. Perhaps I cannot here do better than quote from General Smuts' memorandum on "The Constitution of the British Commonwealth", a document submitted by him during the Imperial Conference of 1921 to members of that Conference, including the present Secretary for Dominion Affairs:

> "Delay", he says, "in the settlement of Dominion status is fraught with grave dangers. The British Commonwealth cannot escape the atmosphere of political unsettlement and change which is affecting most other countries. The national temperature of all young countries has been raised by the event of the Great War. The national sense, the consciousness of nationhood of the Dominions has received a great impetus from their share in the great war and from the experiences of hundreds of thousands of Dominion troops in the campaigns of the Great War. While these experiences have strengthened the common bonds, they have undoubtedly also deepened the Dominion sense of national separateness, of the Dominions as distinct nations in the Commonwealth and the world. And with this sense goes a feeling of legitimate pride and self-respect which affect the rank and file of these young nations just as much as their political leaders. Unless Dominion status is settled soon in a way which will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of these young nations, we must look for separatist movements in the Commonwealth. Such movements already exist, notably in South Africa, but potentially in several of the other Dominions also. And the only way to deal with such movements is not to wait until they have become fully developed, and perhaps irresistible in their impetus, but to forestall them and make them unnecessary by the most generous satisfaction of the Dominion sense of nationhood and statehood. The warning against always being too late in coming to a proper settlement, which the example of Ireland gives to the whole Commonwealth is one which we can only neglect at our peril."

What was said by General Smuts in 1921 as to the urgency of a settlement of Dominion status, was then felt by him as holding equally with respect to the publication of that settlement.

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Speaking on constitutional relations at the Imperial Conference of 1921 - General Smuts said inter alia:

> "This movement in favour of greater national liberty and freedom is a world movement, and the British Empire will feel it too; and the more we can make it clear to the component parts of the Empire and to the world that ours is not a system of subordination, that this is not a system of one dominant Power of Government which keeps the others in a subordinate position, but that it is a system of equal States working together on principles of equality and freedom, the more we will, to my mind, stabilise the position in the British Empire and the greater power for good we shall be".

It is to be regretted deeply, to my mind, that General Smuts' advice was not given effect to, and a constitutional declaration made such as he then and there suggested.

Since that time the settlement, as I have pointed out, has been come to; but unfortunately the publication of that settlement for the information of the Dominion peoples, as was contemplated by General Smuts, has not been given effect to, except in a vague and often half-hearted manner, which has been fruitful of more doubt and suspicion than of knowledge and certainty. The result is, that bitter wrangling over the question of our status is daily taking place, indicative of the grossest ignorance, even in the highest ranks of Parliament, the press and society; and incitive to feelings of party and race animosity which inevitably must, and do, lead to a feeling of dissatisfaction with empire relations and Empire; so that, using the words of General Smuts - merely changing the word <u>settlement</u> into <u>publication</u> - it can be truly said to-day as he did in 1921, <u>that delay in the publication of Dominion Status is fraught with grave dangers</u>- to the well being of South Africa no less than to the Empire.

The vague and halfhearted attempts at informing the people of South Africa of our conceded status, combined with General Smuts' own expressed disappointment at what he considered an ignoring of our status in connection with the

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Washington Conference, has occasioned so much doubt, suspicion and scepticism, that, unless that is removed by an authoritative statement of our true status, that confidence and belief to which I referred on a former occasion at this Conference, as necessary for the continued existence of the will to live in the Empire, cannot be expected to be what it should.

I shall not do my duty if I did not accentuate this. The cause of that unwillingness will, in that event, be not hostility to the Empire as such, but national disappointment, the suspicion of being insincerely dealt with, and resentment at being sneered and gibed at by men to whom South Africa does not mean what it means to the old Dutch or Huguenot settler, and who therefore cannot sympathise with him in that passionate love for a South African freedom, which he is often offensively told not to possess, while deeply longing for a sympathetic assurance.

The Dutch-speaking section of the South African people to whom I am chiefly alluding here, are deeply anxious to have that assurance, not because of any motive hostile to the welfare of the Empire, but because of their intense and passionate love for national freedom, and because of the proud conviction, that they deserve the possession and enjoyment of such freedom no less than any other section of the community, or of the Empire.

3. <u>Necessity of Dominion Status being authoritatively declared to the World.</u>

I shall now turn to the necessity of having our Dominion Status authoritatively declared to the world.

But here again allow me to refer to General Smuts in his memorandum already referred to. Speaking of the Constitutional position of the Dominions in regard to Executive Sovereignty in the Dominions, he says inter alia:

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....."there is a good deal of obscurity about the whole position, not only in the United Kingdom and the Dominions but also in foreign countries. Foreigners find it difficult to understand the unwritten British Constitution, in which precedents mould and expand the Constitution, and the legal aspect is nothing and the constitutional aspect everything. Even in America the Senate debates over the reservations in regard to the voting power of the British Empire in the Assembly of the League of Nations are a warning to us. Other people find it difficult to grasp the difference between legal theory and constitutional practice in the Empire and to see how the law of the constitution is moulded and finally abrogated by the practice of the Constitution, and how, without a change of the law, a British Colony becomes in constitutional fact an independent State."
"These abstruse matters might be cleared up in some formal way which would show the true nature of the Dominion status as distinct from legal archaisms. It has been suggested by Mr. Duncan Hall in his interesting book on the British Commonwealth of Nations, that a declaration of Constitutional Rights should be made which would explain the new developments in the Dominion Status, remove obscurities, set at rest doubts and abrogate what is obsolete - a Declaration, in fact, which would become a precedent and a most important amendment of the unwritten law of the Constitution".
....."I heartily endorse Hall's suggestion which seems to me the easiest constitutional means of settling the international status of the Dominions, without changing the unwritten flexible character of the constitution of the British Commonwealth".

The obscurity with foreigners of which General Smuts speaks, is admitted in almost every Foreign Office paper referring to Dominion relations in connection with foreign affairs; and publicists constantly comment upon it, while as a consequence of that obscurity they draw inferences and come to conclusions which are not merely inconsistent with the accepted Status of the Dominions, and offend "the feeling of legitimate pride and self-respect which affects" - as General Smuts says - "the rank and file of those young Nations just as much as their political leaders"; but which also are prejudicial to Dominion interests and to the exercise of Dominion rights.

Foreign States and Governments can take no official note of Dominion freedom except in so far as it has been officially intimated to them by Great Britain. Only in so far as that has been done, can the Dominions obtain international recognition; and Dominion feeling and sentiment, as far as South Africa is concerned, will obtain no adequate satisfaction unless that recognition corresponds with the measure of independence which is possessed. Anything short of that recognition must be felt, and is felt, to that extent as a denial of independence and freedom of action, and, therefore, as a denial of equality of status in the Empire, no matter how much between ourselves we may assert that independence,

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or that equality.

Mr. Bruce is reported as having said a few days ago (Weekly Dispatch October 24, 1926): "We must establish the great principle that all self-governing Dominions are free and independent entities whose destinies rest entirely in their own hands inside the British Empire". As long as the British Empire is not conceived of as some super-state or super-authority, with the right of imposing its will upon any, or of dragooning or coercing any of the associated member states to action or inaction, I have no fault to find with this declaration and heartily welcome it. But what I hold to be imperative, if the Empire is to remain strong and healthy and what I wish to urge most seriously, is, that the equal freedom and independence of all its members, shall be authoritatively declared to the world.

Freedom of will, i.e. consent, is the great rock of Empire, on which its foundations were laid in the past and upon which it must stand or fall in the future. That bond of Empire, the free will of the people of every member state, must be brought home to the Dominion communities no less than to foreign Governments, and that can be done adequately only by a declaration to that effect.

If that is done, the necessary confidence will be established with all sections of our South African people, in a manner that will obtain for the Empire a measure of support and co-operation not hitherto known; and as far as foreign nations are concerned, they will know and feel that where the associated members of the Empire speak or act altogether, they speak and act with the united heart and will of so many free peoples.

4. Object of Declaration not a written Constitution.

The object of such a declaration is not to have a

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Dominion Constitution laid down, specifying the rights and liberties of the Dominions. The Dominions standing as they do, on a footing of equal freedom and independence with Great Britain, it would be as superfluous and absurd to lay down what that freedom and independence is, as it would be to define or circumscribe the freedom or independence of Great Britain.

I repeat it, that what is wanted, and, as far as South Africa is concerned, urgently wanted, is, that that independence shall not only be known to and believed in by us sitting round this Conference table, but equally so by those whose representatives we are and upon whose will the existence of the empire depends and necessarily must depend; as also by the nations of the world, with the greater part of whom, through the League of Nations, the Dominions already stand internationally in contact; and all of whom have a right to demand that our position shall be communicated to them, if that position is to be of any importance to them, or to us, internationally.

Not until that is so made known shall our equal status cease to be a matter of obscurity and sceptical doubt at home and abroad, compelling us, as General Smuts once so bitterly complained, to enter by the back door to the Council chamber of assembled nations, - or excluding the Dominions from that chamber, when it suits the purpose of interested nations.

5. Nor to compete with Great Britain in the field of Foreign Diplomatic Services.

Nor is such a declaration desired for the purpose of competing with Great Britain in the field of diplomacy. South Africa certainly has no intention of availing herself

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indiscriminately of her rights in that respect, and so to take out of the hands of Great Britain the many and great international services now so willingly and efficiently performed by the latter on behalf of the Dominions. That would be the height of folly. But she does feel that where her interests require that any such service shall be performed by agents of her own, the right to do so shall not be obstructed by the interests of any other country or through the want of proper intimation of her national status.

6. Declaration necessary for adequate Empire Co-operation.

One word as to empire co-operation, upon which all the usefulness of the Commonwealth as between its members, as well as the influence which it is to exercise upon the world and world affairs must depend.

To that co-operation the goodwill of the Dominions is essential, and, as I have tried to point out, that goodwill can not be effectively secured except through an authoritative declaration of their constitutional position in the Empire.

It must, moreover, be pointed out that the absence of such a declaration cannot but hamper and restrict empire co-operation even where the greatest goodwill exists. In order that those to whom are at any time entrusted the destinies of a Dominion, may decide upon such co-operation, it is necessary that they should know to what extent their country's freedom will be committed through their decision. Not only that, they will also have to show to those on whose behalf they exercise that trust, that the freedom of the Dominion is not prejudicially affected by that co-operation.

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This it will not be possible to do satisfactorily in matters of important national concern, unless the people of the Dominion equally with their responsible Ministers are fully informed of their national status, and can clearly see how that status may or will be affected by such co-operation.

If it is true, as I see it complained of, that Dominion Statesmen at a Conference like this sometimes hardly pass beyond mutual courtesies, it is no doubt often due to the hesitancy induced by ignorance of what they will commit their country to if they consent to a line of policy suggested without the necessary assurance as to what the status of their country is, and how that status may be affected by that policy.

7. Conclusion.

Taking all this into consideration, and knowing what the feeling in South Africa is, and how much that feeling will be beneficially influenced by a declaration as urged by me, I do wish to impress upon the British Government the necessity of such a declaration being issued.

I have already quoted what General Smuts said in 1921 as to the necessity of such a declaration and how he then warned against being too late. Much ill-feeling and unpleasantness would have been avoided if effect had been given to his advice at the time.

Yet it is not too late; and I implore that what should have been done in 1921, shall now no longer be delayed.

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MR. AMERY then said that General Smuts' memorandum was one which he had drafted before he came to the Conference of 1921, and they had discussed it together as friends. He added that the matter was not then pressed because the proposal for a constitutional conference, at which both governments and oppositions would be represented, to discuss the whole question, was abandoned; General Smuts realized that a resolution of that kind could not usefully come from a conference of Prime Ministers.

Two questions were raised: that of a general declaration of rights as a basis which would be followed by constitutional development in the usual course; and the question whether the authority of the Imperial Conference was sufficient to reach a decision on that declaration.

In any such declaration it would be necessary to define the sense in which each part of the Empire is independent, while all are inter-dependent in virtue of a common Crown, a common nationality and a common responsibility. It would therefore require most careful preparation and consideration by some body of unprecedented character with a wider authority than the Imperial Conference.

There had been considerable advance since 1921, but the practical aspects of the question might perhaps be examined by legal experts.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'S recollection, which he thought Lord Birkenhead could confirm, was that General Smuts withdrew his proposal not merely because of the abandonment of the constitutional conference but also as a result of private discussions which showed the danger of rendering rigid inter-Imperial relations.

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The Empire's existence depended on the elasticity of its constitution. Definition would impair its growth; and it was this danger which led the Conference of 1921 not to attempt any such definition of our relations.

MR. BRUCE thought that such a declaration would merely state what is really a matter of common agreement, even if not generally understood abroad.

GENERAL HERTZOG considered that his country ought to know where it stood to-day; the uncertainty of the position led to ill-feeling and suspicion. Equal status requires some definition; they stood in every respect on the same footing with Great Britain as regards their rights, but they did not in practice exercise all those rights. The Empire consists of a number of free States all standing in the same relation under the Crown. If there is any appearance of subordination or inferiority, it is no more than an appearance.

LORD BALFOUR thought that he had stated this in the most explicit form in which it could be stated in his opening memorandum. He would deprecate going into exact nuances of independence either in that room, or on a public platform or anywhere else; was it not enough to know that in the view of every British statesman whatever rights Great Britain has the Dominions have; and the same applies to status. He had said as much quite recently in the House of Lords and indeed for the last twenty years. It is only on practical grounds that the leading part in the burden and cost of defence and the conduct of foreign affairs falls on one of the seven Governments.

MR. HAVENGA said that the British Government had never stated this to foreign governments.

LORD BALFOUR replied that it had been stated as a commonplace.

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SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN stated that no one in this Country would dispute that each self-governing Dominion is as independent as Great Britain; the only qualification is that Great Britain is not independent of the Dominions. It was not easy to explain the theory of this to foreigners, as he had experienced at Geneva in connection with the Protocol; though they recognised in practice that at Locarno he could only sign for the government in London.

MR. AMERY remarked that a definition which would satisfy us would not satisfy foreigners. We could only proceed step by step and deal with specific points as they arise.

LORD BIRKENHEAD said that he had listened with great attention to General Hertzog's observations and that nothing in them had caused him anxiety. There was indeed nothing new as Lord Balfour had pointed out some twenty years ago, in this independence of Dominions. In South Africa, as in the Irish Free State, sad memories were stored up. He saw nothing in the statement made by General Hertzog at the first meeting of the Conference to justify the criticism it had received in South Africa. In days of peril every part of the Empire had contributed its effort. He suggested that General Hertzog might put his ideas into a form which would satisfy him and which could be discussed. If after discussion agreement were reached in the Committee, the further question could be considered whether publication were desirable.

Sentiment might be as important as practical inconvenience; but such matters cannot be dealt with in abstract.

LORD BIRKENHEAD alluded to the concluding portion of General Hertzog's first statement, which contained the true view that certain functions were entrusted by the Empire to the Government in London as mandatory. Some day another Government might be invested with these functions. He was not speaking on behalf of India, but as a Cabinet Minister present at the meeting.

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MR. BRUCE agreed with the suggestion that General Hertzog should submit a formula. There was nothing to which he could take exception in General Hertzog's statement. The resolution of 1923 in relation to treaties had a more far-reaching importance.

GENERAL HERTZOG offered to lay a formula before the Committee.

LORD BALFOUR mentioned the necessity of considering at the same time the memorandum on the form of preamble and signature of treaties (E.104) which deals with the practical application of the principle of equal status.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN thought that the major issue raised by Heneral Hertzog should be settled before the details.

MR. O'HIGGINS then spoke on the general question of Dominion status. He compared the situation in the Irish Free State to that in the Union of South Africa. In both countries there was an intense and sensitive nationalism. The Free State had accepted the status of co-equality with Great Britain although the Treaty was opposed by part of the population. A declaration such as had been suggested would be of little value if contradicted by the facts. There are certain anomalies and anachronisms which appear to be of denial of equal status and which should be removed. He referred to the questions of the power of disallowance of Dominion legislation; of the exequaturs to Consuls; of extra-territorial jurisdiction; and of relations with foreign governments. All these matters should be adjusted and insofar as they can be met, every sacrifice of form will be more than compensated by increase of satisfaction.

LORD BALFOUR said that any point which the Irish Free State desired to raise would receive sympathetic consideration.

MR. O'HIGGINS accepted Mr. Amery's suggestion to refer all these points to a Sub-Committee.

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MR. FITZGERALD said that in the memorandum E.104 there was much with which he disagreed on grounds of policy rather than of detail.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the main question was how can we in signing a treaty present to the world that each self-governing part of the Empire is free to sign without committing other parts and yet all the signatures commit the whole Empire. The scheme embodied in memorandum E.104 was intended to meet the requirements.

LORD BALFOUR said that the design underlying the memorandum was that in the signature of treaties we preserve the unity of the Empire and the freedom of all parts of it.

MR. FITZGERALD remarked that the unity of the Empire had been sufficiently stressed, but the national consciousness is more likely to be under-estimated.

MR. AMERY'S suggestion that a Sub-Committee should be appointed was then accepted.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN suggested that at the next meeting the Committee might consider generally the question of improvements in the machinery for Inter-Imperial consultation and the conduct of foreign affairs.

The Committee agreed to consider this subject at a further meeting.

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR ON IMPERIAL AIR COMMUNICATIONS AT MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE HELD ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28TH, 1926, AT 11.0 A.M.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE

The subject for discussion is the question of Imperial air communications. I propose with the approval of the Conference to deal with it from the civil as distinct from the military point of view. I would, however, desire to point out at the very beginning of my remarks that the civil and military aspects are inextricably connected and that the development of Imperial air lines, whether by aeroplane or airship, is a vital factor in the problem of Empire defence. I confine myself this morning to the civil side of the question for the sole reason that the Chief of the Air Staff will develop the military side of it at the meeting that is to be held upon air defence at the Air Ministry on Tuesday next.

I start by stating two broad propositions that I believe will be accepted without argument or even discussion. Firstly, the Empire is in urgent need of better communications. Secondly, if the communications are to be improved, a sustained and united effort will be required. At the very moment when better communications are urgently needed, improvements in sea and land transport are being made almost prohibitive by their increased cost. The Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand have still to spend over 60 days each upon the journey that they make to and from the Imperial Conference, and unless a sustained effort is now made to introduce new methods and to apply the results of invention and discovery, they are likely to continue to take over 60 days for many Conferences to come. It is because the history of the development of transport is one long record of doubts and delays and difficulties that I venture to emphasise at the opening of my remarks the importance of a resolute insistence upon the need for new and improved methods. Let us take warning from the events of a little more than a century ago when upon the eve of the great

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railway development a well known author in the Edinburgh Review wrote - "What can be more palpably absurd and ridiculous than the prospect held out of locomotives travelling twice as fast as stage coaches", and demanded that "Parliament shall in all railways where sanctioned limit the speed to 8 or 9 miles and hour", and when the use of steamships was officially discouraged "as calculated to strike a fatal blow at the naval supremacy of the Empire".

I am here to-day to press upon your attention a new method of transport that, although it has only been organised for 7 years, is one of the most effective instruments for stopping the waste of time that is now weakening the vitality and retarding the development of Empire intercourse.

We have now reached a turning point, a most important turning point, in the development of airways and air communications. If we look back over the 23 years of flight, indeed if we only look back as far as the last Imperial Conference in 1923, we must be struck by the speed and the extent of the progress that has already been made. You will see in the comprehensive memorandum entitled "The approach towards a system of Imperial Air Communications" that I have circulated, a picture of civil air transport as it is to-day. You will note that wider and wider use is being made of it. Since the last conference the mileage covered by the regular air routes of the world has more than doubled. You will note the technical improvement that has been made with machines, engines, wireless and meteorology. Machines have become more powerful, more dependable and, as I think the members of the Conference who made flights at Croydon last Saturday will admit, more comfortable.

As to safety, what better record could there be than the 5 million miles flown by British services for 4 fatal accidents, and the million miles flown in Australia for a single accident?

Let me remind you in comparison with this record that the press in 1845 commented with grim irony that "the largest item in railway returns bids fair to be the list of the killed", and even

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7, years later in 1852 declared that "railway accidents are the staple of our newspaper reading".

What better proof could there be of the regularity of the services than the fact that to-day freight insurance premiums per £100 are by air less than half the premiums charged for surface transport? What more conspicuous illustration could there be of the practicability of Empire air routes than the successiv. journeys of Sir Alan Cobham, and the series of long distance flights carried out by units of the British and Australian Air Forces?

These results seem to me to show that after years of research and experiment and adventure we have reached a definite stage in the development of flying, from which we can in the near future make progress altogether out of proportion to anything that has been achieved during the last few years. There is to-day no technical or operational reason why by aeroplane or airship London should not be brought within a fortnight of the furthest cities and territories of the Empire. There is no technical reason why the journey to Canada should not be reduced to 2½ days, the journey to India 5 days, to Cape Town 6 days, to Australia 11 days, to New Zealand 13 days. These claims I can, of course, support by detailed and expert evidence at the Imperial Air Communications Sub-Committee meeting this afternoon. This morning I do nothing more than state them for the purpose of illustrating to the Conference the power of the new instrument that is now within our reach.

Having, then, stated these propositions, let me suggest to the Conference certain ways in which we can make fuller use of this new instrument in the near future. If I speak mainly of British policy and British services, it is not because I do not fully appreciate the remarkable progress that has been made with the air routes in Australia, or with air survey work in Canada. I deal chiefly with British routes and British policy because I am for the moment taking London as the terminus of the principal

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Empire air routes.

Hitherto, whilst certain European services have been safely and punctually operated for several years, there has been no civil air service plying between one part of the Empire and another. In the Middle East an air route between Egypt and Iraq has been regularly flown by military machines carrying mails and official passengers for 5 years. The route, 866 miles in length, has been methodically equipped with landing grounds and refuelling stations, and over it for 5 years have passed mails and official passengers in as many hours as it would have taken them days by pre-war transport. It was over this route that the Secretary of State for the Colonies and I made our journey to Iraq 18 months ago, and it was by means of air transport that we were able to visit in the space of the short Parliamentary Easter recess almost every important point from Cairo to the Anglo-Persian oil fields. You will see in my memorandum that we now propose to substitute in place of this military service a regular civil line for the carriage of freight and passengers, not only between Cairo and Baghdad but between Cairo and Karachi. My wife and I propose to make the opening journey on this route at the end of the year, and already time-tables have been issued and passages booked for the subsequent flights. The service will in itself be of great interest, for it will enable us to test the demand for the saving of 7 or 8 days in the journey between England and India. Since there is as yet no air route between England and Egypt, a passenger will go by land and sea to Cairo or Gaza, and there change into one of the new three engined aeroplanes. But the essential importance of the route greatly transcends the saving of 7 or 8 days that will be made in the journey between England and India. Its real significance lies in the fact that it is the first section of the great Empire air route to the Far East. It is for us to consider whether the other sections could not be completed and a through air route created of incalculable importance for both military and civil communications. I do not wish at this stage to overburden the conference with detail

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Empire air routes.

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The Sub-Committee upon Imperial Air Communications will have an opportunity of fully investigating the possibility of the project that I am now discussing. May I, however, in passing, offer certain suggestions for carrying this proposal into effect that the representatives of the Dominions may desire to consider at their leisure.

Would it be possible for the Government of India to consider the question of extending the service across India from Karachi to Bombay and Calcutta? Would it be possible for the Government of Burma to consider the possibility of carrying it a stage further, to Rangoon? Might it not then be practicable to link with the civil line experimental flights of the Air Force flying boats that it is intended to station in the Far East, and might they not again join up with occasional service flights of the Royal Australian Air Force from Australia? I do not expect answers to those questions at a moment's notice. I do, however, hope that we shall be able to consider them in some detail at the Sub-Committee. If in the not remote future links can be inserted in some such way as I have suggested, a long chain of great tensile power will have been forged across the Empire's framework.

So also with Africa. Just as there must be an Empire air route to the far East stretching to Australia and New Zealand, so there must be an Empire air route from London to the Cape with branches diverging to the West African Dependencies. Here again a beginning, I admit a small beginning, is being made during the next few months. An enterprising pioneer, with the help of the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan, has organised an experimental service covering 1400 miles between Khartoum and Kisumu. As the route follows the course of the White Nile the machines will be hydroplanes. If this service is successful from 10 days to a fortnight will be saved in the journey between Khartoum and Uganda, and 8 days between Khartoum and East Africa. Why should not the Northern and Southern links be forged in this African chain,

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and a through aeroplane service run at least ~~e~~ occasionally between Egypt and Cape Town? This would mean the addition of the Northern link between Egypt and Khartoum and the Southern link between Kisumu and Cape Town. I am prepared to say that we will attempt in the course of the training programme of the Royal Air Force to arrange for a certain number of flights, carrying mails and official passengers, to link up with the civil machines at Khartoum. Would it be possible for the South African Government to consider whether the South African Air Force could not make a certain number of flights linking up with the route in Uganda?

The first great African flight was brilliantly carried out by a famous S. African pilot, whom we welcome here this morning. Whilst it would be impertinent for me to press unduly the S. African Government, I hope that I may be allowed to say how greatly we should value the co-operation of the S. African Air Force in the pioneer work of organising the route that has already been rendered illustrious by the flights of Sir Pierre Van Ryneveld, Sir Alan Cobham and Wing Commander Pulford.

In the meanwhile we in Great Britain should be interesting ourselves in forging the link between London and Egypt. Already we have made considerable progress with the development of flying boats that will be suitable for the passage of the Mediterranean, and attention is being constantly given to the difficulties that have hitherto blocked the way to an England - Egypt service.

You will see from what I have just said that I am proposing for your consideration the creation of these two long distance air routes, the first to the Far East and Australia and the second to Cape Town, upon what I will call a mosaic plan. We are all too hard up for any one of us to undertake the heavy cost of an air route to Singapore or an air route to Cape Town. If, then, we are to form these routes, we must each of us insert

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our particular stone in the design. I have suggested a way in which we might each take our share and in which, what is no less important, military and civil aviation might co-operate at least for the pioneer work. If the Royal Air Force undertakes a certain number of service flights in conjunction with the civil lines, and the Governments of S. Africa and Australia allow their Air Forces to co-operate with us, not only shall we be obtaining valuable military training for our service units, but we shall also be making possible the experimental transport of mails and passengers over a large section of the British Empire. My proposal, as you see, involves no subsidy, it involves nothing more than co-operation between one Government and another and between military and service flying. If a certain number of pioneer flights can be successfully carried out in this way, I am certain that the formation of regular civil lines will follow as inevitably as the Cairo - Karachi service has followed the military mail across the desert.

There is another very important field where we need the co-operation of the Governments of the Dominions and the Dependencies in whatever part of the world they may be situated. If these routes are to be created and safely maintained, it is essential that landing grounds should be formed at the proper intervals and that these landing grounds should be kept in good order. I cannot too strongly emphasise this need for good landing grounds kept in proper condition. After each of his great flights Sir Alan Cobham has declared that good landing grounds are a first condition of success. Will the Governments of the Empire, whether of the Dominions or Dependencies, take their share in providing suitable landing grounds upon the great Empire routes and in keeping them in good order? I propose at the Sub-Committee to go further into this question and to provide the Members with a list of the principal landing grounds required upon the great Empire air routes, with a view to seeing whether each Government could not undertake the responsibility of

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keeping in order those within its territory.

I have now dealt in outline with the two main aeroplane routes, the route to the Far East and the route to Cape Town. Whilst I have purposely concentrated my attention on these two great trunk lines, I do not wish it to be thought that there are not wide opportunities for starting branch and internal lines. Australia has already pointed the way by her successful development of at least 3 long distance regular services. There are great opportunities for air communication in the West Indies; judging from Belgian experience in the Congo almost incredible saving of time can be achieved by internal air lines in Africa; whilst nearer at home with a comparatively short service the Irish Free State could link Ireland with the great air routes of the Empire and the world.

I pass, however, without further comment upon the Empire aeroplane routes to the Empire airship routes, and to a field of research, experiment and trial that we have been extensively exploring since the last Imperial Conference. Certain of the Delegates to whom this field of flying development may be less familiar than the field of the aeroplane, may harbour in their minds two grave doubts about the machine that is lighter than air. Why, they may ask themselves or me, should the Empire require both airship and aeroplane routes, and how can airships be ever immune from the catastrophies that destroyed the R.38, the Dixmude and the Shenandoah? Let me try in a sentence or two to give the answer to both these questions.

As to the first, airships will carry out the long distance non-stop air journeys of the future. The two airships that we are building should, with a normal load of freight and a 100 passengers, be able to fly without refuelling in good weather a distance of some 4,000 miles. The airship, being of great size and practically silent, will be much more comfortable than the aeroplane for long distance journeys. How comfortable it can be made is illustrated by a model that I have had erected for the Sub-Committee at the Air Ministry. The representatives of the conference will find that accommodation

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is being planned for a 100 passengers, promenade decks, outside cabins and ample smoking and dining rooms. The aeroplane and the airship are really complementary to each other and it is necessary in my view, to organise both aeroplane and airship lines, the long distance aeroplane lines being invaluable for short stage traffic and for strategic as well as civil purposes, and being particularly needed at the present time when our airship programme is still in an experimental stage.

Then there is the objection, and a very serious objection, raised on the ground of danger. There is the danger inherent in so large and fragile a structure; there is the danger of storms of unexpected and incredible ferocity; there is the danger of conflagration in a ship composed of highly inflammable material. How can dangers such as these be ever surmounted? I would like the Conference or the Committee to examine my experts as fully as possible upon all these points. I need not tell you that, being a very cautious person myself, I have examined them again and again upon them. They and I are very far from being reckless optimists. Indeed our attitude towards this great problem has been well described by a well known Cambridge scientist as an attitude of "healthy cold feet". What I would say without fear of contradiction is that great progress has been made both on the theoretical and practical side during the last two years, and that we can claim to have made the fullest possible use of scientific theory, of fullscale and model experiment, of the testing of materials, and, by no means least important, of the study of meteorology. We believe that we have discovered many of the weaknesses and surmounted many of the difficulties that occasioned the failures in the past.

I will give you two or three instances of what I mean. The structure of both the airships that are being built will be incomparably stronger in the matter of material than the structure of any airship that has been built in the past. I hope that the Members of the Conference will find time to visit our construction shed at Cardington

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where they will see for themselves the great advance that has been made both in design and material over anything that has been previously attempted. As to weather, the pages of my memorandum describe in great detail the intensive study that the Meteorological department has made of the conditions of the air over these shores and on the route to India. You will find on pages 18 and the following a series of most interesting maps showing the scale and detail to which the study of weather conditions has been carried. Accurate climate and weather reports are quite essential to the development of airship routes and not only from the point of view of safety. For it should be remembered that whilst from the point of view of safety it is essential that the airship should be able to avoid storms by means of weather warnings, it is no less necessary in the interests of speed and economy that the airship should make the fullest possible use of the prevailing winds upon the various routes.

There is another way in which the danger of sudden wind currents has been met. Representatives of the conference will see at Cardington the newest type of mooring mast. The mooring mast is a post-war invention of great importance from the fact that it enables the airship to be easily moored without the risk involved by pulling a structure 700 ft. long into a shed.

Then again we have tried to meet the danger of conflagration. The airship that is being built at Cardington will be equipped not with petrol but with heavy oil engines. This change shows a great advance in the way of safety, and particularly in the case of airships operating in tropical climates.

In all these directions, then, we have made a serious and scientific effort to avail ourselves of the lessons of the past, and to avoid the dangers that have hitherto been so formidable. Slowly but surely our programme has been developing. In a year's time the two great airships should be completed. It is then proposed to carry out adequate home trials and subsequently to fly at least

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one of the airships regularly to and from India for a full period of trial in tropical conditions. When these trials are completed, it is hoped, if the Dominions so desire, to make demonstration flights to the capitals of the Empire. The details of this programme I hope to discuss fully at the Sub-Committee. To-day I desire only to emphasise one very important feature of it. If the demonstration flights are to take place to Austfalia and New Zealand, to Canada and South Africa, the co-operation of the Dominion Governments is essential. We cannot fly the two airships to the Dominions even for demonstration flights unless two conditions are satisfied. Firstly, there must be mooring masts to which the airships can be attached at the end of their journey. Secondly, there must be meteorological data upon which the choice of dates for the flight can be based, and a meteorological organisation for keeping the airship supplied with the necessary weather intelligence. These two conditions are vital to the programme and, what is more, they are very urgent. Although the expense need not be heavy, the provision of masts and meteorological organisations take a considerable time to complete. I am advised that this provision will take as long as two years to carry into effect. You will at once see the bearing of this fact. If the programme of demonstration flights is to be carried out without delay, the orders for the mooring masts ought to be given immediately, and arrangements made without delay for the meteorological organisations. I have with me the estimates of cost for the masts and meteorology, and I am prepared to discuss them either at the Conference or at the Committee according as is most convenient. I will only now say that the provision of both masts and meteorology does not involve any very large sums - (the masts and their equipment may cost £70,000 apiece, and meteorology should not entail more than a relatively insignificant expenditure). I much hope, therefore, that the Dominions concerned will examine as sympathetically as they can my request that they should, by ordering without delay the masts and by organising the

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necessary meteorological services, enable us to carry out without check or hindrance a series of demonstration flights that may mean a revolution in the means of Empire communications.

There is a further and no less important side of airship development that I desire to discuss in detail at the Committee - the question of developing this stage of airship experiment into the further stage of commercial airship operation. I wish to see a commercial airship line started at the earliest possible moment between Great Britain and the various Dominions. As to when it can be started and as to how it can be started, are questions that I suggest that I should discuss at the Committee. It may be that we shall find that the question must be kept under the closest attention during the remainder of the experimental period, and that further conferences are necessary between the Dominions and ourselves before the normal date of the next Imperial Conference. Will it be possible to hold some time between now and the next Imperial Conference an Imperial Air Conference at some suitable centre in the Empire, where we could discuss the quick developments that are constantly taking place and in particular give our attention to the question of forming a commercial company or companies for operating airship lines? I am most anxious that we should not lose any opportunity for starting these lines. At present we are ahead of any other nation in the development of airships and we have the chance of founding within the Empire an airship industry and the first airship lines. Let us hope that an experiment that means so much to the life of the Empire will prove successful and let us lose no opportunity for co-operation in starting the airship lines.

There then, I fear at very great length, is a picture of the Empire air route programme upon which I ask for your advice and co-operation. I do not believe that I am either a fanatic or a visionary in asking your support for these schemes. If they prove successful they may give a physical unity to the Empire that

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(Mr. King)

1926 Imperial Conference — 1st. — C 63947 (1926)

Concluding Meeting

Prime Minister:

May I add a word of personal appreciation of the spirit which has marked all the proceedings of this Conference? Nothing could have exceeded the courtesy and kindness of His Majesty's Ministers in Great Britain as a government and as individuals. The arrangements for the conduct of our business could not have been more thorough and complete, and the opportunities afforded for personal and social intercourse have been more than exceptional. Above all, I think, we appreciate the friendliness and the frankness of the attitude of the members of the Government throughout our discussions in Conference and in committee. This, if I may say so, could have found no finer expression than in the manner in which you have presided over these deliberations. In the midst of the most onerous and exacting of public duties you have given ~~no end of~~ unsparing time and thought to the proceedings of the Conference, and have ~~throughout~~ at all times exercised a degree of patience and judgment which has ~~been the~~ commanded our highest admiration ~~of all~~.

As regards all the delegations present, I think we ~~will~~ shall agree that there has been a ~~most~~ striking readiness and desire to understand and appreciate one another's point of view and special difficulties. It in no way subtracts from the importance of any specific report or conclusion to acknowledge, as I believe we all ~~will~~ shall, that the greatest achievement of the Conference is the

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evidence its proceedings have afforded of the common standards, the fundamental unity of purpose and ideals, and the desire to work out a sound basis for enduring co-operation, which have marked all its deliberations. If what we have accomplished in these past six weeks contributes anything to the maintenance and extension of that spirit, as I believe it will, we may face the future with all confidence.

I should like also to express appreciation of the work of the Conference Secretaries. The untiring energy, exceptional skill and never-failing goodwill of Sir Maurice Hankey and Mr. Harding have made smooth many difficult paths, and have unified the proceedings in many material particulars. To all those who have co-operated with and assisted them in the difficult tasks of these crowded weeks, we are equally grateful.

It is not easy to take farewell of colleagues whose place of meeting has been amid surroundings so replete with historic interest and to whom, as the days have gone by, attachments have become increasingly strong. It is some compensation, however, to be able to carry away a friendship greatly strengthened between all parts of the British Empire through personal contact with those who have represented its many interests here, and an enhanced appreciation of the greatness of the common inheritance we share.

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C 63949

Bolfour

Statement of conclusion of Bé
& self governing communities
affirmed: language used relevant to
Crown
all changes of one Empire
case in mind for almost forty years
consultations
communities entitled to
autonomous communities
freedom of action
equality of status essential foundation
of empire federation
common allegiance of sovereign
Imperial defence
foreign affairs } belong to
principles determining foreign affairs
product of consultation, should
more continuous
Difficulty to ultimate decision of im-
perial conferences

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C 63950

Hertzog:

independence = equality

independent equal States

independent states

individual in international recognition

independence - domicile = international

independence of Great Britain
= in economic & client matt of Gt Br

Settlement of Dominion States

not a system of subordination

Balfour re
Independence.

Verbal difference

status rights Gt Br. has
in Commonwealth
(see Speech Balfour. Oct 26.
1926 Documents

Mr Lyon Mackenzie - We are not dependencies
they self governing Dominions
as independent of Gt Br" -
(Col Secy

Britain is not analysis of Commonwealth
how can Dominions be analysis of Br.

Birkenhead - Burdens of protocol has
been on Br. Isles more heavily.
Not helpful or relevant to lay
Parliaments or Courts.

C 63951

Equality of States - fundamental
(Balfour)

O'Higgins:

Recognition of latter value if fact
& — no absolute duration.

removal of anomalies = anachronisms

Abrogation of King's Sovereignty
of Gt Britain.

duration of Crown

Question of minorities
Extra territorial
Nationals of Commonwealth

Secession of Dom will be never
Union reconstituted & gain in substance.

Questions in connection with equality of
States to be continued.

Matters which belie Statement of
co-equality of States

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Aberfeldie Hotel Bungalows

Declaration of independence

– publication

C 63952

Scotsman's Hill

Letter from Consuls, London Consul

2 Hungry Hollow – Empire

Intermediate regulations – Workington

Appointment R.C.

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C 63953

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S E C R E T.
E.(I.R./26)1.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

INTER IMPERIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE. COPY NO. 6

DRAFT DECLARATION PREPARED BY GENERAL HERTZOG.

The Prime Ministers of the

United Kingdom

and of the Dominions of

Canada,
Australia,
New Zealand,
South Africa,
Newfoundland and
Ireland

with their associated fellow Ministers assembled at the Imperial Conference, recognising that -

they are respectively the representatives of independent states, equal in status and separately entitled to international recognition, with Governments and Parliaments independent of one another; united by the common bond of allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations

are agreed that :

(a) whatever surviving forms of inequality or subordination there may be in the mutual relations between the one and any other of the said States, whether in respect of legislature, executive or judiciary, such inequality or subordination is due to and dependent upon the voluntary consent of the associated state concerned.

and

(b) that it is desirable that the constitutional relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions be properly known and recognised, and that the necessary steps be taken that the equal status of the associated states and their relations as above set forth be formally and authoritatively intimated to their own communities and to the world at large.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
28th October, 1926.

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Previous draft of Lord Balfour's circulated Oct 28-26

C 63954

13

Great Britain and the said self-governing

Dominions are autonomous communities of equal

status, united by the common bond of allegiance

entitled to international recognition and freely associated as members of the B.E. of Nations
to the Crown, but in no sort of subordination

one to another.

All their inhabitants though under many

Governments are citizens of one Empire (under

one Crown).

(To that Empire and Crown they have duties

and obligations, but) each is (through its own

Parliament) the sole judge in its own case of the

manner in which those) duties and obligations (may (I have left the other members'

best be fulfilled.) be left

Formal survivals from an earlier stage of

development are matters of consent and can

always be modified or eliminated (by common

agreement) if they prove inconvenient. after consultation with the Dominions

Must it be declared that this constitutional relation [illegible]
of the Dominions to the United Kingdom.

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C 63955

In so far as any functions of national sovereignty are carried out by Great Britain or by any ~~other of these units~~ Dominion on behalf of the rest, or in so far as certain historic forms survive which originally implied superior authority on the part of the Parliament of Great Britain over the ~~other~~ Dominion Parliaments ~~represented at the Conference~~, the exercise of these functions or the maintenance of these forms is a matter of consent ~~on the part of the other partner states~~.

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Oct. 28th
Privy Council
draft of circular

C 63956

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S E C R E T.
E.(I.R./26)1.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

INTER IMPERIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

COPY NO. 16

DRAFT DECLARATION PREPARED BY GENERAL HERTZOG.

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United Kingdom

and of the Dominions of

Canada,
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New Zealand,
South Africa,
Newfoundland and
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are agreed that :

(a) whatever surviving forms of inequality or subordination there may be in the mutual relations between the one and any other of the said States, whether in respect of legislature, executive or judiciary, such inequality or subordination is due to and dependent upon the voluntary consent of the associated state concerned.

and

(b) that it is desirable that the constitutional relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions be properly known and recognised, and that the necessary steps be taken that the equal status of the associated states and their relations as above set forth be formally and authoritatively intimated to their own communities and to the world at large.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
28th October, 1926.

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Mr Balfour's

C 63957

Concise description of the relations which the seven self-governing portions of the Empire bear to each other and to the Empire as a whole.

.....

(1) Great Britain and the Dominions are self-governing communities within the British Empire; and

(2) their inhabitants, though under many Governments, are citizens of one commonwealth under one Crown.

(3) They are all of equal status, and in no sort of subordination one to another.

(4) They severally owe loyalty to the Empire of which they are a part; but

(5) the mode in which in any particular case the duties of loyalty may best be fulfilled is within the exclusive jurisdiction of each particular Parliament, and cannot be imposed on ~~it~~ any of them from without.

(6) Formal survivals from earlier stages of development are matters of consent, and can always be modified or eliminated after consultation if they prove inconvenient.

.....

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POOR
COPY

proposed Preamble
to
Lord Balfour's Memorandum
draft

C 63958

Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions

are autonomous communities of equal status, united by the common bond of allegiance to the Crown, but in no sort of subordination one to another.

All their inhabitants though under many Governments are citizens of one Empire under one Crown.

To that Empire and Crown they have duties and obligations, but each is (through its own Parliament) the sole judge in its own case of the manner in which those duties and obligations may best be fulfilled.

Formal survivals from an earlier stage of development ~~may always~~ be modified or eliminated if they prove inconvenient.

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C 63959

(THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT).

S E C R E T.
E.(I.R./26)1.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

INTER IMPERIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

COPY NO. 2

DRAFT DECLARATION PREPARED BY GENERAL HERTZOG.

The Prime Ministers of the

United Kingdom

and of the Dominions of

Canada,
Australia,
New Zealand,
South Africa,
Newfoundland and
Ireland

with their associated fellow Ministers assembled at the Imperial Conference, recognising that -

they are respectively the representatives of independent states, equal in status and separately entitled to international recognition, with Governments and Parliaments independent of one another; united by the common bond of allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations

are agreed that :

(a) whatever surviving forms of inequality or subordination there may be in the mutual relations between the one and any other of the said States, whether in respect of legislature, executive or judiciary, such inequality or subordination is due to and dependent upon the voluntary consent of the associated state concerned.

and

(b) that it is desirable that the constitutional relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions be properly known and recognised, and that the necessary steps be taken that the equal status of the associated states and their relations as above set forth be formally and authoritatively intimated to their own communities and to the world at large.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
28th October, 1926.

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C 63960

4

E(IR/26)2

(two portions)

Great Britain and the self-governing

Dominions are autonomous communities of equal

status, united by the common bond of allegiance

to the Crown, but in no sort of subordination

one to another.

All their inhabitants though under many

Governments are citizens of one Empire under

one Crown.

To that Empire and Crown they have duties

and obligations, but each is (through its own

Parliament) the sole judge in its own case of the

manner in which those duties and obligations may

best be fulfilled.

Formal survivals from an earlier stage of

development are matters of consent and can

always be modified or eliminated by common

agreement if they prove inconvenient.

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C 63961

Draft Prepared on 29th October, 1926.

Great Britain and the Self-Governing Dominions are autonomous communities of equal status, united by the common bond of allegiance to the Crown, in no sort of subordination one to another, ~~but~~ ~~freely associated~~ as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. All their inhabitants, though under many Governments, are citizens of one Commonwealth under one Crown. The constituent members of the Commonwealth have duties and obligations to one another, but each is (through its own Parliament) the sole judge in its own case of the nature and extent of those duties and obligations and the manner in which they should be fulfilled.

Formal survivals from earlier stages of development are matters of consent, and can always be modified or eliminated after consultation if they prove inconvenient.

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POOR
COPY

C 63962

b

Great Britain and the Self-Governing Dominions are autonomous communities of equal status, united by the common bond of allegiance to the Crown, in no sort of subordination one to another, but freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. All their inhabitants, though under many Governments, are citizens of one Commonwealth under one Crown. The constituent members of the Commonwealth have duties and obligations to one another, but each is (through its own Parliament) the sole judge in its own case of the nature and extent of these duties and obligations and the manner in which they should be fulfilled.

Formal survivals from earlier stages of development are matters of consent, and can always be modified or eliminated after consultation if they prove inconvenient.

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C 63963

DRAFT PREPARED ON 23th OCTOBER, 1926

Great Britain and the Self-Governing Dominions are autonomous communities of equal status, in no sort of subordination one to another, but united by the common bond of the Crown and as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, or the British Empire, as it is alternatively designated.

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C 63964

Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions are autonomous communities of equal status, in no sort of subordination one to another, but united by the common bond of the Crown and (freely associated) as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Formal survivals from earlier stages of development are matters of consent, and can always be modified or eliminated after consultation if they prove inconvenient.

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POOR
COPY

Prime Minister's Office Oct 29. 26
Lord Balfour's final draft

C 63965

Great Britain and the Self-Governing Dominions are autonomous communities of equal status, united by the common bond of allegiance to the Crown, in no sort of subordination one to another, ~~entitled to international recognition,~~ but freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. All their inhabitants, though under many Governments, are citizens of one Commonwealth under one Crown. The constituent members of the Commonwealth have duties and obligations to one another, but each is (through its own Parliament) the sole judge in its own case of the ~~manner in which~~ those duties ~~and obligations~~ should best be fulfilled.

Formal survivals from earlier stages of development are matters of consent, and can always be modified or eliminated after consultation if they prove inconvenient.

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Defence C 63966

Statement by

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

at Meeting of Imperial Conference

held on October 28th, 1926,

at 11.0 a.m.

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MR MACKENZIE KING: Prime Minister, We have, I think, been thrilled, if I may use that word, by the survey that has been given us by the Secretary of State for Air of the Air Communication Programme of the Empire. It is difficult to find words wherewith adequately to describe it; it was certainly fascinating, one would be inclined to use the word "romantic" if one did not know how practical the Secretary of State for Air is. I think I may say it is prophetic. It certainly suggests a solution of many of the problems of communication between different parts of the Empire to which hitherto distance has presented formidable barriers. Following the comprehensive survey of the Secretary of State for Air, I rather hesitate to say anything about what Canada has been seeking to do by way of developing its Air Service in co-operation with other parts of the Empire, but it might be of interest to have a few words on what has thus far been attempted. May I, first, say in regard to the specific request which the Secretary of State for Air has made, that the Canadian Government will only too readily co-operate with the British Government in the way he has suggested, by immediately taking steps to see that mooring masts to secure the landing places for airships in Canada are erected; also that the work of meteorological organisation is commenced forthwith.

Canada

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Canada is assisting Civil Aviation by doing pioneer work; by establishing air harbours and aerodromes; by training of civilian pilots; by design and manufacture of new types of machines and by the training of mechanics in technical schools.

The extent to which Canada has carried out Civilian Aviation work is reflected in the Memoranda supplied for the use of this Conference, where considerable prominence is given to the Aerial Survey and Forestry Protection work carried out in the Dominion.

Canada is well supplied with railways. Thus far, therefore, aerial transportation in Canada has been confined to the remoter districts, where there is little or no traffic. Each year, a certain number of passengers have been successfully carried, chiefly Police, Prospectors , Mining Engineers, Forest Rangers, Explorers, Indian Agents making treaty payments, etc. These have been conveyed in a few hours across undeveloped country, where the only other means of transportation was by canoe or on foot, involving journeys of weeks.

In other directions Canadian Civil Aviation has reached a comparatively advanced stage.

Air survey work has been developed to a greater extent probably than by any other nation, and a great deal of mapping of undeveloped and unexplored country has been accomplished, or is in the programme for future work.

Aerial Photography has been greatly developed and the visits to Canada of Colonel Winterbotham of the Geographical Section, General Staff, War Office, and Colonel Ryder of the Aerial Survey Company, have helped to bring about close co-operation between Canada and the other parts of the Empire, to the mutual benefit of all concerned. Our aerial survey work is assisting in the development of the new mining areas in different parts of Canada. When the Red Lake district was opened up in the Spring of this year maps were available for the whole area for the use of the pioneers coming in.

This

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This would have been absolutely impossible but for the Aerial Surveys carried out by the Royal Canadian Air Force.

Aerial photography has also revolutionised the method of timber cruising - determining the character of the timber in any area. It is easy to detect the different types of timber from an aerial photograph and a far more detailed knowledge may be thus obtained of the character of a forest area than by the earlier methods and in a fraction of the time.

Another main duty of the Aerial Services of Canada, Dominion and Provincial, is Forestry Protection. In no part of the world has it reached such a state of efficiency as in Canada. Daily patrols of the Forest areas are carried out, reports sent by wireless telegraphy and telephony immediately a fire is spotted, and fire fighting personnel and equipment carried to the scene. In this connection, the use of wireless telegraphy both ways - from the aeroplane to the Station and from the Station to the aeroplane - has been brought to a state of perfection.

Research work has been carried out by a Committee under Colonel Tory as Chairman, as the result of the last Imperial Conference and a certain amount of research work in Aerial Dynamics has been accomplished at Toronto University.

Canadian representatives are now in daily touch with those in charge of Civil Aviation and with companies undertaking Aerial Survey in the British Isles and other parts of the Empire.

We have effected an arrangement with the Air Ministry whereby we will interchange with them a Civil Aviation Officer so that Great Britain and Canada will each be able to benefit by the experience and work of the other.

We have developed machines specially suited to Canadian conditions, both seaplanes and aeroplanes being manufactured in considerable numbers. Generally all possible encouragement is being given to the manufacture of aircraft.

Other channels into which the Civil Aviation in Canada

has

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has been directed are :-

The investigation of Rust Diseases in wheat in the Prairie Provinces, and the method of transmission of the spores.

Fisheries Protection Service.

Prevention of Smuggling.

The following are some statistics relating to the year 1926:-

56 million acres of forest patrolled on Fire Duties.
227 Fires spotted.
224 Fires suppressed.
8,335 square miles of vertical Survey carried out.
40,000 square miles of Oblique Survey carried out.

It may be claimed that Aviation has a great future before it in Canada in the development of the unsettled parts of the country. It will be useful, for instance, in the near future in opening up the country in the Northern part of Saskatchewan, where a great National Park is projected.

Perhaps it may be said, without any idea of boasting, that Canadians have a special aptitude for flying, as borne out by the fact that 10,000 were engaged in flying duties in the Royal Air Force during the late War and among them were some of the most notable pilots.

As Civil Aviation has a direct relation to the creation of a Military Air Force and serves to create a Reserve thereto, in this field Canada may be in a position to lend very great assistance in Imperial Defence. By the Air Force Regulations an individual who obtains a Pilot's certificate automatically becomes a Reservist.

Regulations have been prepared governing the formation of an Air Force Reserve and outlining the organization of an Aviation Association with branches in each Province.

Finally, when it is desired to extend an airship service to Canada the Canadian Government will be ready to consider methods of co-operation as for example, as I have already mentioned, by the establishment of Air Bases. Possibly Canada will also be able to assist by the provision of Helium Gas, which can be extracted in the Dominion.

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C 63971

Statement by

the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia

at Meeting of Imperial Conference

held on October 28th, 1926, at 11.0 a.m.

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MR. BRUCE: Prime Minister, I am sure we have all listened with very great interest to the statement that has been made by the Secretary of State for Air this morning, which certainly holds out prospects of a solution of one of the greatest problems we have been faced with in the Empire, that is the possibility of reducing the period necessary for the conveyance of mails and of passengers from one part of the Empire to the other. I quite agree with him that where we are on the brink of such a tremendous development as this we must not allow our minds to get into the same state as those of our forefathers when an accelerated means of transport was offered to them in the railways which has just been opened up. Remember the experience we have had of the flight of the Smith Brothers to Australia, and particularly the flight of Parer and MacIntosh, which I think has never received sufficient recognition. Those two boys set out to travel round the world; they had no proper preparation made; they had a single engine machine which I understand was more or less tied together with string; and yet they travelled 12,000 miles and landed safely. And now we have the final journey which was undertaken so recently by Sir Alan Cobham. While those flights are only individual efforts I am certainly optimistic enough to believe that what can be done as a pioneer adventure will be followed definitely by the establishment of air routes and means of communication for both passengers and mails. It is only necessary to look at what has been done and the distances that are being flown regularly at the present

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time, to understand the practicability of the ideas for further development which the Secretary of State put forward. His idea was that there should be an air service from Karachi to Bombay and then across from Bombay to Calcutta and down to Singapore and on to Australia. It does not seem to me the difficulties are insuperable in the way of accomplishing that. There is one great stretch which you have now in contemplation, to turn into a regular commercial service the flights made by service machines from Egypt to Iraq, 886 miles. In Australia we have one regular service of 1442 miles, which goes both ways every week and has never had an accident at all save one prior to the opening up of the commercial service, so that I do not think there is anything impossible in establishing such a means of communication with Australia. If India and Burma will co-operate in the way that has been suggested, we most certainly would be prepared to consider the question of doing our part by way of experimental flights with the British Squadron which I understand it is contemplated to send out. Such flights would of course have a very valuable training aspect in addition to the useful work that would be done in ascertaining the possibility of establishing a commercial air route down from Singapore to Australia. All those questions I imagine will be rather more fully thrashed out when we come to discuss the matter in a Sub-Committee. The only point on which I would say a word is in connection with the services that have been established in Australia because I think they point to the fact that commercial flying is now established on a

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practical basis and that you can cover great distances with very great advantage. The Secretary of State referred to the fact that both Mr. Coates and I have sixty days of travelling to and from the Imperial Conferences. On the present occasion I was able to do 500 miles by aeroplane on the basis really of hiring a taxi. That is all it is regarded as in Australia now, and by that means we saved a four days railway journey across the Continent. There is another flight we should remember in connection with Australia and that is the flight of the Italian, Pinedo, who came to Australia and then went right on up to Japan and came back to Italy without any misadventure at all. With regard to these routes in Australia, it is now quite a common and accepted thing to go by air if you have a journey to do over any of these long distances. The routes that are actually open are from Perth to Derby in Western Australia which is a distance of 1,442 miles right round the coast of Western Australia. That service makes the trip both ways every week. It is quite a regular thing for travellers to go by air to go to the north of Australia. The Western Australian Service carried during the first month of its operation 577 letters. This total has now been increased to about 25,000 per month. On the other side of the Continent there is a route in Queensland from Charleville to Camooweal which extends for over 825 miles over which there is a weekly service in each direction. When I was in Queensland last time we saved a tremendous amount of time by merely using the ordinary regular commercial service. There is another route operating now which goes from Adelaide to Cootamundra a distance of 578 miles over which a service is maintained weekly in each direction. There are

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connections from Broken Hill to Mildura which is 189 miles and from Melbourne to Hay which is 233 miles. Over both these routes a service is run twice weekly in each direction. The total of those regular routes which are running commercial services is 3267 miles. It is contemplated to go progressively on and link up those various routes. There is another contemplated to go out into the Northern Territory from Camooweal into the region of the Daly Waters and conceivably work across to Wyndham, which is a proposed extension of the Derby route. We would then have a continuous connection right round from Perth to Charleville in Queensland which is the terminus of the Queensland route at present. These services would run through sparsely populated districts, which in many cases are without railway communication. Those which are already in existence have proved of inestimable value to settlers in the outback, by carrying mails and light freight, and by conveying medical aid or transporting sick and injured to hospital.

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There are other routes contemplated to connect Hay with Charleville and also connecting Charleville with the coast and Brisbane and conceivably working down to Sydney. There is also another route running up north from Cloncurry on the Queensland route which will connect up to the base of the Gulf of Carpentaria at Normanton. All these routes are actually today in contemplation as things that will be done within the next few years and things which it is essential to do in order to open up the country properly and get the necessary means of communication. That will involve of course thousands of miles being flown every year in Australia in addition to what is being done today. One further contemplated air service of considerable importance to Empire development would operate on the trans-continental route between Perth and Adelaide. The idea would be to cover this distance within 24 hours, including night flying over the central section where the conditions for such work are ideal owing to the flat country, the clear air, and the perfectly straight 300 miles of railway line which would serve as a guide to pilots. If this service were instituted, large savings in time could be made in the carriage of overseas mails to the Eastern States. English letters could be delivered in Adelaide and Sydney 3 days and in Melbourne 4 days earlier than at present. Replies from Adelaide and Melbourne would be enabled to catch a mail earlier than at present. The present basis is that with the routes now opened up the aggregate distance the services cover is 3,267 miles and actually 7,378 miles are being flown every week, 383,000 miles a year by direct commercial

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service - not merely a service carrying mails but a service carrying passengers, which is used as an ordinary means of communication. I point to those facts because I think they show that this thing has progressed far from the stage of being an experiment. It is an accepted means of communication now in that country where we are faced with vast distances. Equally it must be accepted as being a means of communication and connecting up of the Empire and bringing us all closer together. Moreover, my Government believes that commercial aviation will afford us that reserve of personnel and machines which in an emergency would be necessary to our fighting forces. There is of course a tremendous amount of work to be done in the direction which the Secretary of State has pointed out. Landing grounds are the essential thing. You must have proper landing grounds or your service will never be able to operate successfully. There is a great deal of work being done in Australia. The Government is going ahead in the provision of landing grounds and one interesting fact is that the Controller of Civil Aviation who went to Port Darwin to meet Sir Alan Cobham when he was journeying to Australia went up on one route where there were complete landing grounds provided and came back by another route not using the same landing grounds on his northern and southern journeys, so that there is a considerable amount of that preparatory work already done. In all, 133 landing grounds

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have been acquired or leased and prepared for civil aviation purposes. There are also 11 private licensed aerodromes in use. I can assure the Secretary of State that if we get towards the point of its being practical to continue the service right from Britain to Australia there will be no difficulties at all once we get to Australia with regard to landing grounds. The basis on which our present services are running is that the Government subsidizes them and provides the landing grounds which I have referred to. The Companies themselves provide Hangar accommodation and workshops and the other requisites. The subsidy which we pay at present varies between 3/3 and 4/- a mile and I think it will be necessary to keep somewhere on that basis for a time at all events. The services rendered are of such a character that it is quite worth the while of the Commonwealth Government to pay the subsidy to ensure that these routes are being operated and the services provided. Quite apart from the mails, the carrying of passengers, and the other services they render there is the extraordinary effect it has on the out-back country in facilitating settlement. With this new means of transport the settler knows that should any serious accident occur or a case of illness arise, a doctor can come out by aeroplane in a few hours where previously it was a matter of days if not weeks to get any assistance. These aeroplanes are provided with stretcher accommodation so that you can send out and bring in anyone who is seriously ill or

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injured by quite the best method of transportation because of its smoothness as compared with road transport or rail transport. The work in connection with flying is one that involves a tremendous amount of continuous effort to try and get the fullest utility from it. Several flights have been made in Australia which in some respects are rather remarkable and I might perhaps refer to them. Wing Commander Goble who is at present the Flying Officer from Australia who is the Liaison Officer with the Royal Air Force in Great Britain, made a flight of 8,000 miles round the coast of Australia making a general survey and the work which he did was of the greatest possible value. A general survey of the interior covering 7,000 miles was made by Colonel Brinsmead recently, and at the present moment Group Captain Williams the Controller of Civil Aviation, is making a flight from Melbourne to New Guinea and the South Pacific and returning. The estimated distance of that flight is 14,000 miles. The flight is being made of course for the purpose of ascertaining suitable places for the establishment of seaplane and aeroplane bases and generally gathering data with regard to the climatic conditions for flying and the possibilities of the establishment of air bases in that area. The interesting fact I think is that the flight which he is now carrying out and which is being undertaken in the ordinary course of his duties as an Air Officer in the Australian Air Force is covering a distance somewhat in excess of the journey which Sir Alan Cobham took when he proceeded to Australia and when the eyes of the whole world were upon that flight as being an amazing thing. It all points to the fact that it is being progressively recognised that these flights can be made and that there is nothing extraordinary in the attempt to obtain the information you require with regard to any area by means of an aeroplane flight.

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A remarkable flight has taken place in Australia during the last two or three weeks, when a flight was made from Longreach, which is in Queensland, to Melbourne, a distance of 1,100 miles; it was carried out by an officer of the Civil Aviation Branch, and the period which he occupied in the flight was 10 hours 10 minutes, giving an average speed of 108 miles an hour. The only comparable one I know of is the one Sir Alan Cobham made when he flew from London to Tangiers, occupying 12 hours at practically the same speed. With all these flights being carried out, the fact that generally speaking the public in Australia do not contemplate it as anything in the nature of an adventure to go on a 1,400 miles flight, because they have to get from one place to another, indicates that Civil Aviation has now passed completely out of the experimental stage, and I can see no possible reason why it should not be practicable to lay out the necessary landing grounds and make the necessary arrangements so that we can have an air route running from Great Britain to Australia and similarly, of course, to South Africa. The Government in Australia believe so much in the future of flying there, that we are doing everything in our power to foster it. We are encouraging the formation of light aeroplane flying clubs and there are three operating already, with a small subsidy for each pilot that they train. Four or five more will be equipped at an early date. All these things are of absorbing interest in themselves, and I think they also show that organised flying is a practical and definite possibility. I can assure the Secretary for Air that we will be only too pleased to do anything in our power to

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co-operate for an aeroplane service between Australia and Great Britain. When we come to the other side of the picture that we saw, we are, of course, more on an experimental basis. In the case of the airship itself, it is very difficult for anybody to say whether, in fact, all that is suggested can be accomplished, but we will no doubt get a great deal of information from the Sub-Committee in regard to that later, and consequently there is no necessity for me to address myself to it at the moment. I can only say, so far as Australia is concerned, that probably we, possibly together with New Zealand, would benefit most if in fact what is now hoped can be realised, and we would be only too pleased to co-operate, but at the moment I must frankly say my knowledge in regard to airships is so limited and my views are so undefined that I could not say how far we would be prepared to go. However, the matter is one of such extraordinary importance to us that I think I can go so far as to say that if it can be shown that there are reasonable possibilities of airships being perfected sufficiently to do the journey with safety, we would take the risk of a mooring mast and certainly take the necessary steps to get the meteorological information that is desired. I certainly hope that all that is contemplated can be achieved by means of the airship, because, while the aeroplane will be a practical means of communication, it cannot possibly be so comfortable or so attractive to the ordinary traveller desiring to get from Australia to Britain or from Britain to Australia rapidly as the modern airship is going to be, with all the luxuries the Secretary of State suggests will be provided in them.

In conclusion, and referring again for a moment to what is being done in Australia, I may say that while no civil company in the Commonwealth has commenced the complete

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design and manufacture of aircraft, we have had some successful experiments with a machine not only of Australian construction but of Australian design. This is the Widgeon Flying Boat, designed by Squadron Leader L.J. Wackett, of the Royal Australian Air Force, and manufactured under his supervision at the Air Force experimental station at Randwick. The trials of the Widgeon gave satisfactory results, and were of considerable interest as demonstrating the suitability of local timber for air construction purposes. The only other point is with regard to a seaplane which has been designed and developed in Australia, and we believe it is going to be of very practical use and would be extremely suitable, for example, for a service from the Mainland to Tasmania and the establishment of more rapid means of communication there.

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C 63983

Statement by

THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND

at Meeting of Imperial Conference

held on October 28th, 1926 at 11.0 a.m.

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MR. COATES. My remarks need not take up very much time. I should like, however, to say that it has been most interesting to listen to the statement of the Secretary of State for Air who has painted a very vivid picture this morning. I do not agree that he or his associates can be termed cold footed optimists; I should rather say they are really optimistic. On the other hand, what I did like was the note of confidence that he sounded and the judgment that he has arrived at - no doubt based upon his own practical experience and the experience of the technical and practical men who are interested in this work - which gave me entire confidence in the prospect that he holds out. Now, Sir, I do not know that it is necessary for me to say much about air development in New Zealand, because it is very small. A certain amount of aviation on a commercial basis, has been carried on by way of assistance to a private company, and many flights have been carried out, but we cannot say the experience has been altogether satisfactory. In the meantime, we are devoting our attention entirely to surveys, collecting data, and arranging for landing grounds. That seems to me about as far as we can go in the meantime. We have completed preparations for setting out on a campaign to encourage and induce private enterprise to become interested in Civil Aviation. I am only stating a fact when I say that so far as New Zealand is concerned the people there have not the "flying sense", mainly for the reason that they have not had the opportunity of doing so.

New Zealand is a small community entirely surrounded by sea, with a gap of 1,200 miles between New Zealand and Australia, but we are interested in what Australia is doing in aviation, and if a line can be established with Australia, naturally that will immediately give New Zealand an objective at which to aim. With regard to the erection of

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an airship mast, I am not going to deal with the airship side of it, but I am intensely interested and so is New Zealand. I would certainly like to know more about it before I could say definitely whether New Zealand would become committed to the expenditure involved in the erection of a mast. I do not wish unduly to stress the cost - that I do not think would trouble us - provided we have some feeling of certainty that the Service is practicable, first of all in regard to the operation of the scheme and then again in regard to the regularity of services. Those are the two points that really concern us at the moment. I have quite an open mind about the whole matter and do not agree with those critics who wrote in the early days in regard to railways; I think practically similar criticism may be controverted to-day in regard to the air. I am certain that there are great possibilities for aviation and we are quite willing to join in any practicable scheme under which we can co-operate on the lines suggested by the Secretary for Air. But I do want to say that we have to be fairly certain of its practicability before we can give any definite undertaking. That is all I desire to say.

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C 63986

Statement by

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE, UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,

at Meeting of Imperial Conference

held on October 28th, 1926,

at 11.0 a.m.

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MR. HAVENGA: Prime Minister, South Africa has so far considered the question of civil aviation mainly from its value in relation to the creation of a reserve for our Air Force. We do not doubt, however, that when our country is developed further and there is public interest, there will be opportunities for commercial air transport in South Africa, more especially in view of the great distances which separate our principal centres from each other and the conditions which are very favourable for air transport. In order to stimulate public interest, some time ago the Government ran a demonstration air mail service for 3½ months between Cape Town and Durban with Air Force machines and pilots. During the whole of that period the service was run with what we may call 100% efficiency; it was very regular and public confidence was no doubt established in the reliability of air transport. At present, owing to our limited resources, we are leaving this question to private enterprise. All that the Government is able to do at present is to promise a modest subsidy for the running of any reasonable air scheme in the Union. Now with regard to the question raised by the Air Minister in connection with the Imperial air scheme, I can say that, so far as the Union Government is concerned, we shall be very glad to co-operate and do whatever we can. I do not think it will be possible for us to make ourselves responsible for the running of any scheme right up to Uganda outside our own borders; we shall certainly be prepared to maintain the service inside the Union, and as far as the sending of a few experimental flights of our Air Force is concerned I think that could possibly be arranged. We have a number of landing grounds in South Africa - about 70, and our Air Force regularly co-operates with our ordinary defence force

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in connection with the training of that force. I may say the distance between Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1,000 miles, is repeatedly being flown by our Air Force Officers in a day. As far as providing meteorological data is concerned, we have a very efficient department in South Africa for the collection of such data and the extra information that is required by the Air Minister here could no doubt very easily be obtained. As far as the question of providing a mooring mast is concerned, the Government will carefully consider that. I may say we did not know the expense would be as much as the figure quoted by the Air Minister, but that is a matter which the Government will have to consider in due course.

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C 63989

Statement by

THE MINISTER FOR INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, IRISH FREE STATE

at Meeting of Imperial Conference

held on October 28th, 1926.

at 11.0.a.m.

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MR. McGILLIGAN: The admirable survey made by the Secretary of State for Air as to the present position of aviation and the expression of his hopes with regard to the future had an interest which was quite peculiar and exceptional to me. Aviation in the Irish Free State has been developed so far only on the defence side. On that side it has developed quite efficiently but so far as the civil side is concerned, that has been left to private enterprise, and private enterprise has not made any advance whatever. A recent reorganisation of work in connection with Government Departments has left me with the control of civil aviation in so far as Government intervention is at any point required. At the moment what we are engaged upon is simply the overhauling of the Air Orders and Regulations so as to bring them fully up-to-date and so as to comply with all that is implied by our adherence to the International Air Convention. That being the case, I can merely say that I look forward with special interest to what the Secretary of State for Air has to put before us this afternoon when we approach the details he has spoken of. In particular I shall be glad to learn his view of the part which the Irish Free State may play as a link in Empire communication.

In that connection I may be allowed to refer to a project once widely canvassed but not so much spoken of now, the idea of the "all red" route from Canada to the Western Coast of Ireland. We have hopes of finding that the advantage of our geographical position, previously emphasised with regard to shipping, will now be specially considered in relation to air communications. I have

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no contribution to offer as to what is being done in the Free State at the moment on this matter of civil aviation, but I can assure the Secretary of State that if there is any way in which we can co-operate with him to our mutual advantage in forming a link in Empire communications, that co-operation will willingly be given.

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C 63992

Statement by

THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEWFOUNDLAND

at Meeting of Imperial Conference

held on October 28th, 1926,

at 11.0 a.m.

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MR. MONROE: It is a little difficult to say at this time to what extent we can co-operate with this programme for Empire air service. At the moment I cannot see how we can justifiably place an immediate order for a mooring mast costing £70,000. Just at present the proposal, as it appears to me in the light described by the Air Minister, is one we have considered in a way, owing to our position, that has given us cold feet. Newfoundland is geographically so placed that it might appear that we have a usefulness as a sort of stepping stone between Europe and the North American Continent, but if airships capable of carrying 100 passengers can fly to Canada in two and a half days without re-fuelling, our usefulness in this respect would seem rather to disappear. If there is anything that Newfoundland can possibly do in the way of establishing a landing service or of being in a minor way useful to the establishment of this service, it would be our great desire to do so.

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C 63994

Statement by

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

at Meeting of Imperial Conference

held on October 28th, 1926,

at 11.0 a.m.

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LORD WINTERTON: I need not stress the importance of air communication between India and other parts of the Empire. India has a far larger population than all the rest of the Empire combined; she is the largest individual customer of Great Britain; since direct rail communication between India and Great Britain is ruled out, in the present state of the world, for many years to come, perhaps for all time, the air affords the only alternative to supplementing and extending the present traffic by sea in persons and goods.

There can be no doubt that India is destined to play a prominent part in the development of air communications between Empire countries. Any service between Europe and the Far East or Australia will on its way have to cross India, and it is reasonable to anticipate that the junction of these two routes, which will almost inevitably be upon Indian soil, will ultimately figure as one of the most vital points in the Empire chain.

It was not to be expected that a comparatively poor country like India could make rapid progress in the early years of the science of aviation, especially as it is far removed from the countries where the pioneer work has been done. India is of course not a beginner in the matter. The Royal Air Force has a strong contingent in the country, well provided with aerodromes at strategic points and all necessary equipment, which have incidentally been of high value to pioneers of world flight. In addition aerodromes intended solely or primarily for civil purposes have been constructed at Calcutta and Allahabad, and land has been acquired and emergency landing grounds are being got ready in other places. Now that the British Government have entered into the contract with Imperial Airways Ltd. for

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the Egypt-Karachi Service, an era of more rapid development in India is one of the certainties of the near future. I may say with reference to that Service that I, like the Secretary of State for Air, have some personal knowledge of the first part of the route from Cairo to Baghdad, but whereas he traversed it in an aeroplane, I, in carrying out my duties during the War, traversed it upon a camel, which in those days was the only alternative means of transport, and I think the same is true to-day because a lack of water and mountainous dunes of shifting sand rule out alike the horse and mechanical transport, and no one who has had experience of both means of transport can fail to be fascinated by the romantic contrast between the two, or who would not wish to eliminate the camel for the aeroplane. Now I return to the preparations which have been made in India in connection with this Service. It is expected that within 6 months, the aerodromes at Karachi will be in working order and that this will be followed by important developments in the matter of internal air routes.

With this prospect in view, the whole question of the future of civil aviation in India has been recently under review by the Indian Air Board, which has laid before the Government of India an important memorandum outlining proposals for future action. It is unnecessary for me on the present occasion to go into the details of these proposals, if only because there has not been time for them to be considered finally by the Secretary of State. I should, however, be failing in my duty to the Imperial Conference if I did not explain frankly what is in contemplation. The view of the Indian Air Board - which

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has a wide measure of influential support in India - is that the Government of India is now in a position to take, and should take, an active part in the development of air routes touching India. They propose that Government should take steps to establish a claim to be consulted at all stages on the terms of any contract for an air service in which India is interested, whenever a subsidy or other special assistance is proposed by His Majesty's Government or a Dominion Government. They go further and urge that the Government of India should claim a right to participate as a principal in the contract, with a right to insist on the inclusion of such provisions as may be necessary to promote India's interests, taking their share - on condition, of course, that this claim is admitted - in the financial liabilities of the contract.

Further, the Air Board suggest that in future all aerodromes, hangars, quarters, go-downs, telegraph and meteorological apparatus and other necessary equipment should be paid for by the Government of India and should become their property.

While the development of internal lines of route in future is not a matter of such direct interest to this Conference, I should like to say that the Indian Air Board have recommended a systematic survey of the main probable air routes in India, giving specially early attention in the first instance to the Calcutta-Rangoon route, and also the provision of terminal stations, especially at Calcutta, Rangoon and Bombay. I should be prepared to go into that matter more fully at the Sub-Committee this afternoon, though I am not ready to announce any definite decision of the Secretary of State and Government of India in the

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matter. With the establishment of the Egypt-Karachi service, the development of internal air routes from Karachi is merely a matter of time.

In view of these large impending developments it has been decided to appoint a Director of Civil Aviation, who will shortly take over his duties.

It is fully realised in India that the adoption of the policy I have outlined would mean expenditure from public revenues on a considerable scale for which there would be no immediate monetary return, and that the pace at which effect could be given to the policy must depend on financial considerations. I have every hope, however, that sufficient funds can be made available to enable real progress to be made in all directions in which the need for advance has made itself urgently felt. I need hardly add that the Secretary of State fully appreciates the importance of making progress as rapidly as possible, though, as I have already said, the proposals of the Indian Air Board, which I have outlined, have only just reached the India Office and there has not yet been time for the Secretary of State to consider them fully.

In conclusion, I need only say that in considering these proposals the Secretary of State will derive very great assistance from the valuable information that has been made available at this Conference.

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C 63999

Statement by

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

at Meeting of Imperial Conference held

on October 28th, 1926, at 11.0 a.m.

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MR. AMERY: I do not think I need detain the Conference at any length, after the admirable survey of the Secretary of State which has to a considerable extent already covered what was in contemplation for the Colonial Empire. He has dealt fully with the new Cairo-Karachi route which is to traverse Iraq and bring what was one of the most inaccessible parts of the world into the very middle of the highway of traffic The effect that that will have upon its development, upon the introduction of capital and so on, is obvious, and may make all the difference to the speedy recovery of what I said the other day was a country of wonderful possibilities, both natural and human, but which has fallen into neglect and decay during centuries. With regard to East Africa the experimental route from the Sudan to the edge of Kenya at Kisumu is the outcome of negotiations between a private company and the East African Governments and Sudan Government. I have every confidence that if that experimental service should prove to be a success, the East African Governments generally will consider a further extension of the service southwards, and so be in a position to link up with Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and so with the Union. I think from the point of view of the establishing of white civilisation as a guiding influence over the whole of East Africa it is very important that that region should be in close contact both with England one way and with the white civilisation rooted in the native soil in the south. It may interest General Hertzog to know that there are a considerable number of Boer settlers quite close to Kisumu, where these aeroplanes will be arriving at the beginning of the year, and I imagine the time will not be so far distant when the Voortrekker of the future will naturally step on to his aeroplane rather than into an ox-waggon to find a new farm for himself. There are two other main Empire routes in the Colonial service - which will be of importance, one of these is a

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route connecting Nigeria with the Sudan. The Air Service has already conducted a very successful flight from the Sudan to Nigeria and back again. The problem of linking the West Indian Islands by some cheap and speedy method of transport does make an enquiry into the use of the aeroplane, or perhaps the seaplane, for West Indian purposes a matter of considerable importance. Apart from the main importance in the way of communications which link up these various scattered Dependencies to this country and to the Dominions, there is the importance of internal development. I must say that nothing impressed me more at Croydon the other day than to see Mrs. Elliot Lynn pushing along her little Moth aeroplane, fixing its wings, and flying off. In a country like East Africa, where the white population is so scattered, this sort of thing will make life much more easy, make communications for business and other purposes possible, and also make it easier for the white man who works in a tropical environment to fly up in a few hours to his bungalow say on the Mau Plateau.

It may create a tremendous economic revolution in the possibility of the development of Africa.

There are also other things of extraordinary interest which I notice suggested at the end of this volume. I see that aeroplanes are already being used for spraying cotton fields. That suggests that the greatest of all obstacles to civilisation and progress in Africa, the tsetse fly, might conceivably be some day dealt with by this method. And, of course, there are all the various things like general survey, forest survey, and fishery survey, with regard to which the aeroplane may help enormously.

There is one aspect, that has not been mentioned in this very interesting volume circulated by the Secretary of

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State, which I hope is not beneath the notice of the Conference, and that is the importance the aeroplane can have in archaeology. Nothing impressed me more in the thousands of miles that we flew over Iraq than the way in which the past history of the country was revealed from above, in a manner which could never be realised from the ground, the dim outlines of long forgotten cities, their roads and squares and general arrangement, and I believe a great deal could be done from the point of view of archaeological investigation. It is, of course, the fact that an old sacrificial way to Stonehenge was first discovered by the Air Service two or three years ago, and I believe Lord Winterton will confirm me when I say that some of these very remarkable archaeological discoveries in Sind, which shew an intimate connection between pre-historic civilisation in Western India and Mesopotamia, were first detected from the air. I hope I may be pardoned if I suggest that this is a thing at any rate not unworthy of the notice of an Empire which is interested in other besides purely material things.

As regards the airship, I do not wish to say much. I have always been a convinced believer in the immense possibilities of the airship, not only from the point of view of regular night and day traffic over long distances and its infinitely greater carrying power than that of the aeroplane, but from the point of view that the airship is going to play a great part in altering the whole internal social structure of the Empire. The whole question of the business development of more distant parts of the Empire will be fundamentally altered if the business man can spare the time within a month to run to Australia or New Zealand, see a proposition for himself fully, and come back with his report. The men who could spare the

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month are, of course, a hundred times as numerous as the men who could spare five or six months. It will affect, I think, the whole question of Empire settlement. I do not mean that the ordinary settler would go out by aeroplane, he would continue going by the cheaper method of the migrant ship, but the fact that he could exchange letters with home much more rapidly, and could, if he desired for any reason to do so, or when he had earned money, come home quickly, is going to make an immense difference in the whole outlook towards the problem of leaving this country to settle in some other part of the Empire.

I might add one other thing that was suggested to me by what Mr. Monroe said. I think it is quite possible that our idea of the shortest routes from one part of the Empire to another may be very much modified by the use of the airship which is indifferent to the distribution of sea and land, and naturally follows either the great circle routes across the world or modifies those routes in accordance with prevailing winds. It is perfectly possible that Newfoundland may not be on the handiest airship line between this country and Canada. There may some day develop, following that wonderful expedition of Amundsen's, a quite normal airship route from England to the north-west of Canada over the Polar Seas. Lord Grey always used to say that his mission in life was to dispel the legend that there was a frozen north in Canada, and the time may come when the Peace River and the MacKenzie River region may be developed and may be in close and direct airship communication with this country.

I do not wish to adventure too far on the paths of romance, but I do feel very strongly that the airship is going to be an immensely potent factor in all our arrangements, even

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in the possibilities of Conference arrangements for the future, and that it does, therefore, deserve the keenest study approached with that cautious spirit to which the Secretary of State referred.....

MR. COATES: In our time?

MR. AMERY: In our time. ..... approached in a cautious spirit at each step, but also with the belief that if we can surmount the practical difficulties there is something immensely worth doing in all this.

MR. BALDWIN: I think the Conference will feel that we have had an extraordinarily interesting meeting, and, if those who have spoken agree, I should like to send the whole discussion, as it is, to the Press for their use as they think fit. I do not think we could give too wide a circulation to what has been said this morning.

MR. MACKENZIE KING: Might I add that the Secretary of State for Air made mention of a possible Imperial Air Conference being held in the near future. On behalf of Canada, I would like to immediately agree that it would be a source of great pride if it could be held in the Dominion.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE: I should like to thank the Conference for the very kind way in which they have listened to what I have said, and for the very great interest they have displayed in co-operating on the general lines of the scheme I have sketched. I quite realise they will all of them desire to satisfy themselves in far greater detail upon the technical points raised in the discussion, but it is a matter of great satisfaction and gratitude to me that they should have given so sympathetic attention to what I have ventured to say this morning.

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MOST SECRET.

E. (I.R.-26.) 2nd Meeting. Copy No. 14.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations.

Meeting of Prime Ministers (or Heads of Delegations), held in Privy Council Office, on Friday, October 29, 1926, at 3 P.M.

Present:

The Right Honourable the Earl of BALFOUR, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council (in the Chair).

Great Britain.

The Right Hon. L.S.Amery, M.P. Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and for the Colonies

Canada.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prim Minister.

Commonwealth of Australia

The Right Hon. S.M.Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates M.C., Prime Minister.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J.B.M.Hertzog, Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Newfoundland.

The Hon. W.S.Monroe, Prime Minister.

India.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead.

Sir M.P.A.Hankey, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee.

No minutes were kept.

Two draft declarations, with regard to the relative status of Great Britain and the Self-Governing Dominions, prepared by General Hertzog and Lord Balfour respectively, were dismissed.

A fresh draft was prepared as a basis for consideration at the next Meeting, which was arranged for Monday, November 1, 1926, at 4.30 p.m.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.I.,
October, 29, 1926.

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. November 1926.

MOST SECRET.

E. (I.R.-26.) 3rd Meeting. Copy No. 14

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations.

Meeting of Prime Ministers or Heads of Delegations), held in the Privy Council Offic, on Monday, November 1, 1926, at 4.30 p.m.

Present:

The Right Hon. the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council (in the Chair).

Great Britain.
The Right Hon. L.S.Amery, M.P. Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and for the Colonies.

Canada.
The Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

Commonwealth of Australia.
The Right Hon. S.M.Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

New Zealand.
The Right Hon. J.G.Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

Union of South Africa.
General the Hon. J.B.M.Hertzog, Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.
Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Newfoundland.
The Hon. W.S.Monroe, Prime Minister.

India.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead.

Sir M.P.A.Hankey, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee.

NO Minutes were kept.

The COMMITTEE discussed the draft declarations prepared at the previous meeting on the 29th October and the "Concise descritption of the relations which the seven Sel-Governing portions of the Empire bear to each other, and to the Empire as a whole," prepared by Lord Balfour on the 1st November.

As the result of the meeting, a fresh draft statement was prepared as a basis for discussion at the next meeting.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.I.,

November 1, 1926.

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C 64007 Mr Mackenzie King

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MOST SECRET.

COPY NO: 5

E. (I.R. - 26)
4th Meeting.

FINAL COPY.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Committee held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W.1., on Tuesday, November 2nd, 1926, at 4-30 p.m.

PRESENT:-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Viscount Cave, G.C.M.G., Lord Chancellor.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

The Right Hon. Sir Douglas Hogg, K.C., M.P., Attorney-General.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. P. McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India.

Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G., (Dominions Office)) Joint
Mr. G.G. Whiskard, C.B. (Dominions Office)) Secretaries.

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MR. O'HIGGINS stated that it might be desirable to supplement the Memorandum (E.115), which the Irish Free State Delegation had circulated to the Conference, by some reference to the history of the question. In June, 1922, when the Constitution was under discussion, the Prime Minister (Mr.Lloyd George) addressed a letter to the Irish Free State representatives asking for specific answers on six questions, one of which was: Was it intended to provide for appeals to the King in Council? In their reply to this question, the Irish Free State representatives argued that there was a difference between a composite state, such as Canada, and a unitary state, such as South Africa or the Free State. In the former there might be need for an outside tribunal to deal with questions which arose between the State Governments and the Federal Government, but there was no such need in a unitary state. The Free State representatives were, however, assured that the practice of the Judicial Committee would be the same in the case of appeals relating to the Irish Free State as in the case of appeals from other unitary states, and that appeals would only be admitted in cases of the first magnitude. They were further assured that the appeal to the King in Council was a necessary corollary of the Treaty, and they then accepted that view, with the result shown in Article 66 of the Constitution.

Since that time the practice with regard to such appeals from Irish Free State courts - perhaps for reasons of geography - had tended to differ from that observed in the case of appeals from other Dominions. The Irish Bar liked the appeal, but, if a plebiscite were taken, they

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would be the only persons in the Free State who would favour its continuance. The appeal to the King in Council was regarded in Ireland as a rich man's appeal. Having now a greater familiarity with the constitutional mechanism of the British Empire, the Free State were inclined to doubt whether the continuance of the appeal was a necessary consequence of the Treaty. Was it maintained that it was not open to other Dominions to restrict or abolish the appeal if they so desired? Those who retain it, retain it because they need it and value it, and not because they are compelled to retain it. He put it to the Committee that it was open to any state in the Empire to say that they desired to dispense with the appeal, and that was the point which he hoped the Committee would discuss.

MR. O'HIGGINS added that when recently, in the Dail, he had said that the court which advises His Majesty on these appeals was a "bad court" he did not mean that it was inherently bad, but that it was bad from the oint of view of the Free State - it favoured the long purse.

The Free State was a unitary state and, as such, there was no need for this appeal. If the practice, which is now beginning, continues to grow, the appeal will become, as was the appeal to the House of Lords before the Treaty, an appeal as of right or as of course. When Article 66 of the Constitution was before the Dail, the representative of Trinity College, Dublin, Mr. Fitzgibbon, who is now a judge of the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State, said that he neither hoped nor believed that the

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appeal would be a reality. That was the view which the representative of the old Unionists then took. If the citizens of the Free State could not rely upon the Free State courts to do justice, then certainly the existence of the appeal to the King in Council was no sovereign remedy.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR stated that the question whether provision as to an appeal from the courts of the Irish Free State to the King in Council should appear in the Constitution was specifically discussed when the Constitution was framed in 1922, with the result which appears in Article 66 of the Constitution. The appeal flowed from the Treaty. He did not know what had taken place on this point during the discussions leading up to the Treaty, but he accepted Mr. O'Higgins' statement as to the South African analogy. He could not agree, however, that that analogy had not been followed. The practice of the Judicial Committee was to refuse leave to appeal unless some important principle of law or some question of wide public interest was involved. That rule he accepted, although he admitted that whether it had been followed in past cases might be a matter of opinion. Leave to appeal from the Irish Free State Courts had, so far, been given in only two cases out of about ten, and in only one of those had any objection been taken. In that case the Irish Free State Government had taken action which was he admitted both ingenious and effective, in that it had passed a law that the Act on which the question arose was to be interpreted in the manner decided by the

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Supreme Court of the Irish Free State, from which leawe to appeal had been granted. The result was that, as the Judicial Committee would be bound by that legislation, any appeal would have been ineffective, and the appeal was therefore withdrawn.

As to the value of the Court, he had of course nothing to say. It was composed of very distinguished lawyers, not only from this country, but from the Dominions. Mr. Justice Duff of Canada constantly assisted them. Last year they had on the Board the Chief Justice of Canada, Mr. Anglin, and two years ago Sir Adrian Knox, the Chief Justice of Australia. It was a Court which was perhaps better fitted for its particular function than the House of Lords.

The question which Mr. O'Higgins asked is: Can any one Dominion abrogate the right to grant leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council? As a matter of law, he was satisfied that any such abrogation could only be effected by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, but he thought that all the Governments there represented would hold that, if the Dominions thought that there ought to be a change as regards the appeal, then their opinion would merit the most serious consideration. But this was a question which affected the whole Empire. The appeal was one of the central perogatives of the Crown: it was one of the links which bound the whole Empire together. If there was a grievance, it must be dealt with on its merits. But, if, in fact, there was no active grievance,

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they should hesitate before they weakened that particular prerogative.

The position of the Irish Free State was singular. The Agreement, as a result of which Article 66 appeared in the Constitution, was very recent. It seemed to him that it was too early to ask for a modification of that instrument. He suggested that the best course would be to postpone further consideration of the question until the next Conference.

MR. O'HIGGINS raised the question whether Article 66 of the Constitution was, in fact, a necessary corollary of the Treaty. Assuming that Canada desired to abolish the right to grant leave to appeal, had she not the power to secure that abolition? If the right of the Free State to do so were challenged, it followed that the right of every other Dominion was equally challenged. If that was the contention of the British Government, let them say so. He put it to the Committee that, in fact, it was not so. Any such contention would be entirely inconsistent with the principles of "co-equal status" and "survivals existing by consent", of which they had heard so much during the last few days. Was this one of those survivals? Could the Parliament of the Irish Free State not legislate to restrict this appeal, and could not the Parliaments of Canada, Australia, and the other Dominions do likewise? If evidence of the desire of the Irish Free State to restrict the appeal were desired, he would mention that the

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law to which the Lord Chancellor had referred was passed through both Houses of their Parliament without a division, because not even the representatives of the Unionists were willing to take the view that they approved of the admission of the particular appeal which was in question.

He maintained that the present position was impossible. All kinds of trumpery cases were being brought across to the Privy Council and leave to appeal refused. There was a conscious and deliberate effort to widen the appeal and to make it a matter of course. If the door to the Privy Council were left as open as it was left in the Constitution, this state of things would continue.

Without prejudice to his former view that the appeal could be abolished, he maintained that it could, at any rate, be restricted. If the right of the Irish Free State Parliament to abolish the appeal were admitted, exclusion of the appeal would not necessarily follow, only its definition and limitation. But, if the right of the Irish Free State to exclude the appeal were questioned, it was questioned for all the Dominions. And, if so, it was clearly an infringement of the principles of autonomy and co-equality.

LORD BIRKENHEAD stated that he agreed with Mr. O'Higgins' historical account. It was not desired by the Irish representatives at the Treaty negotiations that the appeal should be mentioned in the actual Treaty, and that appeared to him to have been a very reasonable desire. But the matter was discussed in those negotiations, and the point at issue was not whether

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there should be an appeal or not, but whether that appeal should be to the House of Lords or to the Judicial Committee. Then came the discussion of the Constitution. Article 66 was inserted by mutual consent, and it was now the law.

The question raised by Mr. O'Higgins was whether a self-governing Dominion had the power to come to the British Government and say that they no longer desired the appeal to be maintained and that they preferred to be in exclusive control of all judicial matters within their own jurisdiction. In answering it, he was speaking for himself alone. Technically, the Dominions had not that right: Imperial legislation would be required to effect that desire. But would such legislation be withheld? He had no doubt that, if Canada, or Australia, or New Zealand, or South Africa desired such legislation, in the end and after discussion such legislation would be passed. He himself, as Lord Chancellor, had expressed himself in this sense, in public, and his words had been recorded.

LORD BIRKENHEAD then paid a tribute to the great experience, unremitting industry, and complete impartiality of the Judicial Committee. He hoped that in the future, as in the past, it might be the means of maintaining the close association of English and Irish lawyers.

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Finally, Lord Birkenhead said that he agreed that the right to grant leave to appeal from the Free State courts ought to be most rigidly delimited, and he would have thought that a sub-committee might usefully be set up for the discussion of a formula for such delimitation. He hoped that by some such means Mr. O'Higgins' "major purpose" might be met.

MR. O'HIGGINS said that he was not present at the treaty discussions, but that he accepted Lord Birkenhead's statement that the question of appeals had been discussed. He repeated that, if their right to abolish the appeal was challenged, then the right of every Dominion represented at the Conference was also challenged. No doubt the Irish Free State might not wish in fact to abolish the appeal, but if they entered into the limiting discussion proposed by Lord Birkenhead, it could only be without prejudice to their claim that they already had the power to abolish the appeal.

MR. MACKENZIE KING asked whether he was to understand that the Lord Chancellor held the

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view that the prerogative right could only be affected for any Dominion by the unanimous consent of all the Dominions. He admitted that Imperial legislation would be required in order to affect the prerogative right, but he thought that, if any Dominion asked for such legislation, the request should receive the sympathetic consideration of the British Government.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR and LORD BIRKENHEAD assented.

MR. LAPOINTE said that the Judicial Committee as an institution was highly valued in Canada and a large majority of the Canadian people desired to preserve the appeal, but there had been a great deal of comment on the "Nadan" case. In Canada they had always claimed that the Canadian Parliament had plenary power within its jurisdiction but the Judicial Committee had decided, by virtue of the Colonial Laws Validity Act, that this was not so in judicial matters and the principle of equality of status had thereby received a decided set-back in Canada. They had managed to postpone discussion of the matter in Parliament so far, but it would certainly come

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up next session. The Canadian Government would probably have to ask the Imperial Government to legislate so as to meet the Canadian wishes as regard criminal appeals. He asked whether the Imperial Parliament could not regard the Canadian Act of 1888, which had been found to be invalid, as an expression of the will of Canada, and take action to give effect to that will without the necessity of an address from the Canadian Parliament being presented for that purpose.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said that, if the Canadian Government asked the Imperial Government to adopt that course, their request would certainly have very great weight. He repeated that legislation here would be involved.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL explained that, in arguing the Nadan case before the Judicial Committee, he had, of course, been dealing solely with the interpretation of the Statutes as they stood. Any question of policy was for the Governments and not for the Courts.

MR. BRUCE said that in the Commonwealth Constitution provision had been made limiting the right of appeal. The Commonwealth was in a different position from that of the Free State or of South Africa, and they would be very reluctant to accept abandonment of the leave to appeal, although at the time of the Federation the matter was strongly fought. If, however, the Commonwealth at any time definitely indicated that it did not desire the appeal to continue, they would expect that desire to be met. This point, however, was met by Lord Cave's answer to Mr. Mackenzie King.

LORD CAVE intimated that in such a case the British Government would no doubt try to persuade Australia to retain the appeal, but that if its abolition was insisted upon they would probably in the end meet the views of the Commonwealth.

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GENERAL HERTZOG said that in 1909, when the South Africa Act was framed, the Union were given to understand that if at any time they desired to eliminate the appeal there would be no objection to that course. As a matter of fact, they desired at that time to keep it, and the feeling of the present Union Government was the same. Many of their people would, no doubt, favour the elimination of the appeal, but many others would not favour it. Since the Judicial Committee had recently adopted the practice of limiting the grant of leave to appeal, the feeling against the appeal had much diminished. Of course, the question of national prestige was also involved, but his impression was that the more the Dominions felt their equality with Great Britain the stronger would be the feeling for retention of the appeal. He would not personally, nor would the Union Government as a whole, advise doing away with the appeal.

As regards the question of law, the Union Government felt that the South Africa Act gave them the right to change anything in that Act, including the provision as to the right of appeal, by legislation in their own Parliament, but it might be open to question whether the Judicial Committee could take judicial notice of such legislation. General Smuts, in a memorandum which he had prepared in 1921, and in a statement which he had made to the Imperial Conference of that year, had recommended action by the British Government in order to make it clear that if any Dominion desired to abolish the appeal it should have the right to do so. He concurred in that view, though he admitted that, should any Dominion desire to exercise the right of abolishing the appeal, discussion with the British Government would be necessary by way of courtesy and in order to obtain the necessary aid.

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LORD BALFOUR said that two propositions appeared to him to emerge from the discussion. First, that the Committee was of opinion that it was no part of the policy of the Empire to maintain an appeal to the Judicial Committee in any of the self-governing Dominions against the wishes of its inhabitants. Secondly, that in many parts of the Empire the services of the Judicial Committee were greatly valued.

MR. COSTELLO said that he wanted to safeguard the position from the legal point of view. The Irish Free State Government contended that the Colonial Laws Validity Act did not apply to the Irish Free State, and they were, therefore, unable to subscribe to the view that, if they desired to abolish the appeal, Imperial legislation would be necessary, as in Canada, to carry that desire into effect.

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LORD BALFOUR remarked that it seemed to him that, for their present purpose, the more important point was whether the two propositions which he had suggested were acceptable. What, apart from their legal claim, did the Free State desire in practice?

MR. O'HIGGINS said that, in the abstract, the Free State claimed the right to abolish the appeal altogether. If that right were admitted, they would not necessarily abolish the appeal, but might merely restrict it.

He contended that, as a result of the discussions which had taken place in this Committee and elsewhere, there was a strong case for repealing the Colonial Laws Validity Act in regard to its application to the self-governing Dominions on the ground that it ran contrary to the principle of equality of status.

MR. AMERY said that on the main constitutional issue all the Governments were agreed on the principle of equality and in the view that, in so far as there were any constitutional survivals contrary to that principle, they could be altered by agreement if they created inconvenience. It was useless however, for the Committee to discuss an abstract legal point, which only a Court of Law could decide. Let them, therefore, deal with the matter as a practical question, and set up a sub-committee either for the purpose of formulating the limits within which appeals from the Irish Free State Courts should be allowed, or, alternatively, to frame a constitutional pronouncement on the lines indicated by Lord Balfour.

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LORD BIRKENHEAD said that it appeared to him that Mr. O'Higgins was really willing, without prejudice to either of his major contentions, to discuss possible limitations on the exercise of the right to appeal, so long as it exists in relation to the Irish Free State.

SIR FRANCIS BELL said that, in as much as New Zealand had a repugnancy clause in its constitution, no doubt existed as to the necessity for an Imperial Act if they desired to abolish the appeal, but they did not so desire. Mercantile and shipping interests in the Dominion had always insisted on its retention, and New Zealand did not admit that any one Dominion had the right to abolish the appeal without the consent of the others. He could not, therefore, agree to Lord Balfour's first proposition, though he would be unwilling to press his objection.

LORD BALFOUR suggested to Mr. O'Higgins whether it might not be politically wise not to press at the moment for any change in the position as regards the Irish Free State. He had greatly admired the manner in which the Government of the Irish Free State had dealt with the difficulties which had confronted it during the last four years. It must,

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however, he recognised that difficulties still existed both as regards the republican extremists and as regards the minority which regretted the separation from Great Britain. Would it not give cause for alarm if the Irish Free State were to try at this stage to abolish a right which is formally recorded in the Instrument creating The Irish Free State? By all means limit the right of appeal in trivial cases, but keep it as a "bulwark of great principles".

MR. O'HIGGINS replied that the process of reconciling the republican extremists would be expedited by the recognition of the right to remove any evidence of subordination to Great Britain. As to the other minority, it created no difficulties and presented no problems. The ex-Unionists were among the best citizens the Irish Free State had, and, as he had already explained, they set no store on the maintenance of the appeal.

He was prepared to act on the suggestion of Lord Birkenhead for discussing the restriction and limitation of the right of appeal, but it must be without prejudice to the basic position of the Irish Free State.

MR. MORINE stated that Newfoundland was satisfied with the present position. They valued the existing right of appeal, and regarded it as fully consistent with the principles of co-equality. In his opinion, British Ministers

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were going dangerously far in suggesting readiness to legislate in order to take away the prerogative right of appeal.

LORD CAVE stated that he would feel some difficulty in agreeing to a discussion with the representatives of the Irish Free State with a view to limiting the cases in which leave to appeal could be granted. The Judicial Committee was a wholly independent body and it was not possible for the British Government to negotiate with one Dominion as to the rules by which that body was governed. Those rules affected all Dominions alike. Could the matter not be left until some Dominion made a definite request for an alteration in the present position?

MR. HAVENGA said that he thought that it would be a pity to leave the matter open. As matters stood, this would be equivalent to an invitation to one or other of the Dominions to raise the question at once.

After some further discussion, it was agreed:-

(1) that Lord Balfour's first proposition should be circulated to the members of the Committee forthwith (a copy of this is attached as an Appendix):

(2) that members of the Committee should be invited to circulate any modifications therein which they might desire to have discussed:

The question of a meeting between Lord Birkenhead and Sir Douglas Hogg (or other Ministers) and the Representatives of the Irish Free State to consider whether, without prejudice to the wider claim of the Irish Free State, it was

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possible to arrange for the principles upon which leave to appeal should be granted in the future to be more precisely defined was left over for further discussion.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
2nd November, 1926.

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APPENDIX.

LORD BALFOUR'S FIRST PROPOSITION.

The Committee is of opinion that it is no part of the Policy of the Empire to maintain an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in any of the self-governing Dominions against the wishes of its inhabitants.

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C 64026

June 1926

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

E.T.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that the bearer, the Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, who has been attending the Imperial Conference at London, is about to proceed to France on his journey back to Canada.

Mr. Mackenzie King is hereby commended to the good offices of His Majesty's representatives abroad and of the French authorities concerned.

GIVEN under my hand and the Seal of the Secretary of State for External Affairs at Ottawa, this second day of November, nineteen hundred and twenty-six.

R. H. Walker

Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

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C 64027

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS CANADA

E.T.

LES PRESENTES certifient que le porteur, le Très Honorable William Lyon Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Premier Ministre du Canada qui a pris part à la Conférence Impériale à Londres, doit bientôt se rendre en France en son voyage de retour au Canada.

Les présentes recommandent Monsieur Mackenzie King aux bons offices des représentants de Sa Majesté à l'étranger et des autorités françaises intéressées.

DONNE sous mon seing et le sceau du Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires Extérieures à Ottawa ce deuxième jour de novembre mil neuf cent vingt-six.

R. H. Walker

Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat suppléant aux Affaires Extérieures.

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Mrs Mackenzie King

(THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT).

S E C R E T.

COPY NO: 5

E. (I.R. - 26)
6th Meeting.

FINAL COPY.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE. 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of Meeting held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W.1., on Thursday, November 4th, 1926, at 11 a.m.

P R E S E N T:-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Rt.Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. P. McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr.J. Costello, K.C., Attorney General.

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NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W.S. Monroe, Prime Minister.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India.

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:-

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. J.P. Walshe, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B..... Secretary.

Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G. (Dominions Office)....)
Mr. P.A. Koppel, C.B.E., (Foreign Office).....) Joint Assistant
Mr. H.F. Batterbee, C.M.G., C.V.O., (Dominions Office)....) Secretaries.
Mr. Jean Desy, (Canadian Delegation).....)

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LORD BALFOUR read the note which Sir Maurice Hankey had prepared as to the present position with regard to the various questions before the Committee, and asked which question should be discussed first.

MR. MACKENZIE KING observed that there were two leading questions - the representation of the Crown and the representation of the Government. His thought was that the Governor-General should be regarded purely as a representative of the Crown and not as the representative of the British Government which should have its own separate representative.

MR. AMERY said that there were really two alternatives, whether to take first the general conduct of foreign affairs or the constitutional point with regard to the position of the Governor-General and the representation of His Majesty's Government in the Dominions?

MR. MACKENZIE KING observed that the two really went together.

LORD BALFOUR said that if Mr. Mackenzie King thought that a good opening it would be well to begin with that.

MR. MACKENZIE KING thought that it ought to be clearly understood that the Governor-General was not the representative of the British Government or any department of the British Government but solely of the King. Further, he was of opinion that the channel of communication for letters and telegrams with the British Government should be changed. If the Canadian Government was asked in Parliament to bring down papers it was necessary to reply that the correspondence came down from the Governor-General, who must be consulted, and this was liable to misunderstanding.

MR. BRUCE observed that this was not solely a matter of the channel of communication with the British Government. It would still be necessary before publishing papers i regard to any delicate negotiations, e.g. Locarno, to ask the British Government whether there was any objection to the publication of the documents which had been received from them.

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MR. MACKENZIE KING said that at present the Governor-General, who was the King's representative, was a post office but communications did not pass through the King to Canada. He was thinking of the interest of the Crown in this matter. The mere fact that the Crown was connected with the communication of correspondence might bring the Crown into discussion. He was of opinion that the business between the Governments of Great Britain and Canada was sufficiently large to be dealt with in the same manner as was employed in the case of foreign governments, many of which were smaller than Canada.

MR. BRUCE thought that there was not really any question of substance at issue. If the Governor-General attempted to hold up or alter any communication the matter would be different but he was merely a post office. The question really was whether it was more convenient that communications should be sent direct or not.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that in the old days the Governor-General went out under instructions from the Colonial Office. The status was changed but the old methods remained which left the impression that the Governor-General was still acting as the agent of the British Government. At present there was a danger of the Crown being brought into the discussion but if the British Government had its own representative in Canada and he made a mistake he could be recalled and the Crown would not be brought into it. At present the man really doing the business was the Private Secretary. The recent difficulties and troubles in Canada would never have arisen if it had not been that the Private Secretary was the real adviser of the Crown.

LORD BALFOUR said that he understood the proposal to be that just as the Canadian Government had its High Commissioner in London so the British Government should have its High Commissioner in Canada.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that that was his view so far as Canada was concerned but that other Dominions might think differently. At present Canada had a High Commissioner who lived in the British Government atmosphere and could reproduce that atmosphere in his communications to the Canadian Government. He thought that it would similarly be an advantage to the British Government if they had an English High Commissioner who could reproduce the Canadian atmosphere to them.

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To-day everything had been reduced to despatches. In writing despatches much time was spent in framing the exact words and even then they were liable to misconception. If on the other hand the British Government had its own representative in Ottawa free to interpret the views of the Dominion Government in his own language many things could be said of which no record need be kept. The despatches then would only be a record of what had actually been decided. In the case of relations with foreign nations it had been found a great advantage to get away from the written despatch to the personal interview and he felt that the same was true of the relations of the different parts of the Empire with one another. He had in mind the establishment in the Empire of a sort of diplomatic representation such as existed in the case of the rest of the world.

MR. BRUCE thought that there were two questions mixed up which should be kept separate. (1) The question of the Governor-General and the method of communication; (2) The representation of Great Britain in the Dominions. So far as Australia was concerned they did not consider the Governor-General as the person with whom they could discuss questions.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that in Canada there had been occasions when the Governor-General had discussed with him questions which were causing concern to the British Government but these questions were discussed rather in his individual capacity because there was nobody else to discuss them.

MR. BRUCE said that he had never had such an experience and he thought that these functions lay rather outside the Governor-General's province.

MR. AMERY agreed with Mr. Bruce that it would be useful to separate the two questions (1) the question whether the channel of communication ought to be brought more into line with the general

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constitutional position to-day (2) whether there was any practical advantage in the British Government having its own representatives in the major dominions. As to (1) the present form perpetuated a state of affairs long passed away under which the Governor-General was not only the representative of the King but also the agent and the mouthpiece of the Colonial Office. The Governor-General did not to-day in any way act on the instructions of the Dominions Office in the sense of pressing the views of His Majesty's Government on the Dominion Government. If Lord Byng drew the attention of the Canadian Ministers to certain questions it was on his own responsibility and not on instructions. So far as he was concerned he had, since he became Secretary of State always corresponded direct on all important matters with the Prime Minister and sent copies to the Governor-General. The present procedure was purely a survival of form. It might be interesting to recall that the conference of 1918 Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Hughes had raised this question of communications and had hoped that all communications should go from government to government. This was strongly opposed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Long, on the ground that there might be some feeling on the part of the governors-general that their status was being impaired. A compromise was reached that the kind of questions which had been discussed with British Ministers at the conference might be discussed direct between Prime Minister and Prime Minister, and the practice had continued of using this channel of communication in all important matters. As a matter of practical convenience these communications went through the Governor-General's office because he had the cyphers codes etc. and the only question really was whether it was desired to extend the present system of communication between Prime Ministers.

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MR.BRUCE observed that it was important to clear this matter up. There had been instances where he had sent cables direct without passing through the Governor-General. There was once an instance when the Governor-General called his attention to his not having been sent him a copy.

MR.MACKENZIE KING said that there had been no instances of this kind in Canada.

LORD BALFOUR observed that there appeared to be a real difference in practice between Australia and Canada.

MR.AMERY did not think there was really a difference. The real importance of the system of communication between Prime Minister and Prime Minister lay in the fact that it insured not only that the Prime Minister saw the telegram and that it was not dealt with purely departmentally, but also that he saw and approved the answer. The question of the channel appeared to be just a question of convenience whether it was desirable to alter the work of cyphering etc. from the governor-general's to the prime minister's office. At this end he saw no objection whatever to the change but it was necessary to consider the feelings of the governors-general and as a matter of courtesy to them he would like to consult them before any resolution was passed.

MR.MACKENZIE KING observed that it was also necessary to consider the feelings of the members of Parliament in Canada.

MR.AMERY said that personally he saw no objection whatsoever to the proposed change and he could quite understand the misunderstandings that might have arisen on occasion. He only asked that before any resolution was passed the governors-general might be consulted.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN was a little anxious lest the big question involved might be lost in the discussion of questions of

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form. As he understood it it was not proper nowadays to employ the Governor-General as the mouthpiece to expound the policy of the British Government but that policy should be expounded by someone who was able to explain the views of His Majesty's Government and also able to ask for an interview with the Dominion Prime Minister if necessary. If the different parts of the Empire were to act together the great issue seemed to be not how to alter the system of communication but how to create a proper channel which did not at present exist.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that his idea was that His Majesty's Government should have a representative who could communicate confidentially the views of the British Government to the Dominion Government.

LORD BALFOUR understood that in the old system a governor-general was used as a channel of argument by the Home Government, and that this had now been abandoned in substance but remained in form.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that the position was that he had ceased to be the agent but remained the channel of communication.

LORD BALFOUR asked Mr. Mackenzie King whether he wanted something that would correspond to a High Commissioner?

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that they were not pressing it so much from their side as because at present the Home Government's views were not getting across as they should like to have them presented.

MR. COATES desired to make a suggestion. As he understood it the idea was to set up an organisation which would improve the method of consultation by which the Dominions Governments should get more direct information. Could it not be done by linking up the Prime Ministers' officers, by having liaison officers from the Dominions in the Cabinet Office here and vice versa?

LORD BALFOUR enquired whether the practice need be the same for all?

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MR. COATES thought that, whatever was done in one Dominion, the others would have to follow suit.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN observed that it seemed to him that at either end there was a gap. There was no-one in Canada whom the Prime Minister could send for to ask for explanations or who could on instructions from here give explanations as to some despatch or telegram. The Governor-General who used to do it now no longer did it. But here also there was no-one to discharge a similar function. He thought that it was necessary to improve the liaison not only in Canada but also here. It was desirable that Dominion Governments should appoint as their representatives here persons in possession of their mind.

GENERAL HERTZOG agreed with Mr. Mackenzie King. He fully agreed that the Dominions ought to have someone here with more diplomatic status than their High Commissioners had. It was essential that the Governor-General's position as representing the King should be kept separate from his position as representative of the Government in London.

MR. BRUCE said that there were three questions.

1. The question of the channel of communication. As to this it would be quite easy to remove the staff from the Governor-General's office to the Prime Minister's office, from which all communications could go, copies being sent to the Governor-General. There appeared to be no difficulty about this.

2. The question whether there should be any representative of His Majesty's Government in the Dominions?

At present Dominion Governments got no views

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except by despatches. He thought that there would be an enormous advantage in having someone directly representing His Majesty's Government. 3. The question of Dominion representation here. This could be dealt with later.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that it was an anomaly and an absurdity that there was no representative of H.M.G. in Canada.

MR. AMERY observed that the governments of the British Empire were attempting to do by despatch and telegram what no two foreign governments attampted to do. However carefully worded, there was no safeguard against a serious misunderstanding arising from written or cabled despatches. He thought that it was important that such communications should be supplemented by a personal interchange of views. There was at present nobody who could talk on behalf of Great Britain to Canada or vice versa as the French Ambassador talks to the Foreign Secretary. Personally he hoped that it would be possible to rectify that.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that it appeared Mr. Mackenzie King, Mr. Bruce and General Hertzog would all like to have established in their countries a representative of the Government of Great Britain. Was it right to think that the other Dominions desired the same thing?

MR. FITZGERALD said that there were certain anomalies with regard to the position of the Governor-General which were subject to misrepresentation and which should be done away with, e.g. the Governor-General was described as "The Officer administering the Government of the Dominion." He thought that there should be representatives of the Dominions having direct access to Ministers in Great Britain but the difficulty was not so great in the case of the Irish Free State because they were not twelve thousand miles away, as was the case with some of the other Dominions.

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LORD BALFOUR thought that the discussion had been carried as far as it could be carried that day. He would naturally wish to inform the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues before the matter was carried further. He gathered that the general view was that the employment of the Governor General as the mouthpiece of the British Government had become obsolete and that the duties of the representative of the Crown ought not to be mixed up with those of the representative of the British Government. The present system was apt to give rise to misunderstandings of a mischievous character. He thought that there should be no difficulty in having an improved method of intercommunication which would not involve the Crown and would enable Great Britain and the Dominions to communicate with one another more adequately and freely than they did to-day. He proposed to ask his colleagues whether they agreed with this view and if they did they could then proceed to give the matter a second reading.

MR. COATES desired to make it clear on behalf of New Zealand that they would prefer to keep the existing system of communication and to see a linking up of the Prime Ministers' departments. It would be a mistake, in his view, to do anything to diminish the dignity or the status of the Governor General.

MR. AMERY said that Mr. Coates had made a very interesting suggestion, somewhat different in form from that of Mr. MacKenzie King, but not necessarily incompatible with it.

LORD BALFOUR said that it was quite evident that the application of the general principle would have to be worked out having regard to the circumstances of each separate Dominion.

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MR. BRUCE enquired whether Lord Balfour included in the general principle the question of access of the Dominion High Commissioners to British Ministers?

LORD BALFOUR thought that to be a matter of method which it was not necessary to study to-day.

MR. AMERY thought that the question of access need not create any difficulty, certainly not any amour propre on the part of the Dominions Office. There was already access on the part of the High Commissioners to the various government departments when they wanted to get down to business, but they naturally as a matter of convenience came to his office in the first instance because they regarded it as their advocate and not merely a liaison and also because there was generally a history to these matters which the Dominions Office alone could supply with the consequence that if they approached another department first that department would probably delay till it had consulted the Dominions Office. In foreign affairs the High Commissioners were already in the closest touch with the Foreign Secretary when they were at Geneva. There was really to his mind no important constitutional point involved.

MR. COATES said that there was the important question whether a High Commissioner should deal with foreign affairs and whether he should act as the medium of communication with his Prime Minister in matters of the utmost delicacy and secrecy.

MR. MUNROE agreed with the position of New Zealand and said that they were content in New Zealand with the present arrangements.

MR. COATES said that they would like closer liaison between governments.

MR. BRUCE stated that the High Commissioner was the representative of the Dominion Government and how much authority he was entrusted with was a matter for the government of the day in the Dominion to decide.

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SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that some suggestions had already been made as regards the relations of the self-governing parts of the Empire with foreign Powers. Some were mere matters of form but some were matters of great importance in the foreign relations of the Empire. Of the first kind was the matter of the exequaturs of consuls. He saw no difficulty in so adjusting the practice as to arrange that the exequaturs for foreign consuls in the Irish Free State might be countersigned by a minister of the Irish Free State and similarly with other Dominions. But beyond this was the question of how negotiations with foreign Powers should be carried out and what should be the relationship in these matters between the various parts of the Empire. Sometimes these negotiations concerned all, sometimes one or other more actively and the rest very little or not at all. When any part of the Empire was negotiating with any foreign Power it ought to keep any other part likely to be interested fully informed. If the negotiating government received no adverse comments or observations it might consider itself entitled to proceed. If, on the other hand, the policy involved in the negotiations was of a more serious kind, i.e. if it would involve direct obligations on some other part of the Empire, the negotiating Government should carry the matter further and have a full consultation with all those concerned.

MR. MACKENZIE KING stressed that that was really the present practice.

MR. BRUCE agreed that that was how they interpreted the present position.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN then read the following statement:

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"Any Government engaged in negotiations affecting foreign relations falling within its sphere must keep the other Governments likely to be interested fully informed of what it is doing. So long as it receives no adverse comments, and so long as its policy involves no active obligations on the part of the other Governments, it may proceed on the assumption that its policy is generally acceptable. It must, however, before taking any steps which would involve the other Governments in any active obligations, obtain their definite assent".

MR. O'HIGGINS said that the feeling in the Free State up to the present had been that in some vague way the Dominions did not have international personality in the sense of having direct access to foreign Powers if they wished to conduct direct negotiations. For instance, invitations to international conferences came through the Foreign Office. If a Dominion tried to effect direct contact it was liable to expose itself to a snub. In the memorandum which the Free State Government were circulating they gave instances of this state of affairs. The Free State Delegation was very glad to know that no difficulty would arise about regulating the position with regard to the exequatur of foreign consuls. They fully realised the necessity in the conduct of any foreign negotiations of keeping the British Government or any other Dominion Government interested most fully informed. Moreover they appreciated the position of the Foreign Office in London in the present circumstances.

LORD BALFOUR observed that the present system under which the foreign affairs of the Empire were largely conducted by the Foreign Office in London was not a part of the constitutional relationship of the Empire but a mere matter of convenience.

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SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: said that there was an infinite variety of negotiations, for instance, Canada and the United States of America with their long land frontier might want to negotiate about water-power which only concerns them, or cattle disease or smugglers.

LORD BALFOUR: observed that if it was a question of smugglers, the Government of Great Britain became interested as responsible for the West Indian Islands.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: said that on the other hand, there might be negotiations which concerned all parts of the Empire.

LORD BALFOUR: thought that all were agreed that there are cases in which separate negotiations were desirable. This was less likely perhaps in the case of Islands like Australia and New Zealand than it was in the case of Canada. There was no suggestion that at the present stage of Imperial development London must not be chiefly responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs. Subject to that qualification, if it was a qualification, he gathered that all were prepared to accept the statement of the Foreign Secretary.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: asked leave to mention a subject which he thought was a matter of some importance. When the protocol which was the joint work of the representatives of the various governments of the Empire and other members of the League was considered it was agreed by all that it was inexpedient that the different governments of the Empire should ratify that protocol. There was some difference of opinion however how far they could accept the general principle of compulsory arbitration in all cases. The view of H.M.G. had been that situated as the British Empire was it would not be safe to accept the obligation to refer all questions to arbitration. They were prepared in all suitable individual cases to accept arbitration and in the past the British Empire had probably undertaken to arbitrate more cases than any other foreign country, but the present

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proposal to refer all questions to arbitration was a different matter.

MR. LAPOINTE: said that Canada was not prepared to ratify the protocol but was in favour of considering further the principle of compulsory arbitration.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: said that the answer of the Canadian Government was one of the reasons why he wished to bring this question before the Committee because a very difficult situation would arise if one government of the Empire undertook to refer all questions to arbitration and other governments refused to undertake that liability. He did not ask for a decision on that day but only for permission to circulate a paper which he had prepared.

LORD BALFOUR: imagined that everyone would approve of that.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

4th November, 1926.

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Rt. Mackenzie King

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE 1926.

COMMITTEE OF INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Committee held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W.1., on Thursday, November 4th, 1926, at 3.0 p.m.

PRESENT :-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominiom Affairs and the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

The Hon. J.G. Latham, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General The Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. P. McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

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NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W.S. Monroe, Prime Minister.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:-

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir William G. Tyrrell, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., Permanent Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office.

CANADA.

Dr. O.D. Skelton, Deputy Minister for External Affairs.

NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G., Clerk of the Executive Council.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. E.J. Smyth, Principal Officer, Department of Industry and Commerce.

Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B.	Secretary	
Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G.,	Dominions Office.	Joint
Mr. P.A. Koppel, C.B.E.,	(Foreign Office)	Assistant
Mr. C.W. Dixon, O.B.E.,	(Dominions Office)	Secretaries.
Mr. Jean Desy	(Canadian Delegation)	

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LORD BALFOUR asked Mr. Lapointe to make a statement as to the Treaty of Locarno on behalf of Canada.

MR. LAPOINTE made the following statement:-

"We have not been able to conclude that we should adhere, under the optional clause, now that the Treaty of Locarno has been defnitely concluded and ratified.

"The Treaty involves additional obligations in a European field which, while of interest to us as to all the world, is not our primary concern.

"This view is consistent with our previous attitude on Article 10 of the Covenant and the Protocol of Geneva, of which Locarno has been called the posthumous child.

"It is apparently also in harmony with the decision of the Government of Great Britain not to accept additional obligations on the eastern boundary of Germany, as more remote and indirectly of concern than the western boundary situation.

"The possibility of each part of the Empire deciding its course freely was of course contemplated by the inclusion of the optional clause as to Dominion signature and by the decision of the British Government to sign in any case.

"It may be urged that difficulties will arise if one part of the Empire should be at war and others not, and that we should therefore adhere to the Treaty to avoid this difficulty.

"This is a real difficulty, but not a new one, and not raised by the Treaty alone.

"If we do not sign, the question remains as it was, to be settled as occasion arises in the light of the conditions and needs of that day, and in full regard of

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our obligations as a member of the British Commonwealth and of the League of Nations.

"I have also noted the view that adherence now by the Dominions would make it less likely that we would be involved in war, by deterring any aggressor from facing what would be overwhelming odds. There is some force in that, but it might perhaps be urged in connection with most military alliances. In any case, we would have to consider whether the additional security for Continental Europe thus provided would not be more than offset by the danger to Canadian unity and progress involved in the assumption of fresh burdens when our neighbours to the south have not assumed even those which we already have in the League.

"We regret not to be able in our present light to adhere to the Treaty, but such action is in no way due to lack of appreciation of the motives which decided the British Government to carry it through, and of the spirit which has animated its conduct of international affairs since Locarno".

MR. MACKENZIE KING added that the fact that the United States had not assumed any obligations in European affairs placed the Canadian Government in a somewhat difficult position.

MR. BRUCE stated that in the Commonwealth Parliament he had said that the Commonwealth Government viewed with gratification that great progressive step forward; they had been kept informed of negotiations and were entirely in accord with what had been done, but he would not ask the Commonwealth Parliament to take action until after the Imperial Conference. The question arose whether it was desirable that some parts of the

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Empire should adhere and others should not: or whether all parts should not take the same course. The only difference involved in adhesion to the Treaty was that if the Commonwealth adhered and from the Treaty there arose some necessity to take action of a minor character, there would be a moral obligation on the Commonwealth to take such action. If the Commonwealth had not adhered, such action might be left to Great Britain. But if the situation which arose were similar to that of 1914 the question whether the Commonwealth had or had not adhered would not make any difference. In a life and death struggle Australia would participate. At the moment he wished to hear the general view of those present, and subsequently the Commonwealth Government would advise their Parliament what course to pursue. If the general view was that these treaties were of great importance and that the prestige of Great Britain would be helped by the Dominions coming in, he would certainly agree, but the adoption by different parts of the Empire of different courses of action would suggest to foreign Powers that there was a difference of opinion.

MR. COATES stated that New Zealand was very much concerned as to becoming responsible for obligations to which she might find it difficult to give effect. New Zealand asked for full consultation: she had had every opportunity of expressing her views, and had expressed them as negotiations progressed. New Zealand was anxious to help in a small way to bring about a stabilized position and to help in the direction of peace. The Treaty was in fact a Treaty of Peace and not so much in the interest of New Zealand, of the Empire or of Great Britain, as of the world as a whole.

If Great Britain were threatened New Zealand was also

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threatened. When all the Dominions had expressed their views, New Zealand would leave it to the Foreign Secretary of His Majesty's Government to use his judgment as to the action to be taken. The New Zealand Government had not asked their Parliament to take any action in regard to the Locarno Treaty, but he, personally, thought that there was no doubt that, if they were asked to approve adhesion, they would do so. New Zealand was closely wrapped up in the welfare of His Majesty's Government, particularly as they offered protection and means of security, and there was no doubt that if a situation similar to that of 1914 were repeated, New Zealand would be found beside the Mother Country, and the position would, he thought, be similar if any other part of the Empire were threatened.

GENERAL HERTZOG said that he had informed the Union Parliament that he did not feel justified in expressing an opinion as to adhesion to the Treaty at the moment, because he first wished to hear from the Government in London why it should be necess ry for the Dominions to subscribe to the Treaty. The Union should not enter more deeply into matters concerning Europe and Great Britain, unless cause were shown. Each part of the Empire had matters affecting it more or less particularly. The question arose how far cause had been shown for South Africa, by subscribing to the Treaty, to assume greater obligations than those involved under the Covenant of the League. All members of the League had to perform the obligations of the Covenant; but the Treaty of Locarno would involve greater obligations upon the parts of the Empire participating in it. So far as the obligations of the Treaty were concerned, all the Dominions were greatly indebted to Sir Austen Chamberlain

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for bringing about a state of security which would help France and Germany to put aside anxiety and to look at matters in a more business like way. Would the participation of the Dominions in the Treaty add to that sense of security? France and Germany knew that, if the contingency arose, South Africa would act no less effectively than if she had adhered to the Treaty. Assuming that Great Britain had taken action in support of Germany under the Treaty, and the Council of the League gave a decision against Germany, Great Britain would have to withdraw support of Germany; the position would be less embarrassing to the Empire if the Dominions were not similarly involved. Would it not be better if the Dominions were to stand waiting for the proper moment to intervene? He agreed with Mr. Bruce that it would be undesirable that some parts of the Empire should participate and others should not, as this would leave an impression of division. Unless good cause were shown for the participation of the Union, it would be better if the Union were left out and action under the Treaty left to Great Britain, there being the ultimate assurance of the Covenant of the League that the Empire would stand by her. South Africa was in much the same position as Canada, though special circumstances resulting from the neighbourhood of the United States did not arise in her case.

MR. MACKENZIE KING explained that what he had in his mind when he made his previous remark was the difficulty of holding the Canadian people down and attracting immigrants to Canada, when in the United States there was this feeling of getting away from entanglements in Europe.

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GENERAL HERTZOG said that the view was common in South Africa that the Union should be entangled as little as possible in European questions. If it adhered to the Locarno Treaty not only would they mix themselves up with these questions at once but they would create a feeling unfavourable to the sentiments which would make them stand together with Great Britain when the necessity arose. He thought it was better for ultimate co-operation if they did not ask the Union Parliament to accept the obligations of the Treaty.

MR. O'HIGGINS said that he was not authorised to express the opinion of his Government either in favour of or against adhesion. They would like to consider the matter further. Sir Austen Chamberlain had stated in the House of Commons in November 1925 that it was not possible to discuss such questions by telegram or despatch. He did not think that if such consultation had taken place it would have been possible to improve on what had been done. The admiration of the Irish Free State Government for the policy and action of Sir Austen Chamberlain had been expressed by Mr. Fitzgerald in the Dail. He pointed out that Article 9 of the treaty implied that without such a provision the Dominions would have been bound even in the absence of Dominion negotiators and signatories. Would the adherence of the Irish Free State Government tend to strengthen the pact? The Free State Government were modest enough to think not. Under the present position, if His Majesty on the advice of his government in Great Britain declared war, technically the Free State were at war and the enemy could attack them. If this view were right, adhesion to the pact would carry with it the obligation to be at war not only technically but offensively. Critics of the Irish Free State Government might argue that adhesion would carry with it the obligation to send an

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expeditionary force to the continent, and such criticism would be very undesirable politically. The Free State were in a very demilitarised condition, the army having been reduced from 50,000 to 12,000, so that the adhesion of the Irish Free State was not likely to prove very effective. The Free State representatives were not authorised to express any definite opinion as to adhesion, but the trend of their collective minds was in the negative direction.

MR. MONROE said that he thought it was safer for all parts of the Empire to show a united front. It was safer to adhere than not to do so, and he intended to ask the Legislature of Newfoundland to adhere.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that all the Dominion representatives present had shown approval of the steps taken, the policy pursued by H.M. Government and the methods by which they had secured the object desired by all, - the preservation of peace and the avoidance of a disaster such as that of 1914. This had given great satisfaction both to him and to his colleagues. H.M. Government would have liked to have personal conference with the Dominions at an earlier stage. When they suggested an earlier meeting of the Imperial Conference to consider the questions connected with the Protocol one of their main objects was to arrive at a common decision as to a substitute for the Protocol. It was unnecessary for him to insist on the object of H.M. Government or enter into the situation which had confronted them. His profound conviction was and had been that unless it had been possible rapidly to change existing conditions in Europe, the opportunity would have been lost, and the countries would have hardened into two camps. There had

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been two alternatives: either to welcome Germany back into the comity of nations, or to allow her to build up counter-alliances with Russia and other available Powers, which would have confronted the League of Nations with another League possessing equal or almost equal material force. Rapid action had been necessary in order that the younger generation might grow up in a different spirit. Consequently, when the proposed special meeting of the Imperial Conference had proved impossible, it had been necessary for Great Britain to act for her own safety, that of the Empire and of the world. In so acting H.M. Government had hardly taken any additional obligations, but had defined how in particular circumstances they would interpret the Covenant. Under the Covenant in certain circumstances the Council could call on members of the League to supply military forces, but it was reserved to each government to decide how far each should contribute. Economic sanctions, on the other hand, were directed by the Council and there was an obligation on each member to contribute its share. These obligations bore quite a different aspect from that originally contemplated owing to the abstention from the Leagu of the second greatest naval Power in the world, the United States. Consequently all parts of the Empire were deeply committed by the Covenant in the event of European disturbance, though there was no commitment to send any soldiers to fight in such an event. By the Treaty of Locarno H.M. Government had undertaken, if the emergency arose in a particular area, to go to the assistance of the party attacked with all their strength. Mr. O'Higgins had referred to Article 9 of the Treaty. The position as he understood it was that the contracting party to the treaty was H.M. the King, and it was His Majesty who gave the undertaking of assistance; Article 9 was necessary

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in order to define the extent of the assistance which His Majesty would furnish.

The Dominions representatives had approved generally the policy and action of H.M. Government, but had asked whether it was necessary for the success of this policy that the Dominions should adhere. The attitude of the Government in London necessarily differed from that of the Governments of other parts of the Empire. It was axiomatic in Great Britain that if the safety of a Dominion were at stake the whole resources of Great Britain would be placed at its disposal. The greater the guarantee that the Dominions would act with Great Britain the greater was the peril to any Power which brought down upon itself the sanctions. If France or Germany were the aggressor, not only would they find their neighbour against them, but they would also have the whole strength of Great Britain against them, and if there were the same guarantee as to other Dominions it would be a still more formidable restraint against any aggressive tendencies in any particular country. If they asked whether any serious consequences would follow from the Dominions not adhering, he would say no. He thought that people at large would think it was almost certain that in a great crisis the Empire would act together. Unanimous adherence, however, would produce a great effect, if it was felt that the whole weight of the British Empire was to be used to prevent aggression.

With regard to the demilitarised zone, under the Treaty of Versailles, any act against the demilitarisation provisions gave the parties a right of going to war. Under the Locarno Treaty it had been provided that such cases should go to arbitration, and only one case was taken out of that, the

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case of an assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone. Such an assembly could only have one purpose, and the object of providing a demilitarised zone would be lost. Consequently there was little difference between the obligations under the Treaty of Locarno and those under the Covenant, though there was greater precision in the former as to those obligations. He would have been glad if the whole Empire, feeling that the obligation was so little more than that previously undertaken, and of a nature so little likely to mature, could have unanimously agreed to adhere. If all parts of the Empire were not prepared to take this action he was disposed to agree with those who thought that unanimity was important and that it was better that none should adhere.

GENERAL HERTZOG wondered whether there might be a risk if it were thought that Great Britain would in any case support any Dominions which became involved in war.

MR. AMERY said that if consultation proceeded on the lines discussed at the previous meeting of the committee, no part of the Empire was likely to drift into war without being aware how far it had behind it the opinion of the rest of the Empire.

MR. BRUCE felt very keenly that there should be common action. While they all felt that the Dominions could not be expected to ratify every treaty entered into by Great Britain, this Treaty of Locarno had done so much towards that peace that they all desired that he would prefer to go and ask his Parliament to agree to adhesion. If the Dominions did not take such action it appeared to him that they were failing to fulfil the obligations involved in the conception of equality of status.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN agreed that nothing could better emphasise the independent status of the Dominions than if each Dominion separately ratified.

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MR. MACKENZIE KING alluded to Mr. Meighen's declaration, that he was not in favour of Canada participating actively in war until there had been a general election, as one of the circumstances likely to lead to difficulty in inducing the Canadian Parliament to approve adhesion.

LORD BALFOUR said he gathered that Canada would in no circumstances be able to adhere.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said he was afraid that it would be impossible to induce Parliament to approve adhesion.

MR COATES suggested that a general resolution on the subject should be put before the Committee.

LORD BALFOUR said that there appeared to be three possible courses:-

(1) Unanimous adhesion.
(2) General approval by the Dominions of the course adopted by His Majesty's Government, without adhesion.
(3) No action whatever.

He personally thought that there was much to be said for the second course. The future management of foreign policy would be easier if there were approval of policy after consultation, rather than Parliamentary debates in seven Parliaments. He asked Sir Austen Chamberlain what would be the effect on foreign countries of the adoption of the second course which he had mentioned.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN thought that what would be most impressive would be ratification by each independent government of the Empire. This being impossible, a declaration of approval by the Imperial Conference of the action of His Majesty's Government would have the greatest effect.

After some discussion as to the possible wording of a resolution MR. MACKENZIE KING said that he was much impressed by Lord Grey's recent statement that it was a mistake for the Dominions to go in for anything half-heartedly. Canada was satisfied with the Treaty and with all its terms; there was

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no question at all of that; and if the situation arose Canada would do her part. But was it wise to open up in the Canadian Parliament a debate as to whether Canada had approved or not?

After further debate it was agreed that, in the light of the discussion at the meeting, a draft resolution should be prepared and should be submitted to the Committee.

ADHERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE PROTOCOL ESTABLISHING THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

There was some discussion on the question of the adherence of the United States to the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice (Paper E.116). It was understood that it was the intention of the Dominion Governments to reply to the United States Government on the lines of the draft letter circulated by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations (Annex C to E.116) and that it was therefore unnecessary that the matter should be further considered by the Committee.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

4th November, 1926.

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. November 1926.

MOST SECRET. Copy No. 14.

E. (I.R-26.) 10th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations.

Meeting of Prime Ministers (or Heads of Delegations) held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, on Tuesday, November 9, 1926.

Present:

The Right Hon. the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council (in the Chair).

Great Britain.
The Right Hon. L.S.Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and for the Colonies.

Canada.
The Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

Commonwealth of Australia.
The Right Hon. S.M.Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

New Zealand.
The Right Hon. J.G.Coates, * M.C., Prime Minister.

Union of South Africa.
General the Hon. J.B.M.Hertzog, Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.
Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Newfoundland.
The Hon. W.S.Monroe, Prime Minister.

India.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead.

Sir M.P.A.Hankey, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee.

The COMMITTEE met in the Cabinet Room at the Foreign Office immediately after the meeting held to consider the questions of Compulsory Arbitration and the proposed Declarations in regard to the status of the several parts of the British Empire. (See E.)I.R./26)9th Meeting.

THE KING'S TITLE.

1. The Committee first discussed the question of the change in the King's title desired by the Irish Free State (E.(I.R./26)3, paragraph 7).

GOVERNMENT HOSPITALITY AT IMPERIAL CONFERENCES.

2. A short discussion took place in regard to Government Hospitality at Imperial Conferences.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.I.,
November 9, 1926.

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* Mr. Coates was obliged to leave shortly after the outset of the Meeting.

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P.M. 59

CONFIDENTIAL.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

LIST OF DOMINION AND INDIAN DELEGATIONS.

(REVISED TO NOVEMBER 10th, 1926).

NOTE: Those shown in capitals are Delegates.

E-1302-3
Pt. 2A

Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
CANADA.				
RT. HON. W.L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.	Prime Minister.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	119	Regent 0060.
Major L.C. Moyer, D.S.O.	Private Secretary	"	119	
Mr. W.H. Measures.	Assistant Private Secretary.	"	119	
THE HON. E. LAPOINTE, K.C.	Minister of Justice.	"	112	
Mr. L.P. Picard.	Private Secretary.	"	301	
Mr. Thomas Mulvey, K.C.	Under-Secretary of State.	"	118	
Dr. O.D. Skelton.	Deputy Minister, External Affairs.	"	114	
Miss M. McKenzie.	Private Secretary.	"	104	
Mr. Jean Desy.	Counsellor, Dept. of External Affairs.	"	302	
Lt. Col. J. Reid-Hyde, C.B.E.	Secretary to the Delegation.	"	118	
Dr. A.G. Doughty, C.M.G.	Deputy Minister of Archives.	"	116	

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Name.	Office.	Address,	Room No.	Telephone No.
CANADA (Contd.)				
Dr. J.H. Grisdale	Deputy Minister of Agriculture.	Canadian Building, Trafalgar Square, S. W.1.		Gerrard 9741
Mr. F.C. Blair.	Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Immigration.	" "		" "
Mr. S.A. Cudmore.	Technical Adviser.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W. 1.	101	Regent 0060
Major-General J.H. MacBrien, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	Chief of the General Staff.	" "	107	" "
Captain J.F. Cummins	Assistant to Chief of the General Staff.	" "	228	" "
Commodore W. Hose, C.B.E., R.C.N.	Director of the Naval Service.	" "	207	
Mr. C.A. Bowman.	Publicity Officer.	" "	126	
Mr. J.S. Nicol.	Confidential Messenger	" "	122	
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION ROOM 118).			
The Hon. P.C. Larkin	High Commissioner	Canadian Building, Trafalgar Square, S. W.1.		Gerrard 9741
Mr. L. Pacaud	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	" "		" "
Hon. Vincent Massey.	Canadian Privy Council.	Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	109	Regent 0060
Senator the Hon. W.L. McDougald, M.D.	Canadian Senate.	" "	118	" "

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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.				
RT. HON. S.M.BRUCE, M.C.	Prime Minister.	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C.2.	439 - 40	Gerrard 4343.
Mr. G.B.Cooke.	Private Secretary.	"	425	
THE HON. SIR NEVILLE HOWSE, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.	Minister of Defence and Health.	"	434 - 37	
Mr. F.A.McLaughlin.	Private Secretary.	"	431	
THE HON. J.G.LATHAM, C.M.G., K.C.	Attorney General.	"		
Mr. M. Bonniwell.	Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman. Secretary to Mr. Latham.	Australia House, Strand, W.C.2.		City 1740.
Mr. P.E. Deane, C.M.G.	Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept. (Secretary to the Delegation).	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C.2.	419 - 20	Gerrard 4343.
Mr. A.W. Stuart Smith.	Assistant Secretary to the Delegation.	"	417	

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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA (Contd.).				
Mr. H.W. Gepp.	Chairman, Development and Migration Commission.	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C.2.	438	Gerrard 4343.
Mr. H.F.Farrands.	Secretary, Commonwealth Immigration Office.	"	485	
Mr. F.L.McDougall, C.M.G.	Technical Adviser.	Australia House, Strand, W.C.2.		City 1740.
Dr. S.C.Leslie.	Publicity Officer.	Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C.2.	416	Gerrard 4343.
Miss Thomas.	Lady Secretary.	"	814	
	(CENTRAL OFFICES OF THE DELEGATION - ROOMS 426 and 430).			
The Rt.Hon. Sir Joseph Cook, G.C.M.G.	High Commissioner.	Australia House, Strand, W.C.2.		City 1740.
Mr. M.L.Shepherd, I.S.O.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"		

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NEW ZEALAND.				
RT. HON. J.G.COATES, M.C.	Prime Minister.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	327	Gerrard 0060
RT. HON. SIR FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C.	Minister without Portfolio.	"	325	
Mr. J.S. Hunter.	Private Secretary	"	325 & 307	
Rear Admiral A.G.Hotham, C.B., C.M.G., R.N.	Naval Adviser.	56, Belgrave Road, S.W.		Victoria 2132
Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G.	Clerk of the Executive Council, and Secretary, Prime Minister's Dept., Secretary to the Delegation.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	326	Gerrard 0060
Mr. C.A.Berendsen.	Imperial Affairs Officer.	"	322	
Miss I. Piper	Stenographer	"	331	
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 326).			
The Hon. Sir James Parr K.C.M.G.	High Commissioner	415, Strand, W.C.2	-	Gerrard 0840
Mr. A. Crabb	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"	-	
Mr. H.T.B. Drew	Publicity Officer	"	-	

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Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.				
GENERAL THE HON. J.B.M. HERTZOG.	Prime Minister	Claridge's Hotel, Piccadilly, W.1.	208	Mayfair 7160.
Mr. D. Steyn.	Private Secretary	"	208	
THE HON. N.C. HAVENGA.	Minister of Finance	"	102	
Mr. F.V. Ashpole.	Private Secretary	"	104	
Mr. H. Gordon Watson, I.S.O.	Secretary to Prime Minister's Dept. and Clerk of the Executive Council. Secretary to the Delegation.	"	209	
Sir William Hoy, K.C.B.	General Manager of Railways.	"	121	
Mr. C. Hamilton.	Private Secretary	"	306	
Dr. A.J. Bruwer.	Chairman, Board of Trade and Industries Department of Mines and Industries.	"	146	
Mr. J. Collie.	Representing Department of Finance.	"	146	
Mr. J.D. Heddon.	Representing Department of Customs and Excise.	"	146	

Name.	Office	Address	Room No.	Telephone No.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (Contd.)				
Miss C. Van Ginkel.	Typist	Claridge's Hotel, Piccadilly, W. 1.	209	Mayfair 7160.
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOMS 208 AND 209).			
Mr. J.S. Smit.	High Commissioner.	Trafalgar Square, W.C. 2.	-	Regent 6760.
Mr. J.P.J. Brunt.	Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	"	-	

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IRISH FREE STATE				
MR. W.T. COSGRAVE, T.D.	President of the Executive Council.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2	122	Gerrard 0060
MR. KEVIN O'HIGGINS, T.D.	Minister of Justice	"	124	
MR. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D.	Minister for External Affairs.	"	125	
MR. P. McGILLIGAN, T.D.	Minister for Industry and Commerce.	"		
MR. JAMES McNEILL.	High Commissioner	York House, 15, Regent Street S.W.1	-	Regent 6755
Mr. D.O'Hegarty	Secretary to the Executive Council.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	118	Gerrard 0060
Mr. J. Costello, K.C.	Attorney General	"	120	
Mr. J.P. Walshe	Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.	"	117	
Major-General Peadar McMahon	Chief of Staff	York House, 15, Regent St. S.W.1.	-	Regent 6755
Colonel Seamus O'Higgins	Chief Staff Officer, General Staff.	"	-	"

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Name	Office	Address	Room No.	Telephone No.
Commandant Daniel Bryan	General Staff, Defence Forces.	York House, 15, Regent Street, S.W.1.	-	Regent 6755
Mr. A.C. Forbes	Directory of Forestry Ministry of Lands and Agriculture	"	-	"
Mr. J.J. Hearne	Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.	Hotel Cecil Strand, W.C. 2	119	Gerrard 0060
Mr. T.J. Kiernan	Secretary to the Delegation and Secretary to High Commissioner's Office	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2. also York House 15,Regent St.S.W.1	-	Regent 6755
Mr. J.W. Dulanty	Commissioner for Trade in the Office of the High Commissioner	York House, 15,Regent Street, S.W.1.	-	"
Mr. E.J. Smyth	Principal Officer, Department of Industry and Commerce	"	-	"
Mr. W.D. Carey,	Revenue Commissioner Dublin Castle	"	-	"
Mr. T. Cleary	Assistant Secretary Revenue Commissioners	"	-	"
Miss A. Lyons	Lady Secretary	Hotel Cecil Strand, W.C.2	121	Gerrard 0060
Miss K. McKenna	do.	"	121	"
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 121, HOTEL CECIL)			

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NEWFOUNDLAND.				
THE HON. W.S. MONROE.	Prime Minister.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	431	Gerrard 7826.
Mr. W.J.Carew.	Private Secretary.	" "	476	
THE HON. W.J.HIGGINS, K.C.	Minister of Justice.	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	192	Gerrard 0060.
THE HON. A.B. MORINE, K.C.	Minister without Portfolio.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	441	Gerrard 7826.
Mr. C.A. Fraser.	Private Secretary.	" "	476	
The Hon. Sir P.T.McGrath, K.B.E.	President of the Legislative Council. (Expert Adviser).	Hotel Cecil, Strand, W.C.2.	192	Gerrard 0060.
Miss Ruth Emerson.	Typist.	Carlton Hotel, Pall Mall, S.W.1.	476	Gerrard 7826.
	(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 476, CARLTON HOTEL).			
Mr. V.Gordon, C.M.G.	High Commissioner.	58, Victoria St., S.W.1.		Victoria 2302.
Mr. W.Hutchings.	Acting Secretary to High Commissioner's Office.	" "		" "

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Name.	Office.	Address.	Room No.	Telephone No.
INDIA.				
THE RT.HON. THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD.	Secretary of State for India.	India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.	-	Victoria 8920.
THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.	-	Hyde Park Hotel, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1.	704	Sloane 4567.
The Maharaj Kumar of Burdwan.	Private Secretary.	"	706	"
MR. D.T. CHADWICK, C.S.I., C.I.E.	Secretary to Government of India, Commerce Department.	"	719	"
Major-General W.M.St.G. Kirke, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.	Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India.	"	715	"
Mr. G.H. Spence, I.C.S.	Secretary to the Delegation.	"	411	"
Mr. G.S. Bajpai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.	-	Berkeley Hotel, 77, Piccadilly, W.1.	41	Gerrard 4321.

Members of the Delegation are also provided with Offices at the India Office (Victoria 8920).

(CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE DELEGATION - ROOM 211, INDIA OFFICE - Tel. VICTORIA 8920 - Ext. 106).

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE SECRETARIAT.

C 64070

Name.	Office.	Address.	Telephone No.
Sir Maurice P.A. Hankey, G.C.B.	Secretary to the Imperial Conference.	2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.	(Through Private Secretary).
Capt. I.F.Burgis, M.V.O.	Private Secretary.	"	Victoria 9250. Ext. 96.
Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G.	Deputy Secretary to the Imperial Conference.	"	" Ext.136.
Mr. C. Longhurst, C.B.	Assistant Secretary, (Establishment).	"	" Ext.122.
Mr. R.B. Howorth, C.B.	Assistant Secretary, (General Organisation).	"	" Ext.156.
Mr. G.H. Creasy.	Deputy Assistant Secretary, (General Organisation).	"	" Ext.115.
Mr. H.J. Hutchinson.	Assistant Secretary, (Economic Subjects).	"	" Ext.245.
Mr. F.A. Griffiths, M.C.	Deputy Assistant Secretary, (Economic Subjects).	"	" Ext.245.
Mr. H. Broadley	"	"	" Ext.245.
Mr. H.W. Acres	"	"	" Ext.245.
Lieut. F.W. Rawlins, M.B.E.	Chief Clerk.	"	" Ext.180.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
November 10th 1926.

C 64071

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. November 1926.

MOST SECRET.

E.)I.R.-26.) 12th Meeting. Copy No. 14.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations.

Meeting of Prime Ministers (or Heads of Delegations), Held in the Lord President's Room, Privy Council Office, on Monday, November 15, 1926, at 3.30 p.m.

Present:

The Right Hon. the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council (in the Chair).

Great Britain.
The Right Hon. L.S.Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and for the Colonies.

Canada.
The Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

Commonwealth of Australia.
The Right Hon. S.M.Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

New Zealand.
The Right Hon. J.G.Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

Union of South Africa.
General the Hon. J.B.M.Hertzog, Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.
Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

India.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead.

Sir M.P.A.Hankey, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee.
Mr. E.J.Harding, C.B., C.M.G., Deputy Secretary of the Committee

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As before, no minutes were kept of this meeting of Prime Ministers and Heads of Delegations.

THE COMMITTEE discussed draft paragraphs for their Report with regard to the Constitution of the British Empire and the relationship between Great Britain and the Dominions, submitted by Lord Balfour and eventually adopted provisionally in a revised form.

THE SECRETARYOF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS undertook to prepare some draft Resolutions on the subject of Empire inter-communication for consideration at the meeting on the following day.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.WI.,
November 15, 1926.

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Mr Mackenzie King

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CONFIDENTIAL.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

(I.R./26) 8th Meeting).

It is requested that the attached Revised Final Copy of the Minutes of the above meeting may be substituted for the Final Copy issued on the 12th instant, and the latter returned.

Attention is drawn to pages 5 and 5a which contain amendments.

(Signed) P.A. KOPPEL,
Joint Secretary.

2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

15th November, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26)
8th Meeting.

FINAL COPY.

REVISE.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Committee held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W.1., on Monday, November 8th, 1926, at 11 a.m.

PRESENT :-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.N. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. P. McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

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E. (I.R./26)
8th Meeting.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

REVISE.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of the Meeting of the Committee held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W.1., on Monday, November 8th, 1926, at 11 a.m.

PRESENT :-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.N. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. P. McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

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NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W.S. Monroe,
Prime Minister.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C.,
Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E.,
K.C.S.I., I.O.M.,

Mr. D.T. Chadwick, C.S.I.,C.I.E.,
Secretary to Government of
India, Commerce Department.

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT :-

GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir William G. Tyrrell, G.C.M.G.,
K.C.V.O.,C.B., Permanent Under
Secretary of State, Foreign Office.

CANADA.

Dr. O.D. Skelton, Deputy
Minister for External Affairs.

NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G.,
Clerk of the Executive Council.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. D. Steyn,
Private Secretary to Prime
Minister.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. J.P. Walshe, Secretary,
Department of External Affairs.

Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B.
Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G.,
(Dominions Office)
Mr. P.A. Koppel, C.B.E., (Foreign Office)
Mr. C.W. Dixon, O.B.E., (Dominions Office)
Mr. Jean Désy, (Canadian Delegation)

Secretary

Joint Assistant
Secretaries.

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1. TREATY OF LOCARNO.

LORD BALFOUR said that a draft resolution had been circulated embodying the general views of the Committee; but he understood that Mr. Mackenzie King had a form which he preferred.

MR. MACKENZIE KING then put forward the following draft resolution:-

"The Conference has heard with satisfaction the "statement of the Secretary of State for Foreign "Affairs with regard to the efforts made to ensure "peace in Europe, culminating in the agreements "of Locarno; and congratulates His Majesty's Govern- "ment in Great Britain on its share in this successful "contribution towards the promotion of the peace of "the world".

THE COMMITTEE agreed to recommend the new draft to the Conference for adoption.

2. SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION AND CONSULTATION.
Position of High Commissioners in London.

MR. BRUCE said that, as far as Australia was concerned, she had been interested in this question for a long time. It was essential for Australia that she should be kept fully informed with regard to the action and policy of the British Government in regard to foreign affairs. Communications had greatly improved lately, and the British Government had shown themselves ready to keep the Dominions informed. It was necessary that the Foreign Office should know what documents the Australian Government wished to see. He had discussed with

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Lord Curzon and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald what could be usefully done in order to improve matters. As a result he sent an officer over, and he had been given the greatest possible assistance. He had, for instance, been given information as to the back history of the events mentioned in the Foreign Secretary's statement the other day. In the Dominions public opinion had no knowledge whatever as to foreign affairs, or the policy of Great Britain. The Commonwealth Government having now got the past history, were in a position to inform the press. There were two sides to this question - (a) that the Dominion Governments should be kept fully informed with regard to the confidential side of foreign affairs; and (b) that the public should be kept generally informed. He doubted whether the present system carried out (b); but that was a matter for the Dominions themselves. At the Imperial Conferences they were able to discuss matters, but they then returned to their countries: policy might change, but not sufficiently for consultation; yet the definite change might come suddenly and thus come as a shock. A confidential man with access to the Foreign Office could watch the gradual change and report it as it came. The Australian Government thought that the High Commissioners might have the right of access to Ministers in Great Britain; it would depend on the sort of people they sent as High Commissioners whether the Dominion Governments would get the necessary information as to the trend of affairs. He suggested that the High Commissioners should be the unofficial channel and should (1) be entitled to see confidential communications; (2) should be entitled to have access to Ministers; and (3) should be used by the Dominion Governments to give the unofficial views of their governments. These views could not be set out in official despatches, which must be carefully drafted in view of possible future publication. He thought that these duties could be carried out by

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the High Commissioners, as liaison officers must necessarily be juniors. The Australian system of a liaison officer worked well, but he thought it should be a senior representative who carried it out. The question of representatives of Gt.Britain in the Dominions was a matter for Ministers here.

The other point raised by MR. COATES in his memorandum had been a proposal for something in the nature of a secretariat. As to foreign affairs, his view was that if a representative, such as he had described, were appointed, he should be assisted by a junior responsible officer, who could do the spade work for the High Commissioner, which in itself would be a very considerable task. This was quite distinct from the proposal for a secretariat. He was in favour of such a proposal, but would not press it; and as regards foreign affairs he was confident that this should be regarded as outside its scope. He would prefer a secretariat to deal with economic matters.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that he agreed with Mr. Bruce's views as to the position of the High Commissioner as an unofficial channel of communication, with the right of approach to Ministers in Gt. Britain, and assisted by the necessary staff.

LORD BALFOUR, having raised the question as to possible publication of communications between High Commissioners and their Government if they were regarded in an analogous position to that of Ambassadors, SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that, as regards foreign affairs, there were two classes of communications with ambassadors - (a) formal despatches from him to H.M. Ambassador in a foreign country regarding conversations with foreign ambassadors in London, and despatches from H.M. Ambassador regarding conversations with foreign Ministers; and (b) private correspondence between himself and H.M. Ambassadors. The former class of communication would not be published without the consent of the foreign government concerned: the

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latter would in no circumstances be published. He presumed that Mr. Bruce had in mind communications of the latter category.

MR. BRUCE said that the point was that the High Commissioner should be in such a position towards his Prime Minister that he could send him unofficial information.

LORD BALFOUR said that a High Commissioner analogous to an Ambassador would have to deal with the whole policy of the British Empire. The proposal would greatly increase the work of the Foreign Secretary.

MR. BRUCE pointed out that a foreign ambassador, while he would discuss with the Foreign Secretary questions affecting only his country and Gt. Britain, would also probably communicate to his own government his impressions of the atmosphere on all matters of foreign policy.

MR. AMERY thought that Mr. Bruce's experiment of Major Casey as a liaison officer had been most valuable; but he felt that it had stopped short of its full utility owing to Major Casey being a junior. If a senior had the help of a junior, he would have no difficulty in dealing with the necessary questions. He believed it would be useful not as displacing the system of official correspondence between governments, but as supplementing it. The whole field of cooperation of the British Empire was a wide field of contacts, and it did not seem desirable that one particular matter, namely foreign affairs, should be excluded from the duties of the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner should not be debarred from any information whatever.

MR. BRUCE said he was not suggesting anything new or revolutionary. The appointment of a liaison officer had resulted in much better contact with the British Government, but there was a danger that this system might undermine the position of the High Commissioner.

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MR. FITZGERALD said if the liaison officer were in the same position as a counsellor or first secretary is to an ambassador, such undermining would not take place.

MR. COATES raised the question whether an arrangement providing for consultation through the High Commissioners would not in practice amount to a continuous sitting of the Imperial Conference without the presence of the Prime Ministers.

He did not think that a Government would always want information on foreign affairs to be obtained through its High Commissioner. High Commissioners were appointed for a term of years and there might be a change of Government in the meantime. He saw great difficulty in the transmission of most secret and controversial information through an official whose opinions might be totally opposed to those of the Government in office and who would naturally and perhaps unwittingly colour his information in accordance with his own views.

Again, though they had absolute confidence in the High Commissioners, he was not sure that they had been sufficiently trained in secrecy and confidential work to deal with a Government which had not appointed them.

As High Commissioners must necessarily be appointed for a lengthy term he thought it desirable to call attention to these objections.

He was of opinion that all the Dominions must adopt the same course for the reason that no Dominion could allow its High Commissioner to be in a worse position than those of other Dominions.

LORD BALFOUR asked whether Mr. Coates held Mr. Bruce's idea that each Dominion should make its own arrangements to be impracticable.

MR. COATES repeated that no Dominion was going to allow its High Commissioner to be in an inferior position. He said he was opposed to any interference with the present system of

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communication through the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Governor-General: for example, by diverting all correspondence through the High Commissioner.

MR. AMERY said that there was no question of setting up a new channel of official correspondence.

MR. COATES said the question was whether all information should pass through the High Commissioner's Office, thus increasing the status of an official who might not be entirely in accord with the views of the Government in office.

MR. MORINE asked whether it would not be possible, not to lay down any general rule but for the Prime Minister to authorise the High Commissioner, or anybody else, to communicate unofficially with the Government of Great Britain.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the problem was whether it was possible to do anything on the side of Great Britain to meet the wishes expressed by some of the Dominions and, in particular, to make the causes and process of foreign policy to be

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more clearly known to the Dominions. To begin with conduct of affairs in the Foreign Office - the mass of matter which came in was far greater than any one individual could read and digest. A great deal of routine work was done in the Office which did not come to him at all. Then to pass to larger questions - he circulated to the Cabinet the documents which he thought of importance, in order to aid them in forming their judgment on foreign affairs and to enable them at any moment to control his actions. There was less discussion on foreign affairs nowadays in the Cabinet than when he joined his first Cabinet 20 years ago, and this was owing to the increase of general business. But the members of the Cabinet had the right at any moment to challenge anything he might do. The same documents which went to the British Cabinet went to the Dominions, and they could similarly form their judgments. But such documents would reach the Dominions late, and the Dominion Prime Ministers had not the same opportunity of asking questions as Cabinet Ministers in Great Britain. If he could help to approximate the position of Dominion Prime Ministers to that of Cabinet Ministers in Great Britain, he would be only too glad to do so. He did not wish to suggest that the Dominions Office should be done away with. Even if the Dominions did not require it, it would be required by the Government in London. He agreed with those who desired that the present methods of sending telegrams and despatches should continue, but in between Imperial Conferences the Dominions did not receive the political atmosphere, and he thought that if the Dominions had a body of representatives here, who could keep in touch with the Foreign Secretary, they would preserve the atmosphere, and they would help to give life to dead print. These men, however, must be well informed and in the confidence of their governments.

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They must be men who could be relied to keep confidential information. If such a body existed here, he would arrange to have periodical meetings with them at which he could point out new developments and new difficulties, and how they were going to be met. If any government had any question which they wished to put, their representative could raise it. He had dwelt on the proposal that there should be a body of Dominion representatives. He would be very glad to give to any individual the same access to information as was given to Mr. Bruce's representative, but having regard to the pressure upon his time, due to giving interviews to foreign representatives, he would prefer dealing with a body of representatives rather than with several representatives individually. Whether the Dominions wanted to have officers of this kind, and what position they should hold, was a matter for them to decide. All that the British Government could say was that if they wished to appoint confidential officers, they would meet those officers and help them.

GENERAL HERTZOG stated that the Union Government agreed that there was a necessity for closer contact between the High Commissioner and the Government in Gt. Britain. If the High Commissioner communicated with his government, he would be in the best position to know what subjects would interest his government, and he could mention matters which could not very well be dealt with in official communications from the British Government. As to Mr. Coates' remark as to the High Commissioner not being in touch with the government of his Dominion, he thought that if such a contingency arose the Union Gov rnment would be in a position to deal with it. They would like the High Commissioner for the Union to be placed in a position to do what was required.

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MR. MACKENZIE KING said he would much prefer to get information from a British official in Canada. He would rather that Sir Austen Chamberlain should communicate with his officer in Canada, than that Sir Austen should communicate with a Canadian officer here, whether as regards the communication of information by the British Government to the Dominion Governments, or as regards the method by which the Foreign Secretary in London could ascertain the views of the Dominion Governments on any particular matter of foreign affairs.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN pointed out that, whatever happened, it was proposed that all information which now went should continue to be sent.

MR. AMERY thought that, in order to create the right atmosphere, the more channels of information there were, the better.

LORD BALFOUR said they were all agreed that existing transmission of information should continue as at present. The question was how it was to be supplemented. He gathered that the plan was that there should be a British representative in each Dominion, and a representative of each Dominion in London. If, by any chance, a representative were more efficient, either here or there, it would be that channel which would in effect be employed.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN pointed out that the position in different countries varied widely in accordance with the personality of the representatives.

MR. FITZGERALD said that the Free State Government were interested in all matters of foreign policy, but did not wish to be held responsible for all action taken by the British Government, in foreign affairs. He thought that the position might be defined in the following terms:-

(1) The High Commissioners should be given all the privileges of approach to Ministers (or their authorised representatives ad hoc) possessed by a minister plenipotentiary.

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(2) They should be supplied with all documents sent direct between the two governments.

(3) Their chief business would be to explain and receive explanations.

(4) The work suggested for a liaison officer would more naturally be undertaken by a competent secretary or counsellor attached to the High Commissioner's office.

(5) Each High Commissioner should chiefly endeavour to find out to what extent his own government might be interested in any particular line of policy so that the Dominion might be able to secure full representation in any deliberations provoked by the risk of war or other serious international crisis.

He thought that the difficulty mentioned by Mr. Coates might be met by the appointment as High Commissioner either of a political officer changing with the change of government, or of a civil servant.

MR. BRUCE pointed out that his idea had not been that they should adopt any formal resolution; he had only wished to clear his own mind on the subject. He only thought it necessary that the Prime Ministers should be allowed to appoint someone who should have access to confidential documents.

LORD BALFOUR then read the following formula drafted by Sir Maurice Hankey as summing up the discussions which had taken place -

"The Governments represented at the Imperial Conference are agreed that it is desirable to improve as far as possible the facilities for inter communication and the reciprocal supply of information in foreign affairs, particularly by developing a system of personal contact. In this connection the

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representatives of the Dominions welcome the offer of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain to give full information in regard to foreign affairs, and to discuss foreign affairs, with any person representing a Dominion (whether a Minister, High Commissioner, Liaison Officer, or other official) who may be nominated by his Government for either or both purposes.

Any arrangements adopted in pursuance of this plan will be supplementary to and not in replacement of the system of direct communication from Government to Government, and the special arrangements which have been in force since 1918 for communications between Prime Ministers.

The methods of supply of information, and of discussion as between the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and any representatives nominated by the several Dominions, will be arranged with due regard to the great and continuous pressure of work in the Foreign Office"

and IT WAS DECIDED that this formula should be circulated before any further action was taken.

MR. CHADWICK pointed out that the position of India was different from that of the Dominions, in that any formula relating to the Dominions would not be applicable to India.

LORD BALFOUR agreed that this was clearly a matter which concerned the Dominions and not India.

MR. BRUCE stated that no one wished to throw additional burdens on the Foreign Secretary, and he thought that the proposal would not do so if the proper man was appointed. Such a man would only worry the Foreign Secretary on special occasions and he thought it would be better not to arrange to have any regular meetings of the body of High Commissioners.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said the weight of foreign affairs at present rested necessarily chiefly on H.M. Government in

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Gt. Britain, but there were occasions, like in the negotiations leading to Locarno, when he believed if a body such as had been suggested had existed, it would have been possible to communicate the atmosphere during such negotiations. He only contemplated discussions with such a body on major issues of foreign affairs, and not the day to day work of the Foreign Office - as an instance he mentioned the situation in China. He was in the hands of the representatives of the Dominions as to whether periodical meetings should be held.

MR. BRUCE said he did not wish that it should be thought discourteous if regular meetings were not held.

MR. AMERY said that, as regards matters other than foreign affairs, he held informal meetings weekly with the High Commissioners, which gave an opportunity for the raising of particular questions, if this were desired.

MR. COATES then dealt with the second part of the proposals in his memorandum. The Dominions would not go far until they had built up a service. He also referred to the possibility of recruiting Dominion candidates for the diplomatic service.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN pointed out that there were already Dominion-born officers in the diplomatic and consular services. The difficulty was that the examinations must be held in London. It was necessary to come to Europe in order to obtain sufficient proficiency in languages; and if they came to Europe for this purpose, there was no difficulty in sitting for the examination here. Knowledge of languages was essential, and could only be obtained by residence in foreign countries. If any Dominion Government liked to second any civil servant for service in the Foreign Office for a year or so, the British Government would be glad to receive him. Also if any Dominion Government asked the British Government to lend them an officer, they would certainly try to do so.

MR. AMERY added that he would be equally willing, as far as the Dominions or Colonial Offices were concerned, to receive or lend officers.

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3. Representation of the British Empire at International Conferences.

MR. AMERY said that this subject had been included in the agenda for the conference suggested by the British Government. The question had arisen in connection with the London Conference of 1924 on the Dawes Report, and after that Conference Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was then Prime Minister, had suggested that the subject might be discussed at the enquiry into constitutional matters suggested by his government which was not in fact held. The question was how to reconcile the general theoretical decision that the Dominions are entitled to representation at international conferences with practical difficulties which might arise in particular cases, for example if the number of British Empire representatives were largely to outnumber the representatives from foreign countries.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that two questions were really involved, (a) the character of representation at international conferences, and (b) the method of invitations to take part in such conferences. With regard to the character of representation questions had arisen in connection with the Lausanne and London Conferences on the Dawes scheme. It followed from what had been said at this conference that the Dominion governments did not desire to take the responsibility of being represented in many cases. There were technical conferences and political conferences. No difficulty arose with regard to technical conferences as the Dominions were habitually represented at such conferences by their own delegates. It was however a different matter with regard to political conferences. If such a conference exceeded a certain

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size its chance of success would diminish in more than geometrical progression. To take an example, at Locarno the key questions were settled by conversations between five Powers: it was a conference of fifteen people, but only six people spoke, and this was the reason that the conference had proceeded so smoothly and successfully. Consequently he felt that probably in the present circumstances the present system was best suited to the needs of the Empire but in special cases there might be special Dominion interests and in such a case one of the representatives should be appointed on the advice of that Dominion. It was impossible that at every negotiation there should be representation of at least one individual from each Dominion.

MR. FITZGERALD then read the following statement:-

"When the Conference meets to discuss matters affecting the Commonwealth as a whole, Dominions should be duly represented with full powers issued by the King on the advice of the Dominion Governments. The Dominions could be represented by one representative but all responsibility whatever in these matters must derive from the advice of the Dominion Governments to the King."

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN quoted as a special instance the London Conference on the Dawes plan. He pointed out that the British Empire was entitled to 22 per cent of the total reparation receipts from Germany and that by agreement between the governments of the Empire only a minor portion of that percentage was allotted to the Dominions. He asked whether it would be necessary that in such a case all the Dominions should be represented at the conference.

MR. FITZGERALD thought that in such a case the proper

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course would be for the British Government to communicate with the Dominion Governments, pointing out that Great Britain was chiefly interested, and that it was necessary to keep the number of representatives at the Conference to the lowest limit, and asking whether the Dominions wished to advise His Majesty to issue full powers to the British Foreign Secretary to represent the Dominions. This course would only be resorted to when it was obviously necessary.

LORD BALFOUR asked what would happen if a foreign power refused to have at its conference members of eight different parts of the Empire.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN stated that at Locarno it would have been impossible to have eight separate representatives from the British Empire without altering the whole character of the conference and that in that case foreign governments would not have been content to be limited to three representatives. There might have been one representative of the Government in London and two representatives of Dominion Governments but he doubted whether that would have been satisfactory to the Dominion Governments not directly represented. At Locarno he represented the Government in London who gave him certain instructions but allowed him within the limits of those instructions latitude to speak in their name. He asked whether the Dominion Governments would be prepared to give him similar latitude.

MR. FITZGERALD said that what he suggested was that the representative should, if he represented a Dominion, get his full powers on the advice of the Government of that Dominion. No one Government of the Empire should arrogate the right to appoint representatives for all the governments. He thought

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that foreign governments might not appreciate the co-equality of the Governments of the Empire.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN thought that foreign governments appreciated that no one government of the Empire could bind the others, but the difficulty which arose related to voting power. Foreign governments might claim that if the British Empire had a certain number of votes they must have the same number,

LORD BALFOUR said that at the Washington Conference the Dominion representatives met every day and consulted together but he on occasions had to visit Mr. Hughes alone.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that if the Dominions had no immediate interest they ought not to be represented and similarly with regard to obligations. At Locarno, for instance, he could imagine people saying "you may wish to have these Dominions obligated but if you do you must let them be represented". He thought that the principle "no taxation without representation" should apply here. The Canadian Parliament would demand representation in every case involving direct obligation for Canada.

MR. FITZGERALD said that at the London Conference on the Dawes plan representation was by the panel system but all the Dominion representatives had full powers issued on the advice of their governments.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that at that conference one Dominion representative sat, together with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Dominions taking turns, but this was not a satisfactory arrangement. He then turned to the subject of invitations from foreign governments and pointed out that in this case the action was taken by the foreign government. An ideal solution would be that in a political conference the

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foreign government should address one invitation to this government and then this government should approach the Dominion Governments as to representation. If this was not considered satisfactory by the Dominions the British Government would do their best to obtain from foreign governments separate invitations for each government. They would be given through the diplomatic channel, and the Foreign Office would inform the inviting government that each Dominion wished to make a separate acceptance through the diplomatic channel in accordance with the normal practice.

LORD BALFOUR said that he could conceive a position where the representative of the British Empire might be a citizen of one of the Dominions.

GENERAL HERTZOG thought that there should be direct invitations to the Dominion Governments.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN asked what was meant by direct invitation. Supposing there were an invitation from the United States Government to a further naval conference at Washington there would be three possible courses. (1). The United States might address the British Government through the diplomatic channel asking whether the British Empire would participate, and the British Government would then consult the Dominion Governments as to the method of participation. (2) The United States Government might address the British Government through the diplomatic channel asking whether the governments in London, Ottawa, Melbourne and the other parts of the Empire would be represented: in this case the British Government would similarly consult the Dominion governments. (3) The United States government might approach the British Government and the British Government might reply asking them to address separate invitations to the Dominion Governments through the

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diplomatic channel.

GENERAL HERTZOG stated that the conception of the British Empire as an entity was one that concerned the Empire. but from the point of view of the United States the various parts of the Empire were different states and if the United States of America wanted to see the Dominions at a conference she should take the necessary steps to have them invited. Foreign nations did not look upon the Dominions as autonomous and whenever it suited them they tried to exclude the Dominions. It was important that this conception should be corrected.

MR.BRUCE stated that a beginning was being made in the explanation of the Dominions' status to Foreign countries and that it was better to deal with questions of invitation and representation as they arose.

LORD BALFOUR considered it an impossible position to tell nations that they should invite all the members of the British Empire or none.

MR. FITZGERALD said that in the event of the United States asking the British Government whether the British Empire would be represented at a conference he thought that the proper reply would be that the British Government were not empowered to speak for all the governments of the Empire and that if the United States wished the British Empire to be represented they must notify the Dominion Governments also.

LORD BALFOUR replied that in that event the United States Government might invite the Government in London only.

MR. FITZGERALD said that in that case the Dominion Governments would not be bound by the proceedings of the conference.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that in the event of a further naval conference the United States Government would probably not invite the Union Government or the Government of the Irish

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Free State as not possessing naval armaments, but the Union Government might wish to be represented in order to make clear the autonomous position of the Union.

GENERAL HERTZOG said that in such a case they could appoint a British delegate to hold a watching brief of the conference.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN thought that this came to what Mr. Bruce had suggested namely, that each case should be dealt with on its merits and that there should be free consultation.

MR. AMERY agreed with a statement made by Mr. Mackenzie King that the important thing was not the form of the invitations, which could not be controlled, but the form of the acceptance or acceptances. It would be possible to educate foreign governments as to the form of invitation which they should issue if acceptance of an invitation addressed to the British Empire were couched in the form of separate acceptances on behalf of each Government.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

8th November, 1926.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

(I.R./26) 5th Meeting).

It is requested that the attached Revised Final Copy of the Minutes of the above meeting may be substituted for the Final Copy issued on the 13th instant, and the latter returned.

Attention is drawn to pages 20 and 21 which have been amended.

(Signed) C.W. DIXON,
Joint Secretary.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
November 16th, 1926.

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Mr. Mackenzie King

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E. (I.R./26)

5th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

FINAL COPY.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

REVISE.

MINUTES of a Meeting held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W.1., on Wednesday, 3rd November, 1926, at 4.30 p.m.

P R E S E N T :-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Viscount Cave, G.C.M.G., Lord Chancellor.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

The Right Hon. Sir Douglas Hogg, K.C., M.P., Attorney-General.

CANADA.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General The Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. P. McGillingan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

INDIA.

Mr. D.T. Chadwick, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to Government of India, Commerce Department.

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THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT :-

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. J.J. Hearne, Assistant
Parliamentary Draughtsman.

Mr. E.J. Smyth, Principal Officer,
Department of Industry and
Commerce.

Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G., (Dominions Office))
Mr. G.E. Baker, C.B., (Board of Trade)) Joint
Mr. P.A. Koppel, C.B.E., (Foreign Office))Secretaries.
Mr. C.W. Dixon, O.B.E., (Dominions Office))

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LORD BALFOUR said that, as the question of the laws relating to merchant shipping had been raised by the Irish Free State delegation, he thought that it would be most convenient if the representatives of the Free State would in the first place make a general statement as to the position.

MR. MCGILLIGAN then made the following statement.

The question of the legislative powers of the legislatures of members of the Commonwealth of Nations has been adverted to in official correspondence and memoranda which have passed between the British Government and the Governments of those members from time to time. Discussion on the subject took place at the Navigation Conference of 1907. The object of that Conference was referred to in the despatches sent on the 8th day of March, 1905, by Mr. Lyttleton to the Governor General of Australia and the Governor of New Zealand. These despatches were largely similar in terms and stated that His Majesty's Government had, as a result of the introduction of the Commonwealth Navigation Bill and the then recent passage of a comprehensive Act in New Zealand, been led to the conclusion that the time had come when "the whole situation should be reconsidered in the light of the experience of the ten years since the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, was passed". The Navigation Conference met in London on the 26th day of March, 1907, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Lloyd George, President of the Board of Trade. At an early stage in the

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proceedings the Hon. W.M. Hughes, Australian Delegate, said that "a suggestion was made as to what the powers of the respective Colonial Governments are and the extent to which they could exercise these powers" and asked whether that question might be taken first. The Chairman replied that "he would not raise constitutional issues if he could possibly avoid it". During the discussion which took place much divergence of opinion was displayed. The Hon. W.M. Hughes is reported at page 62 of the official Report of the Proceedings as follows:

> "I want to say in my opinion we have plenary power
> "in respect of making laws with regard to navigation
> "and shipping subject only to our Constitution Act
> "and The King's Assent and that the sections of the
> "Merchant Shipping Act do not apply to us at all"

Mr. H. Poltram Cox of the Colonial Office said that he was unable to agree to that. To which Sir William Lyne (Australian delegate) replied :

> "I say that sections 735 and 736 do not apply
> "to us" (Report of proceedings p.62)

The important resolution passed by the Conference was Resolution No. 9. which embodied the agreement reached at the Conference as to the basis on which the Shipping Legislation of Australia and New Zealand should proceed. Agreement was reached upon considerations of expediency and practical convenience, and the Resolution left the question of the legal and constitutional position still outstanding. Resolution No. 9. of the Navigation Conference is as follows:

> "That the vessels to which the conditions
> "imposed by the law of Australia or New
> "Zealand are applicable should be (a) vessels
> "registered in the Colony, while trading therein,
> "and (b) vessels wherever registered, while
> "trading on the coast of the Colony; that for
> "the purpose of this Resolution a vessel shall
> "be deemed to trade if she takes on board cargo or
> "passengers at any port in the Colony to be carried
> "to and landed or delivered at any port in the Colony".

At the Imperial Conference of 1911 attention was

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called to the question of legislative powers in the matter of merchant shipping by a Resolution which appeared on the agenda of the Conference in the name of the Government of New Zealand. The resolution was as follows :

> "That the self-governing oversea Dominions have now reached a "stage of development when they should be entrusted with wider "legislative powers in respect to British and foreign shipping".

In the course of the discussion Sir Wilfred Laurier said :

> "We are prepared on our part to support the Resolution of "Sir Joseph Ward . . .

Sir Wilfred then referred to the terms of the Resolution, and proceeded:

> "My contention has always been and is that under our respective "Constitutions, at all events, the Constitution of Canada, our "powers to legislate for Shipping are plenary and that any "legislation we pass as to shipping is not only valid but "enforceable in law. But the point of difficulty is that whilst, "in my judgment, the powers conferred on the Dominion of Canada "to legislate on shipping, and I presume the other Dominions also, "are plenary and absolute, the British Government in granting "the power of self-government to the Dominions has reserved to "itself the power of disallowance, and when legislation is passed "of preventing the sanction and putting into force of any such "legislation which they think objectionable. While, as I say, the "United Kingdom here has asserted to itself the power to disallow "any legislation which it is in the power of the self-governing "Dominions to pass, it is very chary of exercising that power, "except in matters of shipping, whereon it has always maintained "the doctrine that it had the power to supervise the legislation "passed by the self-governing Dominions. That is a question of "policy more than a question of law, and I do not think that we "require any more power than we have at the present time to pass "an Act, and, after that Act is passed, it is valid absolutely".

Asked whether he was keeping in mind the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, which limited the power of the Oversea Dominions, Sir Wilfrid replied:

> "I am" and continued: "This power is granted to us in our "Constitution, but whether it is a question of law or policy "I sympathise with the object of the Resolution whether it is "raised in one way or the other. I say I sympathise with that, "because we in Canada intend to keep to our doctrine that our "powers in shipping are plenary".

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Sir Wilfrid went on to say that the legislature of New Zealand had passed a law which they believed to be essential for the welfare of their country, and that the Britishh Government had taken up the position that this was an interference with the power which they had asserted to themselves. "It is not because they think it an infringement on their powers, but, as I think, because they believe also it is bad policy. I sympathise with the object of the Resolution whether you meet it in one way or the other, whether according to my own views or the views of Sir Joseph Ward and the New Zealand Government" (Report of proceedings p.406).

Mr. Buxton, President of the Board of Trade, expressed tho views of the British Government on the resolution. He said:

> "The present principle of merchant shipping
> "legislation is fairly plain and simple. Broadly
> "speaking, the code of law the ship is
> "the code of the country of registration, and
> "that code follows the ship round the world. This
> "general principle is modified in its application
> "to the various parts of the British Empire by two
> "other principles. (1) that they have full
> "power to regulate their own coasting trade even
> "though the ships engaged in it are registered in
> "the United Kingdom or in foreign countries,
> "(2) that as regards ships other than their own
> "registered ships, and other than ships engaged in
> "their coasting trade their legislative powers are
> "restricted to their territorial limits, and are,
> "therefore, inoperative on the high seas. There is
> "an exception in regard to certain powers expressly
> "conferred on Australia by section 5 of the Australian
> "Constitution Act, which deals with so-called "round
> "voyages" which begin and terminate within the Common-
> "wealth. There are various points which might be held
> "to be included in and covered by this Resolution
> "of Sir Joseph Ward's to which we could readily assent..
> "For instance, if New Zealand desires to have some
> "power analagous to that which Australia now possesses
> "to regulate round voyages, or if New Zealand desires
> "that the Dominions should be empowered to pass
> "reciprocal legislation providing that the labour
> "legislation of each Dominion should apply to merchant
> "vessels registered in such Dominion while in the
> "territorial waters of the other Dominions, we would
> "not stand in the way. Or, perhaps, the Dominion of
> "Canada desires, as Mr. Brodeur mentioned the other
> "day that steps should be taken definitely to validate
> "certain Canadian laws affecting Canadian shipping and
> "the Canadian coasting trade, the validity of which
> "is in doubt. On all these matters although there may
> "be difficulties in detail in arriving at a satisfactory
> "understanding, they are not insuperable, nor is there
> "any objection in principle. But in this case the
> "Resolution should be more definite and restricted in

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"its language" (p. 412).

Sir Joseph Ward said: "I want to say "here that I propose to put on record what the "powers of the overseas Dominions are in "connection with shipping matters, because "my friend Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in the "speech he delivered to the Conference "expressed the opinion that they had the "power in Canada to do what we are seeking "to obtain. I am inclined to think that "all powers are alike, and I want to state "what the legislation on the matter is".

Sir Joseph then read the text of sections 735 and 736 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and continued:-

"It will be seen, therefore, that the powers "are restricted to the repeal of certain "provisions of the Imperial Merchant Shipping "Act relating to ships registered in the "possession and to the regulation of the "coasting trade. Even in these two matters "the Colonial Acts are not to come into force "until assented to by His Majesty. I want to "direct attention to what the general law is".

"The Resolution consequently is intended "to give us wider powers than are contained in "the Imperial Merchant Shipping Act to which I "have just referred, and in the case of the "trouble existing in New Zealand without the "power to amend our law to meet our particular "purposes, concerning which the Royal Assent "is withheld in the meantime to that Bill which "has passed through both branches of the "Legislature in New Zealand, then we are power- "less to meet that position which I indicated "before that has arisen and so is each of the "self-governing Dominions powerless to meet a "position similar to that if it arises in their "country". (pp. 416, 417).

Sir Wilfrid Laurier again intervened in the discussion to the following effect:-

"I stated earlier in the day that in "Canada we are disposed to support this "Resolution of Sir Joseph Ward's, and the "discussion which has just taken place has "emphasised in that direction the position "we said we would take. Sir Joseph Ward has

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"just stated that this question is governed by the Imperial "Statute, 1894. That is the reason why if it is so, I would "be more disposed to record our vote for this. The position "we have taken up on this question is that by the British "North America Act, the Act which constituted the Dominion "of Canada we have received plenary power to legislate on "Shipping. That position we take up."

At that stage Mr. Buxton (President of the Board of Trade) said:-

" Was not that merely a consolidating Act - "the Act of 1894? It did not give further power "beyond what existed before" (p. 418)

And Mr. Buxton added:- "There was no "intention of either limiting or extending the "existing powers" (p. 419).

Later in the discussion Sir Joseph Ward, following some remarks made by Mr. Pearce, the Minister for Defence of the Commonwealth of Australia, said:-

"The position even if you legislate upon the "assumption that you have the power to do what "you say, is that the Governor General of Australia "would be bound to hold that legislation over, "after it had been passed by both Houses of your "Parliament, to be referred to the Home Government "in order to obtain the Royal Assent." (p. 421)

Both General Botha (Prime Minister of South Africa) and Mr. Fisher (Prime Minister of Australia) abstained from voting on the New Zealand Resolution on the ground that if they voted it might seem to be an admission that the Union and the Commonwealth had but limited powers in the matter of merchant shipping legislation. The resolution was not carried. New Zealand and Canada voted for it but the other four parties did not vote. The British Government gave no undertaking in regard to the matter raised by the New Zealand resolution and there the position was allowed to stand.

In the course of the discussion on the New Zealand resolution at the Conference of 1911, Mr. Pearce referred to the memorandum prepared by Mr. Cunliffe, solicitor to the Board of Trade, on the subject of the legislative powers of the self-governing Dominions in relation to Merchant Shipping. The memorandum referred to was prepared in reference to the New Zealand Shipping and Seamen's Act, 1903, and in a despatch dated

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the 18th September, 1908, sent by the Earl of Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor-General of Australia it is referred to in connection with "the extent to which the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, apply to His Majesty's Dominions". Mr. Cunliffe's memorandum therefore represented the mind of the British Government in the year 1908 and, having regard to the fate of the resolution put down for the Imperial Conference of 1911, it is possible that the memorandum may represent the mind of the British Government at the present time. In the course of his remarks Mr. Cunliffe says:-

> " It is essential, in dealing with Colonial
> "legislation on such a subject as this, to bear in
> "mind that the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, is an
> "Imperial Act and that as regards the matters with
> "which it deals the general powers of a Colonial
> "legislature, so far as they are expressly given,
> "are to be found in sections 735 and 736 of the Act.
> "From these two sections and section 713, and
> "subject to the remarks on special subjects which I
> "will note hereafter, it is clear that from a general
> "point of view the Imperial Act does not contemplate
> "that a Colony shall as regards the matters dealt
> "with by the Act do more than legislate (by way of
> "specific repeal with an implied or recognised power
> "of new enactment) for ships registered in its
> "possession or regulate its own coasting trade . . . .
> ". . . . . It is also necessary to remember that
> "certain provisions of the Imperial Act e.g., the
> "provisions as to emigrant ships, so far as they apply,
> "cannot be altered by Colonial legislation, because,
> "as regards such of these matters as are dealt with in
> "the Imperial Act the powers of a Colony (subject to
> "some special provisions in Part III, which are
> "referred to later on) are restricted by section 735"

Mr. Cunliffe entered into a detailed examination of various sections and of the fourteen Parts of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, with a view to emphasising those sections and Parts which, in his judgment, were "of Imperial force".

A memorandum entitled "Summary of Evidence and Memorandum re Jurisdiction" prepared by the Hon. R.R. Garran, Secretary to the Department of the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Australia dated the 19th January 1906 contains a very careful and illuminating commentary upon the position of the

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self-governing Dominions in the matter of their legislative powers in relation to shipping. Mr. Garran's memorandum was accepted by the Government of the Commonwealth as being a statement of their official views. His Majesty's Government were "unable to agree" with the Government of the Commonwealth as to the power of the Government of the Commonwealth to legislate "in regard to navigation".

> "His Majesty's Government" (said the Earl of Crewe "in the despatch to the Governor-General of Australia "dated 16th September, 1908) are advised that the views "expressed in Mr. Garran's memorandum as to the extent "to which the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act "of 1894 applied to His Majesty's Dominions are not on "the whole correct".

It is not indicated in the despatch what views expressed in the memorandum are incorrect or to what extent any of the views therein expressed are unsustainable. One of the points at issue between the British Government and the Government of the Commonwealth on the Navigation Bill, 1907, was whether or not when the certificate of a master or officer was cancelled by a Court of Marine Enquiry in Australia and returned to such master or officer by the Board of Trade such master or officer should be allowed to serve in Australia on board any ship in the capacity specified in the certificate so cancelled and returned. The point arose on Section 369 of the Navigation Bill. The British despatch already referred to commented on Section 369 of the Navigation Bill as follows:

> " Your Ministers appear to have overlooked the fact "that this Clause purported to repeal, as regards "Australia, a definite provision of the Mercantile "Marine Act, 1894, the application of which to Australia "is beyond question as the power there conferred upon "the Board of Trade has been duly exercised at various "times by the Board of Trade . . . . . the power at "present given to the Board of Trade is a useful "authority in cases where certificates have been "cancelled by Marine Boards".

The despatch further stated that His Majesty's Government were advised that the proposal contained in section 369 was ultra vires.

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These matters are referred to for the purpose of illustrating the phenomenon of "Imperial control" as it used to be called over the shipping legislation of the self-governing Dominions. It is unnecessary to advert in detail in this place to the controversies which have taken place from time to time between one or other of the members of the Commonwealth of Nations and the British Government on the question of their legislative competency in relation to merchant shipping. The controversy between the Canadian Government and the British Government on the subject of the law of the load-line is part of the constitutional history of the Commonwealth of Nations. It cannot be said that in that controversy the claim of the British Government to veto Canadian legislation suffered any reverse. Two statutes of the Canadian Parliament relating to the load-line, one in the year 1891, the other in 1893, failed to receive the Royal Assent and accordingly never came into operation. The hold-up of Part XV., relating to load-lines of the Canada Shipping Act (c.113 Revised Statutes 1906) further illustrates the fate of the claim of complete legislative independence in regard to shipping. The importance of the load-line controversy to Canadian shipping interests needs no emphasis.

In a memorandum dated 2nd March, 1925, the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries of the Canadian Government adverted to the fact that "the validity of existing Canadian legislation and the power of the Canadian Parliament to enact valid legislation relating to Merchant Shipping has for some years been engaging the attention of the Department of Marine and Fisheries" The memorandum proceeds :

> "In view of all that has been said in recent years
> "about Canada having become a Nation, it would appear

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"that the time has arrived when the question might
"well receive further consideration at the hands of
"the Government and Parliament. The Parliament of
"Canada is not wholly competent to legislate with
"regard to Merchant Shipping. The reasons which
"led to the withholding of this power from Canada
"while conceding the power to legislate freely
"respecting other matters have never, so far as
"I have been able to learn, been made clear. If
"any reasons existed in earlier years, they are
"not now apparant ..... Certain provisions
"of the Merchant Shipping Act will have to be
"amended or repealed before Canada will be free"
(in regard to its Merchant Shipping legislation)
"That can only be brought about by action on
"the part of the Imperial Government. It is for
"the Government of Canada to consider whether
"representations should be made to His Majesty's
"Government suggesting that the relevant sections
"of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, more
"particularly sections 735 and 736, be amended
"to the end that they shall not be applicable to
"Canada"

The Government of the Irish Free State in raising the question of legislative powers of members of the Commonwealth of Nations at the present Conference has in mind the words of Sir Joseph Ward reported at page 416-7 of the Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of 1911:

"The Resolution is intended to give us wider
"powers than are contained in the Imperial
"Merchant Shipping Act to which I have just
"referred, and in the case of the trouble existing
"in New Zealand without the power to amend our
"law to meet our particular purposes, concerning
"which the Royal Assent is withheld in the
"meantime to that Bill which has passed through
"both branches of the legislature in New
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While conscious that a Resolution placed on the agenda of an Imperial Conference in the year 1926 would inevitably be framed in terms widely different from those of the resolution of the government of New Zealand in 1911

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and would reflect faithfully the existing position of the States of the Commonwealth of Nations the Government of the Irish Free State takes the view that the discussion on the resolution of the government of New Zealand in 1911 is a helpful index to official views on the subject of legislative powers in regard to merchant shipping at that time. It is unnecessary to re-capitulate the views expressed in the extracts from the speeches made at the Conference of 1911 which have been referred to. Sir Joseph Ward's advertance to the possibility of future difficulties which members of the Commonwealth would be "powerless to meet" owing to the then existing position under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, made inevitable the reconsideration of that position at some opportune time. The memorandum of the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries of the Dominion of Canada, dated 2nd March, 1925, in which it is stated that:

> "the time has arrived when the question
> "might well receive further consideration
> "at the hands of the Government and Parliament"
> "of Canada and that "it is for the Government
> "of Canada to consider whether representations
> "should be made to His Majesty's Government
> "suggesting that the relevant sections of the
> "Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, more
> "particularly sections 735 and 736 be amended
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manifests the anxiety which exists in the minds of members of the Commonwealth of Nations other than the Irish Free State that the laws relating to Shipping should be placed on statutory bases in conformity with present constitutional relationships in the Commonwealth of Nations as a whole. The Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, is cast in the constitutional mould of over a quarter of a century ago. The legislative competency of the

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legislatures of Members of the Commonwealth of Nations extends to all matters connected with peace, order and good government. Legislative functions which previously belonged to the British Parliament now belong to the Parliaments of the other members of the Commonwealth as well. Whatever the Parliament of the United Kingdom can do, the parliament of any other of the Associated States can do; whatever the parliament of any other of the Associated States can do, the parliament of the United Kingdom can do, but no more. The present constitutional make-up of the Commonwealth does not admit of the existence of any right in the Parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate for any member of the Commonwealth excepting the United Kingdom, and does not admit of the existence of any power in the Government of the United Kingdom to veto or to advise The King to refuse or withhold His assent to legislation passed by the Parliament of any other member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Any other position would amount to a denial of the co-equality in status of all the members of that association. The Government of the United Kingdom is no longer the body to advise His Majesty on matters affecting the peace, order and good government of the members generally or of any individual member (other than the United Kingdom) of the Commonwealth. That function is now the function of His Majesty's Ministers in the individual States of the Commonwealth. The laws relating to Merchant Shipping should where necessary be made to conform with existing constitutional relationships. That is what is sought here. Putting it in another way the Government of the Irish Free State desires that all legal restrictions on the powers of the legislatures of members of the Commonwealth to regulate

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shipping should be removed; and that legislation should be passed to secure enforcement in the several parts of the Commonwealth of the merchant shipping laws of other parts affecting ships registered in those parts in the same manner as that in which heretofore the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Acts of the British Parliament have been enforced in respect of ships registered in the United Kingdom by all the Courts throughout the Commonwealth of Nations. The Government of the Irish Free State is not conscious that the repeal by the British Government of Sections 735 and 736 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, would involve any sacrifice of principle by the British Government if there is substance in the proposition that all members of the Commonwealth of Nations are co-equal in status and legislatively independent. The repeal of those sections would remove legal restrictions which at present stand in the way of the exercise of the inherent legislative powers of Members of the Commonwealth of Nations.

The making of Orders in Council made under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, results in the exercise by the British Government of control of, or of a veto, on legislation passed by the legislatures of members of the Commonwealth of Nations. The exercise of such control or of such a veto is no longer sustainable on constitutional grounds nor is it sustainable on grounds of practical necessity and as a means of ensuring uniformity in the administration of laws relating to merchant shipping. If any objection is to be made by the British Government to the terms of legislation passed by the Parliament of any Member of the Commonwealth of Nations it should be made by that Government as an interested party as is done in the case of foreign shipping legislation affecting British vessels through the Foreign Office.

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Delays in the passing of Shipping Legislation have been caused by the practise of reserving Bills and the insertion of suspending clauses. Uniformity of laws and of administration of laws can be secured by the enactment of reciprocal statutes which can be enforced in all courts throughout the Commonwealth of Nations in the same way as the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, which are of general application, have heretofore been enforced. In the result that course would tend to the preservation of the comparative uniformity at present existing and its development in a manner consistent with the present constitutional make-up of the Commonwealth of Nations. The practice of disallowing Bills is based upon a claim of power which, in the language of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Imperial Conference of 1911 (Report of Proceedings p.406)

"the United Kingdom has asserted to itself".

Whatever reasons may have sufficed to sustain the claim heretofore it is now a mischievous anomaly in conflict with the principles of a constitutional system in which each member is an independent nation whose status is not susceptible of depreciation or diminution and whose legislative rights are alike inalienable and inviolable. The laws regulating merchant shipping should be made to harmonise with that situation. It should be made clear that every ship registered within the territorial area of any member of the Commonwealth of Nations is a floating portion of the territory of that member, and that no act by or on the advice of any Government (other than the Government of each member) is necessary to give extra territorial effect to any statute passed by the legislature of such member relating to any such ship. It ought moreover to be accepted as an obvious corollary of the principle of co-equality of status of all the members of the Commonwealth that a law passed by the legislature of any member cannot fail to have

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effect by reason of its repugnancy to the provisions of any statute of the British Parliament.

Attention should perhaps be called to the Merchant Shipping Acts (Amendment) Act, 1923. That Act amended Section 34 (1) of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1906. Under Section 34 (1) of the Act of 1906 the cost of the treatment, maintenance, return to a home port, etc., of masters and seamen suffering from injuries and illnesses was made a charge on the shipowner, but cases of venereal disease (and cases arising from wilful act or default or misbehaviour) were expressly excluded from the provision. The section operated as regarded all British ships wherever registered and applied to every case except when the ship was within the jurisdiction of the Government of the British possession in which it was registered. The Merchant Shipping Acts (Amendment) Act, 1923, came into operation on the 1st January, 1924, and removed the restriction in case of venereal disease which existed under section 34 (1) of the Act, 1906. Shipowners became responsible for the treatment, maintenance, return etc., of seamen incapacitated by venereal disease. The Government of the Irish Free State was not consulted in the matter. It is presumed that the other members of the Commonwealth were not consulted either; the British Parliament has simply legislated for all British ships while outside the territorial waters of the country of registration. The policy of the Act of 1923 was perhaps acceptable to all parties interested with the exception of shipowners. But the fact remains that the British Parliament has in 1923 passed legislation for ships registered at ports in the territorial area of members of the Commonwealth. It is thought that the British Parliament is incompetent to legislate

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for ships registered in such ports no matter where such ships may be so long as they are not engaged in the coasting trade of the United Kingdom.

In October, 1923, instructions under the Merchant Shipping Acts (Amendment) Act 1923, entitled "Instructions to Superintendents, Consuls and Officers in British Dominions, Colonies and Possessions" were issued by the Board of Trade. Amongst other things these instructions contained directions for the alteration (in accordance with the Act of 1923) of the "Instructions to Officers in British Colonies and Possessions" (Merchant Shipping and Seamen) (1909). That fact shows the continuity that is kept up in the mind of the Board of Trade between the position in 1909 and that in 1924. Instructions issued in 1923 may be regarded by the Board of Trade as merely a means of securing uniformity of practice in the matter to which they relate; but does it not seem to be rather a resort to the exercise of functions the exercise of which is still potentially available to the Board of Trade and will remain so until the statute law relating to shipping is put on a basis in accordance with the existing constitutional position? The venereal disease case is eminently one for international conventions as between the members of the Commonwealth of Nations like the matters mentioned in the Maritime Conventions Act, 1911. Previous agreement amongst the states concerned should have been come to before legislation was introduced and the agreement embodied in simultaneous legislation by their Parliaments. The Act of 1923 is a further "assertion to itself" by the British Parliament of Imperial control in shipping matters.

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LORD BALFOUR said that Mr. McGilligan's very able and learned exposition was chiefly devoted to showing that in the evolution of the British Empire certain inequalities had been allowed to remain as regards various questions of maritime affairs. On the general principle of equality of status there was no difference amongst those present. But questions arose in connection with the practical needs of the Empire of functions as distinct from status. The practical aspects of the question could not be ignored, and it was necessary to consider whether the principle of differentiation of function between the various governments to which he had alluded in his opening statement at the Committee's first meeting should not be applied to shipping questions. Mr. McGilligan was correct in saying that the present position arose from the Act of 1894, which was passed a long time ago. But this was itself a consolidating act, not substantially altering the law of 1854. Legislation with such a history naturally presented anomalies. We must not merely ask whether in the working of the system there is a difference of function; the question arose what would be the practical effect if those who were called upon to administer mercantile shipping laws e.g., H.M.Consuls in foreign countries, had to be guided by the laws of seven different parts of the Empire. Practical matters which had to be considered were questions arising as to the

status

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of British ships in time of war, and as to courts appointed to deal in foreign ports with crimes and offences committed on British Ships. We were separated by seas but united by ships. He pointed out that vital questions were involved relating, not merely to the constitutional point of view, but to national safety and prosperity. He suggested that the best course would be to appoint an expert conference, to sit after the Imperial Conference, to consider and report on the whole subject. He had tentatively prepared a draft of the terms of reference to such a conference, which could be discussed by the Committee. This was as follows:-

"To consider and report on the principles
"which should govern in the general interest
"the practice and legislation relating to
"the merchant shipping of the various parts
"of the Empire, having regard to the change in
"constitutional procedure which has occurred
"since existing laws were enacted".

These terms of reference involved a recognition of the change of position, and an implication of equality of status; they also implied the common interest of all parts of the Empire in peace and war and in the practical working of the organization of British shipping. He would be glad to learn the views of those present on his suggestion.

GENERAL HERTZOG stated that in practice South Africa was not greatly concerned, as there were at present few vessels registered in the Union, and the Union so far had framed little merchant shipping legislation. But the question raised involved the same principle as that already discussed relating to appeals to the Privy Council. The actual present law pointed to the superiority of the British Parliament,

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and in South Africa it was pointed out that this involved a denial of equal status. It was objectionable to South Africa to feel that she was legislated for by the British Parliament. He suggested that in the first instance we should see that the authority of the Dominion Parliaments was placed on the same basis as that of the Parliament in Great Britain, and that a committee should then be set up to report on the best method of securing the passing of merchant shipping laws by the Parliaments of each part of the Empire as far as possible in the same form, as is done in the case of conventions adopted at Geneva. Equality should be an actual fact.

MR. BRUCE said that this was an important question in which Australia took a great interest. Australia had in the past made a plucky struggle to obtain control of her shipping and had, in some respects, obtained what she wanted. The main issue in the past had been - had the Commonwealth Parliament the right to do this, and had the United Kingdom Parliament greater powers? In view of the events of the last five years we had now reached a position where we were prepared to say that there is equality of status; but we cannot say that practices which have been built up over a long time can be altered at once. They might have to exist for a time on a basis of co-operation and general consent. The present appeared one of those cases. Great Britain had a greater interest in shipping than the Dominions, and it seemed desirable to give consideration to that interest without giving up the claim to an autonomous position. It might be desirable that there should be a merchant shipping legislation in common on most matters, with variation on particular points. It is an anomaly from the past that the British Parliament and the British Government have spe ial powers; if this remains for the present an expert committee

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should be appointed to consider the whole position. The future position would then be that the laws which existed would exist by full consent.

MR. LAPOINTE did not think that there was any objection to Lord Balfour's proposal, provided that the general principle of equal status were accepted. The views held in Canada were substantially those expressed by the representative of the Irish Free State. The question was not one of law but of policy. Canada had two huge coasts and the Great Lakes, and the general view was that she ought to control her own shipping legislation.

MR. BRUCE observed that it would be impossible to repeal suddenly sections 735 and 736 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, without discussion and consideration by the Government and people of Great Britain.

SIR F. BELL said that in the past New Zealand had been the protagonist in the discussion of this question. He pointed out that the legal position was that each Dominion had the right of legislation within its own territorial limits, but not beyond its own territorial limits. One Parliament in the Empire can legislate with respect to ships on the high seas - namely that of Great Britain. If there was to be legislation for the shipping of the Empire, it must be expressed by the one legislature which had the power to legislate for shipping on the high seas, though the legislation might have to be with the concurrence of the other Governments. The high seas power of the British Parliament was not contrary to the general principle of equality of all Governments in the British Empire, but was a practical legal necessity.

MR. CHADWICK said that India at present derived her powers constitutionally from the Government of India Act, 1919; but that India hoped in course of time

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to reach full Dominion status. India did not make any claim on the ground of status; but did not wish to be excluded from a discussion affecting practically the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894. India had great shipping interests and did not desire an alteration in the present position until after full consideration. It was of fundamental interest that there should be uniformity within the British Empire in essential matters relating to shipping. He referred to a difficulty which had arisen in the Board of Trade regulations with regard to wireless operators. He pointed out the difficulty which would be experienced in securing the passage of an identical act of some 800 sections in each of the parliaments of the Empire; difficulty had in practice been experienced in passing a short act relating to a Geneva convention.

LORD CAVE thought it desirable that the question should be treated as one of policy and not of law. If it were dealt with as a question of law, there were certain propositions in Mr. McGilligan's statement which he would be bound to question. The uniformity which it was desirable to obtain was difficult to secure consistently with general constitutional principle. He agreed that it would be desirable that there should be a specially qualified conference to deal with the question as a practical matter, and to report to the Imperial Conference or to the Governments of the Empire.

MR. AMERY said that Mr. McGilligan's statement would be very valuable, and he thought that there was little in it with which he personally would have to disagree. The broad principle involved was that where surviving forms were repugnant to the present constitutional position endeavour should be made to do away with them where they created inconvenience or serious misunderstanding. But some such forms might have a practical convenience. He thought

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that there was agreement that uniformity of merchant shipping regulations was most important. He observed that not the least important of the advantages of belonging to the British Empire was the fact that any British subject not only had the same status in all parts of the Empire, but also in a foreign country had an equal claim upon the good offices of His Majesty's Diplomatic and Consular representatives, and that the rights secured under treaties for British subjects accrued to all British subjects. He thought that there was an analogy to this in the case of merchant shipping. The status of British ships was one which conferred great advantages which ought not lightly to be impaired. Dominion shipping might grow very rapidly, and there might be transfers of British ships from register to register in the Empire. This would, however, be impeded if the transfer involved loss of privileges. This was a question which should be looked into very carefully before any changes were introduced with a view to securing a less anomalous position from the point of view of the present day constitutional position. As for the suggestions of immediate partial action it would be very difficult to induce the British Parliament to legislate at once to abrogate Sections 735 and 736 of the Act of 1894, if there were a prospect that later on Parliament would be asked to pass further legislation resulting from the deliberations of an expert conference, such as had been suggested. What was contemplated, he understood, was not a sub-committee of the present Conference, but a sub-conference similar to that held in 1907. This was a highly complicated matter which

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would take months to discuss and could not be dealt with by a small Committee of the Conference.

LORD BALFOUR asked whether he was wrong in assuming that there was unanimity as to the adoption of his suggestion.

MR. MCGILLIGAN asked whether it was to be placed on record that the existing merchant shipping law was repugnant to the present constitutional position.

After some discussion the committee accepted Lord Balfour's proposal for the appointment of an expert conference, subject to any requisite explanation in the report of the Committee of Prime Ministers as to the circumstances leading to it, and if necessary, consideration of the terms of reference of the proposed Conference when the draft report of the Committee came up for consideration.

In reply to an enquiry by MR. LAPOINTE, MR. AMERY said he thought it would be desirable that the expert conference should meet as soon as possible after the termination of the present Imperial Conference.

2, Whitehall Gardens,
S.W.1.

5th November, 1926.

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C 64120

9th meeting removed
for reference in connection
with correspondence on
Compulsory Arbitration
~~10th meeting, no record kept~~

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S E C R E T. COPY NO. 16

E. I.R./26) 11th Mtg.

FINAL COPY.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of a Meeting held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, on Thursday, November 11th, 1926, at 3 p.m.

PRESENT:-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Hon. J.G. Latham, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. P. Mc Gilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

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NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C.,
Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

The Maharaja of Burdwan,
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

Mr. D.T. Chadwick, C.S.I.,
C.I.E., Secretary to
Government of India,
Commerce Department.

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:-

GREAT BRITAIN

Sir William Tyrrell, G.C.M.G.,
K.C.V.O., C.B., Permanent
Under-Secretary of State,
Foreign Office.

CANADA.

Dr. O.D. Skelton, Deputy
Minister for External Affairs.

NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. F.D. Thomson, C.M.G.,
Secretary to the Delegation.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. D. Steyn, Private Secretary
to the Prime Minister.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. J.P. Walshe, Secretary
of the Department of External
Affairs.

Sir M.P.A.Hankey, G.C.B., ... Secretary.
Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G., ... Deputy Secretary.

Mr. P.A. Koppel, C.B.E., (Foreign Office))
Mr. C.W. Dixon, O.B.E., (Dominions Office)) Joint Assistant Secretaries.
Mr. Jean Desy, (Canadian Delegation))

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The COMMITTEE considered the memorandum circulated by the Irish Free State delegation on existing anomalies in the British Commonwealth of Nations (E.1.R(26)3).

As regards matters referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 (a), MR. AMERY stated that the position as regards despatches notifying that His Majesty would not be advised to exercise the power of disallowance in respect of Dominion legislation was as stated in the memorandum. This was in accordance with an old custom and, as a matter of sentiment, he would prefer the form to remain, but if it caused misapprehension as to the constitutional position, he would not press for its retention.

MR. O'HIGGINS said that in the Irish Free State the position whereby forms survived after the substance had ceased to exist was not understood, and that the retention of such forms was an implication of subordination.

MR. AMERY referred to the statutory condition laid down by the Treasury, under the Colonial Stock Act of 1900, for the inclusion of Dominion and Colonial loans in trustee securities, that there should be a formal expression of opinion that legislation, which appeared to the British Government to alter provisions affecting the stock to the injury of the stockholder, would properly be disallowed. This was a corollary to a special favour given to Dominion and Colonial securities. If the practice of disallowance were discontinued, it would be necessary to consider what condition could be substituted for this as regards future loans, in order not to deprive the securities in question of the privileges which they enjoyed. In the case of existing loans the condition was definitely attached and could not be modified.

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A GENERAL DISCUSSION ensued, in the course of which MR. LATHAM drew attention to the special position in Australia, where the Commonwealth Constitution provided definitely for disallowance and reservation in certain cases. He pointed out that the Constitution had been arrived at by agreement with the Governments of the States, and that the Constitution could only be altered by legislation of the Commonwealth Parliament approved by a referendum, as a result of which the majority of the States and the majority of the people agreed. Consequently it would not be possible for the Commonwealth Government, which was only one of the governments concerned, to agree by resolution to an amendment of the Constitution.

IT WAS FINALLY AGREED that the questions raised required consideration by legal experts, and that the most satisfactory course would be that they should be referred to a special committee, to be held as soon as possible after the termination of the Imperial Conference. THE COMMITTEE DECIDED to appoint a drafting sub-committee, consisting of Mr. Amery, Mr. Lapointe, Mr. Latham, Sir Francis Bell and Mr. Costello, to prepare for the consideration of the Committee draft terms of reference to such a committee, taking into account not only the questions referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3(a) of the Irish Free State memorandum but also those mentioned in paragraphs 5 and 6.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN then dealt with paragraph 2(b) of the memorandum of the Irish Free State delegation concerning the issue of exequaturs to consuls. He stated that the British Government accepted the proposal that any application by a foreign government for the issue of an exequatur to a person who was to act as consul in a Dominion should be referred to the Dominion Government for consideration, and that,

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if the Dominion Government agreed to the issue of the exequatur, the exequatur would be sent to them for counter-signature by a Dominion Minister. He had already given instructions that this procedure should be followed in a case which had arisen affecting Canada, and it would be followed in future in all cases.

MR.FITZGERALD asked whether the same principle would apply in the case of a Dominion wishing to appoint a consul.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN replied that, in the event of such appointments being made, the application of the Dominion would most conveniently go through the diplomatic channel. This was a matter of convenience and the ordinary practice amongst nations. If the Dominion had its own Minister in the foreign country concerned, he would naturally be employed as the channel. The only other paragraph of the memorandum dealing with a matter not already under discussion or dealt with was paragraph 9, which related to the channel of communication between foreign governments and the Dominions. As to this, his view was that, so far as technical matters were concerned, no question need arise: but on matters of general and political interest it was very desirable that the universal practice should be observed of using the diploamtic channel.

MR.FITZGERALD asked whether it would be agreeable that, where the Free State had not a separate diplomatic representative in a foreign country, the Free State Government should communicate direct with H.M.Representative, at the same time informing the British Government.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that he would prefer that instructions from a Dominion Government to one of H.M.Representatives should pass through him, as it might be inconvenient if two separate authorities were issuing independent instructions. He would pass on to H.M.Representative the instructions of the Dominion Government and ask H.M.Representative

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to act on them. In 1920, when the arrangements for the appointment of a Canadian Minister at Washington were under discussion, it had been proposed that the Canadian Minister at Washington should act for H.M. Ambassador in his absence. Mr. Mackenzie King had since pointed out that this would not be desirable, as it would involve the Canadian Minister having to act on instructions from the British Government, to whom he would not be responsible. Sir Austen Chamberlain added that it was not necessary that such matters as messages of courtesy or condolence should be communicated through the diplomatic channel.

MR. FITZGERALD said that he was prepared to accept this position, but reserved the right to protest if there were undue delay.

As regards the question of appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, referred to in paragraph 8 of the memorandum, MR. O'HIGGINS stated that in this matter he desired to inform the Committee that as a result of conversations which he had with Lord Birkenhead and the Attorney-General, his delegation had decided not to press this matter to a conclusion at the present Conference. He wished it to be understood that in adopting this course the representatives of the Free State were not withdrawing in any degree from the contentions embodied in their memorandum. In leaving the matter over for the present he did so without prejudice to the position which they had taken upon these appeals and simply in response to representations that it was inopportune and inexpedient to seek a definite decision at the present time.

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Systom of Communication and Consultation.

THE COMMITTEE then considered the draft resolution circulated as paper E (I.R./26)6, and IT WAS AGREED that the draft resolution should be reserved for further discussion when the question of the representation of the British Government in the Dominions had been further considered.

2, Whitehall Gardens.

November 11th, 1926.

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. November 1926.

MOST SECRET. Copy No. 14.

E. (I.R.-26.) 13th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations.

Meeting of Prime Ministers (or Heads of Delegations), held in the Lord President's Room, Privy Council Office, on Tuesday, November 16, 1926, at 11 a.m.

Present:

The Right Hon. the Earl of Balfour K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council (in the Chair).

Great Britain.
The Right Hon. L.S.Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and for the Colonies.

Canada.
The Right Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King, C.MG., Prime Minister.

Commonwealth of Australia.
The Right Hon. S.M.Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

New Zealand.
The Right Hon. J.G.Coates, M.C. Prime Minister.

Union of South Africa.
General the Hon. J.B.M.Hertzog, Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.
Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

India.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead.

Sir M.P.A.HANKEY, G.C.B., Secretary to the Committee.
Mr. E.J.HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Deputy Secretary to the Committee.

As before, no Minutes were kept.

THE COMMITTEE discussed draft Resolutions on the subject of Empire inter-communication, proposed by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING and Mr. BRUCE undertook to prepare a fresh draft on this subject.

The Secretaries were instructed to circulate a draft Report covering the whole of the work of the Committee.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.,
November 16, 1926.

(15423).

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THE SUPPLY OF WAR MATERIAL AND OTHER ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS.

(Reference C.I.D. Paper No 687-B, Also Paper No E 99, Also Paper No. P.S.O. 107.)

AFTER an opening statement by the Chairman, the representatives of the Dominions and India described the present situation in their respective countries as regards the war supply problem.

A general discussion ensued, at the conclusion of which it was agreed to record the views of the meeting in the following form:-

(1) That the Governments of the Dominions should be invited to consider the possibility of setting up in their respective Dominions, Committees with objects similar to those of the Principal Supply Officers Committees in Great Britain and India.

(2) That any committees established in the Dominions, subject to suggestion (1) proving acceptable, and in any case the existing Committee in India, might be authorised to keep in communication through the usual channels with the Committee of Principal Supply Officers in Great Britain.

In this connection it might be of assistance if the Service Representatives of the Dominions and India who are in London were empowered to establish direct liaison with the Principal Supply Officers Committee in Great Britain, and to attend their meetings, if and when desirable.

(3) That an exchange of annual Progress Reports might with advantage be made between the Principal Supply Officers Committee in Great Britain and any corresponding Committee overseas. In the interests of administrative convenience and uniformity, it would be an advantage if the periods covered by these Reports could coincide. Thus, the first Report might cover the period ending the 31st July, 1927.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1,
November 18, 1926.

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SECRET.

COPY NO: 16

E. (I.R./26) 14th Mtg.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of a Meeting of the Committee held in the Cabinet Room at the Foreign Office on Thursday, November 18th, 1926, at 12 noon.

PRESENT:-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

X The Right Hon. Viscount Cave, G.C.M.G., Lord Chancellor.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

X The Right Hon. Sir Douglas Hogg, K.C., M.P., Attorney-General.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.

X Present for part of the discussion only.

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NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W.S. Monroe, Prime Minister.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

X The Right Hon. The Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

Mr. D.T. Chadwick, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to Government of India, Commerce Department.

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:-

GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir C.J.B. Hurst, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

CANADA.

Dr. O.D. Skelton, Deputy Minister for External Affairs.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. D. Steyn,

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. J.P. Walshe, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. J.J. Hearn, Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.

Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B.,.....Secretary.
Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G.,..... Deputy Secretary.
Mr. P.A. Koppel, C.B.E. (Foreign Office)) Joint Assistant
Mr. C.W. Dixon, O.B.E., (Dominions Office))
Mr. Jean Desy, (Canadian Delegation)) Secretaries.

X Present for part of the discussion only.

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THE COMMITTEE considered the draft Report E (I.R/26) 9.

As regards page 9 SIR FRANCIS BELL raised the question whether, in the suggested change in His Majesty's title, the words "British Territories" might be substituted for "British Dominions", on the ground that the expression "Dominions", though intended to refer to all His Majesty's Dominions including the Colonies, might be interpreted as relating only to the self-governing Dominions. He did not press the point, though he thought that some such change would be found necessary within a few years. It was agreed that the proposed title should read as in the draft Report except that the word "King" should appear after the words "beyond the seas" and not before "of Great Britain". The Committee took note however of Sir Francis Bell's view.

As regards page 13 of the draft Report, MR. AMERY suggested that paragraph i (a) might be omitted, since the matters referred to in it were covered by paragraph ii. He also suggested that paragraph i (b) might be omitted, since it dealt not with the relations between Ministers in Great Britain and Ministers in the Dominions, but with the relations between the Crown and Ministers, and therefore seemed inappropriate in the present report. The paragraph as it stood might raise questions in relation to the right of the Governor of one of the Australian States to withhold assent to legislation affecting a fundamental change in the Constitution of the State. In Great Britain it was recognised that the latent power of the Crown to refuse assent to legislation, though not exercised in normal circumstances, might in exceptional circumstances have to be employed, e.g. if Parliament were to pass legislation prolonging its life for an indefinite or very long period. The position of His Majesty's Representative in relation to Ministers in a Dominion was precisely the same as that of His Majesty in relation to Ministers in Great Britain.

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MR. O'HIGGINS pointed out that the whole of this paragraph was governed by the last paragraph on page 12 and the first paragraph on page 13. In the Irish Free State the question of withholding of assent to and reservation of legislation was governed by Article 41 of the Constitution, which laid it down that the Governor-General should act in accordance with the constitutional usage of Canada, and he understood paragraph i (b) was intended only to describe the constitutional usage in the case of Canada.

MR. AMERY said that paragraph i (b) might be read as an attempt by the Conference to lay down a general principle that in no circumstances could the Crown refuse assent to the legislation of a Dominion.

MR. MACKENZIE KING thought that a Governor-General should never be placed in the position of refusing assent to or reserving legislation against the advice of his Ministers.

MR. BRUCE thought that a distinction should be drawn between reservation and the withholding of assent. Having regard to the principle of equality of status, he did not wish any constitutional principle to be laid down as to the relations between the Crown and Ministers in a Dominion which was not equally laid down as to the relations between His Majesty and Ministers in Great Britain.

MR. O'HIGGINS suggested that the words "on any advice "other than that of the Ministers of such Dominion" might be substituted for "against the advice of Ministers of such "Dominion". This would leave cases in which action was taken without the advice of any Ministers outside the scope of the paragraph.

GENERAL HERTZOG supported Mr. O'Higgins' proposal.

IT WAS AGREED that further consideration of Mr. O'Higgins' proposal should be deferred until the meeting of the afternoon.

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in order that the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General might have an opportunity of taking part in the discussion.

MR. AMERY suggested that in paragraph (ii) the words "legislation" should be substituted for "affairs".

MR. O'HIGGINS thought that this alteration might suggest that, as regards certain affairs of a Dominion other than legislation, His Majesty's Government in Great Britain might advise His Majesty against the views of the Dominion Government.

MR. AMERY explained that the reason for his suggestion had been that the whole passage referred to legislation; but he would not press his suggestion.

THE COMMITTEE THEN ADJOURNED until 3.15 p.m. when Sir Douglas Hogg was present.

LORD BALFOUR explained the position which had been reached when the meeting adjourned.

LORD BIRKENHEAD said that it was obviously important, without the sacrifice of anything vital, to meet the wishes of those who had differed from Mr. Amery's suggestion for the omission of the paragraphs in question. He doubted whether the reasons given for the omission of those paragraphs were adequate. i (a) appeared to him to be a commonplace, and he could not conceive that any British Cabinet would act in the way therein mentioned. He referred to a statement by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in a despatch relating to the Reid Contract in Newfoundland, to the effect that in no circumstances would a Cabinet in Great Britain interfere with the affairs of a Dominion. However, tautology was better than dissent. With regard to i (b)

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these words were important because they led to the discussion initiated by Mr. Bruce in the morning as to the ultimate implication of the conception of the Crown as a common bond of Empire. There was no difference in the position of a Dominion in such a matter from that of Great Britain. Certain illustrations, however, had been mentioned of cases in which it was remotely conceivable - though not probable - that some parliament would act in a way quite contrary to constitutional practice as conceived in Great Britain: in such a case, unless the parliament were to be left uncorrected, it must be corrected by the Crown at any risk. He would be willing to face the risk of intervention of the Crown in such a case. In Great Britain it was 140 years since the Crown had intervened against the advice of Ministers and, though such intervention had been successful, he himself doubted whether similar action would again be taken by the Crown. With regard to i(b), he would say that a Governor-General would have to take the same risk as the Crown would have to take in Great Britain. He personally was prepared to accept the words proposed by Mr. O'Higgins and General Hertzog.

At this point LORD CAVE entered.

LORD CAVE said that paragraph i (a) did not appear to him to be quite a commonplace. He had agreed that all these important matters should be referred to a committee, but he considered that their terms of reference should be general, and that it should be left open to everyone concerned to raise vital questions in which they were interested if they wished. Paragraph i (b), as originally worded in the draft Report, would remove from the Governor-General in relation to Dominion legislation the right possessed by His Majesty as regards legislation in Great Britain.

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LORD BIRKENHEAD then showed Lord Cave the formula proposed by Mr.O'Higgins and supported by General Hertzog, and with this LORD CAVE said that he would be content.

As regards paragraph i (a) LORD CAVE pointed out that if a bill were reserved for signification of His Majesty's pleasure, His Majesty must be advised by some body of ministers.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN said that the King was not bound to act in Great Britain on the advice of any existing Ministers, but could summon new ones. His Representative in the Dominions was in the same position: he also was justified in dismissing his Ministers and summoning new ones.

LORD CAVE said that the Governor-General could reserve bills on his own initiative. Provision was made for reservation in certain cases by statute, and the Governor-General might reserve a bill against the advice of his Ministers. In that event there must be some means of advising His Majesty whether he should assent or not, and the only persons who could so advise His Majesty must be Ministers in Great Britain.

MR. O'HIGGINS said that it was held by the Irish Free State Government that the Governor-General was an emanation of His Majesty and not of the Government in Great Britain. The Crown was advised in the person of the Governor-General by Dominion Ministers to accept a bill, and it would be proper that the Crown should take action in such a case precisely as would be the case in Great Britain.

LORD CAVE withdrew at this point.

SIR DOUGLAS HOGG said that he had great difficulty in seeing anything in paragraph i which was not contained in paragraph ii. If two separate propositions were stated, the implication to a lawyer was that they must contain different meanings. He would have preferred that there should only be a wide general statement unqualified by particular instances. He would therefore prefer that paragraph i should be omitted.

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LORD BIRKENHEAD then suggested that the words "against the views of the Dominion Government concerned" at the end of paragraph ii should be struck out. The Constitution had not always been confined in language, and it was necessary to be cautious in putting general constitutional principles into words. He thought that the same analogy might be drawn between the position of the Governor-General as described in paragraph i (b) and the position of the Governor of one of the Australian States. He was nervous about formulating the two particular instances quoted in paragraph i which the Lord Chancellor did not think were constitutionally sound, and which at the best must be covered by the general statement in paragraph ii.

MR. MACKENZIE KING said that he thought that the expression of the principle involved seemed to him stronger if paragraph i were omitted and the word "exclusive" put before the word "right" in paragraph ii, and the words "against the "views of the Dominion Government concerned" were omitted.

MR. O'HIGGINS said that he would have agreed to this proposal if there had been unanimity amongst the British lawyers; but he was concerned that the Lord Chancellor did not regard paragraphs i and ii as tautologous. He himself did not appreciate the distinction between the two paragraphs, but he felt anxious at what the Lord Chancellor had said. If it were clear that paragraph ii embodied what was said in paragraph i, he would be content.

LORD BIRKENHEAD said that a special note would appear in the minutes that paragraph i was struck out because it was adequately and fully embodied in paragraph ii.

MR. MORIN wished it to be made clear that where reference was made in the Report to the Governor-General, this would be interpreted as covering the Governor of Newfoundland.

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MR. BRUCE pointed out that, in the present circumstances, there might be cases in which a Dominion legislation had to be reserved because of a conflict with the law of another part of the Empire. It was not clear whether this might have to be continued in some cases e.g., in relation to merchant shipping. If this position continued, was the King in such a case to be left without any advice ?

SIR DOUGLAS HOGG pointed out that this would be covered by the proviso "apart from provisions embodied in Constitutions or in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation".

MR. BRUCE said that he was satisfied.

The passage of the draft report was then adopted with the omission of (a) and (b) from paragraph (i), and with the alterations which had been suggested by MR. MACKENZIE KING.[x]

x NOTE: At a meeting of the Committee held on November 19th it was agreed that the wording of the paragraph in question should read as follows:-

> "On this point we propose that it should be placed on record that, apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation, it is recognised that it is the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs. Consequently it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the Government of that Dominion". See E.129.

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As regards page 21, MR. O'HIGGINS raised the question whether the words "and by agreement" implied that no change could be made at the request of a particular Dominion unless there were unanimity on the part of all Governments of the Empire.

After some discussion IT WAS AGREED that the last clause should be amended to read "such changes ought only to be carried out after consultation and discussion".

As regards the second sentence on this page which, as orginally drafted, read :- "From these "discussions it became clear that it was not part "of the policy of any part of the Empire represented "at the Conference that questions affecting judicial "appeals should be determined otherwise than in "accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of the part primarily affected", SIR FRANCIS BELL and MR. MORINE said that, while the right of His Majesty to grant special leave to appeal might be limited by legislation, it should not be abolished at the request of a single Dominion. They were therefore unable to accept this sentence as drafted.

LORD BIRKENHEAD stated that he personally had said on more than one occasion that if any Dominion applied to the

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Government in London with a request that all appeals to the Privy Council in cases affecting it should be abandoned, it would not be possible to resist the request.

MR. BRUCE pointed out that in cases where the right of appeal was dealt with in a Dominion Constitution, the position could not be altered by a mere majority vote in the Dominion Parliament, but must be decided by the procedure laid down in the Constitution.

IT WAS EVENTUALLY AGREED that the sentence in the draft Report should be amended by the substitution of "His Majesty's "Government in Great Britain" for "any part of the Empire "represented at the Conference", and by the omission of the words "of the inhabitants".

Other amendments and verbal alterations were AGREED to, and the Report thus modified was ADOPTED.

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
18th November, 1926.

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E. (I.R.-26)
th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

MINUTES of a Meeting held at 10, Downing Street, S.W.1., on Friday, November 19th, 1926, at 11.30 a.m.

.....

PRESENT:-

The Right Hon. The Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council. (In the Chair).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. L.S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S.M. Bruce, M.C., Prime Minister.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J.G. Coates, M.C., Prime Minister.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General The Hon. J.B.M. Hertzog, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N.C. Havenga, Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. P. McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

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NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W.S. Monroe,
Prime Minister.

The Hon. A.B. Morine, K.C.,
Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

The Maharaja of Burdwan,
G.C.I.E.,K.C.S.I.,I.O.M.

Mr. D.T. Chadwick, C.S.I.,
C.I.E., Secretary to
Government of India, Commerce
Department.

THE FOLLOWING WERE ALSO PRESENT:-

CANADA.

Dr. O.D. Skelton, Deputy
Minister, External Affairs.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. D. Steyn, Private Secretary
to the Prime Minister.

...

Sir M.P.A. Hankey, G.C.B..... Secretary.

Mr. E.J. Harding, C.B.,C.M.G..... Deputy Secretary.

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MR. AMERY drew the attention of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations to the following passage on pages 10 and 11 of the Report of the Committee (E. 129), which had been circulated to the Imperial Conference on the previous evening:-

> "On this point we propose that it should be placed on record that, apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation the constitutional practice is that it is the exclusive right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs and that advice would not be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion."

On examination, he had found that the wording of this passage was open to certain practical objections, insomuch as it would prevent the British Government from offering any advice whatsoever to His Majesty The King in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion - even on a purely formal question. He gave several instances of matters in which the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs might be called upon to give advice to the King. Sometimes, for example, petitions were received by the King from private persons or from native races in a Dominion, and in such a case the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs would advise the King to refer the matter to the Government concerned. Another example was in regard to the appointment of Governors-General. He thought it would be generally agreed as in the interests of the Dominions themselves that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain should be a party in advising the King on this matter, and for some years the practice had been to advise the King in agreement with the Government of the Dominion concerned.

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Even in matters of this kind His Majesty's Government in Great Britain would, by the terms of the paragraph quoted above, be precluded from offering advice to His Majesty. Mr. Amery therefore suggested that some alternative draft should be adopted.

After a short discussion, the following formula was agreed to, and the Secretary was instructed to circulate it as a corrigendum to E. 129:-

> "On this point we propose that it should be placed on record that, apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation, it is recognised that it is the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs. Consequently it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the Government of that Dominion".

.....

2, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

19th November, 1926.

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E. 133.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS.

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I.—PRELIMINARY NOTE.

The proceedings of the Conference opened at 10, Downing Street, on the 19th October, 1926, and were continued until the 23rd November. During that period sixteen plenary meetings took place, which were normally attended by the following:—

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, M.P., Prime Minister (Chairman).

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., Lord President of the Council.

The Right Hon. W. S. Churchill, C.H., M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Right Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and Secretary of State for the Colonies.

CANADA.

The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., M.P., Prime Minister.

The Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., M.P., Minister of Justice.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

The Right Hon. S. M. Bruce, M.C., M.P., Prime Minister.

The Hon. Sir Neville Howse, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., M.P., Minister of Defence and Health.

The Hon. J. G. Latham, C.M.G., K.C., M.P., Attorney-General.

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. J. G. Coates, M.C., M.P., Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C., M.L.C., Minister without Portfolio.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog, M.L.A., Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. Havenga, M.L.A., Minister of Finance.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, T.D., Vice-President of the Executive Council and Minister of Justice.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. James McNeill, High Commissioner in London.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W. S. Monroe, M.H.A., Prime Minister.

The Hon. A. B. Morine, K.C., M.L.C., Minister without Portfolio.

INDIA.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India and Head of the Indian Delegation.

The Maharaja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

Mr. D. T. Chadwick, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department.

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SECRETARIAT.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir M. P. A. Hankey, G.C.B.

Mr. E. J. Harding, C.B., C.M.G.

CANADA.

Dr. O. D. Skelton.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Mr. P. E. Deane, C.M.G.

NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. F. D. Thomson, C.M.G.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. H. Gordon Watson, I.S.O.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. D. O'Hegarty.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Mr. W. J. Carew.

INDIA.

Mr. G. H. Spence, I.C.S.

Other Ministers attended one or more of the meetings. These were:—

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Right Hon. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Bt., M.P., Secretary of State for Home Affairs.

The Right Hon. Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Bt., G.B.E., M.P., Secretary of State for War.

The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bt., C.M.G., M.P., Secretary of State for Air.

The Right Hon. W. C. Bridgeman, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty.

The Right Hon. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, K.B.E., M.C., M.P., President of the Board of Trade.

The Right Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, K.C., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Earl of Clarendon, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, and Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee.

The Hon. W. G. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Major Sir Philip Sassoon, Bt., G.B.E., C.M.G., M.P., Under-Secretary of State for Air.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. W. T. Cosgrave, T.D., President of the Executive Council.

Mr. P. McGilligan, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Hon. W. J. Higgins, K.C., M.H.A., Minister of Justice.

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INDIA.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl Winterton, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India.

Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, C.H., C.B., M.P., Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, was present at the sessions of the Conference as Minister in charge of Publicity.

The following also attended meetings of the Conference for the discussion of particular subjects :—

GREAT BRITAIN.

His Excellency the Right Hon. the Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., High Commissioner in Egypt.

Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff.

General Sir George F. Milne, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh M. Trenchard, Bt., G.C.B., D.S.O., Chief of the Air Staff.

Sir William G. Tyrrell, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Sir Charles T. Davis, K.C.M.G., Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Brigadier-General Sir Samuel H. Wilson, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Sir Sydney Chapman, K.C.B., C.B.E., Permanent Secretary to the Board of Trade.

Sir Percy Thompson, K.B.E., C.B., Deputy Chairman, Board of Inland Revenue.

Sir H. Frank Heath, K.C.B., Secretary, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Sir O. E. Niemeyer, K.C.B., Controller of Finance, Treasury.

Major-General Lord Lovat, K.T., K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., C.B., D.S.O., Chairman, Forestry Commission.

The Right Hon. Sir Halford Mackinder, Chairman of the Imperial Shipping Committee and of the Imperial Economic Committee.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir W. G. H. Salmond, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Member of the Air Council for Supply and Research.

Air Vice-Marshal Sir W. S. Brancker, K.C.B., A.F.C., Director of Civil Aviation.

Sir William Clark, K.C.S.I., C.M.G., Comptroller-General, Department of Overseas Trade.

Mr. H. Fountain, C.B., C.M.G., Principal Assistant Secretary, Board of Trade.

Mr. T. C. Macnaghten, C.M.G., C.B.E., Vice-Chairman, Oversea Settlement Committee.

Mr. H. F. Batterbee, C.M.G., C.V.O., Assistant Secretary, Dominions Office.

Mr. S. G. Tallents, C.B., C.B.E., Secretary to the Empire Marketing Board.

Mr. H. W. Malkin, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. R. L. Craigie, First Secretary, Foreign Office.

Mr. W. E. Beckett, Assistant Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. R. R. Bannatyne, C.B., Assistant Secretary, Home Office.

Mr. O. F. Dowson, O.B.E., Assistant Legal Adviser, Home Office.

Mr. C. M. Knowles, Assistant Legal Adviser, Home Office.

Mr. L. Cuthbertson, Principal, Treasury.

Lieut.-Commander R. T. Gould, R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty.

Mr. F. G. L. Bertram, C.B.E., Principal, Air Ministry.

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Mr. R. L. Robinson, O.B.E., Forestry Commissioner.

Professor Fraser Story, Publication Officer, Forestry Commission.

Wing-Commander Sir Norman Leslie, Bt., C.B.E., Assistant Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence.

Mr. H. J. Hutchinson, Principal, Board of Trade (Assistant Secretary to the Conference for Economic Subjects).

Mr. P. J. Grigg, Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Major R. D. Furse, D.S.O., Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Mr. C. Ll. Bullock, C.B.E., Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Air.

Mr. W. B. Brown, Private Secretary to the President of the Board of Trade.

CANADA.

The Hon. Vincent Massey, Minister-designate at Washington.

Major-General J. H. MacBrien, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Chief of the General Staff.

Commodore W. Hose, C.B.E., R.C.N., Director of the Naval Service.

Dr. J. H. Grisdale, Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

Dr. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Deputy Minister of Archives.

Mr. F. C. Blair, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Immigration and Colonisation.

Mr. S. A. Cudmore, Technical Adviser.

Mr. Jean Désy, Counsellor, Department of External Affairs.

Lieut.-Col. J. Reid Hyde, C.B.E., Secretary to the Delegation.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Mr. H. W. Gepp, Chairman, Development and Migration Commission.

Captain J. B. Stevenson, C.M.G., R.A.N., Naval Representative in London.

Brig.-Gen. T. H. Dodds, C.M.G., C.V.O., D.S.O., Senior Military Representative in London.

Mr. F. L. McDougall, C.M.G., Economic Adviser.

Flight-Lt. J. Renison Bell, Air Liaison Officer in London.

Mr. R. G. Casey, D.S.O., M.C., Political Liaison Officer in London.

Major O. C. Fuhrman, Private Secretary to the High Commissioner in London.

NEW ZEALAND.

Rear-Admiral A. G. Hotham, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., Naval Adviser.

Captain L. M. Isitt, New Zealand Air Force.

Mr. C. A. Berendsen, Imperial Affairs Officer.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Sir William Hoy, K.C.B., General Manager of Railways.

Brig.-Gen. W. E. C. Tanner, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Adjutant-General.

Colonel Sir Pierre van Ryneveld, K.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., Director of Air Services.

Dr. A. J. Bruwer, Chairman, Board of Trade and Industries.

Mr. J. Collie, O.B.E., Department of Finance.

Mr. J. H. Heddon, Deputy Commissioner of Customs and Excise.

Mr. D. Steyn, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

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IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. J. Costello, K.C., Attorney-General.
General P. McMahon, Chief of Staff.
Major-General M. Brennan, Adjutant-General.
Colonel S. O'Higgins, Chief Staff Officer.
Mr. J. P. Walshe, Secretary, Department of External Affairs.
Mr. J. Dulanty, C.B., C.B.E., Commissioner for Trade in Great Britain.
Mr. E. J. Smyth, Principal Officer, Department of Industry and Commerce.
Mr. T. J. Kiernan, Secretary to the Delegation.

INDIA.

Major-General W. M. St. G. Kirke, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Deputy Chief of the General Staff.
Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Trade Commissioner in London.
The Maharaj Kumar of Burdwan, Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Burdwan.

In addition to the meetings of the full Conference, there were 146 meetings of Committees and Sub-Committees, and technical discussions on Defence Questions at the Admiralty, War Office, and Air Ministry. There was also a meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence which was attended by all the Prime Ministers and Heads of Delegations, at which certain matters were remitted to a technical Sub-Committee; the latter held one meeting.

II.—OPENING STATEMENTS.

In opening the Proceedings on the 19th October, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, as Chairman, extended a welcome to the Representatives of the Dominions and India, and referred to the loss which the Empire had sustained in the death since the last Conference of the Right Honourable W. F. Massey and of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.

Mr. Baldwin then reviewed the results which had been achieved by past Conferences and referred to the progress which had been made in the spheres of inter-Imperial relations, foreign policy, defence, and Empire trade and oversea settlement. He also suggested certain directions in which further progress was possible.

Speeches were made in reply by the Prime Ministers of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland, by the President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, and by the Maharaja of Burdwan for India. The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs also made a short statement on the establishment in 1925 of the Dominions Office as a separate Office from the Colonial Office. In the course of this statement he mentioned that, Southern Rhodesia being now a self-governing Colony, he proposed to ask the High Commissioner in London to assist him in matters arising at the Conference, particularly on the economic side, where the interests of Southern Rhodesia were concerned.

These opening speeches were published in full immediately afterwards.

III.—MESSAGE TO THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND QUEEN.

In accordance with the practice followed on previous occasions, the first official act of the Conference was to send a message of greeting to Their Majesties the King and Queen.

The words of this message were :—

"The Prime Ministers and other Representatives of the Governments of the British Empire assembled in Conference, at their first meeting and as their first official act, desire to express their respectful greetings and fidelity to the King, and their earnest hope that Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen may long be spared to strengthen the ties of affection and devotion which unite the peoples of the British Commonwealth under the Crown."

His Majesty's gracious reply was read aloud by the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the meeting on the 20th October, and was in the following terms :—

"I have received with feelings of appreciation and gratitude the message which, as your first official act, you have been good enough to address to me. The Queen joins with me in thanking you for your good wishes. I shall follow with interest and sympathy your discussions of those important questions which will come before you and the settlement of which, I trust, will promote the unity and greatness of the Commonwealth of the British Nations.—GEORGE, R.I."

IV.—LOSS OF H.M.S. "VALERIAN."

At the meeting held on the 26th October, the Conference passed the following resolution of sympathy in the loss of H.M.S. "Valerian," which was sunk off Bermuda in a hurricane on the 22nd October with the loss of 85 lives :—

"The Conference desires on behalf of all parts of the Empire to place on record their deep sorrow at the loss of H.M.S. "Valerian" with so many valuable lives of officers and men, whilst returning from a cruise undertaken to enable His Excellency the Governor of the Bahamas to survey and relieve the damage done to the Islands by the previous hurricane.

"As representatives of the Governments of the Empire we are profoundly conscious of the services rendered by the Royal Navy not only in war, but also in peace, and of the risks and dangers constantly endured by officers and men in carrying out their duties, and we desire to express our deep sympathy with the relatives and friends of those who have lost their lives whilst so engaged."

V.—PUBLICITY.

The Conference decided that as regards the question of publicity the procedure and arrangements should be similar to those adopted in 1923.*

At the unanimous wish of the Conference, Mr. J. C. C. Davidson, C.H., C.B., M.P., Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, who had been in charge of the general arrangements as to publicity in 1923, was asked again to undertake the work in consultation with the members of the Conference and their staffs, and to be present at the meetings of the Conference.

Mr. Davidson was assisted in this work by Mr. D. Caird, C.B.E., Director of Information, Dominions Office, and by Sir Arthur Willert, K.B.E., Head of the News Department, Foreign Office. It was thus possible for touch to be kept with the current work of the various Committees and Sub-Committees of the Conference, so that adequate publicity could be given to their work as it progressed.

The arrangements made were again found to be most satisfactory, and at the conclusion of the meetings the Conference thanked Mr. Davidson and those who had assisted him for the valuable help they had given.

VI.—INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

All the questions on the Agenda affecting Inter-Imperial Relations were referred by the Conference to a Committee of Prime Ministers and Heads of Delegations, of which Lord Balfour was asked to be Chairman. The members of the Committee included the Prime Ministers of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland, the Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, the Secretary of State for India, as head of the Indian Delegation, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary of State for

* *Vide* Section VI of Cmd. 1987.

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Dominion Affairs. Other Ministers and members of the Conference attended particular meetings.

The Report of this Committee is printed *in extenso* below. It was unanimously adopted by the Conference on the 19th November and was published on the following day. In approving it, the Conference placed on record the great debt of gratitude which it owed to Lord Balfour for the services which he had rendered by presiding over the work of this Committee, and its hope that the Report would prove of permanent value and help to all parts of the British Empire.

Report of Inter-Imperial Relations Committee.

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I.—INTRODUCTION.

We were appointed at the meeting of the Imperial Conference on the 25th October, 1926, to investigate all the questions on the Agenda affecting Inter-Imperial Relations. Our discussions on these questions have been long and intricate. We found, on examination, that they involved consideration of fundamental principles affecting the relations of the various parts of the British Empire *inter se*, as well as the relations of each part to foreign countries. For such examination the time at our disposal has been all too short. Yet we hope that we may have laid a foundation on which subsequent Conferences may build.

II.—STATUS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE DOMINIONS.

The Committee are of opinion that nothing would be gained by attempting to lay down a Constitution for the British Empire. Its widely scattered parts have very different characteristics, very different histories, and are at very different stages of evolution; while, considered as a whole, it defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organisation which now exists or has ever yet been tried.

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There is, however, one most important element in it which, from a strictly constitutional point of view, has now, as regards all vital matters, reached its full development—we refer to the group of self-governing communities composed of Great Britain and the Dominions. Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. *They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.*

A foreigner endeavouring to understand the true character of the British Empire by the aid of this formula alone would be tempted to think that it was devised rather to make mutual interference impossible than to make mutual co-operation easy.

Such a criticism, however, completely ignores the historic situation. The rapid evolution of the Oversea Dominions during the last fifty years has involved many complicated adjustments of old political machinery to changing conditions. The tendency towards equality of status was both right and inevitable. Geographical and other conditions made this impossible of attainment by the way of federation. The only alternative was by the way of autonomy; and along this road it has been steadily sought. Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever.

But no account, however accurate, of the negative relations in which Great Britain and the Dominions stand to each other can do more than express a portion of the truth. The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life-blood. Free co-operation is its instrument. Peace, security and progress are among its objects. Aspects of all these great themes have been discussed at the present Conference; excellent results have been thereby obtained. And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain, the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation, no common cause will, in our opinion, be thereby imperilled.

Equality of status, so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned, is thus the root principle governing our Inter-Imperial Relations. But the principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to *status*, do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas. For example, to deal with questions of diplomacy and questions of defence, we require also flexible machinery—machinery which can, from time to time, be adapted to the changing circumstances of the world. This subject also has occupied our attention. The rest of this report will show how we have endeavoured not only to state political theory, but to apply it to our common needs.

III.—SPECIAL POSITION OF INDIA.

It will be noted that in the previous paragraphs we have made no mention of India. Our reason for limiting their scope to Great Britain and the Dominions is that the position of India in the Empire is already defined by the Government of India Act, 1919. We would, nevertheless, recall that by Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference, 1917, due recognition was given to the important position held by India in the British Commonwealth. Where, in this Report, we have had occasion to consider the position of India, we have made particular reference to it.

IV.—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Existing administrative, legislative, and judicial forms are admittedly not wholly in accord with the position as described in Section II of this Report. This is inevitable, since most of these forms date back to a time well antecedent to the present stage of

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constitutional development. Our first task then was to examine these forms with special reference to any cases where the want of adaptation of practice to principle caused, or might be thought to cause, inconvenience in the conduct of Inter-Imperial Relations.

(a.) *The Title of His Majesty the King.*

The title of His Majesty the King is of special importance and concern to all parts of His Majesty's Dominions. Twice within the last fifty years has the Royal Title been altered to suit changed conditions and constitutional developments.

The present title, which is that proclaimed under the Royal Titles Act of 1901, is as follows :—

> "George V, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India."

Some time before the Conference met, it had been recognised that this form of title hardly accorded with the altered state of affairs arising from the establishment of the Irish Free State as a Dominion. It had further been ascertained that it would be in accordance with His Majesty's wishes that any recommendation for change should be submitted to him as the result of discussion at the Conference.

We are unanimously of opinion that a slight change is desirable, and we recommend that, subject to His Majesty's approval, the necessary legislative action should be taken to secure that His Majesty's title should henceforward read :—

> "George V, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India."

(b.) *Position of Governors-General.*

We proceeded to consider whether it was desirable formally to place on record a definition of the position held by the Governor-General* as His Majesty's representative in the Dominions. That position, though now generally well recognised, undoubtedly represents a development from an earlier stage when the Governor-General was appointed solely on the advice of His Majesty's Ministers in London and acted also as their representative.

In our opinion it is an essential consequence of the equality of status existing among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations that the Governor-General of a Dominion is the representative of the Crown, holding in all essential respects the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs in the Dominion as is held by His Majesty the King in Great Britain, and that he is not the representative or agent of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain or of any Department of that Government.

It seemed to us to follow that the practice whereby the Governor-General of a Dominion is the formal official channel of communication between His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and His Governments in the Dominions might be regarded as no longer wholly in accordance with the constitutional position of the Governor-General. It was thought that the recognised official channel of communication should be, in future, between Government and Government direct. The representatives of Great Britain readily recognised that the existing procedure might be open to criticism and accepted the proposed change in principle in relation to any of the Dominions which desired it. Details were left for settlement as soon as possible after the Conference had completed its work, but it was recognised by the Committee, as an essential feature of any change or development in the channels of communication, that a Governor-General should be supplied with copies of all documents of importance and in general should be kept as fully informed as is His Majesty the King in Great Britain of Cabinet business and public affairs.

* The Governor of Newfoundland is in the same position as the Governor-General of a Dominion.

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(c.) *Operation of Dominion Legislation.*

Our attention was also called to various points in connection with the operation of Dominion legislation, which, it was suggested, required clarification.

The particular points involved were :—

(*a.*) The present practice under which Acts of the Dominion Parliaments are sent each year to London, and it is intimated, through the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, that "His Majesty will not be advised to exercise his powers of disallowance" with regard to them.

(*b.*) The reservation of Dominion legislation, in certain circumstances, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure which is signified on advice tendered by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.

(*c.*) The difference between the legislative competence of the Parliament at Westminster and of the Dominion Parliaments in that Acts passed by the latter operate, as a general rule, only within the territorial area of the Dominion concerned.

(*d.*) The operation of legislation passed by the Parliament at Westminster in relation to the Dominions. In this connection special attention was called to such Statutes as the Colonial Laws Validity Act. It was suggested that in future uniformity of legislation as between Great Britain and the Dominions could best be secured by the enactment of reciprocal Statutes based upon consultation and agreement.

We gave these matters the best consideration possible in the limited time at our disposal, but came to the conclusion that the issues involved were so complex that there would be grave danger in attempting any immediate pronouncement other than a statement of certain principles which, in our opinion, underlie the whole question of the operation of Dominion legislation. We felt that, for the rest, it would be necessary to obtain expert guidance as a preliminary to further consideration by His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and the Dominions.

On the questions raised with regard to disallowance and reservation of Dominion legislation, it was explained by the Irish Free State representatives that they desired to elucidate the constitutional practice in relation to Canada, since it is provided by Article 2 of the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty of 1921 that "the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada."

On this point we propose that it should be placed on record that, apart from provisions embodied in constitutions or in specific statutes expressly providing for reservation, it is recognised that it is the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs. Consequently, it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in any matter appertaining to the affairs of a Dominion against the views of the Government of that Dominion.

The appropriate procedure with regard to projected legislation in one of the self-governing parts of the Empire which may affect the interests of other self-governing parts is previous consultation between His Majesty's Ministers in the several parts concerned.

On the question raised with regard to the legislative competence of Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations other than Great Britain, and in particular to the desirability of those Members being enabled to legislate with extra-territorial effect, we think that it should similarly be placed on record that the constitutional practice is that legislation by the Parliament at Westminster applying to a Dominion would only be passed with the consent of the Dominion concerned.

As already indicated, however, we are of opinion that there are points arising out of these considerations, and in the application of these general principles, which will require detailed examination, and we accordingly recommend that steps should be taken by Great

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Britain and the Dominions to set up a Committee with terms of reference on the following lines :—

"To enquire into, report upon, and make recommendations concerning—

(i.) Existing statutory provisions requiring reservation of Dominion legislation for the assent of His Majesty or authorising the disallowance of such legislation.

(ii.)—(*a.*) The present position as to the competence of Dominion Parliaments to give their legislation extra-territorial operation.

(*b.*) The practicability and most convenient method of giving effect to the principle that each Dominion Parliament should have power to give extra-territorial operation to its legislation in all cases where such operation is ancillary to provision for the peace, order and good government of the Dominion.

(iii.) The principles embodied in or underlying the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, and the extent to which any provisions of that Act ought to be repealed, amended or modified in the light of the existing relations between the various members of the British Commonwealth of Nations as described in this Report."

(d.) *Merchant Shipping Legislation.*

Somewhat similar considerations to those set out above governed our attitude towards a similar, though a special, question raised in relation to Merchant Shipping Legislation. On this subject it was pointed out that, while uniformity of administrative practice was desirable, and indeed essential, as regards the Merchant Shipping Legislation of the various parts of the Empire, it was difficult to reconcile the application, in their present form, of certain provisions of the principal Statute relating to Merchant Shipping, viz., the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, more particularly clauses 735 and 736, with the constitutional status of the several members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In this case also we felt that although, in the evolution of the British Empire, certain inequalities had been allowed to remain as regards various questions of maritime affairs, it was essential in dealing with these inequalities to consider the practical aspects of the matter. The difficulties in the way of introducing any immediate alterations in the Merchant Shipping Code (which dealt, amongst other matters, with the registration of British ships all over the world), were fully appreciated and it was felt to be necessary, in any review of the position, to take into account such matters of general concern as the qualifications for registry as a British ship, the status of British ships in war, the work done by His Majesty's Consuls in the interest of British shipping and seamen, and the question of Naval Courts at foreign ports to deal with crimes and offences on British ships abroad.

We came finally to the conclusion that, following a precedent which had been found useful on previous occasions, the general question of Merchant Shipping Legislation had best be remitted to a special Sub-Conference, which could meet most appropriately at the same time as the Expert Committee, to which reference is made above. We thought that this special Sub-Conference should be invited to advise on the following general lines :—

"To consider and report on the principles which should govern, in the general interest, the practice and legislation relating to merchant shipping in the various parts of the Empire, having regard to the change in constitutional status and general relations which has occurred since existing laws were enacted."

We took note that the representatives of India particularly desired that India, in view of the importance of her shipping interests, should be given an opportunity of being represented at the proposed Sub-Conference. We felt that the full representation of

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India on an equal footing with Great Britain and the Dominions would not only be welcomed, but could very properly be given, due regard being had to the special constitutional position of India as explained in Section III of this Report.

(e.) *Appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.*

Another matter which we discussed, in which a general constitutional principle was raised concerned the conditions governing appeals from judgments in the Dominions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. From these discussions it became clear that it was no part of the policy of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain that questions affecting judicial appeals should be determined otherwise than in accordance with the wishes of the part of the Empire primarily affected. It was, however, generally recognised that where changes in the existing system were proposed which, while primarily affecting one part, raised issues in which other parts were also concerned, such changes ought only to be carried out after consultation and discussion.

So far as the work of the Committee was concerned, this general understanding expressed all that was required. The question of some immediate change in the present conditions governing appeals from the Irish Free State was not pressed in relation to the present Conference, though it was made clear that the right was reserved to bring up the matter again at the next Imperial Conference for discussion in relation to the facts of this particular case.

V.—RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

From questions specially concerning the relations of the various parts of the British Empire with one another, we naturally turned to those affecting their relations with foreign countries. In the latter sphere, a beginning had been made towards making clear those relations by the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923 on the subject of the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties.*

* This Resolution was as follows :—

"The Conference recommends for the acceptance of the Governments of the Empire represented that the following procedure should be observed in the negotiation, signature and ratification of international agreements.

The word 'treaty' is used in the sense of an agreement which, in accordance with the normal practice of diplomacy, would take the form of a treaty between heads of States, signed by plenipotentiaries provided with full powers issued by the heads of the States, and authorising the holders to conclude a treaty."

I.

"1. *Negotiation.*

"(*a*) It is desirable that no treaty should be negotiated by any of the governments of the Empire without due consideration of its possible effect on other parts of the Empire, or, if circumstances so demand, on the Empire as a whole.

"(*b*) Before negotiations are opened with the intention of concluding a treaty, steps should be taken to ensure that any of the other governments of the Empire likely to be interested are informed, so that, if any such government considers that its interests would be affected, it may have an opportunity of expressing its views, or, when its interests are intimately involved, of participating in the negotiations.

"(*c*) In all cases where more than one of the governments of the Empire participates in the negotiations, there should be the fullest possible exchange of views between those governments before and during the negotiations. In the case of treaties negotiated at International Conferences, where there is a British Empire Delegation, on which, in accordance with the now established practice, the Dominions and India are separately represented, such representation should also be utilised to attain this object.

"(*d*) Steps should be taken to ensure that those governments of the Empire whose representatives are not participating in the negotiations should, during their progress, be kept informed in regard to any points arising in which they may be interested.

"2. *Signature.*

"(*a*) Bilateral treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire only should be signed by a representative of the government of that part. The Full Power issued to such representative should indicate the part of the Empire in respect of which the obligations are to be undertaken, and the preamble and text of the treaty should be so worded as to make its scope clear.

"(*b.*) Where a bilateral treaty imposes obligations on more than one part of the Empire, the treaty should be signed by one or more plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the governments concerned.

"(c) As regards treaties negotiated at International Conferenee, the

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But it seemed desirable to examine the working of that Resolution during the past three years and also to consider whether the principles laid down with regard to Treaties could not be applied with advantage in a wider sphere.

(a.) *Procedure in Relation to Treaties.*

We appointed a special sub-committee under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Justice of Canada (The Honourable E. Lapointe, K.C.) to consider the question of treaty procedure.

The Sub-Committee, on whose report the following paragraphs are based, found that the Resolution of the Conference of 1923 embodied on most points useful rules for the guidance of the Governments. As they became more thoroughly understood and established, they would prove effective in practice.

Some phases of treaty procedure were examined however in greater detail in the light of experience in order to consider to what extent the Resolution of 1923 might with advantage be supplemented.

Negotiation.

It was agreed in 1923 that any of the Governments of the Empire contemplating the negotiation of a treaty should give due consideration to its possible effect upon other Governments and should take steps to inform Governments likely to be interested of its intention.

This rule should be understood as applying to any negotiations which any Government intends to conduct, so as to leave it to the other Governments to say whether they are likely to be interested.

When a Government has received information of the intention of any other Government to conduct negotiations, it is incumbent upon it to indicate its attitude with reasonable promptitude. So long as the initiating Government receives no adverse comments and so long as its policy involves no active obligations on the part of the other Governments, it may proceed on the assumption that its policy is generally acceptable. It must, however, before taking any steps which might involve the other Governments in any active obligations, obtain their definite assent.

Where by the nature of the treaty it is desirable that it should be ratified on behalf of all the Governments of the Empire, the initiating

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existing practice of signature by plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the governments of the Empire represented at the Conference should be continued, and the Full Powers should be in the form employed at Paris and Washington.

" 3. *Ratification.*

" The existing practice in connection with the ratification of treaties should be maintained.

II.

" Apart from treaties made between Heads of States, it is not unusual for agreements to be made between governments. Such agreements, which are usually of a technical or administrative character, are made in the names of the signatory governments, and signed by representatives of those governments, who do not act under Full Powers issued by the Heads of the States: they are not ratified by the Heads of the States, though in some cases some form of acceptance or confirmation by the governments concerned is employed. As regards agreements of this nature the existing practice should be continued, but before entering on negotiations the governments of the Empire should consider whether the interests of any other part of the Empire may be affected, and, if so, steps should be taken to ensure that the government of such part is informed of the proposed negotiations, in order that it may have an opportunity of expressing its views."

The Resolution was submitted to the full Conference and unanimously approved. It was thought, however, that it would be of assistance to add a short explanatory statement in connection with part I (3), setting out the existing procedure in relation to the ratification of Treaties. This procedure is as follows :—

(*a*) The ratification of treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire is effected at the instance of the government of that part :

(*b*) The ratification of treaties imposing obligations on more than one part of the Empire is effected after consultation between the governments of those parts of the Empire concerned. It is for each government to decide whether Parliamentary approval or legislation is required before desire for, or concurrence in, ratification is intimated by that government.

Government may assume that a Government which has had full opportunity of indicating its attitude and has made no adverse comments will concur in the ratification of the treaty. In the case of a Government that prefers not to concur in the ratification of a treaty unless it has been signed by a plenipotentiary authorised to act on its behalf, it will advise the appointment of a plenipotentiary so to act.

Form of Treaty.

Some treaties begin with a list of the contracting countries and not with a list of Heads of States. In the case of treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations, adherence to the wording of the Annex to the Covenant for the purpose of describing the contracting party has led to the use in the preamble of the term " British Empire " with an enumeration of the Dominions and India if parties to the Convention but without any mention of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Colonies and Protectorates. These are only included by virtue of their being covered by the term " British Empire." This practice, while suggesting that the Dominions and India are not on a footing of equality with Great Britain as participants in the treaties in question, tends to obscurity and misunderstanding and is generally unsatisfactory.

As a means of overcoming this difficulty it is recommended that all treaties (other than agreements between Governments) whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not should be made in the name of Heads of States, and if the treaty is signed on behalf of any or all of the Governments of the Empire, the treaty should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire. The British units on behalf of which the treaty is signed should be grouped together in the following order : Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India. A specimen form of treaty as recommended is attached as an appendix to the Committee's report.

In the case of a treaty applying to only one part of the Empire it should be stated to be made by the King on behalf of that part.

The making of the treaty in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire will render superfluous the inclusion of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the question was discussed at the Arms Traffic Conference in 1925, and that the Legal Committee of that Conference laid it down that the principle to which the foregoing sentence gives expression underlies all international conventions.

In the case of some international agreements the Governments of different parts of the Empire may be willing to apply between themselves some of the provisions as an administrative measure. In this case they should state the extent to which and the terms on which such provisions are to apply. Where international agreements are to be applied between different parts of the Empire, the form of a Treaty between Heads of States should be avoided.

Full Powers.

The plenipotentiaries for the various British units should have full powers, issued in each case by the King on the advice of the Government concerned, indicating and corresponding to the part of the Empire for which they are to sign. It will frequently be found convenient, particularly where there are some parts of the Empire on which it is not contemplated that active obligations will be imposed, but where the position of the British subjects belonging to these parts will be affected, for such Government to advise the issue of full powers on their behalf to the plenipotentiary appointed to act on behalf of the Government or Governments mainly concerned. In other cases provision might be made for accession by other parts of the Empire at a later date.

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Signature.

In the cases where the names of countries are appended to the signatures in a treaty, the different parts of the Empire should be designated in the same manner as is proposed in regard to the list of plenipotentiaries in the preamble to the treaty. The signatures of the plenipotentiaries of the various parts of the Empire should be grouped together in the same order as is proposed above.

The signature of a treaty on behalf of a part of the Empire should cover territories for which a mandate has been given to that part of the Empire, unless the contrary is stated at the time of the signature.

Coming into Force of Multilateral Treaties.

In general, treaties contain a ratification clause and a provision that the treaty will come into force on the deposit of a certain number of ratifications. The question has sometimes arisen in connection with treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League whether, for the purpose of making up the number of ratifications necessary to bring the treaty into force, ratifications on behalf of different parts of the Empire which are separate Members of the League should be counted as separate ratifications. In order to avoid any difficulty in future, it is recommended that when it is thought necessary that a treaty should contain a clause of this character, it should take the form of a provision that the treaty should come into force when it has been ratified on behalf of so many separate Members of the League.

We think that some convenient opportunity should be taken of explaining to the other Members of the League the changes which it is desired to make in the form of treaties and the reasons for which they are desired. We would also recommend that the various Governments of the Empire should make it an instruction to their representatives at International Conferences to be held in future that they should use their best endeavours to secure that effect is given to the recommendations contained in the foregoing paragraphs.

(b.) *Representation at International Conferences.*

We also studied, in the light of the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923 to which reference has already been made, the question of the representation of the different parts of the Empire at International Conferences. The conclusions which we reached may be summarized as follows :—

1. No difficulty arises as regards representation at conferences convened by, or under the auspices of, the League of Nations. In the case of such conferences all members of the League are invited, and if they attend are represented separately by separate delegations. Co-operation is ensured by the application of paragraph I.1. (*c*) of the Treaty Resolution of 1923.

2. As regards international conferences summoned by foreign Governments, no rule of universal application can be laid down, since the nature of the representation must, in part, depend on the form of invitation issued by the convening Government.

(*a.*) In conferences of a technical character, it is usual and always desirable that the different parts of the Empire should (if they wish to participate) be represented separately by separate delegations, and where necessary efforts should be made to secure invitations which will render such representation possible.

(*b.*) Conferences of a political character called by a foreign Government must be considered on the special circumstances of each individual case.

It is for each part of the Empire to decide whether its particular interests are so involved, especially having regard to the active obligations likely to be imposed by any resulting treaty, that it desires to be represented at the Conference, or whether it is content to leave the negotiation in the hands of the part or parts of the Empire more directly concerned and to accept the result.

If a Government desires to participate in the conclusion of a treaty, the method by which representation will be secured is a matter to be arranged with the other Governments of the Empire in the light of the invitation which has been received.

Where more than one part of the Empire desires to be represented, three methods of representation are possible :—

(i.) By means of a common plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries, the issue of full powers to whom should be on the advice of all parts of the Empire participating.

(ii.) By a single British Empire delegation composed of separate representatives of such parts of the Empire as are participating in the conference. This was the form of representation employed at the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921.

(iii.) By separate delegations representing each part of the Empire participating in the conference. If, as a result of consultation, this third method is desired, an effort must be made to ensure that the form of invitation from the convening Government will make this method of representation possible.

Certain non-technical treaties should, from their nature, be concluded in a form which will render them binding upon all parts of the Empire, and for this purpose should be ratified with the concurrence of all the Governments. It is for each Government to decide to what extent its concurrence in the ratification will be facilitated by its participation in the conclusion of the treaty, as, for instance, by the appointment of a common plenipotentiary. Any question as to whether the nature of the treaty is such that its ratification should be concurred in by all parts of the Empire is a matter for discussion and agreement between the Governments.

(c.) *General Conduct of Foreign Policy.*

We went on to examine the possibility of applying the principles underlying the Treaty Resolution of the 1923 Conference to matters arising in the conduct of foreign affairs generally. It was frankly recognised that in this sphere, as in the sphere of defence, the major share of responsibility rests now, and must for some time continue to rest, with His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. Nevertheless, practically all the Dominions are engaged to some extent, and some to a considerable extent, in the conduct of foreign relations, particularly those with foreign countries on their borders. A particular instance of this is the growing work in connection with the relations between Canada and the United States of America which has led to the necessity for the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the Canadian Government in Washington. We felt that the governing consideration underlying all discussions of this problem must be that neither Great Britain nor the Dominions could be committed to the acceptance of active obligations except with the definite assent of their own Governments. In the light of this governing consideration, the Committee agreed that the general principle expressed in relation to Treaty negotiations in Section V (a) of this Report, which is indeed already to a large extent in force, might usefully be adopted as a guide by the Governments concerned in future in all negotiations affecting foreign relations falling within their respective spheres.

(d.) *Issue of Exequaturs to Foreign Consuls in the Dominions.*

A question was raised with regard to the practice regarding the issue of exequaturs to Consuls in the Dominions. The general practice hitherto, in the case of all appointments of Consuls de Carrière in any part of the British Empire, has been that the foreign Government concerned notifies His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, through the diplomatic channel, of the proposed appointment and that, provided that it is clear that the person concerned is, in fact, a Consul de Carrière, steps have been taken, without further formality, for the issue of His Majesty's exequatur. In the

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case of Consuls other than those de Carrière, it has been customary for some time past to consult the Dominion Government concerned before the issue of the exequatur.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs informed us that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accepted the suggestion that in future any application by a foreign Government for the issue of an exequatur to any person who was to act as Consul in a Dominion should be referred to the Dominion Government concerned for consideration and that, if the Dominion Government agreed to the issue of the exequatur, it would be sent to them for counter-signature by a Dominion Minister. Instructions to this effect had indeed already been given.

(e.) *Channel of Communication between Dominion Governments and Foreign Governments.*

We took note of a development of special interest which had occurred since the Imperial Conference last met, viz., the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to represent the interests of the Irish Free State in Washington, which was now about to be followed by the appointment of a diplomatic representative of Canada. We felt that most fruitful results could be anticipated from the co-operation of His Majesty's representatives in the United States of America, already initiated, and now further to be developed. In cases other than those where Dominion Ministers were accredited to the Heads of Foreign States, it was agreed to be very desirable that the existing diplomatic channels should continue to be used, as between the Dominion Governments and foreign Governments, in matters of general and political concern.

VI.—SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION AND CONSULTATION.

Sessions of the Imperial Conference at which the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions are all able to be present cannot, from the nature of things, take place very frequently. The system of communication and consultation between Conferences becomes therefore of special importance. We reviewed the position now reached in this respect with special reference to the desirability of arranging that closer personal touch should be established between Great Britain and the Dominions, and the Dominions *inter se*. Such contact alone can convey an impression of the atmosphere in which official correspondence is conducted. Development, in this respect, seems particularly necessary in relation to matters of major importance in foreign affairs where expedition is often essential, and urgent decision necessary. A special aspect of the question of consultation which we considered was that concerning the representation of Great Britain in the Dominions. By reason of his constitutional position, as explained in section IV (b) of this Report, the Governor-General is no longer the representative of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. There is no one therefore in the Dominion capitals in a position to represent with authority the views of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.

We summed up our conclusions in the following Resolution which is submitted for the consideration of the Conference :—

> "The Governments represented at the Imperial Conference are impressed with the desirability of developing a system of personal contact, both in London and in the Dominion capitals, to supplement the present system of inter-communication and the reciprocal supply of information on affairs requiring joint consideration. The manner in which any new system is to be worked out is a matter for consideration and settlement between His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and the Dominions, with due regard to the circumstances of each particular part of the Empire, it being understood that any new arrangements should be supplementary to, and not in replacement of, the system of direct communication from Government to Government and the special arrangements which have been in force since 1918 for communications between Prime Ministers."

VII.—PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF FOREIGN RELATIONS DISCUSSED BY COMMITTEE.

It was found convenient that certain aspects of foreign relations on matters outstanding at the time of the Conference should be referred to us, since they could be considered in greater detail, and more informally, than at meetings of the full Conference.

(a.) *Compulsory Arbitration in International Disputes.*

One question which we studied was that of arbitration in international disputes, with special reference to the question of acceptance of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, providing for the compulsory submission of certain classes of cases to the Court. On this matter we decided to submit no Resolution to the Conference, but, whilst the members of the Committee were unanimous in favouring the widest possible extension of the method of arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, the feeling was that it was at present premature to accept the obligations under the Article in question. A general understanding was reached that none of the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference would take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, without bringing up the matter for further discussion.

(b.) *Adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

Connected with the question last mentioned, was that of adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The special conditions upon which the United States desired to become a party to the Protocol had been discussed at a special Conference held in Geneva in September, 1926, to which all the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference had sent representatives. We ascertained that each of these Governments was in accord with the conclusions reached by the special Conference and with the action which that Conference recommended.

(c.) *The Policy of Locarno.*

The Imperial Conference was fortunate in meeting at a time just after the ratifications of the Locarno Treaty of Mutual Guarantee had been exchanged on the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. It was therefore possible to envisage the results which the Locarno Policy had achieved already, and to forecast to some extent the further results which it was hoped to secure. These were explained and discussed. It then became clear that, from the standpoint of all the Dominions and of India, there was complete approval of the manner in which the negotiations had been conducted and brought to so successful a conclusion.

Our final and unanimous conclusion was to recommend to the Conference the adoption of the following Resolution :—

> "The Conference has heard with satisfaction the statement of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with regard to the efforts made to ensure peace in Europe, culminating in the agreements of Locarno ; and congratulates His Majesty's Government in Great Britain on its share in this successful contribution towards the promotion of the peace of the world."

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
BALFOUR, *Chairman*.

November 18, 1926.

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APPENDIX.

(See Section V (*a*).)

SPECIMEN FORM OF TREATY.

The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King [*here insert His Majesty's full title*], His Majesty the King of Bulgaria, &c., &c.

.....

Desiring..... ....

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The President .....

.....

His Majesty the King [*title as above*]:

for Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate Members of the League (of Nations),
AB.

for the Dominion of Canada,
CD.

for the Commonwealth of Australia,
EF.

for the Dominion of New Zealand,
GH.

for the Union of South Africa,
IJ.

for the Irish Free State,
KL.

for India,
MN

.....

who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

.....

.. ..

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

AB.....
CD..... .....
EF..... .....
GH.....
IJ .....
KL..... .....
MN..... .....

(or if the territory for which each Plenipotentiary signs is to be specified:

(for Great Britain, &c.).....*AB.*
(for Canada).....*CD.*
(for Australia).....*EF.*
(for New Zealand).....*GH*
(for South Africa). .....*IJ.*
(for the Irish Free State).....*KL.*
(for India).....*MN.*)

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VII.—FOREIGN RELATIONS.

On the 20th October, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made to the Conference a comprehensive statement on foreign affairs, and on the invitation of the Conference His Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt attended and made a more detailed statement on the position and prospects in that country.

These statements were followed on the 25th October by a general discussion on foreign affairs, in which the Prime Ministers of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland, Mr. O'Higgins for the Irish Free State, Lord Winterton on behalf of the Indian Delegation, and Mr. Lapointe for Canada, took part. General appreciation was expressed of Sir Austen Chamberlain's review.

Opportunity was also taken to explain those aspects of foreign relations with which the Dominion Governments had been specially concerned during the last three years, in particular the various matters on which negotiations had been carried on between His Majesty's Government in Canada and the Government of the United States of America.

As in 1923, emphasis was laid on the vital importance to the British Empire of the maintenance of the route to the East and South Pacific viâ the Suez Canal, and attention was directed to the bearing of these interests on the conduct of foreign relations.

Satisfaction was expressed at the improvement in the relations of the European Powers since the Conference of 1923, and it was felt that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain were to be congratulated on their contribution towards the promotion of the peace of the world.

The discussion made it clear that the Governments of the British Empire remain firmly attached to a policy of peace and to support of the League of Nations as the great instrument of peace.

It was decided not to publish any part of the Foreign Secretary's statement or of the resulting discussion.

Subsequent sections of this Report give an account of particular questions affecting foreign affairs which were studied during the Conference by the Representatives of the Governments particularly concerned. Certain other questions, which raised more general issues, were remitted to the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations under the Chairmanship of Lord Balfour, viz.:—

(*a.*) Compulsory arbitration in international disputes.
(*b.*) Adherence of the United States of America to the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice.
(*c.*) The policy of Locarno.

The parts of the Report of Lord Balfour's Committee dealing with these three questions will be found above. As already indicated, that Report and the Resolution submitted by the Committee with regard to the policy of Locarno were unanimously approved by the Conference.

VIII.—COLONIES, PROTECTORATES, AND MANDATED TERRITORIES.

On the 21st October, the Secretary of State for the Colonies made a statement to the Conference in which he reviewed the developments in the Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories since 1923.

Mr. Amery opened by a description of the variety and size of the Colonial Empire ranging from small self-governing communities like the island of Malta to the vast possessions in Tropical Africa. He then emphasised its interest and economic importance to other parts of the Empire, pointing out that its total trade, which had

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expanded enormously in recent years, was now over £500,000,000 per annum. He laid stress on the importance for the future to the rest of the Empire of the adequate development of these great areas, over 2,000,000 square miles in extent, lying mainly in the tropics, and on the fact that production in the tropics was complementary to the industrial production of the temperate zones. Development had hitherto been retarded owing to lack of transport facilities and also to under-population. He made a comparison with the United States of America, pointing out that the British Empire included greater territory and more diversified resources.

After describing the openings for candidates from the Dominions in the services of the various Colonies, Mr. Amery reviewed briefly events in the different portions of the Colonial Empire during the last three years. He mentioned that the outstanding event for the West Indies had been the holding of a most successful conference in London which had evolved a scheme for the establishment of a standing body to deal with their common affairs; while there had been a conference on Trade and Shipping with the Government of Canada at Ottawa in 1925 which had further strengthened and developed the relations established in 1920.

He referred to the great potential value of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture at Trinidad to the future of agriculture in the tropical Empire. In other spheres of research the needs of the whaling industry were being carefully examined through the work being carried out by R.R.S. "Discovery" in the Antarctic.

Passing to Tropical Africa, Mr. Amery described the extremely successful tour of the Prince of Wales in 1925, and referred to the spontaneous enthusiasm with which His Royal Highness was greeted wherever he went. He proceeded to lay stress on the importance of policy in regard to public health and native education. He referred to the visits of Mr. Ormsby-Gore to East Africa three years ago with a Parliamentary Commission and to West Africa this year.

He pointed out the great expansion in trade in both East and West Africa, and alluded to the £10,000,000 which His Majesty's Government in Great Britain had decided to guarantee for increasing transport facilities in East Africa. He also mentioned the recent establishment of a Governors' Conference in East Africa and the successful completion in the past summer of the negotiations as to control of the Rhodesian railway system. He then referred to the great prosperity of Ceylon and Malaya, alluding to the importance of the rubber restriction scheme. Hong Kong, on the other hand, had been through a difficult period owing to the critical situation in China and the Canton boycott of shipping. After describing the great improvement in the political situation in Palestine and its steady development, Mr. Amery ended his review with a reference to the successful conclusion of the negotiations regarding the Mosul Frontier and to the undeveloped resources of the Kingdom of Iraq.

This review was followed by statements by the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, regarding the position of New Guinea, Western Samoa, and South-West Africa, and by a statement by the Prime Minister of Canada regarding the Canada and West Indies Trade Agreement, 1925.

Mr. Bruce emphasised the great importance of New Guinea to Australia. He dwelt especially on the public health policy now being pursued there, on the need for a system of training for its administrative officers, and on its possibilities of economic development. Mr. Coates described, in particular, the economic progress made and also the development of self-government amongst the natives of Western Samoa. General Hertzog gave a short account of the progressive stages in the Constitution and administration of South-West Africa during the last few years; he also mentioned the recent negotiations between the Union and Portuguese Governments as to the Angola–South-West Africa Boundary.

All these statements were subsequently published.

Discussion also took place as to various matters of common interest affecting Mandated Territories. These are dealt with in Section IX of this Report.

IX.—QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE WORK OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Questions of common interest in relation to Mandated Territories were referred to a special Committee which included representatives of Great Britain, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. This Committee had under consideration two questions raised by the Permanent Mandates Commission in their report to the Council of the League upon which the Council had invited all the Mandatory Governments to express an opinion, namely, whether petitioners from Mandated Territories should be heard in person by the Commission, and whether the *questionnaire* proposed by the Commission should be adopted by the Council of the League as a basis for the annual reports on "B" and "C" Mandated Territories.

The Governments represented on the Committee found themselves in complete agreement on these matters, and, at the instance of the Committee, the Conference approved the terms of a Note which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, proposed to send to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

The Report of the Committee and the Note sent by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Secretary-General of the League have been published.

X.—CONDOMINIUM IN THE NEW HEBRIDES.

The further developments in the New Hebrides since the Imperial Conference of 1923 were examined by representatives of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain in consultation with the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, and agreement reached on the policy to be followed.

XI.—BRITISH POLICY IN THE ANTARCTIC.

The question of Antarctic exploration was discussed between representatives of the Governments interested. There are certain areas in these regions to which a British title already exists by virtue of discovery. These areas include:—

(i.) The outlying part of Coats Land, viz., the portion not comprised within the Falkland Islands Dependencies.
(ii.) Enderby Land.
(iii.) Kemp Land.
(iv.) Queen Mary Land.
(v.) The area which lies to the west of Adélie Land and which on its discovery by the Australian Antarctic Expedition in 1912 was denominated Wilkes Land.
(vi.) King George V Land.
(vii.) Oates Land.

The representatives of the Governments concerned studied the information available concerning these areas with special reference to their possible utilisation for further developing exploration and scientific research in the Antarctic regions.

XII.—DEFENCE.

The Conference gave much consideration to the question of defence, and to the methods by which the defence arrangements of each part of the Empire could be most effectively co-ordinated.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain initiated the discussions on the 26th October by a review of the work and organisation of the Committee of Imperial Defence, in the course of which he emphasised the purely advisory and consultative character of this body. He also outlined the chief developments which had taken place since the last Conference, notably the creation of the Chiefs of Staff Sub-Committee and the decision to establish an Imperial Defence College.

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After a reference to the progress already made and to the further steps to be taken in the development of the naval base at Singapore, Mr. Baldwin mentioned that the pursuance of this policy had been greatly facilitated by the contributions of the Federated Malay States, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements.

Mr. Baldwin was followed by the Senior Officer of the Chiefs of Staff Sub-Committee (Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty) in a survey of the general strategic situation, and by the Secretary of State for India in a summary of the special problems of Indian defence.

The discussions were renewed on the 15th November, when statements were made by the Prime Ministers of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, by Mr. Havenga for the Union of South Africa, by Mr. O'Higgins for the Irish Free State, and by the Maharaja of Burdwan for India.

Meetings also took place at the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Air Ministry, in which the situation from the standpoint of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain was presented in greater detail, and other phases of common interest were considered at a meeting held at the Offices of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

Much interest attached to the opportunities afforded for observation of the various arms of the Service in operation, notably the naval review off Portland, the Army mechanical display at Camberley, and the air demonstrations at Croydon and Cardington. Apart from their interest from the point of view of defence, these displays revealed technical developments in mechanical traction and in aviation which may prove of importance in their application for civilian purposes.

The information thus obtained and the opinions exchanged will, it is believed, prove of much practical value in aiding the several Governments of the Empire in the determination of their policies of defence, and are commended to their most careful consideration.

The Conclusions reached by the Imperial Conference on the subject of Defence may be summarised as follows :—

1. The Resolutions on Defence adopted at the last session of the Conference (see page 25), are re-affirmed.

2. The Imperial Conference regrets that it has not been possible to make greater progress with the international reduction and limitation of armaments referred to in these Resolutions. It is the common desire of the Governments represented at this Conference to do their utmost in pursuit of this object so far as this is consistent with the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire and its communications.

3. The Conference recognises that, even after a large measure of reduction and limitation of armaments has been achieved, a considerable effort will be involved in order to maintain the minimum standard of naval strength contemplated in the Washington Treaty on Limitation of Armament, namely, equality with the naval strength of any foreign power. It has noted the statements set forth by the Admiralty as to the formidable expenditure required within coming years for the replacement of warships, as they become obsolete, by up-to-date ships.

4. Impressed with the vital importance of ensuring the security of the world-wide trade routes upon which the safety and welfare of all parts of the Empire depend, the representatives of Australia, New Zealand, and India note with special interest the steps already taken by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain to develop the Naval Base at Singapore, with the object of facilitating the free movement of the Fleets. In view of the heavy expenditure involved, they welcome the spirit of co-operation shown in the contributions made with the object of expediting this work.

5. The Conference observes that steady progress has been made in the direction of organising military formations in general on similar lines; in the adoption of similar patterns of weapons; and in the interchange of Officers between different parts of the Empire; it invites the Governments concerned to consider the possibility of extending these forms of co-operation and of promoting further consultation between the respective General Staffs on defence questions adjudged of common interest.

6.—(*a.*) The Conference takes note with satisfaction of the substantial progress that has been made since 1923 in building up the Air Forces and resources of the several parts of the Empire.

(*b.*) Recognising that the fullest mobility is essential to the effective and economical employment of air power, the Conference recommends, for the consideration of the several Governments, the adoption of the following principle :—

The necessity for creating and maintaining an adequate chain of air bases and refuelling stations.

(*c.*) Impressed with the desirability of still closer co-ordination in this as in all other spheres of common interest, and in particular with the advantages which should follow from a more general dissemination of the experience acquired in the use of this new arm under the widely varying conditions which obtained in different parts of the Empire, the Conference recommends for consideration by the Governments interested the adoption in principle of a system of mutual interchange of individual Officers for liaison and other duties, and of complete air units, so far as local requirements and resources permit.

7. The Conference recognises that the defence of India already throws upon the Government of India responsibilities of a specially onerous character, and takes note of their decision to create a Royal Indian Navy.

8. The Conference notes with satisfaction that considerable progress in the direction of closer co-operation in Defence matters has been effected by the reciprocal attachment of naval, military, and air Officers to the Staff Colleges and other technical establishments maintained in various parts of the Empire, and invites the attention of the Governments represented to the facilities afforded by the new Imperial Defence College in London for the education of Officers in the broadest aspects of strategy.

9. The Conference takes note of the developments in the organisation of the Committee of Imperial Defence since the session of 1923. It invites the attention of the Governments represented at the Conference to the following resolutions adopted, with a view to consultation in questions of common defence, at a meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence held on the 30th May, 1911, in connection with the Imperial Conference of that year :—

"(1.) That one or more representatives appointed by the respective Governments of the Dominions should be invited to attend meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defence when questions of naval and military* defence affecting the Oversea Dominions are under consideration.

(2.) The proposal that a Defence Committee should be established in each Dominion is accepted in principle. The Constitution of these Defence Committees is a matter for each Dominion to decide."

Note.—The Resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1923 on Defence were as follows :—

1. The Conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories and trade of the several countries comprising the British Empire.
2. In this connection the Conference expressly recognises that it is for the Parliaments of the several parts of the Empire, upon the recommendations of their respective Governments, to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them.
3. Subject to this provision, the Conference suggests the following as guiding principles :—

(*a.*) The primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the Conference for its own local defence.

(*b.*) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire and the routes and waterways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

(*c.*) The provision of Naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

(*d.*) The desirability of the maintenance of a minimum standard of Naval Strength, namely, equality with the Naval Strength of any foreign power, in accordance with the provisions of the Washington Treaty on Limitation of Armament as approved by Great Britain, all the self-governing Dominions, and India.

(*e.*) The desirability of the development of the Air Forces in the several countries of the Empire upon such lines as will make it possible,

* The words "and air" would be required to bring the resolution up to date.

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by means of the adoption, as far as practicable, of a common system of organisation and training and the use of uniform manuals, patterns of arms, equipment and stores (with the exception of the type of aircraft), for each part of the Empire as it may determine to co-operate with other parts with the least possible delay and the greatest efficiency.

4. In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned the Conference takes note of—

(*a.*) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and India, in the provision of a Naval Base at Singapore, as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in Eastern Waters.

(*b.*) The necessity for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the East through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

(*c.*) The necessity for the maintenance by Great Britain of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

5. The Conference, while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so far as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object.

XIII.—NATIONALITY QUESTIONS.

Certain questions connected with the law of nationality were referred to a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, and the Conference, on the recommendation of this Committee, passed the following Resolutions :—

1. *Revised Draft Nationality Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Conference*, 1923.

"The Imperial Conference recommends that the provisions contained in the draft of the Nationality Bill (as revised) for giving effect to the recommendations of the Imperial Conference, 1923, be approved, subject, however, to the inclusion of such further amendments as are recommended at the present Conference and to such consequential modifications as may be required."

2. *Facilities for the acquisition of British Nationality by children of the third generation born abroad of British parents during the war, and for further time for the registration of the births of children of the second generation born abroad.*

"The Imperial Conference recommends the amendment of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914—

(1.) So as to provide facilities—by means of the registration of birth—for the acquisition of British nationality by children of the third generation born abroad of British parents during the period between the date of the commencement of the War (the 4th August, 1914) and the 4th August, 1922 (the date when the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1922, came into operation).

(2.) So as to make provision for further time for the registration, pursuant to section 1 (1) (*b*) (v) of the Act of 1914, of the births of children of the second generation born abroad of British parents."

3. *Amendment of Section* 12 (1) *of the Principal Act.*

"The Imperial Conference recommends that section 12 (1) of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, be amended so as to remove certain doubts which have arisen in its interpretation."

4. *Registration at British Consulates.*

"The Imperial Conference recommends the amendment of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, so as to provide that a British subject by naturalisation shall be under an obligation to register annually at a British Consulate while resident in a foreign country."

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5. *Revocation of Certificates of Naturalisation.*

"The Imperial Conference recommends that the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1914, be amended so as to provide power for revocation of certificates of naturalisation granted or deemed to be granted in the following cases :—

(1.) A widow of deceased British subject by naturalisation.

(2.) A person who has acquired British nationality by residence with a parent in the United Kingdom pursuant to section 10 (5) of the Naturalisation Act, 1870, or by inclusion of his name, during his minority, in a certificate of naturalisation granted to his father or mother pursuant to section 5 (1) of the Act of 1914.

(3.) A person who has, for a period of not less than two years, failed to comply with the new proposed statutory obligation to register at a British Consulate."

The Committee also considered the question of the nationality of married women. On this matter some divergence of view was disclosed and the Committee were unable to arrive at a unanimous conclusion. Since, however, they attached great importance to the maintenance of uniformity throughout the various parts of the Empire in the law relating to British Nationality, they decided to recommend to the Conference that further consideration of the question should be postponed pending the Report of the Committee of Experts referred to in the Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee—*vide* Section VI of this Report—which, it is proposed, should deal with various matters connected with the operation of Dominion legislation, and in view of the possibility of an attempt being made to regulate the problem of dual nationality and no nationality by international agreement. The Conference adopted this recommendation.

The Report of the Nationality Committee has been published.

XIV.—IMPERIAL COMMUNICATIONS (OTHER THAN AIR COMMUNICATIONS).

Certain questions relating to Imperial Communications (other than Air Communications) were referred to a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

The Committee considered the possibility of improving ocean communications between various parts of the Empire, and, at the instance of the Committee, the Conference adopted the following Resolution :—

The Committee also considered the experiments in Long-Distance Wireless Telephony which are being carried out from the Rugby Wireless Station. The Conference took note of the position.

The Committee received a deputation from the Empire Press Union on the subject of facilities for the dissemination of British news throughout the Empire.

A record of the proceedings at this meeting will be published later.

XV.—PACIFIC CABLE.

Outstanding questions connected with the management of the Pacific Cable undertaking were discussed between representatives of the partner Governments interested in the undertaking (Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). General agreement was reached in principle on all points, and it was settled that the necessary legislation would be introduced as soon as possible to provide—

(*a.*) For the future composition of the Pacific Cable Board, the method of appointment of the Chairman of the Board,

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and the remuneration of the Chairman and members of the Board.

(*b.*) For the settlement of the amount to be set aside annually by the Board to the reserve fund.

(*c.*) For the disposal of annual surpluses which may accrue in the future.

It was also agreed that a clearer definition should be made of the relations between the Board and the partner Governments.

Full details are being published.

XVI.—IMPERIAL AIR COMMUNICATIONS.

An interesting discussion on Imperial Air Communications took place at the Tenth Meeting of the Conference on the 28th October, when statements were made regarding the progress achieved in civil aviation in the various parts of the British Empire. The Conference was deeply impressed with the great possibilities offered by the development of Imperial air communications and their importance from the political as well as the economic point of view.

The Secretary of State for Air in an opening statement outlined the policy which was being pursued by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain for the development of civil aviation. The ultimate objective of this policy was to bring the most distant parts of the Empire within a fortnight's journey of London, and in the first instance he suggests that it would be advisable to concentrate on two main routes, namely, from England to Australia and South Africa respectively. The first links in these routes were being forged by the Cairo–Karachi and Khartoum–Kisumu services which were to come into operation in 1927. Sir Samuel Hoare suggested that these links might be extended by service flights to be undertaken by the Royal Air Force and the Australian and South African Air Forces in co-operation, whilst generally, having regard to financial limitations, the best prospect of progress appeared to lie in each of the countries of the Empire undertaking responsibility for developing the sections lying within its own territory, and so gradually building up (on what might be called a mosaic plan) a complete system of Imperial air routes. He also drew attention to the great potentialities of the airship as providing a safe, comfortable, and rapid means of non-stop transport over long distances, aeroplanes being ultimately more suitable for comparatively short-distance flights. Sir Samuel Hoare stated that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain would probably be ready to undertake airship demonstration flights to the Dominions and India in about two years' time, and enquired whether the latter would be prepared to co-operate by providing mooring masts and the organisation for procuring the essential meteorological information.

The representatives of the overseas parts of the Empire expressed their readiness to give immediate and sympathetic consideration to these suggestions; and the matter was referred to a Special Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Samuel Hoare for examination in detail.

This Sub-Committee, after reviewing the present state of air communications in the various parts of the Empire and considering what concrete steps can be taken to further the development of Imperial air services in the immediate future, reported their conviction that the development of Imperial air communications, both by airship and by aeroplane, is of sufficient importance to merit the early and continuous attention of the Governments of the several parts of the Empire, and accordingly recommended that the Imperial Conference should place on record the following Resolutions:—

"The Imperial Conference, being impressed with the great benefits, both political and commercial, to be derived from the speeding up of Imperial communications by air—

(1.) Takes note with satisfaction—

(*a.*) Of the prospective opening of a regular air service between Cairo and Karachi and an experimental service between Khartoum and Kisumu;

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(*b.*) Of the decisions of His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and in the Union of South Africa to carry out a series of experimental flights to connect so far as possible with this latter service; and

(*c.*) Of the decision of His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia to arrange for flights by the Royal Australian Air Force from Australia towards Singapore to link up with similar flights of the Royal Air Force from Singapore towards Australia.

(2.) Recommends that the development of other air services should receive the early consideration of the Governments concerned; and that in this connection particular attention should be paid to the maintenance of existing and the construction of new aerodromes so far as local resources permit with a view to the ultimate creation of a complete system of Empire air routes.

(3.) In view of—

(*a.*) The great potentialities of the airship; and

(*b.*) The present lack of constructional and other facilities which must prove a serious obstacle to the early development of regular airship services—

recommends that the Governments of the Dominions concerned and of India should examine the possibility of erecting nucleus mooring mast bases to be available for demonstration flights in 1928/29 by the two airships now under construction, and of instituting such preliminary meteorological investigations as may be necessary to facilitate these demonstration flights; and that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain should consider the erection of a second shed at the Royal Airship Works at Cardington.

(4.) Recommends that an Imperial Air Conference should be held in 1928 or 1929—the precise date to be determined later—at some suitable Imperial centre, to report progress and to consider what further action can be taken for the development of Imperial air communications; and takes note with appreciation of the invitation of the Dominion of Canada that this Conference should take place in Canada."

These Resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Imperial Conference at its Fifteenth Meeting on the 19th November.

The statements made at the opening discussion and the Report of the Sub-Committee have been published.

XVII.—OVERSEA SETTLEMENT.

The subject of Oversea Settlement was examined by a Special Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of the Chairman of the Oversea Settlement Committee in London (Lord Clarendon). Their report was considered and adopted by the Conference on the 19th November, when the Prime Ministers of the Dominions most closely concerned—Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand—expressed their appreciation of the advance which had been made in practical co-operation since the Conference of 1923, and emphasised the earnest desire of those Dominions to further the peopling of their countries with settlers from Great Britain up to the limit of their capacity. As was pointed out at the previous Conference, however, the rate at which the redistribution of population within the Empire can take place must be governed by the rate at which the Dominions can satisfactorily absorb new settlers; and it was generally recognised that a sound policy must be based upon scientific and carefully considered schemes designed to secure the settlement of suitable persons under conditions conducing both to their own well-being and to the prosperous development of the Dominion in which they are established.

The Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa pointed out that while South Africa was anxious to increase its European population, and had in the last few years taken further measures to

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encourage the settlement of white people on the land, the position there was a special one owing to the large native population, and it was necessary that settlers coming to that country should have a fair amount of initial capital.

The Sub-Committee in their report dealt in the first place with matters relating to the selection and recruiting of migrants, assisted passages, and arrangements for the reception and welfare of settlers in the Dominions; it was noted that the Canadian authorities had decided to establish in Great Britain a medical service to systematise and conduct free of charge the medical examination of prospective settlers, and that the Australian authorities also were carefully reviewing the whole position in regard to medical examination. A system under which permanent matrons will be appointed on board ship for parties of single and unaccompanied women proceeding to Australia, at the joint expense of His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and the Commonwealth of Australia, will be brought into operation at an early date. Permanent conductresses are already employed on board vessels carrying unaccompanied women to Canada and New Zealand.

The ideal form of migration was considered to be the settlement of families overseas. The 3,000 families scheme has been a conspicuous success in Canada, and it is proposed to take steps to promote the settlement of families on undeveloped Crown lands in that Dominion, and upon unoccupied farm lands in private ownership. In Australia it is anticipated that the recent appointment of a Development and Migration Commission will result in a considerable acceleration of settlement and development under the agreement of 1925 between His Majesty's Governments in Great Britain and the Commonwealth, in which it is proposed to make certain modifications. A new agreement is contemplated with a view to encouraging the provision of rural housing in Australia. With a view to providing inducements to settlers to remain on the land overseas the Sub-Committee recommended that facilities should be provided for assisting suitable settlers from Great Britain to acquire farms of their own. A definite scheme to supplement the existing arrangements in New Zealand was outlined.

The Sub-Committee were agreed as to the importance of continuing and, if possible, extending the experimental centres established in Great Britain to give training for land work as a means of preparation for farm life. The Dominion representatives were unable to see their way at present to recommend financial contributions towards the cost of training schemes in Great Britain, but the representatives of Canada and Australia both expressed their willingness to consider the question of providing instructors, implements, and equipment. The general opinion of the Dominion representatives was that their needs would be met by a short intensive course of training adjusted to meet the requirements of the individual, the object being to eliminate unsuitable types and to provide those undergoing the course with certain essential qualifications.

The Australian representatives agreed to recommend contributions towards the cost of a scheme for training women in Great Britain with a view to domestic employment in Australia.

The Sub-Committee agreed as to the advantages of co-ordination throughout the Empire in social insurance schemes, such as health insurance, and widows' and orphans' and old age pensions, and they suggested that future legislation on this subject should be drafted in such a manner as to facilitate reciprocity. As a first step towards this end, it was suggested that an endeavour should be made, if necessary with the aid of financial adjustments between the Governments concerned, to ameliorate the position of migrants in regard to old age pensions.

It was also suggested that reciprocal arrangements as to pensions should be made in order to facilitate the interchange of teachers between Great Britain and the Dominions.

On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee the following Resolution was adopted by the Conference :—

"The Conference approves the Report of the Oversea Settlement Sub-Committee. The Conference is of opinion that the problem of oversea settlement, which is that of a redistribution of the white population of the Empire in the best interests of the whole British Commonwealth, is one of paramount importance, especially as between Great Britain on the one hand and Canada, Australia, and New Zealand on the other. The Conference notes with satisfaction that the desired redistribution of population is being accelerated by the policy which has been consistently pursued since its acceptance by the Resolution of the Conference of Prime Ministers in 1921.* It endorses the view expressed at that Conference that the policy should be a permanent one. It recognises that it would be impracticable, owing to financial, economic, and political considerations, to promote mass movements of population, but it is satisfied that, by continuous adherence to the present policy, it should be possible steadily to increase the flow of population to those parts of the British Commonwealth where it is most needed for development and general security, and where it will find the greatest opportunities."

The Report of the Sub-Committee has been published.

XVIII.—WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

A Special Sub-Committee was appointed, under the Chairmanship of the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, to consider the present position in regard to the Resolutions of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 on the subject of workmen's compensation,† and also

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* This Resolution was as follows :—

"The Conference having satisfied itself that the proposals embodied in the Report of the Conference on State-Aided Empire Settlement are sound in principle, and that the several Dominions are prepared, subject to Parliamentary sanction and to the necessary financial arrangements being made, to co-operate effectively with the United Kingdom in the development of schemes based on these proposals, but adapted to the particular circumstances and conditions of each Dominion, approves the aforesaid Report.

The South African representatives wish to make it clear that the limited field for white labour in South Africa will preclude co-operation by the Union Government on the lines contemplated by the other Dominions.

2. The Conference expresses the hope that the Government of the United Kingdom will, at the earliest possible moment, secure the necessary powers to enable it to carry out its part in any schemes of co-operation which may subsequently be agreed on, preferably in the form of an Act which will make it clear that the policy of co-operation now adopted is intended to be permanent.

3. The Conference recommends to the Governments of the several Dominions that they should consider how far their existing legislation on the subject of land settlement, soldier settlement, and immigration, may require any modification or expansion in order to secure effective co-operation, and should work out, for discussion with the Government of the United Kingdom, such proposals as may appear to them most practicable and best suited to their interests and circumstances."

† These Resolutions were as follows :—

RESOLUTION I.

Non-resident Workmen.

"That this Imperial Economic Conference, taking note of the existing restrictions in the Workmen's Compensation laws of certain parts of the British Empire on the payment of benefits to workmen and their dependants on the ground of non-residence in the State in which the accident happened, and having regard to the tendency of such restrictions to discourage movement within the Empire, is of opinion that no British subject who is permanently incapacitated, and no dependant of a British subject who has been killed, by accident due to his employment in any part of the Empire should be excluded from any benefit to which he would otherwise be entitled under the Workmen's Compensation law of that part of the Empire on the ground of his removal to or residence in another part of the Empire."

RESOLUTION II.

Seamen.

"That this Imperial Economic Conference, having had its attention drawn to cases where British sailors injured by accident while serving on ships registered in some part of the Empire have had no claim to compensation owing to the law of that part of the Empire being restricted, in its application to seamen, to accidents occurring within territorial waters or other limited area, is of opinion that the Government of any such part of the Empire should ensure that the benefits of its compensa-

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the question of reciprocal arrangements between the different parts of the British Empire for the administration of money awarded as compensation.

The Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that with certain minor exceptions the laws of the various parts of the Empire now conform generally to the principle of Resolution I of the 1923 Conference, namely, that no British subject who is permanently incapacitated, and no dependant of a British subject who has been killed, by accident due to his employment in any part of the Empire should be excluded from any benefit to which he would otherwise be entitled under the workmen's compensation law in force there, on the ground of removal to, or residence in, another part of the Empire.

The Conference took note of the position.

Resolution II of the 1923 Conference related to compensation in respect of accidents to British sailors occurring outside the territorial waters of the part of the Empire in which their ship is registered. The Sub-Committee found that such compensation was provided for in the laws of most of the Dominions and India as well as of Great Britain, but called attention to certain exceptions.

The position in regard to the treatment of aliens was reconsidered in the light of the International Draft Convention and Recommendation adopted by the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1925.* The conclusion was reached that the adoption by all parts of the Empire of a common policy based on this Draft Convention would conduce to the removal of disabilities still imposed under the workmen's compensation laws of certain foreign countries on British subjects residing in those countries and on their dependants.

The Conference accordingly adopted the following Resolution on this subject:—

> "The Conference, taking note of Resolution III of the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923, on the subject of workmen's compensation and the Draft Convention on Equality of Treatment for National and Foreign Workers as regards Workmen's Compensation for Accidents which was adopted by the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1925, recommends that the Governments of the several parts of the Empire should consider the desirability of giving effect, in so far as they have not already done so, to the principle of the Draft Convention in their workmen's compensation legislation."

As regards the administration of compensation monies, it appeared that the Courts of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and generally speaking of the other parts of the Empire, have at present no authority to transfer or receive for administration compensation money awarded in any part of the Empire other than their own. The Conference adopted the following Resolution:—

> "The Conference, taking note of the difficulties arising under the law relating to workmen's compensation in the administration of money awarded in one part of the Empire to beneficiaries resident or becoming resident in another part of the Empire, is of opinion that arrangements should be made between the different parts of the Empire whereby any sum awarded to such beneficiaries may, at the request of the authority by which the award is made, be transferred to and administered by the competent authority in that part of the Empire in which such beneficiaries reside. It accordingly invites the several Governments of the Empire to take such steps by way of legislation or otherwise as each may consider necessary and appropriate for the purpose of promoting such arrangements."

The Report of the Sub-Committee has been published.

tion law will extend to all accidents to seamen serving on ships registered within such part of the Empire wherever the ship may be when the accident takes place. And furthermore the Conference invites the Government of any British Colony or Protectorate where there is a register of shipping, but where legislation giving compensation rights to seamen does not at present exist, to consider the adoption of such legislation."

RESOLUTION III.

Aliens.

"That this Imperial Economic Conference, taking note of the disabilities imposed under the Workmen's Compensation laws of certain foreign countries on British subjects residing in those countries and their dependants, invites each Government of the Empire, regard being had to its own particular conditions, to consider the possibility of adopting in workmen's compensation legislation, the principle of reciprocity, that is, that the benefits of such legislation should be accorded to subjects of foreign countries upon the condition that and to the extent to which such foreign countries accord reciprocal treatment to British subjects."

The Conference notes in adopting the foregoing Resolutions that, in certain of the Dominions, Workmen's Compensation falls wholly or partially within Provincial or State jurisdiction and is in those cases and to that extent outside the control of the Dominion Government.

* Cmd. 2536, pp. 17–20.

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XIX.—RESEARCH.

The subject of research was considered by a Special Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Balfour. The Report of this Sub-Committee, which was prefaced by a special introduction by Lord Balfour, was adopted by the Imperial Conference on the 19th November and has been published.

The Sub-Committee were deeply impressed with the value of consultation and co-operation between all parts of the Empire in regard to research matters, and they gave careful consideration to the methods by which such co-operation can best be extended.

GENERAL ORGANISATION.

As regards the general organisation of research, dealt with in Part I. of the Sub-Committee's Report, it was suggested that at special expert conferences which may be called from time to time, such as those already arranged for Forestry and Agriculture, the question should be considered whether there is need for establishing further scientific bureaux on the lines of the Imperial Bureaux of Entomology and Mycology; and also organisations based not on a particular science, as are the existing Bureaux, but on a particular practical art. Organisations of the latter kind would communicate scientific and technical information to those concerned anywhere throughout the Empire with the particular art concerned—agriculture, forestry, medicine, horticulture, mining or manufacturing industry. It was further pointed out that organisations of either kind might be situated in whatever part of the Empire was found to be most appropriate. Attention was also called to the desirability that official organisations in the Empire engaged in similar branches of scientific research should freely and directly inter-communicate on all topics of common interest, and it was suggested that each part of the Empire should, as and when possible, nominate a representative to take part in the quarterly Standing Conference of the Departments concerned with research in Great Britain.

The following Resolution, proposed by the Sub-Committee, was adopted by the Conference:—

> "The Conference, impressed by the need of—
>
> (*a.*) An active prosecution of research in all fields of applied science;
>
> (*b.*) The fullest practicable co-operation between the organisations respectively responsible for agricultural, fisheries, forestry, medical, and industrial research;
>
> (*c.*) The quick and orderly exchange of the results of research between the various Governments and research establishments of the Empire;
>
> (*d.*) The fullest possible discussion of problems of common interest;
>
> commends Part I. of the Report of the Research Special Sub-Committee and the suggestions therein contained to the favourable consideration of the respective Governments."

Man Power.

The Sub-Committee next considered the question of man power. They drew attention to the serious shortage of recruits for most branches of scientific services supported by Governments within the Empire, and urged that the basic remedy lies in the adoption of a settled policy in regard to the application of research to development in the various parts of the Empire. In this way continuity of work

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would be ensured and confidence established, educational institutions would feel free to encourage students to take up appropriate lines of training, and parents would be more ready to incur the necessary expense. Far from financial stringency rendering such a policy unwise, the poorer a country the greater its need to employ its scientific resources to the fullest extent. At the same time, the conditions offered by Government services must be such as to attract the best men and offer them good avenues for promotion either in the service or elsewhere, and status and recognition must be considered no less than material conditions Nevertheless, while Government scientific services must rely for recruits on their own intrinsic attractions, scholarships or probationerships offer a useful means of meeting the current shortage, and will possibly always be necessary in the case of a few services where highly specialised training is required and few openings available. The importance of publicity was emphasised, and the issue was suggested of a comprehensive official publication containing full information as to the appointments available in all Government services and the qualifications required.

On this branch of the subject the Sub-Committee recommended and the Conference adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Conference recognises that the progress of scientific research and its effective application to the development of the Empire depend ultimately on an adequate supply of well-trained scientific men; and that the utmost care is needed in devising suitable conditions for the selection, training, and employment of scientific staffs appointed or aided by Government. Accordingly the Conference commends Part II of the Report of the Research Special Sub-Committee and the suggestions therein contained to the favourable consideration of the respective Governments."

Imperial Agricultural Research Conference.

The proposal for an Imperial Agricultural Research Conference in London in 1927 was, at the instance of the Sub-Committee, endorsed by the Imperial Conference in the following terms:—

"The Conference notes with approval the proposal to hold a conference in London in 1927 representative of the organisations of the Empire concerned in agricultural research and its administration, for the purpose of discussing such questions as the extension of co-operation between the organisations; the promotion of joint programmes of research; the utilisation of the results obtained; and the training, supply, and interchange of scientific workers.

The Conference urges the respective Governments to give the fullest possible support to the proposed Imperial Agricultural Research Conference."

In accordance with the recommendations of the Sub-Committee, Resolutions were also adopted relating to certain particular bodies:—

Imperial Bureaux of Entomology and Mycology.

(*a.*) "The Conference records its appreciation of the valuable work of the Imperial Bureaux of Entomology and Mycology, and notes with pleasure that the Empire Marketing Board has made a grant to the Imperial Bureau of Entomology for the establishment of a laboratory for the breeding of beneficial parasites."

Empire Cotton Growing Corporation.

(*b.*) "The Conference notes with pleasure the success attending the activities of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation and commends to the favourable notice of the respective Governments the steps which the Corporation is taking to co-operate with the administrative and agricultural Departments concerned in the promotion of cotton-growing within the Empire."

Empire Marketing Board.

(*c.*) "The Conference notes with satisfaction the attention given by the Empire Marketing Board, in addition to its other activities, to the encouragement of scientific research into the problems of Empire agriculture; and approves the general principle adopted by the Board, wherever possible, of making financial grants for research conditional on proportionate contributions from other sources.

"The Conference, in particular, expresses its cordial approval of the project envisaged by the Board of fostering a chain of research stations situated in appropriate centres in tropical and sub-tropical parts of the Empire, and commends this project to the sympathetic consideration of Governments, institutions, and private benefactors throughout the Empire."

Imperial Institute.

(*d.*) "The Conference approves the steps taken to carry out the recommendations of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 for the reorganisation of the Imperial Institute, and expresses its satisfaction at the progress which has been made since the reorganisation."

XX.—FORESTRY.

Another Sub-Committee of the Conference was set up, presided over by the Chairman of the Forestry Commission in London (Lord Lovat), to report upon Empire Forestry questions. The Sub-Committee pointed out that the available world supplies of the principal timbers of commerce, and especially of softwoods, which constitute 80 per cent. of the wood used for industrial purposes, are rapidly approaching exhaustion. For this reason, as well as on internal social and economic grounds, it is of the utmost importance that the various countries of the Empire should take effective measures for maintaining, and where possible extending, their forest areas under a system of management based on sustained production of timber. The importance that afforestation schemes may have in relation to Empire settlement should also not be overlooked.

The holding of Empire Forestry Conferences has become an established practice, and the Sub-Committee recommended that approval should be given to the preliminary arrangements for the third such Conference to be held in Australia and New Zealand in 1928. At this meeting are to be considered, in addition to matters concerning forest policy, timber supply and consumption, and forestry technique, the question of further research in the Empire in regard to forest products, and also that of establishing an Imperial Forestry Bureau to act as a clearing house for information of all kinds.

The Sub-Committee expressed appreciation of the valuable work already done by the Empire Forestry Association, and by the Imperial Forestry Institute which was established at Oxford in 1924 to undertake the higher training of forest officers.

On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee the Conference adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Conference, appreciating the importance of forestry to the Empire as a whole and to its constituent parts,

(*a.*) Takes favourable note of recent developments of effective organisation within the Empire as exemplified by the Standing Committee on Empire Forestry, the Imperial Forestry Institute, and the Empire Forestry Association, and draws special attention to the need for co-operation in all lines of forest research;

(*b.*) Welcomes the invitation of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand to hold the third Empire Forestry Conference in those Dominions in 1928, and recommends to the Governments of the various parts of the Empire active preparation for and participation in that Conference; and, further, notes with appreciation the invitation by the Government of the Union of South Africa for the Empire Forestry Conference of 1933 to be held in that Dominion;

(*c.*) Refers the important question of constituting an Empire Forestry Bureau to the Empire Forestry Conference of 1928."

The Report of the Sub-Committee has been published.

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would be ensured and confidence established, educational institutions would feel free to encourage students to take up appropriate lines of training, and parents would be more ready to incur the necessary expense. Far from financial stringency rendering such a policy unwise, the poorer a country the greater its need to employ its scientific resources to the fullest extent. At the same time, the conditions offered by Government services must be such as to attract the best men and offer them good avenues for promotion either in the service or elsewhere, and status and recognition must be considered no less than material conditions Nevertheless, while Government scientific services must rely for recruits on their own intrinsic attractions, scholarships or probationerships offer a useful means of meeting the current shortage, and will possibly always be necessary in the case of a few services where highly specialised training is required and few openings available. The importance of publicity was emphasised, and the issue was suggested of a comprehensive official publication containing full information as to the appointments available in all Government services and the qualifications required.

On this branch of the subject the Sub-Committee recommended and the Conference adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Conference recognises that the progress of scientific research and its effective application to the development of the Empire depend ultimately on an adequate supply of well-trained scientific men; and that the utmost care is needed in devising suitable conditions for the selection, training, and employment of scientific staffs appointed or aided by Government. Accordingly the Conference commends Part II of the Report of the Research Special Sub-Committee and the suggestions therein contained to the favourable consideration of the respective Governments."

Imperial Agricultural Research Conference.

The proposal for an Imperial Agricultural Research Conference in London in 1927 was, at the instance of the Sub-Committee, endorsed by the Imperial Conference in the following terms:—

"The Conference notes with approval the proposal to hold a conference in London in 1927 representative of the organisations of the Empire concerned in agricultural research and its administration, for the purpose of discussing such questions as the extension of co-operation between the organisations; the promotion of joint programmes of research; the utilisation of the results obtained; and the training, supply, and interchange of scientific workers.

The Conference urges the respective Governments to give the fullest possible support to the proposed Imperial Agricultural Research Conference."

In accordance with the recommendations of the Sub-Committee, Resolutions were also adopted relating to certain particular bodies:—

Imperial Bureaux of Entomology and Mycology.

(*a.*) "The Conference records its appreciation of the valuable work of the Imperial Bureaux of Entomology and Mycology, and notes with pleasure that the Empire Marketing Board has made a grant to the Imperial Bureau of Entomology for the establishment of a laboratory for the breeding of beneficial parasites."

Empire Cotton Growing Corporation.

(*b.*) "The Conference notes with pleasure the success attending the activities of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation and commends to the favourable notice of the respective Governments the steps which the Corporation is taking to co-operate with the administrative and agricultural Departments concerned in the promotion of cotton-growing within the Empire."

Empire Marketing Board.

(*c.*) "The Conference notes with satisfaction the attention given by the Empire Marketing Board, in addition to its other activities, to the encouragement of scientific research into the problems of Empire agriculture; and approves the general principle adopted by the Board, wherever possible, of making financial grants

for research conditional on proportionate contributions from other sources.

"The Conference, in particular, expresses its cordial approval of the project envisaged by the Board of fostering a chain of research stations situated in appropriate centres in tropical and sub-tropical parts of the Empire, and commends this project to the sympathetic consideration of Governments, institutions, and private benefactors throughout the Empire."

Imperial Institute.

(*d.*) "The Conference approves the steps taken to carry out the recommendations of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 for the reorganisation of the Imperial Institute, and expresses its satisfaction at the progress which has been made since the reorganisation."

XX.—FORESTRY.

Another Sub-Committee of the Conference was set up, presided over by the Chairman of the Forestry Commission in London (Lord Lovat), to report upon Empire Forestry questions. The Sub-Committee pointed out that the available world supplies of the principal timbers of commerce, and especially of softwoods, which constitute 80 per cent. of the wood used for industrial purposes, are rapidly approaching exhaustion. For this reason, as well as on internal social and economic grounds, it is of the utmost importance that the various countries of the Empire should take effective measures for maintaining, and where possible extending, their forest areas under a system of management based on sustained production of timber. The importance that afforestation schemes may have in relation to Empire settlement should also not be overlooked.

The holding of Empire Forestry Conferences has become an established practice, and the Sub-Committee recommended that approval should be given to the preliminary arrangements for the third such Conference to be held in Australia and New Zealand in 1928. At this meeting are to be considered, in addition to matters concerning forest policy, timber supply and consumption, and forestry technique, the question of further research in the Empire in regard to forest products, and also that of establishing an Imperial Forestry Bureau to act as a clearing house for information of all kinds.

The Sub-Committee expressed appreciation of the valuable work already done by the Empire Forestry Association, and by the Imperial Forestry Institute which was established at Oxford in 1924 to undertake the higher training of forest officers.

On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee the Conference adopted the following Resolution:—

"The Conference, appreciating the importance of forestry to the Empire as a whole and to its constituent parts,

(*a.*) Takes favourable note of recent developments of effective organisation within the Empire as exemplified by the Standing Committee on Empire Forestry, the Imperial Forestry Institute, and the Empire Forestry Association, and draws special attention to the need for co-operation in all lines of forest research;

(*b.*) Welcomes the invitation of the Governments of Australia and New Zealand to hold the third Empire Forestry Conference in those Dominions in 1928, and recommends to the Governments of the various parts of the Empire active preparation for and participation in that Conference; and, further, notes with appreciation the invitation by the Government of the Union of South Africa for the Empire Forestry Conference of 1933 to be held in that Dominion;

(*c.*) Refers the important question of constituting an Empire Forestry Bureau to the Empire Forestry Conference of 1928."

The Report of the Sub-Committee has been published.

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XXI.—OTHER ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.

General Discussion.

The Agenda on the economic side was briefly reviewed by the Conference as a whole on the 21st and 22nd October, when an interesting and stimulating discussion took place, the greater part of which was published immediately afterwards. From this discussion it became at once apparent that there was a strong desire on the part of all the Governments represented to concert methods for encouraging the further development of Empire trade. It was realised that this development, with which the economic progress of the various parts of the Empire is closely bound up, must depend mainly upon the individual or combined activities of those concerned, whether as manufacturers, merchants or consumers, in the different countries concerned. Great emphasis was laid by one speaker after another on this aspect of the matter. It was felt, however, that, even in the restricted sphere of Government activity, much more could be done.

Stress was laid in this connection upon the value of scientific and economic research and its application, and of the collection and dissemination of information useful to producers, traders, and consumers, in increasing efficiency in production and distribution, and appreciation was expressed of the advantages to be derived from inter-Imperial co-operation in these directions. It was generally agreed that the Imperial Economic Committee, on which all the Governments of the Empire were represented, established as a result of the Economic Conference of 1923, had done admirable work in the reports so far compiled, and that the Board established by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain to administer the Empire Marketing Grant made by the Parliament at Westminster provided a most valuable means of assisting in bringing into practical operation the improvements which as the result of this Committee's investigations, or from further enquiries, were shown to be desirable.

The Prime Minister of Canada intimated that he and his colleagues were contemplating further steps with a view to improving the export trade of Canada to Great Britain. The Prime Minister of Newfoundland announced that it was the intention of the Newfoundland Government, following the example of the larger Dominions, favourably to consider the propriety and feasibility of introducing Empire preference in the forthcoming revision of the Customs tariff. As a practical example of co-operation, the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand drew attention to the possibility of largely increasing—with the aid of the Customs preferences—the sales of British motor cars within the Empire if suitable efforts were made, and they (as well as other representatives at the Conference) expressed their readiness to meet the leading motor-car manufacturers of Great Britain in order to emphasise to them the opportunities and requirements of the Empire market in this important and expanding trade. Meetings were arranged accordingly.

(a.) *Exhibition within the Empire of Empire Films.*

A further matter to which attention was given during this preliminary discussion was the encouragement of the production and exhibition of Empire films. There was agreement as to the great importance of dealing with this matter, having regard to the influence exerted by the cinema, considered from the general cultural and social point of view as well as with reference to the development of trade, and to its potential value as a means of giving the people of the various parts of the Empire a more vivid realisation of one another's lives and surroundings. The question was referred for consideration in detail with other economic questions to a General Economic Sub-Committee.*

The Sub-Committee pointed out† that in all parts of the Empire only a small proportion of the films exhibited are of Empire production; few Empire films are produced, and the arrangements for the distribution of these are far from adequate. State action could contribute to the solution of the problem, but could not be effective unless by private enterprise a substantial output of films of real and

* Note.—All the reports of the General Economic Sub-Committee referred to in the following paragraphs have been published.

† Thirteenth Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.

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competitive exhibition value was attained, and satisfactory distributing arrangements were developed throughout the Empire. Various suggested methods were considered by means of which the several Governments might assist in securing a larger production within the Empire of films of high entertainment value and films of sound educational merit, and their exhibition throughout the Empire and the rest of the world on an increasing scale. It was recognised that circumstances vary in different parts of the Empire, but the opinion was expressed that any action which it might be found possible to take in Great Britain, the largest producer and largest market for films in the Empire, would undoubtedly be of the greatest assistance to the other parts of the Empire in dealing with the problem.

On the recommendation of the Sub-Committee the Conference adopted the following Resolution:—

> "The Imperial Conference, recognising that it is of the greatest importance that a larger and increasing proportion of the films exhibited throughout the Empire should be of Empire production, commends the matter and the remedial measures proposed to the consideration of the Governments of the various parts of the Empire with a view to such early and effective action to deal with the serious situation now existing as they may severally find possible."

(b.) *Industrial Standardisation.*

Attention was also drawn, during the general discussion by the Conference of the economic side of the agenda, to the advantages that might accrue to Empire trade from an extension in regard to industrial products of standardisation, using that term not only in its strict sense but also in the wider sense of what is commonly known as "simplification," that is the elimination of unnecessary varieties of patterns and types of articles. It was pointed out that there was an extensive field over which, provided the standards were drawn up by agreement between manufacturers and users, in such a form as to meet the requirements of the buyer, standardisation was in the interests of all parties concerned.

As the result of detailed examination of the matter it appeared that great saving, to the advantage both of manufacturers and consumers, had already been effected in various Empire countries from the standardising of a number of products, and that the time was ripe for a further advance. Attention was also called to the benefits that might accrue from establishing common standards for all parts of the Empire, where this is found feasible after a study of local needs. While it would be inexpedient that there should be anything in the nature of the determination by Governmental authority of industrial standards (except for a limited purpose where Government departments are users of the goods), the Governments concerned might with advantage take further steps to stimulate the movement in the various parts of the Empire, and to co-operate both in the exchange of information and in encouraging the establishment of common standards. In accordance with the recommendation in the Sub-Committee's Report,* the following Resolution was adopted by the Conference.—

> "The Imperial Conference, recognising the advantages of standardisation in its widest sense both to producers and to consumers, and appreciating that when it is practicable to adopt standards common to the Empire these advantages are augmented and great benefit results to trade within the Empire and Empire trade generally, recommends to the favourable consideration of the several Governments of the Empire that they should take steps to promote the further development of standardisation, should arrange for the exchange of information with the other parts of the Empire, and, when common standards are possible and mutually advantageous, should co-operate with the other parts of the Empire in regard thereto."

(c.) *Imperial Shipping Committee and Imperial Economic Committee.*

After further consideration had been given to the work performed by the Imperial Shipping Committee and the Imperial Economic

* Fourth Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.

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Committee, a Resolution of thanks was adopted by the Conference in the following terms :—

"The Imperial Conference desires to convey to the chairman and members of the Imperial Shipping Committee and the Imperial Economic Committee an expression of its appreciation of the valuable work which has been done by those Committees."

It was recommended that the Imperial Shipping Committee should be continued on its present basis,* as indicated in the following Resolution of the Conference :—

"The Imperial Conference is of opinion that the work of the Imperial Shipping Committee is of importance to the Empire and that it is desirable to maintain the Committee on its present basis, deriving authority from, and being responsible to, the Governments represented in the Imperial Conference."

At the same time the views of the Conference as to the future of the Imperial Economic Committee were expressed as follows :—

"The Imperial Conference is of opinion that the Imperial Economic Committee should continue on its present *ad hoc* basis with the following general reference :—

(1) to complete the series of investigations into the marketing of Empire foodstuffs in Great Britain, and while this work is proceeding

(2) to put forward for the consideration of the various Governments concerned (*a*) a list of raw materials for possible further marketing enquiries, and (*b*) suggestions for the preparation and circulation of brief preliminary surveys, as suggested by the General Economic Sub-Committee of the Conference,† of any branch of Empire trade and marketing, such preliminary surveys, if the Governments concerned so desire, to be followed up by further enquiries."

(d) *Maritime Conventions.*

Unification of Rules relating to Bills of Lading.

The Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 recommended the adoption of the Rules relating to Bills of Lading which had been drawn up by an International Conference at Brussels in October, 1922. These Rules were embodied in the Bills of Lading Convention of October, 1923. It was reported‡ by the General Economic Sub-Committee that effect had been given to this Convention in many parts of the Empire, and that the passing of the necessary legislation was under consideration in most of the other parts. It was agreed that international uniformity, which appeared to be in a fair way to achievement, would greatly facilitate overseas trade by removing an element of doubt from the minds of shippers and shipowners concerning their liability under a contract of carriage, and that the adoption of the Convention in all parts of the Empire, in addition to being of advantage to Empire trade, would assist in securing such international uniformity. At the instance of the Sub-Committee the Conference passed the following Resolution :—

"The Imperial Conference, having cousidered the steps taken to bring into force the Rules relating to Bills of Lading which were embodied in the International Bills of Lading Convention signed at Brussels in October, 1923, and were recommended by the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 for adoption by the Governments and Parliaments of the Empire, notes with satisfaction that there is good prospect of the general adoption of these Rules throughout the Empire, and also welcomes the progress which has been made towards the achievement of international uniformity upon the basis of these Rules."

Conventions relating to Limitation of Shipowners' Liability and to Maritime Mortgages and Liens.

The object of the Limitation of Shipowners' Liability Convention, adopted at Brussels in 1922 and 1923, is to secure international

* Tenth Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
† Fourteenth Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
‡ Sixth Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.

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uniformity in this important branch of maritime law so that all parties interested in a ship, her cargo and passengers may have reasonable assurance as to the extent of their rights and liabilities no matter where the ship may be. It was considered* that the Convention represented a fair compromise between the law in operation in the various parts of the Empire and the law of the principal continental countries (with which the law of the United States of America largely corresponds), and was likely to secure a wide measure of international acceptance.

The laws in different countries with regard to maritime mortgages and liens vary widely, and this lack of uniformity often has serious consequences for those who lend money on the security of ships or who have claims against ships on account of services rendered or damage done. An International Convention aiming at the unification of the law on this subject was adopted at Brussels in April, 1926, and the General Sub-Committee were of opinion that the uniformity which would result from its wide adoption would be of great advantage to all concerned.

In the light of the Sub-Committee's Report the following Resolution was adopted by the Conference concerning these two Conventions :—

"The Imperial Conference notes with satisfaction the progress which has been made towards the unification of maritime law in regard to the limitation of shipowners' liability and to maritime mortgages and liens by the preparation at Brussels of draft International Conventions on these subjects, and, having regard particularly to the advantages to be derived from uniformity, commends these Conventions to the consideration of the Governments of the various parts of the Empire."

Convention relating to Immunity of State-owned Vessels.

The Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 approved a proposal for the conclusion of an International Convention which, subject to such limitations or safeguards as were necessary from the point of view of defence, should secure to claimants against State-owned or State-operated vessels the hearing of their claims before Courts of Law as a matter of right. It was stated in a further Report† of the General Economic Sub-Committee that a draft Convention had been drawn up at Brussels in April, 1926, which would in general give effect on suitable lines to this policy, although certain points were outstanding on which the draft did not appear to be satisfactory from the standpoint of defence. In accordance with the suggestion of the Sub-Committee the Conference adopted the following Resolution :—

"The Imperial Conference notes with satisfaction the steps taken to give effect to the policy approved at the Imperial Economic Conference in 1923 with regard to the immunity of State-owned ships, and subject to a satisfactory settlement of the points still outstanding, commends the draft International Convention drawn up at the Conference at Brussels in April, 1926, to the consideration of the Governments of the various parts of the Empire."

(e.) *Oil Pollution of Navigable Waters.*

The inconvenience and loss due to the pollution by oil of coastal waters and fishing grounds is well known. Steps have been taken in several parts of the Empire and in a number of foreign countries to prohibit the discharge of oil in territorial waters or in harbour waters. It is generally recognised, however, that the nuisance cannot be effectively abated unless the discharge of oil or oily mixtures within certain limits outside territorial waters can be prevented, and with this object in view an International Conference held at Washington in June, 1926, recommended‡ that areas should be prescribed on the coasts of maritime countries and on recognised fishing grounds within which oil or oily mixtures should not be discharged, and that each Government should require vessels flying its flag to respect all such areas.

* Seventh Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
† Eighth Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
‡ Cmd. 2702.

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The Conference, on the recommendation of the General Economic Sub-Committee,* adopted the following Resolution :—

"The Imperial Conference welcomes the efforts that are being made to reach international agreement upon measures for abolishing the evils resulting from the discharge of oil in navigable waters, and recommends the principles of the draft Convention for this purpose recently prepared at Washington to the consideration of the Governments of the Empire."

(f.) *Statistical Questions.*

On the subject of *Wool Statistics*,† the Conference adopted the following Resolution :—

"The Imperial Conference, impressed by the need for more complete, more uniform and more prompt statistics regarding the production, stocks and consumption of wool throughout the world, recommends that such steps as are found to be most suitable should be taken to secure the co-operation of foreign countries in this matter, and further, that the Governments of the Empire represented at this Conference should consider the adoption of such measures as are necessary and feasible to secure the provision and publication of such statistics, provided that foreign countries materially concerned, either as producers or consumers, are prepared to take similar action."

Proposals which had been made from several quarters for the collection and publication of *statistics of Foodstuffs in Cold Storage* were considered and the conclusion was reached by the General Economic Sub-Committee‡ that international returns relating to such commodities would be most valuable. The following Resolution on the subject was adopted :—

"The Imperial Conference, impressed by the need for international statistics of the quantities of foodstuffs held in cold storage, recommends that suitable steps should be taken to obtain the co-operation of foreign countries in securing the compilation and prompt publication of such international statistics."

Attention was drawn§ to the Resolution of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923,‖ which had as its object to render the *statistics of trade, production, &c., of the different parts of the Empire*, published by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain as valuable as possible with reference to the development of inter-Imperial Trade. It had now been suggested that an effective method of approaching this end would be gradually to modify and expand future issues of the existing Abstract for the British Oversea Dominions and Protectorates prepared by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, for which purpose the Board of Trade in London would keep in touch with the several Government authorities concerned. It was considered that after one or two further issues of the Abstract it might be found desirable to hold a meeting of statisticians from the various parts of the Empire to review the progress made and consider the lines of further advance. The Conference endorsed the views of the General Economic Sub-Committee on the subject.

(g.) *Taxation Questions.*

The Conference adopted Reports¶ of the General Economic Sub-Committee on certain matters relating to taxation. A review of the steps which had been taken in the various parts of the Empire to

* Fifth Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
† First Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
‡ Second Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
§ Third Report of the General Economic Sub-Committee.
‖ This Resolution was as follows :—

"This Imperial Economic Conference, recognising the importance of rendering the trade statistics published by the Government of the United Kingdom as valuable as possible with reference to the development of inter-Imperial trade, recommends that the United Kingdom Board of Trade, after reviewing the statistics in question from this point of view, should draw up a detailed scheme and submit it to the Governments of the several parts of the Empire for their consideration."

¶ Ninth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Reports of the General Economic Sub-Committee.

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give effect to the Resolution of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923* on the subject of the *immunity of State enterprises from taxation* showed that there was a measure of agreement within the Empire sufficient to warrant the opening of negotiations with the Governments of foreign countries with a view to the conclusion of reciprocal agreements for the mutual taxation of Government trading enterprises.

With regard to *taxation of non-resident traders*, it was pointed out that, when a manufacturer or producer resident in one part of the Empire sells his goods through an agent or branch in another part, he is subject to taxation in both countries, though his burden is eased by the arrangements which have already been made between many parts of the Empire for relief in respect of double taxation. There was general though not complete agreement that the charge to income tax in the country of sale might with advantage be restricted to the "merchanting" profit which arises from activities exercised in that country, excluding the "manufacturing" or "producing" profit. The representative of India, however, was unable to accept this principle and the representatives of Canada and of the Commonwealth of Australia were not in a position to speak on behalf of or to bind Provincial or State Governments.

The question was also considered from the point of view of inter-Imperial trade of the *valuation for customs duty purposes*—in those parts of the Empire in which duty is based on the domestic value of the goods in the country of export—of goods in respect of which a drawback of duty has been given in the country of export. It was understood that certain points will be examined, especially with regard to special or dumping duties, by the responsible authorities in the light of the discussion which took place in the General Economic Sub-Committee.

XXII.—ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING, EMPEROR OF INDIA.

The following Address to His Majesty was moved by the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the concluding Meeting of the Conference, and was unanimously adopted. Mr. Baldwin, as Chairman of the Conference, was asked to submit the Address to His Majesty :—

"To His Majesty the King, Emperor of India,

"We, the Prime Ministers and Representatives of the Governments of the British Empire who have taken counsel together during the last few weeks, desire before we separate to express once again our fidelity and devotion to Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen.

"We have found in all our deliberations a spirit of mutual goodwill and an earnest desire for co-operation in promoting the prosperity of the several parts of the Empire. The foundation of our work has been the sure knowledge that to each of us, as to all Your Majesty's subjects, the Crown is the abiding symbol and emblem of the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"We pray that, under Divine Providence, Your Majesty may long be spared, with Her Majesty the Queen, to watch over the destinies of all the Nations and Peoples of your Empire."

XXIII.—CONCLUDING RESOLUTIONS.

As the preceding sections of this Report have shown, a large number of questions on the Agenda, particularly those of a more technical character, were referred to Committees and Sub-Committees for examination and report to the Imperial Conference. This arrangement was, in part, due to the fact that it had been settled, in the course of the correspondence between the Governments which preceded the Conference, that there should be no separate Imperial Economic Conference as in 1923. It was also partly caused by the length of the Agenda and the short time at the disposal of the Conference.

The plan adopted, under which many matters were first discussed by Committees, the Reports and recommendations subsequently coming before the Conference for endorsement, turned out to be most successful. On the one hand, it extended the time available for the

* This Resolution, together with a draft convention on the immunity of State-owned ships, is set out in full on pp. 15–16 of Cmd. 1919.

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examination of a series of complicated subjects, since Committees could sit simultaneously. On the other hand, it enabled the conclusions reached and the Resolutions adopted to be recommended to the various Governments of the Empire with the full authority of the Imperial Conference.

At the concluding meeting, the Conference adopted the following Resolution :—

"The Imperial Conference desires to express its appreciation of the work accomplished by the Chairmen and Members of the various Committees and Sub-Committees which have been engaged in the discussion of particular subjects.

"The Conference feels that the detailed study of these subjects in Committee has been of great value, and should also prove most useful in promoting future collaboration between the expert advisers of the various Governments who have worked together so successfully in the preparation of Reports and recommendations for the Conference."

The Conference also passed the following Resolution at its last meeting :—

"At the conclusion of the session of the Imperial Conference, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and his colleagues desire to place on record the great pleasure which it has been to them to welcome in London the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and other Representatives from overseas. On their part, the Prime Ministers and Representatives of the Dominions and India wish to express their thanks to the Prime Minister and other members of the Government in Great Britain for the constant attention which they have given to the organisation and work of the Conference in spite of the pressure of other important duties.

"The members of the Conference are convinced that not only the actual work done during the past few weeks, but also the opportunity which the Conference has afforded for intimate consultation and the strengthening of friendship, will be of the greatest importance in promoting in all parts of the Empire unity of thought and co-operation in action."

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 22, 1926.

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Return to House of Commons

COPY OF TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS (L.S. Amery)

TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL. (Lord Byng)

LONDON,

December 21, 1925.

Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister. Begins:

You will remember, that in my message of November 18th I said that we hoped to be able to make proposal in the near future as to the date of the next Imperial Conference.

We have been considering whether we should propose a meeting in 1926 or in 1927. We could hardly, at this stage, suggest a time for assembling if the latter alternative were adopted but if a meeting were arranged for next year, we think the time might be either the middle of June or the beginning of October. Before however proceeding any further, we should be glad to know your own views as to the most suitable date. I am sending a similar telegram to other Prime Ministers.

Baldwin. Ends.

(SGD.) SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

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COPY OF TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

LONDON,

December 21, 1925.

Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister. Begins:

You will remember, that in my message of November 18th I said that we hoped to be able to make proposal in the near future as to the date of the next Imperial Conference.

We have been considering whether we should propose a meeting in 1926 or in 1927. We could hardly, at this stage, suggest a time for assembling if the latter alternative were adopted but if a meeting were arranged for next year, we think the time might be either the middle of June or the beginning of October. Before however proceeding any further, we should be glad to know your own views as to the most suitable date. I am sending a similar telegram to other Prime Ministers.

Baldwin. Ends.

(SGD.) SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

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COPY OF CODE TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

OTTAWA,

8th January 1926.

As to the date of the next Imperial Conference, it is evident that the present parliamentary position in Canada makes it impossible to undertake to send representatives to a conference in June of this year, and very uncertain whether they could be sent in October. So far as Canada is concerned, early in October, 1927, would at present appear the most convenient time, pending announcement by all the other Governments concerned of the dates they would prefer.

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COPY OF TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

LONDON,

CODE

February 4th 1926.

Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister: Begins:-

I have brought before the Cabinet your message of January 8th and the question of the date of the next Imperial Conference has now been further considered. As you will have seen, general view of the Government of the other Dominions and of India is in favour of a Conference in October 1926, and this view is shared by the Cabinet here. In these circumstances would you concur in an announcement being made that it is intended to hold an Imperial Conference in October 1926. I am repeating this telegram to other Dominions.

Baldwin. Ends.

(SGD) SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS.

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COPY OF TELEGRAM

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

CODE.

LONDON,

February 15th, 1926.

My telegram of February 4th. Please inform your Prime Minister that the Prime Minister would be grateful for early reply to his message as to the date of the next Imperial Conference.

(SGD.) SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS.

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C 64192

COPY OF CODE TELEGRAM

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR DOMINION AFFAIRS

FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

OTTAWA,

19th February, 1926.

Following from Prime Minister for your Prime Minister.
Begins:

Your telegram of February 15th with reference to Imperial Conference received. As between the two years suggested in your telegram of December 21st for holding the Conference, 1927 would undoubtedly, as previously indicated, be more suitable from Canada's point of view. In consequence, however, of your statement of February 4th that the general view of the governments of the other Dominions and of India is in favor of a Conference in October, 1926, and that this view is shared by the British Cabinet, the Canadian Government is prepared to concur in the proposal to set October, 1926, as the date of the Conference.

ENDS.

(SD.) GOVERNOR GENERAL.

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(Mackenzie King)

C 64193

SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

I do not propose at this time to discuss its proceedings or recommendations in any detail. The Summary of Proceedings has been laid on the Table and will be available for the use of members very shortly; the appendices to the Summary, containing the full reports of Committees and sub-committees will be laid on the table as rapidly as the compilation can be completed and copies will be available shortly thereafter. When time for consideration has been given, I believe it will be the wish of Parliament to take a suitable occasion and adequate time for the discussion of the work and recommendations of the Conference.

wide range of work

The Conference in plenary sessions and in committees and sub-committees covered a very wide range of questions of inter-imperial interest. Trade, migration and settlement, airship and airplane developments and routes, cable and wireless communication, research and social legislation, defence, were all considered and many avenues of approach and settlement were explored; the proceedings and recommendations on these subjects will, I think, prove helpful to every part of the Empire.

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The question of inter-imperial relations and of the conduct of relations with foreign countries early assumed special importance and was referred to a Prime Minister's Committee under the presidency of Lord Balfour, while a specially difficult ~~pixx~~ phase of the subject, that of treaty procedure was referred to a sub-committee with Mr. Lapointe as Chairman. The outcome of their deliberations appears in the special report on inter-imperial relations. It was the unanimous conclusion of the Committees and the Conference that the principle of full equality of status afforded the only possible basis of enduring union among the several members of the Commonwealth and that the time had come for considering how far the form and practice of inter-imperial and foreign relations fell short of this principle and how these anomalies might best be removed accordingly as the conditions and wishes of the several Dominions required. I believe, and I am only repeating the opinion held by the representatives of all the governments present, that their recommendations go far to achieve these ends, and by making clear and open the path to complete self-government in matters external as well as internal, go far also to ensure the permanent union and the effective cooperation of all His Majesty's domains.

There is nothing revolutionary, in a sense there is nothing new and nothing final in the recommendations of the

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Conference in this respect. In method, as well as in direction and goal, the Conference sought to follow the precedents set in the generations which have labored to make the British Commonwealth of Nations what it is, the outstanding instance in all history of the reconciliation of Empire with liberty and of union of purpose with freedom of decision. Each step is based on previous experience; freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent.

In large part the recommendations merely register and clarify developments which have already taken place, but even in that case it is desirable not only for our own purposes but in order to avoid misunderstanding or friction in dealing with foreign countries to have a definite statement of the position which has been attained. In other instances new methods or at least methods not yet accepted and applied are proposed, and an honest attempt made to clear away or to make it possible to clear away the existing ambiguities and anomalies in our inter-imperial and international position.

At this stage I will add only one further word, and that is my conviction that more important than any specific recommendations of the Conference was the unanimous goodwill and sincere appreciation of different problems and points of view which marked its deliberations, and the evidence xxx that was given of the common standards, the common heritage, the

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common will of the representatives from all the Seven Seas. In that goodwill and that common background and in the increased understanding which such Conferences make possible, is found the strongest indication and assurance, so far as merely political and governmental actions can go, of the enduring success of this unprecedented British Commonwealth of Nations.

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(Mackenzie King)

C 64197

I. Re Deliberate Misrepresentation of my Statement concerning the significance of Imperial Conference

A charter of freedom "wrested from the British Govt."
" " " " acknowledged by the British Govt. and all the Govts. of Empire.

Misrepresentation started by Cahan (St.Lawrence & St.George)
taken up by a section of Press
& repeated in utterance in this debate.

Most glaring example - Guthrie(Leader of Opposition) - A
Not permitting his own mis-statement to be corrected

My statement B

What was said -

Empire Parliamentary Association dinner, House of Lords	Exhibit	C
Statement of Baldwin	"	D
Statement of Cahan	"	E
Statement of "Spectator"	"	F
Statement of Amery (Constitutional Club)	"	G

Real significance -

Equality of Status vs. Imperial control & Colonial subordination

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II. re FORMAL APPROVAL OF REPORT BY PARLIAMENT

Cahan bases contention report should receive formal approval on 3 grounds.

1. Statement of Prime Minister, Dec. 13, 1926
2. Precedent set in June 1926 - when Govt. sought parliamentary approval of 1923 Resolutions on Treaties.
3. P.M. no right to speak for the people of Canada at Imperial Conference,

   P.M. no right to bind the people of Canada to fundamental principles embodied in report.

REPLY

1. Statement of Prime Minister, Dec. 13, 1926

Was thinking only of Canada, & of general agreement expressed by all who attended Conference.

Never thought there would be a division

Would welcome division so far as this parliament concerned, if effect ended there.

Larger considerations

i. of effect on other parts of Empire
" " foreign countries

ii. of example of Great Britain & other Dominions.

British practice re Foreign Affairs & Inter-Empire affairs

To compel adoption of Report by resolution -
- to invite formal division if not wholly acceptable.
Unwilling to divide House on matter of inter-imperial policies

. . Stressed in speech - would seek to avoid party controversy & follow example other parts of Empire.

Appeal to Guthrie to withdraw amendment -
Has served purpose of debate.

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Reply

2. Re Precedent set in June, 1926

Only part of report submitted for approval - re treaties

Note Conference 1923; - Approval 1926

Note new " 1926 - Question of treaties on agenda.

Desire to obtain expression of approval of Govts.

Policy requiring approval of treaties by Canadian parliament before Canada bound.

Also formal approval Conference proposals which were an endorsation Lib. Govt's policy in negotiating treaties.

3. Re Right of P.M. to speak for Canadian people

Same right as P.M. of Great Britain
" " " " Australia, New Zealand.

Special right given by Electorate in election 1926

Constitutional right

Recognized practice in negotiations on inter-imperial & foreign affairs.

What would attitude of Opposition have been

(i) Had I declined to attend Conference

(ii) " " not sought agreement with others

(iii) " " openly disagreed.

Attitude of Opposition, foster divisions within Empire

Cahan - "Policy of disruption and destruction"

= his attitude. Attitude of Opposition

Note. Guthrie a party to -
says he believes in equality of status

" Baldwin, Bruce, Coates, etc. party to

" Lord Balfour & others " "

All British Govt. " "

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C 64200

Cahan re GOVERNOR GENERAL

Misrepresentation of my position

that I had said, I "would hold office till some one could be found to carry on an Administration"

Words had reference, not till some one could be found to carry on but to time sufficient to satisfy mind that constitutional course of procedure was to accept advice of ministry re Dissolution,

Whole argument was that no one could be found who would carry on.

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C 64201

The amendment unnecessary

Statement has been made Parliament not bound by report

" " is misleading

Conveys the impression that something is being done by the report which was never, and is not, contemplated.

" " " vexatious

Calculated to occasion an acrimonious debate in Canada, where none should arise.

" " " injurious

to unity of feeling throughout Empire which Conference helped to create. Note reception in Africa, Ireland.

" " " calculated to convey entirely wrong impression as to character of report of present Conference and of previous reports as binding upon Governments and parliaments.

Govt. is not bound by previous reports.
Most can be said, cited as expression of view by representatives of Govts. assembled in London.

" " " political

creates bad precedent with respect to discussion of imperial relations in this parliament.

Reason decision reached not to present report for adoption. Follow example of other parliaments of Empire - Westminster

tends to create political cleavage.

Will be prejudicial to discussion at future conferences.

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POOR
COPY

C 64202

That all the words after "that" in the motion be struck out and the following inserted in lieu thereof:

That it is not desirable that this House should be deemed tacitly to have acquiesced in the declarations and recommendations contained in the report of the proceedings of The Imperial Conference 1926.

That in the opinion of this House the proceedings of the recent Imperial Conference and the declarations and recommendations contained in the report of the Imperial Conference Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations should not be binding upon the Parliament of Canada until approved by a formal resolution of this House; and that until such approval is obtained this Government shall not be deemed to be authorized to take any steps to carry into effect the recommendations contained in said report;

That it is also the opinion of this House that no amendments should be procured to the British North America Acts to give effect to said report or otherwise, which would affect the rights, powers or privileges of all or any of the provinces of Canada, as they now exist under the terms of said Acts, unless the same are first approved by the legislature of each of the provinces of Canada.

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POOR
COPY

C 64202

That all the words after "that" in the motion be struck out and the following inserted in lieu thereof:

Par I

That it is not desirable that this House should be deemed tacitly to have acquiesced in the declarations and recommendations contained in the report of the proceedings of The Imperial Conference 1926. — if moved will imply House had tacitly acquiesced in declaration + recommendation of previous report: seeing there has been no formal resolution to contrary or in this case.

Par II

That in the opinion of this House ~~that~~ the proceedings of the recent Imperial Conference and the declarations and recommendations contained in the report of the Imperial Conference Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations should not be binding upon the Parliament of Canada until approved by a formal resolution of this House; and that until such approval is obtained this Government shall not be deemed to be authorized to take any steps to carry into effect the recommendations contained in said report; — many steps matters of procedure to secure Similarity of procedure like standards etc throughout empire. — will create difficulties with other parts — more because different from rest

Par III

That it is also the opinion of this House that no amendments should be procured to the British North America Acts to give effect to said report or otherwise, which would affect the rights, powers or privileges of all or any of the provinces of Canada, as they now exist under the terms of said Acts, unless the same are first approved by the legislature of each of the provinces of Canada.

W. Amdt. to B.N.A. act should be dealt with by Memorandum

Report amendment - on ground of being unnecessary. establishing a bad precedent re imperial affairs creates wrong impression in other parts Empire — being a political amendment — should be withdrawn. with as perfunctory & futile confirmation

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C 64203

re AMENDMENT

Appeal to Guthrie to withdraw

Purpose served - debate

no need to divide.

House agreed

1. On equality of status

2. Constitution of Canada

as rights secured thereunder in no way affected.

3. Nothing binding

statement of principles
Procedure -
Anything requiring legislation would require parliament's sanction.

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C 64204

May or June 1927?

(Mackenzie King:-)

Both reference to yesterday.

I have come to the conclusion that you were not only right in not bringing in Government resolution re Imp. Conf at this time but that had such a resolution now would have been ~~fatal~~ opposed to our idea of parliamentary responsibility—

We should have had the spectacle of 2 members of the government, without sanction of their mandate from parliament, expressing opinions at the Imperial Conference and then by means of the Party majority forcing the thing through the House—

This would have established a dangerous precedent giving such a power to two members of the government—

We should discuss this report in best parliamentary manner, clause by clause— You may [H.B. Ashead] the Cabinet with the idea of a H.B. Ashead Govt resolution is entirely wrong. Im Convinced—

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C 64206

Section IX (File 6)

Imperial Conference 1926

CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW 1926-27

Chapter "FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION AND POLITICS"

Pp. 62-69

The Report of the Imperial Conference was the subject of discussion in the House of Commons upon two occasions, during the debate on the Address and later on an occasion set aside specifically for the discussion of the Imperial Conference Report. Mr. Guthrie's criticisms regarding equal status of countries of the British Empire, the position of the Governor-General, the Canadian constitution, etc. are quoted in part; together with Mr. King's replies.

The debate closed on April 5 (1927) when Mr. King made a further statement. The main feature of his speech at this time was his explanation as to why the Government had altered its intention of asking Parliament to approve the Report of the Conference. Mr. King said:

> "When I made that statement (that he intended to ask the approval of Parliament) in the course of the debate on the Address, honourable gentlemen opposite had been indicating an adverse attitude towards the Report. I was speaking in the spirit of the leader of a party who is conscious of his position, and when I stated that I was prepared to bring that Report in here and have its adoption moved in the House, I will admit frankly that I was not giving the consideration which I perhaps should have given at that moment to the effect that that particular course might have outside of this House and outside of this country. I was not thinking sufficiently, I will frankly admit, of the possible effect in South Africa, in Ireland, in New Zealand, in Australia, in India and in the British Parliament, of a division in this Parliament and of the kind of debate which we have already had over this amendment; nor had I then given as much thought as I have since given to the course of procedure adopted in the other Parliaments of the Empire."

He also dealt with the effect of the I mperial Conference Memorandum upnn the British North America Act. "It has been stated over and over again," he said, "that the position so far as the British North America Act is concerned is now exactly the same as before the Conference was held, and there is no need of discussing that Act on an amendment bearing upon the Report of this Conference. The Conference was held in October and November of last year, and today the British North America Act is in exactly the same position it was in last September; it stands in exactly the same position, so far as the people of Canada are concerned, as it stood before the Conference."

The division on the Guthrie amendment took place on Apr. 5, when the amendment was defeated by 122-78. The Liberal-Progressives and Labour members present all voted with the Government. With the Opposition voted six Farmer members sitting to the left of the Speaker.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

1926

INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

TREATY PROCEDURE SUB-COMMITTEE.

REPORT, PROCEEDINGS AND MEMORANDA.

E. (I.R./26/T.P.) Series.

(WITH SUBJECT INDEX)

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.
TREATY PROCEDURE SUB-COMMITTEE.

E. (I.R./26/T.P.) Series.

Report, Proceedings and Memoranda.

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C 64209

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. December 1926.

SECRET. Copy No. 5

E. (I.R./26/T.P.) 3.

Final.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

REPORT.

THE attached Report of the Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee was signed by the Chairman on the 16th November, 1926, and was circulated to the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee on that date.

(Signed) H. F. BATTERBEE.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 18, 1926.

SECRET.

E. (I.R./26) 10.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

REPORT.

THE Sub-Committee begs to report that it has been found desirable to give further consideration to the relations of the various parts of the British Empire in connection with the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties.

The Resolutions of the Conference of 1923 relating to the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties are found on most points to embody useful rules for the guidance of Governments. As they become more thoroughly understood and established, they will prove effective in practice.

Some phases of treaty procedure have been examined in greater detail in the light of experience in order to consider to what extent the Resolutions of 1923 may with advantage be supplemented.

Negotiation.

It was agreed in 1923 that any of the Governments of the Empire contemplating the negotiation of a treaty should give due consideration to its possible effect upon other Governments, and should take steps to inform Governments likely to be interested of its intention.

This rule should be understood as applying to any negotiations which any Government intends to conduct, so as to leave it to the other Governments to say whether they are likely to be interested.

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When a Government has received information of the intention of any other Government to conduct negotiations, it is incumbent upon it to indicate its attitude with reasonable promptitude. So long as the initiating Government receives no adverse comments, and so long as its policy involves no active obligations on the part of the other Governments, it may proceed on the assumption that its policy is generally acceptable. It must, however, before taking any steps which might involve the other Governments in any active obligations, obtain their definite assent.

Where by the nature of the treaty it is desirable that it should be ratified on behalf of all the Governments of the Empire, the initiating Government may assume that a Government which has had full opportunity of indicating its attitude and has made no adverse comments will concur in the ratification of the treaty. In the case of a Government that prefers not to concur in the ratification of a treaty unless it has been signed by a plenipotentiary authorised to act on its behalf, it will advise the appointment of a plenipotentiary so to act.

Form of Treaty.

Some treaties begin with a list of the contracting countries, and not with a list of Heads of States. In the case of treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations, adherence to the wording of the Annex to the Covenant for the purpose of describing the contracting party has led to the use in the preamble of the term "British Empire," with an enumeration of the Dominions and India if parties to the Convention, but without any mention of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Colonies and Protectorates. These are only included by virtue of their being covered by the term "British Empire." This practice, while suggesting that the Dominions and India are not on a footing of equality with Great Britain as participants in the treaties in question, tends to obscurity and misunderstanding and is generally unsatisfactory.

As a means of overcoming this difficulty, it is recommended that all treaties (other than agreements between Governments), whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not, should be made in the name of Heads of States, and if the treaty is signed on behalf of any or all of the Governments of the Empire, the treaty should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire. The British units on behalf of which the treaty is signed should be grouped together in the following order: Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India. A specimen form of treaty as here recommended is attached as an appendix to this report.

In the case of a treaty applying to only one part of the Empire, it should be stated to be made by the King on behalf of that part.

The making of the treaty in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire will render superfluous the inclusion of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King. In this connection it must be borne in mind that the question was discussed at the Arms Traffic Conference in 1925, and that the Legal Committee of that Conference laid it down that the principle to which this foregoing sentence gives expression underlies all international conventions.

In the case of some international agreements, the Governments of different parts of the Empire may be willing to apply between themselves some of the provisions as an administrative measure. In this case, they should state the extent to which, and the terms on which, such provisions are to apply. Where international agreements are to be applied between different parts of the Empire, the form of a treaty between Heads of States should be avoided.

Full Powers.

The plenipotentiaries for the various British units should have full power, issued in each case by the King on the advice of the Government concerned, indicating and corresponding to the part of the Empire for which they are to sign. It will frequently be found convenient, particularly where there are some parts of the Empire on which it is not contemplated that active obligations will be imposed, but where the position of the British subjects belonging to these parts will be affected, for such Governments to advise the issue of full powers on their behalf to

the plenipotentiary appointed to act on behalf of the Government or Governments mainly concerned. In other cases provision might be made for accession by other parts of the Empire at a later date.

Signature.

In the cases where the names of countries are appended to the signatures in a treaty, the different parts of the Empire should be designated in the same manner as is proposed in regard to the list of plenipotentiaries in the preamble to the treaty. The signatures of the plenipotentiaries of the various parts of the Empire should be grouped together in the same order as is proposed above.

The signature of a treaty on behalf of a part of the Empire should cover territories for which a mandate has been given to that part of the Empire, unless the contrary is stated at the time of the signatures.

Coming into force of Multilateral Treaties.

In general, treaties contain a ratification clause and a provision that the treaty will come into force on the deposit of a certain number of ratifications. The question has sometimes arisen in connection with treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League whether, for the purpose of making up the number of ratifications necessary to bring the treaty into force, ratifications on behalf of different parts of the Empire which are separate Members of the League should be counted as separate ratifications. In order to avoid any difficulty in future, it is recommended that when it is thought necessary that a treaty should contain a clause of this character, it should take the form of a provision that the treaty should come into force when it has been ratified on behalf of so many separate Members of the League.

If the above recommendations are accepted, some convenient opportunity should be taken of explaining to the other Members of the League the changes which it is desired to make in the form of treaties and the reasons for which they are desired.

Signed on behalf of the Sub-Committtee,
(Signed) ERNEST LAPOINTE, *Chairman.*

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 16, 1926.

APPENDIX.

Specimen Form of Treaty.

The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King of (. . . . whatever title may be decided on with the concurrence of the Imperial Conference), Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Bulgaria, &c., &c.

.....

Desiring .....

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries :—

The President .....

.....

His Majesty the King of (title as above) :
for Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate Members of the League (of Nations),
AB.

for the Dominion of Canada,
CD.

for the Commonwealth of Australia,
EF.

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for the Dominion of New Zealand, *GH.*

for the Union of South Africa, *IJ.*

for the Irish Free State, *KL.*

for India, *MN.*

.....

who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

.....

.....

.....

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty :

AB .....
CD .....
EF .....
GH .....
IJ .....
KL .....
MN .....

(or if the territory for which each Plenipotentiary signs is to be specified :

(for Great Britain, &c.) ..... *AB.*
(for Canada) ..... *CD.*
(for Australia) ..... *EF.*
(for New Zealand) ..... *GH.*
(for South Africa) ..... *IJ.*
(for the Irish Free State) ..... *KL.*
(for India) ..... *MN.*)

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Printed for the Imperial Conference. December 1926.

SECRET. Copy No. 6

E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 1st Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Minutes of the First Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, on Thursday, October 28, 1926, *at* 4·30 P.M.

Present :

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Hon. J. G. LATHAM, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. D. T. CHADWICK, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department.

The following were also present :

Great Britain.

Mr. W. E. BECKETT, Assistant Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Union of South Africa.

Mr. D. STEYN, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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THE CHAIRMAN said that the first question to consider was whether the memorandum should be read or should be taken paragraph by paragraph.

MR. LATHAM queried the usefulness of going into the strictly legal aspect of this document when no decision with regard to the general policy had yet been come to and communicated to the Sub-Committee by the main Committee on which the Prime Ministers sat. This Committee had as yet no sailing directions.

MR. LAPOINTE said that at the Prime Ministers' Committee the principle of equality had been generally accepted, and, since this memorandum seemed to be directed towards the application of the principle of equality in the form of treaties, it seemed to be possible to consider it on that basis.

GENERAL HERTZOG said that we must start on the assumption that we all stand on a basis of equality, and, as he understood it, the memorandum E. 104 explained in what respects the existing procedure in drawing up the form of treaties did not give expression to the accepted principle. The Sub-Committee was here to consider whether the changes proposed would be more indicative of complete equality. All were agreed at the Committee that equality of the parts of the Empire was the only basis on which to proceed.

MR. LATHAM accepted this basis.

SIR CECIL HURST then explained the genesis of the memorandum. During the three years since the meeting of the last Imperial Conference an appreciable number of international conferences had taken place at which all parts of the Empire had been represented. Once or twice questions had arisen between the British delegations as to various technical matters, *e.g.*, the precise formula to be used in the preamble, the order of signatories, &c. The present paper was an attempt to deal with these technical points, not based on any new orientation of policy, but upon the agreed principle of equality of status. It was based on the desire to eliminate points of friction and not an attempt to alter policy.

MR. COSTELLO said that he was prepared to discuss the legal aspect of paper E. 104, but not questions of policy. It was agreed to proceed on this basis.

SIR C. HURST, on the invitation of the Chairman, explained several points. He said that the Foreign Office considered that there were points in the present procedure that were unsatisfactory from the point of view both of the Dominions and of Great Britain. The origin of the whole difficulty was really the peculiar form which the Annex to the Covenant took, as explained in the footnote on page 1 of the memorandum. No mention was here made of Great Britain as such. The only heading under which Great Britain came in was that of the British Empire. The Dominions thus came into any treaty under their own names, whereas Great Britain was not mentioned as such at all, but only participated by a share in the general term "British Empire," which covered all the Dominions as well.

This was unsatisfactory from the Great Britain point of view because it left the position obscure, and from the Dominion point of view because it made it appear as though Great Britain were the whole British Empire. The scheme adopted in the memorandum was to retain the expression "British Empire," because it was used in the Covenant and also because it was necessary to retain in treaties some general expression covering the whole of the territories which acknowledged the King as their political Head in order to make it plain that the different parts of the King's territories which were signatories to treaties stood in a different relation to each other than they stood towards other States. On the other hand, as could be seen by reference to Annex II, it was proposed to eliminate the confusion to which he had referred by inserting after the words "British Empire," the expression "Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and India."

SIR FRANCIS BELL called attention to paragraph 9 of the memorandum and pointed out that it was an important part of the scheme that the advantages of economic preference mentioned in that paragraph should be maintained.

GENERAL HERTZOG asked if the same desiderata could not be achieved by substituting for the words in paragraph 1 of Annex II the words "the Associated Members of the British Empire—Great Britain and Northern Ireland

and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, &c." The form suggested in paragraph 1 of Annex II was possibly open to objection in that it suggested that the British Empire contracted as an organic unity, whereas he was of opinion that the constituent parts of the British Empire were the contracting parties, while belonging to the British Empire.

SIR C. HURST said that it would be rather difficult to introduce the precise formula suggested by General Hertzog into the preamble of a treaty, as there would be a list of contracting States somewhat of the following character :—

Argentia, Bulgaria, The Associated Members of the British Empire—Great Britain and Northern Ireland, &c., China.

SIR F. BELL said that difficulty was caused by the fact that the term "British Empire" is used in the Covenant of the League.

GENERAL HERTZOG admitted that these difficulties existed, as we did not start with a clean slate.

SIR C. HURST observed that two questions were involved :—

(1.) The desirability of having at the head of a treaty some name to designate the international unity to which we all belong;

(2.) What name should be employed for the purpose if objection were raised to the term "British Empire."

In connection with the use of the term "British Empire," it was not a term of art, but it was commonly employed to cover all the different varieties of territory which owed allegiance to the King as common Sovereign. It must also be realised that any change might be held to necessitate an amendment to the Covenant and this was a matter which, since it required the assent of every member of the League, might involve great difficulties.

GENERAL HERTZOG said, with reference to the use of the term "British Empire" in paragraph 1 of Annex II, that the impression given by this use of the term was that the British Empire was an organic entity which could act by itself. It appeared as if the British Empire was the signatory. What was really meant was that the members of the British Empire were the signatories. The formula which he suggested, while avoiding this impression, indicated that the members of the British Empire signatories stood in a certain relation to one another. On this relationship their privilege as to trade preference was based.

MR. COSTELLO said that if "the British Empire" was used to symbolise the unity of all parts of the Empire, he thougth that that unity could be better symbolised by reference to the King. He proposed, with reference to paragraph 10 of the memorandum, that in the preamble the following formula should be employed :—

"His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the Irish Free State, Emperor of India;

A.B.

"His Majesty the King (repeat entire title as above).

C.D.

"His Majesty the King (repeat entire title as above).

E.F."

&c., &c.

MR. CHADWICK remarked that Mr. Costello had left no place for India in the British Empire as a separate Member of the League.

MR. COSTELLO replied that there would be room for India within the bracket. The formula he suggested would preserve the unity of the Empire, and at the same time make it clear that each of the contracting States was a separate entity acting on the advice of a separate set of Ministers. He concluded by observing that the expression "British Empire" should be defined as including only Great Britain, her colonies, protectorates and mandated territories.

SIR C. HURST said that he took it that this meant universalizing the principle embodied in Part II of paper E. 104 and applying it to League treaties as well as non-League treaties, *i.e.*, to governmental agreements as well as to treaties between

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Heads of States. If we could get all treaties made in the name of the King it would obviate the necessity of using the term "British Empire."

MR. COSTELLO replied that he thought his plan amounted to a little more than that, and he repeated his opinion that the term "British Empire" should be defined as including only Great Britain, her colonies, protectorates and mandated territories.

MR. LATHAM queried Mr. Costello's remark that the term "British Empire" should be given a technical, as apart from a popular, meaning.

GENERAL HERTZOG observed that, if the term "British Empire" had not got a technical meaning, it should not be used in a treaty.

MR. COSTELLO said that the term had been given a technical meaning when it was employed in the Covenant.

DR. SKELTON observed that the term "British Empire," as used in the Annex to the Covenant, covered the whole Empire, but its use in treaties had led to a number of practical difficulties and inconsistencies, *i.e.*, it was the British Empire in name but Great Britain in reality which paid the contribution of so many units to the League; it was the British Empire in name but Great Britain in reality which had representatives in the Assembly, &c., &c. If Great Britain was to be retained as a collective name, it was desirable that the present practice by which "British Empire" in fact means "Great Britain" should be abandoned. The first question was whether we were to endeavour to make the practice in the matter of treaties conform to the changing relationship of the different parts of the British Commonwealth, or to make them conform to certain inherited terminology, such as is found in the Annex to the Covenant. There was also the question of principle involved, whether this organisation to which we all belong is to be considered one international unit or an association of international units.

MR. LATHAM said that he had some suggestions to make to this meeting, but no conclusions. (The Chairman said that that was clearly understood.) He was merely thinking aloud, and on this basis he suggested that in treaties the term "British Empire" should only be used in the case where a treaty was made for the whole of the British Empire in the territorial sense of all the areas of the world which, in whatever form, acknowledged the sovereignty of the King; but in treaties where some parts only of the Empire were concerned, the form might be as follows: "Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Canada (as parts of the British Empire)." As to treaties made in the name of the King, he suggested that the form might be as follows:—

"The King, &c., &c. . . . . for Canada . . . . by *A.B.*
"The King, &c., &c. . . . . for Australia . . . . by *C.D.*"
&c., &c.

SIR C. HURST observed that Mr. Latham's suggestion that when only one part of the British Empire made a treaty it should be in the form of "Canada, as part of the British Empire," possessed considerable advantages, for if at a subsequent date another part of the Empire desired to become party to the treaty by accession, its accession could also take the same form.

GENERAL HERTZOG said that Mr. Latham had made a suggestion which, in fact, came very near his own. He had, however, one very slight objection to make to it. Mr. Latham's formula amounted to saying that Canada made a treaty as part of the British Empire, whereas his own formula was that Canada, being a part of the British Empire, made a treaty.

MR. LATHAM said that in this respect his formula conveyed exactly the idea which he intended. Moving to another matter, he called attention to paragraph 19 of the memorandum, in which it was suggested that a joint statement should be made to the League, and said that at first sight he was disposed to think that there were considerable dangers in that course. He thought that what they had to do was to agree to a formula and adopt it.

SIR FRANCIS BELL agreed.

SIR C. HURST said that the exchange of views had been very interesting, and that it appeared that there was a general consensus of opinion that some comprehensive term was required which would cover the whole Empire, whether it took

the form of the King's title or some other designation, such as "the British Empire," or a synonym, in order to make it plain that the States who were members of the Empire stood in a different relation to each other than towards other States. The different parts of the Empire contract on the footing that they belong to a larger political group in addition to having their own separate political entity. His personal view was that it was desirable that the term "British Empire" should be preserved as the designation of the whole territorial group which looked up to the King as its political Head. Moreover, the use of the term was of advantage, inasumch as it was employed in the Covenant of the League.

It was agreed that Mr. Harding should endeavour to arrange with SIR M. Hankey for a further early meeting of the Committee.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
October 30, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 2nd Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of the Second Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, on Monday, November 1, 1926, *at* 3 P.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Hon. J. G. LATHAM, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. W. E. BECKETT, Assistant Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Union of South Africa.

Mr. D. STEYN, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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GENERAL HERTZOG: I think we ought to come to clearness as to what we have to do and what we are going to do. Now, it seems to me that the first thing of importance is to correct the form or forms which are in use to-day and which do not give satisfaction. That is No. 1. No. 2 is that the object of that is to bring these corrections more into harmony with what is accepted by the various States or the signatories of the States. Then, when we have done so, I take it that the whole will require some more consideration than probably we can give to it on this Committee. True, later on it will be brought before the Plenary Conference, but, I speak subject to what Sir Cecil may say—it seems to me that he and other lawyers would like to have time to consider the whole question, because, I take it, we may go through something that might need a closer investigation later on, and it may prove that the effect of what we suggest here may reveal that we have not been considering the whole as completely as was intended. This is all I have to say at present as to procedure, namely, that the object of that is to get into harmony on general principles adopted by us and accepted by us. I would like to get the legal opinion of our Law advisers later, when I go back to South Africa, so as to remove all anomalies. What we do here must not be considered as final.

SIR CECIL HURST: I must say, if I may express a view, that it would be a great advantage to the Committee to take this document and discuss it paragraph by paragraph without in the least assuming that such discussion will be regarded as having committed or commits any Government represented here to acceptance of the lines on which it is drawn up. This document has this advantage, that it is an attempt to deal on a coherent basis with the problem as a whole. Assuming that our task is that we have got to correct the systems that are at present in use for signing treaties because they do not give satisfaction, we must all be clearly at one to know in what respect the existing forms fail to give satisfaction. It may well be that the representatives of particular Governments are satisfied with one aspect which dissatisfies another Government, and I think the discussion of this document would be useful to clear up the position and to see what points in the existing system give dissatisfaction in particular quarters. Then we shall be in a much better position to correct the system.

GENERAL HERTZOG: That is exactly what I want.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I should like to have the view of General Hertzog, who was present at the Conference with Mr. Latham the other day. Is it not probable that our discussion here may lead to results which will be in conflict with what you and the Prime Ministers are discussing—a question quite relevant to this—in another room? If you say that it is not probable that this discussion can conflict in its results with matters of similar import which you are discussing in another room, then I am content, but I confess I was very much impressed by what Mr. Latham said at our proceedings on the first day, that we are really discussing here a question which touches and is very near some of the questions, the constitutional relation of the Empire and the title thereof, in another room. I would like to have General Hertzog's opinion on that point. He is the only one present at both Conferences.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I would answer that question by saying that there is, of course, a possibility—but I do not think even that there is a probability—of clashing. We can only see that when we come to deal with the different paragraphs. I think the best would be, then, when we come to discuss a paragraph and an alteration is required in the light of the other documents, then I take it—as Sir Cecil said—that this can always be done so as to bring them into harmony. I should be quite prepared to take this document paragraph by paragraph and let us then see what are our main difficulties, because the other difficulties are probably only as to form, as I do not think there is any difference of opinion between us, sitting here, as to the basis on which all this has to be placed.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: All I would say is that it seemed to me that you and Mr. Costello were making the question we were discussing not only a question of nomenclature and form, but an enumeration of certain principles which you wished to maintain and emphasise. If that was the trend of discussion, it seemed to me that it would be unsatisfactory to discuss here the matters which are being determined by a higher tribunal in another room.

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to a point on which there is a difference of principle, then we would probably understand one another better and the difference in principle will be more clearly defined.

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SIR FRANCIS BELL: You say it is a matter of form and words and of legal interpretation. That I am quite agreed on, that that is the basis on which we are to arrive at a conclusion; but I did not think that would satisfy the General, or Mr. Costello.

MR. LAPOINTE: We are all agreed on the equality of status.

MR. FITZGERALD: What Sir Francis Bell feels is what I felt when this Committee was set up. There is a political situation in this. I am not a legal man, but I think it is practically impossible to discuss without having present our own political point of view. I think there is nothing to do but to carry on the discussion, and when the political side comes in, then go into it.

MR. LATHAM: I raised this question at our first meeting, and the statement made by General Hertzog, who had been present at the meeting of the Prime Ministers, went far to remove the difficulties I then felt, because General Hertzog said that the object of this Committee was to devise an alteration in formula which would recognise the equality of the self-governing parts of the Empire. If that is the only problem before us—as I understood from what the General said was the case—it seems to me that we at our last meeting got very close to an agreement on the matter of formula, and I venture to express a doubt as to whether, if we are able to arrive at an agreement upon that matter, it being understood that that is the matter that is remitted to us, any good object is to be served by going through the memorandum paragraph by paragraph, which, in a long document such as this, it is quite impossible for us to redraft. I am sure that all of us who have had experience of affairs—as all of us sitting here have—will appreciate how impossible it is to redraft a document in such a gathering as this, and I venture to suggest for consideration whether we may not return to the suggestion made at the last meeting, when there was very little divergence—we largely appeared to be agreed upon practical questions—at least we were very near substantial agreement; and, if that is so, is it then desirable to set about a study of the document in what is, after all, a subordinate Committee, because, as Sir Francis Bell has said, many of the matters referred to in the document raise other subjects? I think we might readily agree upon a formula as to which we shall be able to report. If it is desired to show plainly in treaties how far each treaty binds each part of the Empire and to recognise in treaties equality of the different self-governing parts of the Empire—if that is what we want to do, I think we might do that without traversing the whole theory of the matter; in other words, without going through it paragraph by paragraph, which will take a very long time, and without very much in the way of practical results. After all, what we want are practical results, and are we not so close in our relations on what is wanted that it should be distinctly said in every treaty that this treaty is made on our side by the whole Empire, or a particular part of the Empire, and described in some way as a part of the Empire, because we all agree upor that, although our other views vary? May we not deal with our problem more directly than by discussing the whole theory of the matter here?

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SIR FRANCIS BELL: With reference to what Mr. Latham says, it is true that the discussion tended towards something like the ascertainment of a formula, but it certainly tended to the exclusion of the expression "British Empire." Now, in New Zealand we attach more importance to the retention of that expression apparently than possibly some other Dominions do. I am satisfied that if it tends to that, and if we under any method exclude that expression, whatever it may mean, we shall ultimately not lead to an agreement outside this room.

MR. COSTELLO: Sir Francis' remarks were directed to something I said on the last day, and my suggestion was based on paragraph 10 of the memorandum. I certainly do not exclude specifically the expression "British Empire," but my proposition was to the effect that the expression "British Empire" should be given the same meaning in treaties and international documents as was given to it by Mr. Amery at the League of Nations last September twelvemonth. In other words, instead of being something which is intended to include Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Colonies, Dependencies and all the Dominions, it should be limited to the meaning given by Mr. Amery, namely, Great Britain, the Colonies, Dependencies and other British Possessions.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: That means there would be a formal document adopted which would exclude, say, New Zealand from being within the ambit of the British Empire. That is the real difficulty, Mr. Costello; it is much more than mere terminology. However, I am quite satisfied if you all think that advantage is to be obtained from continuing. Far be it from me——

MR. COSTELLO: If I understood, on the last occasion, as the result of our discussion, we were all more or less agreed that possibly this Committee was really set up on the basis of certain political hypotheses being accepted, and, as we did not want to continue merely with futility, the suggestion was made that we should discuss the document, give our own explanations and hear Sir Cecil Hurst's; and that, having got those explanations, any of us who wished should put forward specific suggestions as to the form which the various treaties should take. I can see no difficulty whatsoever in going on that basis to-day.

SIR CECIL HURST: Perhaps I might remaind the Committee that at the Assembly to which Mr. Costello refers, I think Mr. Amery was referring to the interpretation of the phrase "British Empire" more or less for the purposes of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and he was referring to that only.

GENERAL HERTZOG: One thing is very clear, that, if we are to come to an agreement that is going to mean anything, we must be quite at liberty to discuss any question at this table—we must understand one another.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Of course.

GENERAL HERTZOG: It is for that reason that I say let us take it paragraph by paragraph. If we do not agree, we do not agree; but if we agree we may come to some conclusions.

MR. FITZGERALD: Mr. Amery's definition referred actually to League treaties.

MR. HARDING: I do not think so; I think it was just a definition of the description of the representative who sat in the seat labelled "British Empire" at the Assembly.

MR. LATHAM: By reason of the fact that the Dominions were mentioned separately in the Annex to the Covenant.

MR. FITZGERALD: Supposing Great Britain signs a League of Nations convention alone?

MR. HARDING: Perhaps I had better leave Sir Cecil Hurst to deal with that, but when Great Britain signs a League of Nations convention alone, steps have to be taken to make it clear in respect of what part of the British Empire, to use an accepted term, it is signing.

MR. FITZGERALD: Is not that done merely by an exclusion clause, such as Article 9 of the Treaty of Locarno?

SIR CECIL HURST: That is not a very common thing.

MR. FITZGERALD: How would it be done?

SIR CECIL HURST: By a declaration attached to the signature. I cannot call to mind the circumstances under which Mr. Amery's pronouncement was made, but I expect it to have been in connection with a difficulty that is constant, so far as we are concerned, at Geneva, because, there being no mention of Great Britain in the Annex to the Covenant, there is no member of the League which covers the political unit whose centre of government is in London except as described by the words "British Empire"; and, unless we are to be excluded altogether from the discussions and participation in the work of the League at Geneva, we can only come in under the label "British Empire." We pay contribution, as Dr. Skelton pointed out the other day; as the contribution of the British Empire, we sit in a seat labelled "British Empire"; if we vote, we vote under the name of "British Empire," and it is for that kind of participation in the actual working of the League at Geneva that we have to say for this purpose that we really are Great Britain; otherwise we could not do anything; we could not vote in the election of a Chairman of a Committee; we could not pay our contribution except in company with all the Dominions, all of whom we regard as covered by the term "British Empire."

MR. FITZGERALD: You mention various occasions when that occurs, but does it not also occur when you sign a convention of the League of Nations?

SIR CECIL HURST: It would, unless we took steps to exclude that from the operation of the phrase.

MR. FITZGERALD: Which exclusion would that be; excluding the Dominions from being included in it?

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes.

MR. FITZGERALD: As Great Britain is a member of the League of Nations under the title "British Empire," when your representative signs, does not he sign as the British Empire, seeing that Great Britain, as Great Britain, under that name, is not a member of the League?

SIR CECIL HURST: It was your premise that, I think, really gives rise to the difficulty. Great Britain is not a member of the League under the term "British Empire"; the position is that "the British Empire" is the phrase given to some membership in the League, and Great Britain could only secure any representation at Geneva through claiming to be a part of the British Empire. It is the fact that she is only a part of the British Empire, and yet has to masquerade at Geneva as if she were the whole British Empire, that leads to the trouble we were trying to meet by the concrete suggestion set out in the paper.

MR. FITZGERALD: I may be somewhat stupid, but when you say Great Britain masquerades as the whole British Empire when she is only a part, she does not masquerade as the Dominions. When I said "Great Britain," I meant all those Colonies, Dependencies, Mandates, &c., which are associated with Great Britain to a greater or less extent, governed from London. Is not that the unit which is the member of the League of Nations?

SIR CECIL HURST: I wish it were.

MR. FITZGERALD: That is the definition that was given by Mr. Amery at a meeting which, you may remember, that arose from a statement of yours and another statement by Mr. Kevin O'Higgins.

SIR CECIL HURST: I remember the meeting well, but I had forgotten the statement Mr. Amery made.

MR. FITZGERALD: The statement which he made, according to my memory —and I think I remember pretty well—was that the unit indicated by the term "British Empire" in League of Nations matters was Great Britain, its Colonies, Dependencies, Mandates, &c.

SIR CECIL HURST: If Mr. Amery made any such statement, I think he could not have realised at the moment the full implication of the words he was using. I quite agree, as Dr. Skelton pointed out, that there are certain purposes for which at Geneva we have to make use of the term "British Empire," as, for instance, in the payment of our contribution, and so on, to the League. We exercise the right to vote.

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MR. LAPOINTE: Are there any purposes at Geneva for which the Dominions are included in the term "British Empire"?

SIR CECIL HURST: It is very difficult to answer that question with a precise yes or no that one would like to do, but, if you look at the actual form of the Covenant and the Annex to the Covenant of the League, I think you will see clearly what I mean. You see the way in which the words "British Empire" figure in the Covenant and in the Annex to the Covenant, and then you see the way in which the names of the Dominions and India follow after it, but set back in indentation, which implies clearly that it must have been the intention of the framers of that document that the term "British Empire" covered them, and yet they left out Great Britain.

MR. LAPOINTE: What becomes of the idea of separate representation if this is so, if we are already included in the term?

MR. LATHAM: Does it not mean that the British Empire as a whole is represented in the League, but that the Dominions are separately represented, and that has to be worked out somehow or other? It has been worked out at Geneva effectively, and I think successfully, up to the present, but it is our endeavour to mark that idea that the British Empire as a whole is represented, but for League purposes the Dominions act separately.

MR. LAPOINTE: You mean we are already represented by the representatives that sit for the British Empire?

MR. LATHAM: No, in the League not. That is a modification introduced in the League; but our own relations, I suggest, are not governed or determined by the particular form of the Annex to the Covenant; we can make it what we will, putting it shortly.

MR. FITZGERALD: You seem to imply that we are not included in the term "British Empire" in the League merely by virtue of our separate representation. In the event of Canada deciding to withdraw from the League of Nations, the list of members would be "the British Empire, Australia, New Zealand, &c."; there would be no mention of Canada. Would that mean that Canada was then included in the term "British Empire"? From the League of Nations point of view, I can only draw one interpretation from the phrase "British Empire" there, namely, that it has a definite connotation, "Great Britain, her dependencies," &c. An attempt to state otherwise lends colour to the American contention that we are one unit with seven votes.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I have before me an extract of a document, 1921, Imperial Conference documents, Vol. III, No. 6, drawn up by the Colonial Office, which, under the heading of foreign relations, purports to give the actual status of the Dominions. Now it says this in support of Mr. Fitzgerald's view, that Great Britain and each of the Dominions were separate States of the Commonwealth. What has always struck me from the very first day I saw the Covenant was, what does this mean? It really means that "British Empire" embraces all the others; but the misfortune is, if the term "British Empire" is to embrace us all, why did not the Covenant also mention Great Britain? Now, evidently, that document that I mentioned inferred from it that really the "British Empire" there stands for "Great Britain and the Colonies and Protectorates," but apparently that was not so. The interpretation placed upon the Covenant in the document is that in that section all that this term "British Empire" really stands for is "Great Britain."

SIR CECIL HURST: I cannot help thinking myself it is not only a mistake from the point of view of accuracy, but also a mistake from the point of view of political wisdom, that we should treat that term "British Empire" there as being the equivalent of Great Britain. If we were in a position to-day to redraw the terms of this Annex to the Covenant setting out the original members of the League of Nations, I feel convinced that what we should do would be to keep the arrangement there adopted; we should keep the term "British Empire," keep those Dominions, Canada, Australia, South Africa, but we should insert the words "Great Britain," &c., before the word "Canada," and we should have both the terms "British Empire" and the term "Great Britain."

MR. LAPOINTE: Nobody would sit for the British Empire?

SIR CECIL HURST: No, nobody would sit in the Assembly for the British Empire at all. Really, this document before you deals with the forms in which treaties should be drawn up, and is to a great extent an attempt to introduce in practice a formula which would be equivalent to what would happen if Great Britain had been mentioned in the way I suggest. Without claiming to be the British Empire, we should yet be able to participate in treaties as a political unit, contracting on the same footing that the Dominions contract. That, I believe, is what ought to be a satisfactory solution of the problem. That ensures both the status of equality, which is a fact, and it also infers that there shall be nothing in the forms adopted which implies either inequality or any insubordination. That is really what I think our proposals here come to.

MR. FITZGERALD: But a certain state of affairs has been deduced from the difference of alignment of "British Empire, Canada," &c. I think the importance of Great Britain really puts an entity called "the British Empire" as a member of the League, separate from Canada, Australia, &c. You do not agree with that, Sir Cecil?

SIR CECIL HURST: Frankly, I do not agree, and I think it is very disadvantageous to take that line, because you get something which implies inequality.

GENERAL HERTZOG: In the treaty there is only one High Contracting Party, the King, but it was signed not only by the Dominions, but specifically for the particular Dominions which they represented, while the Covenant of the League of Nations, which formed the first part of the treaty, made the British Empire, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India separate members of the League; so that, according to this document, the British Empire signed as a separate member of the League, and the only inference you can draw from that, remembering the circumstances of the drafting of this document, is that the British Empire stands for Great Britain. Otherwise Great Britain would not have a place in this document.

MR. LATHAM: Great Britain and the Colonies.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Certainly.

MR. LATHAM: It seems to me it is a difficult thing to arrive at any definite conclusion from the form of the Annex to the Covenant. It is apparent to all of us, surely, that perhaps not quite enough consideration was given—it would be impossible to do it in the circumstances of the case—to the side effects of the particular form adopted in the Annex, but have we not before us now a form which is perfectly definite and clear and which we can deal with without endeavouring to arrive at the true meaning of this Annex, the problem being to take the status of equality as recognised? The treaty should show clearly who is bound by it. If those conditions are accepted as an hypothesis, have we not got a definite practical problem before us to devise a formula which will give effect to those hypotheses? I really suggest that we could go on discussing for a long time the meaning of this Annex to the Covenant without getting anywhere very much. It does not matter very much because we can make it mean what we want to from a practical point of view, and if we are all agreed—I think we all are—that it is a matter of equality——

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Agreed on what?

MR. LATHAM: Equality of status between the different self-governing portions of the Empire—if that is agreed—it is simply a matter of devising a new formula; if that is not agreed I do not think we can do anything.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I have not raised any question on that point, because it does not seem to me that it matters as to whether we agree upon equality or not.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I am very sorry to take up your time, but it seems to me that we are going to use certain terms. We must be agreed as to the true meaning to be attached to such a term. We must say if we are going to use the words "British Empire" and, if so, in what sense we are going to use them. Let us take just this. We have, for instance, the way in which the Treaty of the Covenant was signed. Great Britain was in it, and it includes also India. Now, here we have, as I take it, Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions; India is not included in this. We have, therefore, to do with the separate entities; India has been made a member of the League of Nations. So far as the League is

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concerned it is probably necessary, if we want to use the term inclusive of India, that we shall have to use the term differently from the term which we are going to use when we speak of ourselves exclusive of India—of Great Britain and the Dominions. Let me say that upon reading that document to which I have referred, it is curious that you see that the draftsman found himself compelled, it seems, not to use the words "British Empire," but to use the words "Commonwealth of Nations." It is evidently clear that he felt at once when he came to speak of the position of Great Britain and the Dominions that he could not apply the same term as was used in Geneva for the Covenant of the League for the same entities, but with India included. He had to deal with a narrower set of entities, and he almost constantly uses the words "Commonwealth of Nations" instead of "British Empire."

MR. LAPOINTE: You mean in this document.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I refer to the document, published in the discussions of the Imperial Conference of 1921, Volume III, No. 6. It was drafted by the Colonial Office, and amongst other things, purports to give the actual constitutional position of the Dominions. I am concerned that Sir Francis Bell should understand that I am out merely to find the right terms that will cover the conditions we deal with.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I accept that, and have never felt otherwise, but it seems to me it does not matter twopence whether we are equal or not. If Australia thinks she is not superior to New Zealand we are content with that, but if we had a treaty framed which would cover both of us it would not matter whether we are equal. You want to express something which it is impossible to express unless Australia admits "I am no better than New Zealand." If bodies of unequal status wanted to arrive at a common expression for the united body it would be just the same expression as for a combination of equal status.

MR. LATHAM: There is this distinction. There is the difference between the position of a self-governing Dominion which contracts on its own behalf, possibly, and I hope often, on a consensus with other self-governing parts of the Empire, and the position of a Colony or a Protectorate which does not contract on its own behalf, but the contract for which is made by the Government in London. That is the only point I see in relation to the matter of equality. It is the equality of right.

SIR CECIL HURST: May I say one thing, because I think it has a bearing, and I think it is a point I would like to make before you put in your remarks, as it has an effect on the paper you describe. I do not remember the paper or the context of the particular sentence, but I am confident that the framers of the Treaty of Versailles did not use the term "British Empire" in the sense of Great Britain and no more than Great Britain, because if you will refer to the preamble of the Treaty, the part of the Treaty which immediately precedes the Covenant, there you will see the term "British Empire" is used in a phrase which must have been intended to cover the whole of what we know as the British Empire, including the Dominions. Let me read to you the first two lines of the Treaty, the first two lines of the preamble. These give a list of the parties to the Treaty: "The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan." Then it goes on to the small States. There is no mention of the Dominions. Now each of the Dominions were parties to, and were bound by, the Treaty of Versailles, and the phrase "British Empire" covers the whole of the Empire. There is no mention of the Dominions.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I pointed that out because it rather struck me. My view always has been of this that the British Empire was not intended to mean Great Britain only; that the way in which it was used was really to indicate that these were a body of States more or less coherent, standing by themselves, but they used the words "British Empire" practically with two meanings. It was to indicate Great Britain there. It must have meant Great Britain, otherwise there was nobody to sign on behalf of Great Britain under the word "Empire," but at the same time they wanted to indicate the cohesion between the various States. Therefore they put it so. Your contention is also correct. It was intended by that word "Empire" to cover the Dominions, but it was really to my mind in the first place to give the expression to Great Britain as being a signatory to these. However, this is what I want to put to you, if I may say a word. At the Peace Conference the feeling of all being free and standing on a footing of equality made the Dominions insist that they came in as parties.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is to say they should be bound by their own signature.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Yes, and be recognised by foreign nations. They felt this; they did not want to give any impression here that there was to be a disintegration of the Empire, a practical disruption of the Empire; that is why they adopted that phrase. That being so, in one instance you have to deal with these eight Dominions, India included; that is all covered by the phrase "British Empire." It seems to me it will only lead to confusion if again we go and label "British Empire" another community consisting of seven Dominions with a different meaning, because with India added it is clear that the words "British Empire" cannot mean what it means when we are simply dealing with Great Britain and the Dominions all as self-governing entities. They are spoken of as "British Empire" in the Covenant of the League; should we not where all our attention is fixed upon doing something which will comply with their equal status and self-government, should we here not use a different term? I would make the suggestion that we use the words "Commonwealth of British Nations," then we know we are speaking of Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions. When we speak of the Empire, then we have a larger conception of the united States: Great Britain, the self-governing Dominions, India, Rhodesia, &c. I am here speaking as a legal man, and I want to be guided by Sir Cecil Hurst, but if it is going to assist us when we come to the draft treaty, the draft form of the treaty, we should take that into consideration, because the form of the treaty purports to be a form that shall be used for the self-governing Dominions and for Britain, not for India and for Rhodesia.

MR. SPENCE: May I say a word on behalf of India? May I respectfully suggest with reference to what General Hertzog has been saying, that it is practically true that India is not a self-governing Dominion, but when you are discussing formulæ in League treaties, the main point is that India is a separate member of the League; *qua* a separate member of the League India is in the same position as a Dominion. Is not that more important in this connection than the fact that she is not a self-governing Dominion?

GENERAL HERTZOG: I am glad my attention has been drawn to that, because, at any rate as far as League treaties are concerned, we shall have to get a formula which will include India and be applicable to India, but we are also dealing later on with non-League treaties. To my mind, the very fact that we have the two sets of circumstances means that we must have two different phrases.

MR. LAPOINTE: In non-League treaties we are not compelled to use any words such as "British Empire."

DR. SKELTON: A great deal of the difficulties seem to come from the use of a phrase which is a general loose term, "the British Empire," which is apparently taken to mean all the realms of His Majesty. We have tried to give it a precise definition. I do not see that any suggestion for redefining it wholly escapes some anomalies. If now, as General Hertzog suggests, we are to go on and introduce another term, "the British Commonwealth of Nations," and give it a definite, precise and legal meaning, I think we are going to have more difficulties. Is not a good deal of the difficulty owing to the fact that in League treaties the form followed involved giving a list of the contracting parties to begin with? I should like to ask Sir Cecil Hurst whether that is absolutely necessary; if it is not, a good deal of our difficulty will be got round. There is not so much difficulty when it comes to giving the name of His Majesty as the contracting Party. Why cannot we follow this form in League treaties as in non-League treaties.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not think there is any reason why we should not. That is a change of practice which it will be difficult to achieve, but fundamentally I do not see any reason why we should not. These formulæ which are now employed in what are known as League treaties, that is to say, treaties negotiated and concluded under the auspices of the League, have always followed the precedent set in the Treaty of Peace itself, and the Treaty of Peace itself began with a list not of the Heads of States, but of the actual Powers themselves. It begins with the words: "the United States of America, the British Empire, France," and so on. Those terms had always been used in the actual wording of the Peace Conference at Paris, and these are the names which are reproduced in the membership of the League, but I do not believe there is any reason whatever why we should not endeavour at Geneva

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or any future conference under the auspices of the League to try and secure that League treaties should in future be drawn up in accordance with the practice of setting out not the names of the States, but the names of the Heads of the States, that is to say to begin with, not the French Republic, but the President of the French Republic. If we can effect that change it will in many ways simplify our task.

MR. LAPOINTE: Shall we start reading? (*The Chairman then read paragraph 1 of Paper E.* 104.)

SIR CECIL HURST: I have brought down two actual specimens of what are known as League treaties, drawn up since the last Imperial Conference at Geneva or under the auspices of the League. There you see the actual form employed.

MR. LAPOINTE: It is so stated in Annex I, &c.: "The British Empire (with New Zealand), Austria, Belgium.

MR. FITZGERALD: Although in that form the words "British Empire (with New Zealand)" are used, that is not general by any means, that form including the word "with."

SIR CECIL HURST: I cannot say that there has never been a variation, but I think there have only been two. There is one mentioned at the bottom of Annex I, in the case of the Arms Traffic Convention.

MR. FITZGERALD: As far as any treaty we have been in is concerned, I do not remember having seen that bracket with the word "with."

SIR CECIL HURST: The Arms Traffic Convention was the first one in which that particular bracket did not appear.

MR. FITZGERALD: I do not remember having noticed that bracket before.

MR. LATHAM: Annex I, as appearing on page 9, presents the problem for our consideration. Annex I in the first line suggests that New Zealand and India are outside the British Empire because they are mentioned specifically.

SIR CECIL HURST: Or else it implies that we are not inside the treaty. It implies one or the other.

MR. LATHAM: The form at the foot of the page, "Belgium, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, the Irish Free State and India" puts a Dominion as much outside the British Empire as Bulgaria is. That presents the problem to us.

MR. FITZGERALD: It is also apparent from the top and the bottom of the page that in the opinion of the League the British Empire did not include New Zealand, but it did mean Great Britain, the Colonies, Dependencies, Mandates, &c.

SIR CECIL HURST: Which form are you referring to?

MR. FITZGERALD: I refer to the top one or the bottom one.

SIR CECIL HURST: I should have thought your criticism was more apt when applied to the bottom formula, if you mean this one in the footnote at the bottom of the page.

MR. FITZGERALD: It does not say with "Great Britain," and yet "Great Britain" is a party and is bound by the convention. Therefore, "Great Britain" and its dependencies is covered by the "British Empire." To my mind I think it is a fair deduction to say that in the eyes of the world the term "British Empire" means "Great Britain, the Colonies, Dependencies," &c., and equally so in the bottom paragraph, there is the entity party to the convention, therefore it is mentioned in it. The words "British Empire" are mentioned. The words "New Zealand" you have above, and "Canada, the Irish Free State and India," below.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I cannot say I appreciate what you mean when you say the "British Empire" *with* "New Zealand." If the brackets mean really to have the three included by the words "British Empire," ought it not to have said "Great Britain," "New Zealand," and "India," but it says the "British Empire," and then in brackets "together with."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It ought to be without the others. I must say, Sir Cecil, I think there is a great deal in what Mr. Fitzgerald is pointing out.

MR. FITZGERALD: I look at it there, and I know quite well "Canada" is not a party to that convention. "Great Britain" is, and "Ceylon," or whatever the other dependencies are.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It should have been "without Canada"—then it would be all right.

MR. FITZGERALD: As far as the Dominions are concerned, we come up against this mostly in regard to League matters. That is of overwhelming importance, and it is easier to arrange other things to suit that than *vice versâ*. "The British Empire," as used there, means a definite entity; and that entity is "Great Britain, the Colonies and Dependencies," and that entity is a member of the League.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You cannot argue from that formula that it ought to be so.

SIR CECIL HURST: On account of the difficulty of the situation there always has to be added to the signature of the man who signs on our behalf a declaration that his signature does not bind any Dominion which does not sign separately on its own behalf, so that, for instance, if Canada does not participate in a particular treaty we have to put something to make it quite clear that the signature of the man who signs for the purpose of covering this Government does not bind Canada.

MR. FITZGERALD: That is because there are two definitions of the term "British Empire."

SIR CECIL HURST: I agree, but don't you see, it is because of those inherent difficulties of the present situation that we lay these proposals before you. We want to find something that will get over them.

MR. FITZGERALD: I may say here perfectly frankly that when we want to speak of the whole entity we use the words "British Commonwealth." As far as our experience of international affairs goes, the usage of the League of Nations, the mere fact that Canada is there and gets elected to be President of the Council and so forth, the usage there has tended to create a definition for "British Empire." The older definition is much older, but we are against it; national pride so far as some of us are concerned tends that way and is a real thing that has to be considered. The definition created by usage in the instances we are most closely associated with has tended to apply the definition which I deduced from this, from my experience of the League that is the orientation of the phrase. I therefore think, and I put it very deferentially, there is a great deal to be said for facilitating things, to go with the tide. As far as our experience goes—your experience, of course, may be quite different, you have so much wider affairs than we have—we think it would be easier to create a state of affairs whereby it would not be necessary to say "excluding Canada," and so forth, than to go the other way and to recreate the old definition. I admit it exists still, that definition which, for the moment, I will call the obsolescent definition. Rather than recreate that, it seems to me it would be simpler to go with the tide.

SIR CECIL HURST: By the obsolescent definition you mean the idea that the "British Empire" covers the whole Commonwealth.

MR. FITZGERALD: There is no need for me to make a secret of the phrase we habitually use to describe the entity which is obsolescently described as the "British Empire"; it is "British Commonwealth."

SIR CECIL HURST: What would be the practical application you would give to that idea if it were adopted? Would you endeavour to secure an amendment under the terms of the Covenant?

MR. FITZGERALD: Of course you have to secure a number of amendments.

SIR CECIL HURST: I had hoped we should not have to secure any.

MR. FITZGERALD: For instance, we joined the League of Nations as the "Irish Free State," and I must say that is the label we like best; but there is a proposal that we should become a member of the League under a different title—the "British Empire (Irish Free State)."

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SIR CECIL HURST: I do not think so. The actual work at Geneva is one thing because there we are engaged in the day to day application of the Covenant; but when it comes to treaties, all we have been endeavouring to do is to try and find some formula which, on the one hand, indicates the union between the Empire and, on the other hand, indicates the complete right of every self-governing Dominion to contract for itself.

MR. FITZGERALD: In, for instance, the formula at the bottom here, ". . . . Belgium, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Irish Free State, and India, Bulgaria, ..." you may say that the unity is implied by the divergence from the alphabetical order.

SIR CECIL HURST: And the "and," which would be superfluous upon any other interpretation?

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes; personally I do not care for the "and."

SIR CECIL HURST: But it is there.

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SIR CECIL HURST: Assuming for a moment your formula is satisfactory, why is it not more satisfactory still to substitute for the term "British Empire," the term "Great Britain," or "Great Britain and other States not separately represented"?

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MR. FITZGERALD: Yes, roughly.

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SIR CECIL HURST: Apart from that difficulty, which we can meet by a little addendum after the term Great Britain, surely the formula I suggested as an alternative to the formula that you suggested does offer very great advantages: (1) that it is accurate, and (2) that it does clearly imply on paper the status of equality.

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SIR CECIL HURST: But still it implies equality somehow, whether it is one going up or the other coming down.

MR. FITZGERALD: You not only want to be equal among yourselves, but equal with the man outside. Do you understand what I mean?

MR. HARDING: One objection occurs to me. It is a formal one, I think. It is this, that if you have "British Empire, Canada, Australia, India, and so forth (being members of the British Commonwealth of Nations)," the effect of that terminology surely is to suggest that the British Empire is a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. That terminology at the moment does not seem to me to be correct.

MR. FITZGERALD: No. We have only a spiritual Empire.

MR. COSTELLO: What is impressed on my mind in reference to the suggestion that "Great Britain" should be inserted instead of the words "British Empire" is this. Supposing it were to read "Great Britain," and some formula took up the Dependencies, Australia, Canada, and the rest, the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, what power would Great Britain have in that in reference to the signature of treaties? Would the power be unlimited, as I suggest to you it is in the first nine paragraphs of this memorandum?

SIR CECIL HURST: You are putting that question to me, if I may say so, a little too soon. It might be right for any plenipotentiary to sign, but it depends on the terms of the instrument by which he is appointed, and until we have come to some conclusion on that it is impossible to answer your question.

MR. COSTELLO: But the question is rather vital, or, rather, the answer to the question is rather vital, because the acceptance of that formula would determine what power Great Britain has over the other units of the Commonwealth.

SIR CECIL HURST: I thought it was understood that the whole of this discussion was purely provisional. I take it that, if the discussion of some paragraph was unsatisfactory to you, then it would be up to you to say so.

MR. COSTELLO: That does not get at the suggestions of the alteration of the form of a League treaty instead of having Heads of States inserted. If that suggestion was put as a slight amendment to paragraph 10, agreement would be reached. As far as we are concerned, there is no possibility of it as it is. Dr. Skelton's suggestion, coupled with the suggested amendment of paragraph 10, would meet us.

MR. LAPOINTE: I think we should proceed on the general lines that General Hertzog has suggested. Are you agreed to meet at 3 o'clock to-morrow?

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2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
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SIR CECIL HURST: I do not think so. The actual work at Geneva is one thing because there we are engaged in the day to day application of the Covenant; but when it comes to treaties, all we have been endeavouring to do is to try and find some formula which, on the one hand, indicates the union between the Empire and, on the other hand, indicates the complete right of every self-governing Dominion to contract for itself.

MR. FITZGERALD: In, for instance, the formula at the bottom here, ". . . Belgium, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Irish Free State, and India, Bulgaria, ..." you may say that the unity is implied by the divergence from the alphabetical order.

SIR CECIL HURST: And the " and," which would be superfluous upon any other interpretation?

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes; personally I do not care for the " and."

SIR CECIL HURST: But it is there.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 3rd Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of the Third Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 2, 1926, *at* 3 P.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Right Hon. S. M. BRUCE, M.C., Prime Minister.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. W. E. BECKETT, Assistant Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. M. BONIWELL, Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.

Union of South Africa.

Mr. D. STEYN, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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MR. LAPOINTE: Yesterday we got as far as paragraph 1. I will now read paragraph 2:—

"2. Adherence to the wording of the Annex to the Covenant for the purpose of describing the contracting party leads to the absence of any mention of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the Colonies and Protectorates in the preamble. The position as regards those parts of the Empire is, therefore, obscure. From the point of view of the Dominions and India, owing to there being no mention of Great Britain, there is a risk of uncertainty as to their own position and a suggestion that they are not on a footing of equality with Great Britain as participants in the treaties in question.

"It may be well to add that in this memorandum the term 'Great Britain' is, for the sake of brevity, frequently used alone, but it is intended in all cases to include Northern Ireland. For treaty-making purposes some phrase is required which should be understood universally to include Great Britain and Northern Ireland as well as the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. Until a decision has been taken as to what phrase is to be adopted, the term 'Great Britain' is retained in this memorandum for convenience. It is to be understood as including Northern Ireland if that territory is not specifically mentioned."

GENERAL HERTZOG: In paragraph 2 it says:—

"From the point of view of the Dominions and India, owing to there being no mention of Great Britain, there is a risk of uncertainty as to their own position and a suggestion that they are not on a footing of equality with Great Britain as participants in the treaties in question."

Would it not be well here if Sir Cecil Hurst, if it is not too much to ask of him, would point out what in the Annex that refers to, and how the uncertainty exists?

SIR CECIL HURST: The difficulty to which this paragraph draws attention is the uncertainty that arises in the situation by reason of our following in the formula now employed in League treaties the same system of wording that figures in the Annex under the Covenant of the League, where, you will remember, I pointed out that we get the term "British Empire," and then we get, set back a little in a different line of print, an enumeration of the various Dominions. There is no mention of Great Britain, and we can only claim to come in by reason of the fact that we are a part of the British Empire. We do not ask to be regarded as the whole of it, we do not want to be regarded as the whole of it, and we do not consider we are the whole of it, by any means; the sole ground on which we can claim to participate in any of these treaties is that we are a part of it, and that is unsatisfactory from our point of view, and it is unsatisfactory, as we think, from your point of view, because clearly, in our view, it entitles us only to come in through participation in a title which, if you go by the interpretation of the word as it figures in the Treaty of Versailles, includes also the Dominions. The position is quite anomalous.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Then we shall now tackle it in the next paragraph.

SIR CECIL HURST: This is what I might call a statement of the difficulty, a statement of the unsatisfactory position we find ourselves in to-day.

MR. LAPOINTE: Paragraph 3:—

"Whatever changes are made, the form adopted should comply with two requirements: (1) it should preserve the principle of the unity of the Empire, *i.e.*, indicate that 'the British Empire' is something which includes and is made up of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Colonies, &c., as well as the Dominions and India; (2) it should not imply any want of equality between Great Britain, the Dominions and India as participants in the treaties in question. With these objects in view, it is suggested that in future the contracting party should, in cases where the treaty is signed on behalf of all parts of the Empire, be described in the list at the beginning of the treaty as 'the British Empire,' followed in brackets by the words 'Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and India.'"

SIR CECIL HURST: That really, if I may say so, is the sort of agreed proposal which the rest of this paper endeavours to work out in detail. It is really that we should come in mentioned by name on a footing of equality; it is the agreed status, a footing of equality with the Dominions, and that we should enumerate in

this way the political units which are fully self-governing, including Great Britain or Great Britain and its Dependencies, but should list them under what was described at our first meeting as the "umbrella." Now, what the term is that is used to describe the "umbrella" is a matter which, I think, we need scarcely discuss at the moment, whether it is "British Empire" or "British Commonwealth of Nations," whether it is that you mention the "umbrella" at the end in the way that General Hertzog or Mr. Latham suggested it should be stated, that they contract as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, or whether you put the "umbrella" at the beginning, as we suggest here. That, to my mind, if I may venture to say so, is really an unimportant detail. What I think this paper really wants to achieve is that we should enumerate the various political self-governing units of the Empire, including Great Britain, enumerate them on a footing of equality, to designate somewhere, either at the beginning or at the end, and under whatever title may be appropriate, the particular larger body of which they are component parts. That is really the essence of the proposal that is included in this paragraph.

GENERAL HERTZOG: First, I think we must be quite clear in our ideas. The first point is as to preserving the principle of the unity of the Empire. I am fully at one with that principle provided that we are very clear as to what is meant by the unity of the Empire, and here I come to a fundamental point as far as the position of South Africa, at any rate, is concerned. If by the unity of the Empire is to be taken the unity of something which is a legal, and it may be international, entity, then, of course, I cannot agree to it. If by the unity of the Empire is meant that, besides Great Britain and the Parliament and Government of Great Britain, and besides, we will say, Canada and the Parliament and the Government of Canada, there be another legal entity to which we must look as something that has an authority over both and all of us, then I say we must be very clear about that, and I draw attention to it because we must see later on—I do not know when it will be—what to introduce into the form that we have to adopt with regard to treaties. If by the unity of the Empire is meant what I have no doubt is intended here, namely, that the relationship existing between Great Britain and all the Dominions is that they all belong to the common Crown—if that be observed, then, of course, I have not only nothing to say against it, but I think it perfectly right that we should in any form that we adopt admit that. That is nothing more than the fact of the circumstances. I draw attention to this because, I think, from the objections I have heard made to the Annex, objection is made to "the British Empire," not so much because of objection to the term—although, as I said, never let us forget that certain prejudice attaches to the term "Empire," but that is not, to my mind, insuperable—but a ground for the objection as raised at the two previous meetings seemed to me to come to this, that the British Empire shall not be introduced as a super-authority over us, an additional national or international entity. I do not want to say anything more with regard to this; I only say this by way of caveat.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: May I ask the General what expression he would use to include the whole?

GENERAL HERTZOG: No, no, no. Please understand me. I have no suggestion to make. All of this is in order that we may correct the existing form of treaties. Let us then see, when we come to the existing form of treaties and tackle this question practically, that we bear that in mind.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is a very vital point. May I, perhaps, without disturbing the flow of the Committee's work, indicate precisely what was certainly in my own mind, as a member of the Committee which drew up this document? I was a party to that particular phrase, "that it should preserve the unity of the Empire." I agree the term "unity of the Empire" is really a phrase about which different people might conceive very different ideas, but I know exactly the idea it represented to my own mind, and I hope it is the idea which is sound. The unity of the Empire does not in the slightest degree mean, in my conception of it, that there is some political super-State, some particular unit, which is in a position to exercise control over the component self-governing parts of the Empire. That is not my conception of it in the least. My conception of it is this. We agreed—I hope we agreed—at our first meeting that there was a something, some particular quality, in the Empire—I use the word "Empire" in the wide sense; you all understand what I mean—which caused the inhabitants of one part of the Empire to stand

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towards the inhabitants of another part of the Empire on a footing quite different from that on which they stand to the citizens of foreign countries. It is that element which constitutes my conception of the unity of the Empire, the presence of a particular quality; not in the least, according to my idea, any conception of a super-State which is in a position to exercise control over the self-governing portions of the Empire and to which they are subordinated. That is to say, the unity of the Empire is something quite apart from the Crown. The Crown is the symbol of Empire, but in a constitutional country—we are all now constitutional countries—the King does not govern, he reigns, and he is no more than the outward symbol of the unity that links us together, and that link does not imply subordination.

GENERAL HERTZOG: That is all right. I simply draw attention to the point here because I think that if we grasp that a great many difficulties will disappear. Later on we shall come to deal with the actual changes that we may consider to be necessary or not.

MR. FITZGERALD: Pardon me, I think we are here dealing with symbols. I think that a little misunderstanding is abroad. That misunderstanding is a mistake in regard to our integrity as units. This proposal is intended to symbolise in our relations with foreign countries that unity which is a reality and which exists among us. I said yesterday that this unity consists in the symbol and the reality of the King as a common bond, our presence round this table, and the co-operation that exists among us. But this is not a federal Empire. Here we are trying to convey to people abroad the relationship which exists amongst us. I think right away that a foreigner reading that paragraph—if I may project myself into the personality of somebody else outside—would obviously say "this is a federal Empire." There are separate entities of the several States forming the Commonwealth. These States are entities. Taken together they form a community of States—with a unifying principle. In seeking to express the unity of the Commonwealth, the separate entity of the States is submerged. These States are separate members of the League. If you seek to stress the cohesion amongst them you tend to indicate a federal Empire. This is a possible cause for misunderstanding amongst outside people.

SIR CECIL HURST: The moment you use the term "federal" it implies, just as the words "federal State" imply, a central authority to which all the component parts are subordinate. The position, so far as I have endeavoured to explain it, is that there is no central authority to which all these other parts are subordinate. If you call it a federal Empire, you would give people the impression that it implies that it contains something in itself—a central authority, in the sense of an authority exercising real governmental control.

MR. FITZGERALD: Here we are trying to symbolise something. A signature or anything like that is a symbol. We use a symbol here, and we stress the unity of it.

SIR CECIL HURST: To that extent I agree. We ought to try to symbolise the links which bind us together.

MR. FITZGERALD: Of course. The King's signature does that as a symbol; and then when you have Austria named and then British Empire, followed by a bracket with further names, you might as well have Austria followed by a bracket, including all the constituents there are there. You actually have Great Britain and you have constituent parts—Northern Ireland and the Channel Islands—and then you have a unit. It is not the multipleness of the unit which exists then; and it seems to me that there is one member of the League of Nations with seven voices. I am treating this thing purely as an attempt to symbolise something.

SIR CECIL HURST: You are reading into it something which it was not our endeavour to express by the language of that document. What we were endeavouring to express was that peculiar element which regards the relation of one part of the Empire to another part of the Empire on a different footing from other relationships.

MR. FITZGERALD: I was merely projecting myself into the mind of somebody outside.

SIR CECIL HURST: It may be that our language is not sufficiently clear to the outsiders. They may not be so ready in the uptake as we ourselves are. My desire is to improve the language if the general idea is accepted.

MR. LAPOINTE: Now shall we take No. 4?

(Reads paragraph 4 of Paper E. 104.)

SIR CECIL HURST: There is nothing very intricate in that paragraph. It is an attempt to show how there would work out in practice the idea which is embodied in paragraph 3. Do not let it be thought to mean that paragraph 4 embodies the only way in which the idea embodied in paragraph 3 can be carried out. It was an endeavour to show in actual, concrete, hard fact a way in which the principle we suggested in paragraph 3 can be worked out.

GENERAL HERTZOG: May I ask another question of Sir Cecil? There is a difference drawn between the cases where it is left open for some of the members of the Empire to sign and where there is no such opening left. In the first place it is suggested that the signature will be: "The British Empire," then, we will say, "Great Britain, Canada, India" or anybody who wants to confirm it. In the case of a treaty which affects others and where the others have decided not to become signatories other than Great Britain and Canada, it is suggested that then the signature will be simply "Great Britain, Canada"?

SIR CECIL HURST: Let me endeavour to show by a concrete case the kind of idea that was in our minds. Let me assume, for instance, that the Government for which Mr. Bruce is responsible comes into an arrangement with Japan on some question which is of interest to those two countries. The treaty is made; at the time it is made only between Australia and Japan, so that the only unit of the British Commonwealth entering into it is Australia. It is present to the mind of the Australian authorities in signing that this is a treaty in which it would be desirable to have New Zealand co-operation; and accordingly they provide in that treaty that there should be scope for New Zealand's participation. The underlying meaning of this paragraph 4 would be that in a case like that Australia would enter into that treaty on the footing that she was a part of the British Empire; so that if New Zealand participated she would come in on the same footing, and therefore that the relations between Australia and New Zealand after New Zealand had come in would be something different from the relations which existed between Australia and Japan, and between New Zealand and Japan. That is the purpose, that where there is a treaty, where there is a possibility of some other unit of the Commonwealth coming in, the phraseology should be such as to show the connection between those two parties.

GENERAL HERTZOG: May I ask what advantages would accrue to, say, Australia and New Zealand in a case in which they signed under that form—we will say "Great Britain," then "Australia," and then it were left open for New Zealand to accede later on—what advantages would accrue in that case to New Zealand or Australia which would not accrue to them if "British Empire" were left out and they were to sign just as they would do without any of the other Dominions being included.

SIR CECIL HURST: The difference would be in respect of the relation between the Powers themselves. If any dispute arose between them with regard to the application of the treaty it would not be dealt with on the same footing.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Would they be considered as foreign Powers if the alternative form, or rather the second form, were adopted.

MR. LAPOINTE: You mean in paragraph 10?

GENERAL HERTZOG: That makes a distinction. In the first case the words "British Empire" should be retained, *i.e.*, the case where one signs and the hope is entertained that the other will accede later on, or where it is intended that another should accede later on; in that case the words "British Empire" should be retained and the name of the signatory part of the Empire, say Australia, placed within the bracket, so that in the event of another part of the Empire, New Zealand, we will say, signing subsequently, this name can be added also in the bracket. That is the one case. There are certain advantages. They would not be looked upon as two foreign Powers in their standing towards one another. In the second case the expression "British Empire" should not be used, and the name, the signatory part

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towards the inhabitants of another part of the Empire on a footing quite different from that on which they stand to the citizens of foreign countries. It is that element which constitutes my conception of the unity of the Empire, the presence of a particular quality; not in the least, according to my idea, any conception of a super-State which is in a position to exercise control over the self-governing portions of the Empire and to which they are subordinated. That is to say, the unity of the Empire is something quite apart from the Crown. The Crown is the symbol of Empire, but in a constitutional country—we are all now constitutional countries—the King does not govern, he reigns, and he is no more than the outward symbol of the unity that links us together, and that link does not imply subordination.

GENERAL HERTZOG: That is all right. I simply draw attention to the point here because I think that if we grasp that a great many difficulties will disappear. Later on we shall come to deal with the actual changes that we may consider to be necessary or not.

MR. FITZGERALD: Pardon me, I think we are here dealing with symbols. I think that a little misunderstanding is abroad. That misunderstanding is a mistake in regard to our integrity as units. This proposal is intended to symbolise in our relations with foreign countries that unity which is a reality and which exists among us. I said yesterday that this unity consists in the symbol and the reality of the King as a common bond, our presence round this table, and the co-operation that exists among us. But this is not a federal Empire. Here we are trying to convey to people abroad the relationship which exists amongst us. I think right away that a foreigner reading that paragraph—if I may project myself into the personality of somebody else outside—would obviously say "this is a federal Empire." There are separate entities of the several States forming the Commonwealth. These States are entities. Taken together they form a community of States—with a unifying principle. In seeking to express the unity of the Commonwealth, the separate entity of the States is submerged. These States are separate members of the League. If you seek to stress the cohesion amongst them you tend to indicate a federal Empire. This is a possible cause for misunderstanding amongst outside people.

SIR CECIL HURST: The moment you use the term "federal" it implies, just as the words "federal State" imply, a central authority to which all the component parts are subordinate. The position, so far as I have endeavoured to explain it, is that there is no central authority to which all these other parts are subordinate. If you call it a federal Empire, you would give people the impression that it implies that it contains something in itself—a central authority, in the sense of an authority exercising real governmental control.

MR. FITZGERALD: Here we are trying to symbolise something. A signature or anything like that is a symbol. We use a symbol here, and we stress the unity of it.

SIR CECIL HURST: To that extent I agree. We ought to try to symbolise the links which bind us together.

MR. FITZGERALD: Of course. The King's signature does that as a symbol; and then when you have Austria named and then British Empire, followed by a bracket with further names, you might as well have Austria followed by a bracket, including all the constituents there are there. You actually have Great Britain and you have constituent parts—Northern Ireland and the Channel Islands—and then you have a unit. It is not the multipleness of the unit which exists then; and it seems to me that there is one member of the League of Nations with seven voices. I am treating this thing purely as an attempt to symbolise something.

SIR CECIL HURST: You are reading into it something which it was not our endeavour to express by the language of that document. What we were endeavouring to express was that peculiar element which regards the relation of one part of the Empire to another part of the Empire on a different footing from other relationships.

MR. FITZGERALD: I was merely projecting myself into the mind of somebody outside.

SIR CECIL HURST: It may be that our language is not sufficiently clear to the outsiders. They may not be so ready in the uptake as we ourselves are. My desire is to improve the language if the general idea is accepted.

MR. LAPOINTE: Now shall we take No. 4?

(Reads paragraph 4 of Paper E. 104.)

SIR CECIL HURST: There is nothing very intricate in that paragraph. It is an attempt to show how there would work out in practice the idea which is embodied in paragraph 3. Do not let it be thought to mean that paragraph 4 embodies the only way in which the idea embodied in paragraph 3 can be carried out. It was an endeavour to show in actual, concrete, hard fact a way in which the principle we suggested in paragraph 3 can be worked out.

GENERAL HERTZOG: May I ask another question of Sir Cecil? There is a difference drawn between the cases where it is left open for some of the members of the Empire to sign and where there is no such opening left. In the first place it is suggested that the signature will be: "The British Empire," then, we will say, "Great Britain, Canada, India" or anybody who wants to confirm it. In the case of a treaty which affects others and where the others have decided not to become signatories other than Great Britain and Canada, it is suggested that then the signature will be simply "Great Britain, Canada"?

SIR CECIL HURST: Let me endeavour to show by a concrete case the kind of idea that was in our minds. Let me assume, for instance, that the Government for which Mr. Bruce is responsible comes into an arrangement with Japan on some question which is of interest to those two countries. The treaty is made; at the time it is made only between Australia and Japan, so that the only unit of the British Commonwealth entering into it is Australia. It is present to the mind of the Australian authorities in signing that this is a treaty in which it would be desirable to have New Zealand co-operation; and accordingly they provide in that treaty that there should be scope for New Zealand's participation. The underlying meaning of this paragraph 4 would be that in a case like that Australia would enter into that treaty on the footing that she was a part of the British Empire; so that if New Zealand participated she would come in on the same footing, and therefore that the relations between Australia and New Zealand after New Zealand had come in would be something different from the relations which existed between Australia and Japan, and between New Zealand and Japan. That is the purpose, that where there is a treaty, where there is a possibility of some other unit of the Commonwealth coming in, the phraseology should be such as to show the connection between those two parties.

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of the Empire, should be inserted in its position in the alphabetical order of the signatories, *i.e.*, if, say, Australia and New Zealand signed simultaneously, in that case "British Empire" would not be used but the signatories would only be Australia and New Zealand. Is that not so?

SIR CECIL HURST: That is it. It may be there is probably a little confusion owing to the fact that the paragraph as drafted here is dealing only with League treaties, merely treaties concluded under the auspices of the League, where there is a faculty for signature by many different component parts up to a certain date and where therefore it would not be known up to a certain date whether other parts of the Empire were coming in. The advantages that we see in the system are, of course, if the subject matter of the treaty was one, let us say, like a commercial treaty as between two parts of the Empire, that they should not stand to each other upon the same footing; for instance, coming in on that basis would enable us to say, "you have not come into it as a party on conditions which make you a foreigner as to the other party."

GENERAL HERTZOG: Why I asked this is because, if I understand the position correctly, according to the draftsman it would, as you say, make a difference if the two came in under the term "British Empire," and it has been left open to the second party to come in later on under that as a member of the British Empire. Now, in the other case he would say to himself: "Here we have the two signing really as if they did not know one another or anything about the other; it is just like two foreign Powers, and that would make a difference." I do not quite see why it should make a difference, and I put this point because I feel that later on it is going to be of material interest. To my mind the question whether you use the words "British Empire" or not in this case will affect neither the one case nor the other. It makes no difference, because it seems to me that the relationship between Australia and New Zealand when they sign the treaty is a relationship which is governed not by the form of such a treaty, but by facts outside the treaty, viz., that they both belong to that Association of States labelled the British Empire. That is a fact. From that they derive the advantage that they have knowledge over against one another or over against other States. Rather let me say why. I pointed out yesterday that to my mind from the very first day this was very significant, the signatures here in the League Treaty, the Covenant, where you have "the British Empire, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland—the Irish Free State was not in then—and India," Great Britain not being mentioned. While "the British Empire" was meant to convey "Great Britain," at the same time the formula which was adopted was such as to assume that this constituted a group and that this group was really to be designated by the words "British Empire" also. This being so, I said then the relations over against the outside world, whatever they may be, are covered really by whatever this may mean. May I just point out what to my mind this does mean.

When in 1919 the parties met at Paris, and when the League of Nations was created, it was to be a League of Nations, of International States, of Nations. When they met in Paris we know—that is common history—the Dominions insisted that they also should be taken into it as States, that they should be parties to the Covenant; and they were allowed by the other nations to come in as parties, allowed as nations, but at the same time—and we know again here is history—the other nations at first objected, and said: "No, how can we? You are Dominions, you are practically subordinate to Great Britain," and so on. They contended, Sir Robert Borden and others insisted, and said: "No, we now want to be acknowledged and recognised as having that international status that we should also be taken as nations in the ranks of the nations forming this Covenant"; but at the same time, and it is clear to me from this—and here again I think we have history—they said: "While we come in as nations you must recognise our position in so far as we belong, though nations and free nations entitled to sign with you in this Covenant with international status—you must, as a League of Nations, recognise that we stand in a peculiar relation to one another, which we call the British Empire"; so that these have been taken up in this League of Nations as nations, but subject to this, that their relationship as members of the British Empire shall be recognised by the League and by all foreign nations belonging to the League. Take, for instance, this: Let me suppose that Great Britain were to get into a state of war with France or any other nation—let us take France—also a member of the League. Let us suppose that England be declared by the League of Nations to be in the wrong—she is an aggressor. According to the Covenant all the nations are

expected to do what the League of Nations, the Council of the League, says should be done. They will say to Germany: "You must fight against England; you must help France." Can they say that to us? To my mind, no, they cannot. Why not? Because they have taken us into the League upon conditions that our connection to the Empire, to that circle of Nations called the British Empire, shall not be broken, and if they were to ask us to fight against Great Britain we have the fullest right to say: "No, because that in itself would be asking us to promote an act of hostility which would be *ipso facto* a breaking of this Empire, subject to which you said we could get into this, could become members of the League." Now to my mind that is the result, and that is why we were admitted as nations, as Mr. Lloyd George said in 1921. We were there, and through that accepted fully into the comity of nations by the world, but subject to that, that we have been taken into the comity of nations, we are nations in every respect and having the right of every nation in the League, but so far as our connection with the Empire is concerned, the League has no right to ask us at any time that we shall do anything whereby the bond of Empire shall be destroyed.

Now, if that is so, I come back to this: I say whether New Zealand or Australia sign after one another, or whether they sign at the same time, their relationship is not to my mind altered by any formula. It must be derived from something else, and we can only go back to 1919 to the League of Nations and have to derive it from that. Why this difference between the one and the other? I may be absolutely wrong, but, at any rate, I cannot understand why the difference should be made between the one and the other.

MR. FITZGERALD: I understand we want to assert the personality of each nation forming the Commonwealth. It is also desired in no way by our acts to symbolise something which is incompatible with the unity that exists amongst us. Australia engages in treaty with Japan. Dr. Skelton proposed yesterday that the form of these League treaties should be changed and that they should be between Heads of States. I think Sir Cecil Hurst thought that that was desirable and arrangeable. When Australia and New Zealand make a treaty, each of them make it in the name of "King George, by the Grace of God," &c. I think that there you have the symbol indicating the link between them which does not exist between them and the other States. By not going into this rather elaborate arrangement you avoid submerging the national integrity of each individual nation; you have the symbol and you do not blur the entity. I think that really should be sufficient to meet what is desired here.

SIR CECIL HURST: If I appreciate correctly the last two speeches that we have been fortunate enough to listen to, let me say at once I entirely agree with both. If I understand Mr. Fitzgerald aright, he thinks that there must be some symbol such as the name of The King, and he finds the use of the name of The King as the symbol more acceptable than the use of the words "British Empire."

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite.

SIR CECIL HURST: I said yesterday that I believe myself that that view is right. I believe myself that, if we insist upon it, we can secure the adoption of that as an arrangement which should be carried out in future in League treaties; and if it is a view to which the Imperial Conference as a whole commits itself and insists upon, I cannot conceive the possibility of there being sufficient power of resistance at Geneva to prevent our carrying it out. But there may be some obstruction at Geneva, and the probabilities of success in adopting this change will really, I think, depend upon the strength with which the representatives of the various units of the British Commonwealth of Nations insist on that change being carried out; but, if they do insist, I feel sure it can be done.

MR. BRUCE: You mean by their support at Geneva?

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes. If they insist on it being done at Geneva it will be done. That is my view. I admit we framed this document, which you are now considering, in a less courageous frame of mind. We framed it upon the basis that the terminology which is employed in the Covenant of the League and the practice which has grown up at Geneva ever since the days of the Peace Conference of 1919 had more or less committed us to the use of this term "British Empire" in these League treaties, that it had become an established custom at Geneva, and that it would probably be difficult to secure any change. But I cannot, myself, believe but that if we insist upon the change being made it can and will be made.

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Now, may I turn for a moment to what General Hertzog was saying. If I appreciate his point of view, again let me say that I entirely agree. I think we are in a position to maintain that all the foreign Powers of the world, when they accepted the entrance of the component parts of the Commonwealth of Nations into the League, did accept us upon the basis that we stood to each other in a special relation, and I believe that this is now accepted at Geneva. But, nevertheless, there is the risk, is there not? If two parts of the Empire and a foreign State enter into a treaty, you must have something on the face of the instrument to indicate the existence of that special relation between the two British units, otherwise they become merely three quite distinct contracting parties, and you might be thought to be entering into the treaty upon a basis which would entitle the foreigner to think that he was contracting with two States who stood to each other in the same relation that they stood to him. Therefore, no matter how fully the idea is accepted at Geneva, and was accepted at Paris at the time of the formation of the Covenant of the League, that parts of the Empire stand to each other in a special relation, I do think you still want upon the face of the instrument itself something to indicate that the units of the Empire are contracting in that treaty upon the same basis in which they stand in the League.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I think I begin to see what Sir Cecil Hurst means. I can quite conceive that New Zealand or Australia would enter into a treaty where each wanted to contract without respect to any advantages that Australia might get from New Zealand, or New Zealand from Australia. She might waive any advantage which she, as a member of the British Commonwealth, might otherwise enjoy. In that case, she would sign simply by herself without the British Empire. But where are sought any privileges which, as members of the British Empire, the one State might get as between herself and the other contracting Dominion State, it is advisable that the description "British Empire," or whatever it might be, should stand there to show that it was not the intention of Australia, say, to contract free of that relationship as against the other members of the Empire. I do not know whether I have made myself clear.

SIR CECIL HURST: I should have thought it was not only a case where the change would be made in some cases only, but I should have thought it ought to have been made in all cases. That is to say, that if New Zealand were anxious to enter into a treaty in which Australia was also a signatory, as well as some foreign Power, both Australia and New Zealand would contract as parts of the British Empire not only in a case in which New Zealand and Australia respectively were content to waive such differences as would ensue if they were foreign Powers, but that they would contract on that basis in all cases, because, after all, it is a consequence of their political status in the Commonwealth of Nations.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Should you not leave that second one out, and say that in any case where two or more Dominions are parties to a contract, they ought to sign always under a common designation, the designation "British Empire," or whatever might be adopted.

SIR CECIL HURST: The second case, I think, only refers to the phrase just above, cases in which there was no possibility for another part of the Empire to come in at all.

GENERAL HERTZOG: If it is only the one signing for itself . . . .

SIR CECIL HURST: That is all. It is true it was not a League treaty, but let me take, as an illustration, the case of the treaty made a few years ago between Mr. Lapointe's Government and the United States, with regard to the Halibut fisheries. That was a case in which Canada was the only contracting Power that was part of the British Empire, and the United States was the other party to the treaty. There was no power, no faculty, for any other unit of Empire to come in. Consequently, in that case Canada would naturally contract as "Canada," and no more.

GENERAL HERTZOG: "In the second case the expression 'the British Empire' should not be used, and the name of the signatory part of the Empire should be inserted in its position in the alphabetical order of the signatories." I see the signatories are not other Dominion signatories.

SIR CECIL HURST: No.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Canada, Australia. Then A would come first amongst the Dominions.

MR. FITZGERALD: Sir Cecil Hurst agreed with me, but at the end he did not seem to agree quite so much. I suggested that the phrase would be on behalf of Australia, if Australia were concerned, "King George by the Grace of God"; New Zealand comes along later, and again it is "King George by the Grace of God." But there is a limit to the foreignness that can exist between King George and King George. To give an instance. Lithuania was a member of the League of Nations, and it made a treaty with Soviet Russia. It is known by Soviet Russia that Lithuania is a member of the League of Nations and has certain commitments there. We are members of the British Commonwealth. In contractual arrangements that we enter into it is known just as much, and I think rather more, that we are members of the British Commonwealth as it is known that Lithuania is a member of the League of Nations. There are certain reservations, you might say, in the Lithuanian Treaty—I am not talking of the actual treaty but giving it as a possibility—which are known. On top of that, in our case, we have Australia signing "King George," we have New Zealand signing "King George." You have the foreknowledge of the cohesion existing between them and you have the symbol. Therefore I do not see that anything else is necessary. You agreed with me; but then you seemed to say that something else was necessary.

SIR CECIL HURST: I agreed with you, if I might say so, because I perhaps did not quite understand you. If we all entered the League upon the footing that foreigners accepted the special relation which exists between the component self-governing parts of the Empire, then, when Lithuania as a member of the League makes a treaty with Soviet Russia, the relations thereby constituted between Lithuania, as a party to that treaty, and the rest of the League are something different from those which would be created if the Irish Free State signed a treaty with Soviet Russia and thereby constituted special relations not merely with the other members of the League—they would be the same as in the Lithuania case—but also thereby created special relations with other members of the British Commonwealth. Is not that the difference? Suppose Soviet Russia enters into a treaty with Lithuania. I agree it affects Lithuania's position *vis-à-vis* the rest of the League.

MR. FITZGERALD: No. The point I was suggesting was that Lithuania's position, as a member of the League, affected the contractual arrangements it made with Soviet Russia.

SIR CECIL HURST: I agree.

MR. FITZGERALD: Lithuania is not in a position to commit the whole League on its own, otherwise the League would have to consider every treaty which everyone made and say "you cannot make that, you are committing us to too much." In the same way, I agree that the Irish Free State cannot make a treaty with Soviet Russia, say guaranteeing Russia to assist her, giving her all the assurance of our military assistance in the event of a war with Japan, knowing that would mean you would have to come in too. I can understand that you would probably demur and say "we should like to think over this before we agree." I was approaching it from the other side, that Soviet Russia expects assurances from Lithuania, knowing that Lithuania has certain commitments.

It is foreknowledge, public facts. In the same way, if Australia makes a treaty with Japan, Japan knows, even more than Soviet Russia knows about Lithuania, that there is this particularly intimate relation between Australia and New Zealand. The signatories ratify and so on, and it is "King George by the Grace of God" that ratifies on behalf of Australia, and "King George by the Grace of God" that ratifies on behalf of New Zealand, and it is no good their coming to King George No. 1 and saying: "You are committed to certain actions; there is no special relation between you, King George of Australia, and you, King George of New Zealand," because they would not have a case. We seek a symbol. The symbol is perfectly clear there, plus the foreknowledge. Therefore I think that is sufficient.

SIR CECIL HURST: Is there not this difference, that the foreknowledge you have presupposed in the case of the special consequences of the treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania consists of foreknowledge of the contents and the effects of a written document? Such link as exists between the various parts of

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the British Commonwealth of Nations is not a written constitution, and I really doubt whether the foreknowledge which is sufficient in the one case is really sufficient in the other. I suppose that if we knew that the foreknowledge that exists in the second case did cover the whole ground, as we understand it, of the special relations which exist between parts of the British Empire, it might not be necessary to say anything on the face of the document; but I am confident that the special relation which exists now between the Mother Country and the Dominions is not sufficiently understood to make it safe to make no mention whatever upon the face of the document to differentiate the relations between the parts of the Commonwealth and those of foreign States.

MR. FITZGERALD: The English people have a tradition of disliking written constitutions. You will pardon me if I defend that point of view against the attempt that is being made here to indicate a relationship in a form of written words. I must really support the English tradition.

SIR CECIL HURST: Heaven forfend that we should, in a treaty with Soviet Russia, attempt to lay down the constitution of the British Empire. All I am suggesting is that, on the face of the instrument, there should be something to indicate that the British units, in contracting, are contracting as members of the British Empire. What the consequences are is another matter.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think the King is sufficient there, and if we are trying to put it in words, it is against the English tradition, and I must resist it.

MR. BRUCE: Where are we getting to? We seem to be wandering up and down this extraordinarily interesting legal discussion, but I understood the whole point turned on the fact that League Treaties have been signed in a particular way, because the League recognises the British Empire and means thereby a certain thing that we generally do not mean when we talk of the British Empire; the League recognises Australia and Canada, the Irish Free State, and so on, while in other treaties the basis is the signature by the King, the King representing the various parts. Then there is the point that there is some feeling that it is an extraordinary position to have two meanings for "the British Empire," one that it is Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Dependencies and Protectorates, the other that it is all those parts, plus the self-governing Dominions, which in the League are separate nations. There is also the second point which was taken, that apparently there might be the view that what is implied by "the British Empire" in its second sense leads to the suggestion of an overriding authority under a federal constitution or some such position; and, to get over the difficulty, I thought the suggestion was that we should take determined and firm action as a whole—this was the suggestion; I am not for a minute saying whether I am quite clear—but the suggestion was that to get over that difficulty we should take determined action at the League to say that this practice has got to be altered, and that it is going to be "The King." Supposing that were right and that were done, the difficulty arises as to whether it is with regard to one part or all the parts of the Empire. If the King is signing, he will sign on behalf of one individual part of the Empire which may be entering into an obligation. If it is more than one, he will sign on behalf of the different parts; and surely that would cover this thing which it is necessary to imply now, some special relationship between those two particular countries, which is quite distinct from relationships existing between them and other countries. I want to get at where the trouble is, and at present I cannot follow it.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is possible that Mr. Fitzgerald and I may be rather at cross purposes. Let me take a concrete case. It is so much easier to deal with it in that way. Let us take a treaty with Australia, Belgium and the Irish Free State. If you link together under the head of the King both Australia and the Irish Free State so as to imply that they are both coming in under the head of the King, I agree. If you were to arrange it for Australia with "the King," and then "the King" over again with the Irish people, you would have nothing on the face of the instrument to suggest that there was any link between the two parties. If you use the King as a link, I am quite content.

MR. BRUCE: The suggestion has been that you are not going to have them floating about all over your document, where there is more than one part of the British Empire which it a party to the treaty, but that you would have "the British

Empire," and then the respective States brought into line. If you were going to do that when you use the term "British Empire," surely there is no difficulty when you are going to use "the King" as embracing the signatories for the different parts.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Is it not complicated by the fact that the British Empire is in the League of Nations and a League treaty would have to be used?

MR. BRUCE: I think not. You would be getting over what is an extraordinarily difficult anomaly at the present time.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: We ought to get it amended in the case of making treaties.

MR. FITZGERALD: Yesterday there were two proposals on that, one that the implication of the British Empire membership of the League of Nations should be accepted, and now we have the British Empire, which is not the same as the British Commonwealth of Nations. Have just one British Empire, not two different things, and the British Commonwealth of Nations is not one of them. The other suggestion of Sir Cecil Hurst is that the name should be changed to "Great Britain."

SIR CECIL HURST: No, I did not propose that.

MR. FITZGERALD: No, I gave that as my suggestion, not as yours.

SIR CECIL HURST: We are anxious here to keep "the British Empire" in what we believe to be the only use consistent with the preamble of the Treaty of Versailles, namely, the whole geographical area which looks up to the King. But if you can arrange to make a treaty in the name of the King, and use "the King" as an outward manifestation and link, I think that would fit the case.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think myself that, even if there were "Australia, Belgium, Irish Free State," and one King, and the name appears under "A" for Australia and "I" for Ireland, I agree, so that there is a reality in symbol, one Monarch ratifying.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Would you call it the Dominion of Australia or Great Britain?

MR. FITZGERALD: You just put what it is.

MR. LAPOINTE: I think we ought to read all the other paragraphs and then discuss both systems together.

SIR CECIL HURST: At some time or other I hope that we shall have a discussion of what is described in paragraph 8 in this document, what is known as "the central panel." It does lend itself to misunderstanding. I think a discussion of that would be very useful. Whether you have time to reach it to-day I do not know.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: There is another meeting on the Privy Council at 4·30, and some of us must necessarily attend that.

MR. BRUCE: Would there be any possibility of getting summarised where we have got to up to date? We come back to this document, which is a useful and sound one, but it is an extraordinarily long one, and if we have to discuss it every time we meet I do not know when we shall finish. Cannot we have summarised where we have got to?

MR. LAPOINTE: We can say that different suggestions and recommendations have been made so far.

MR. BRUCE: Since I have been here—it is true it is only my first meeting—we have had the point: "What about the King's signature on treaties of the Leagues?" That is one matter.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I feel with Mr. Bruce that we must know what all the arguments are leading to, and I thought that we were going to discuss each point raised in the memorandum and then finally to show where we had come to; to take the next; we then proceed and say: "Are we agreed that this or that shall be so?"

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For instance, when you take "the British Empire" in brackets, then correct this so as to make it fit; then when it comes to "His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dominions beyond the Seas," are we going to put in something there?

MR. LAPOINTE: Paragraph 10 suggests a change.

(The Committee then adjourned.)

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 2, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 4th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of Meeting held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, *on Wednesday, November* 3, 1926, *at* 11 A.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Hon. J. G. LATHAM, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Union of South Africa.

Mr. D. STEYN, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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MR. LAPOINTE: I will read the various paragraphs from 5 to 11 of the paper E. 104:—

"5. It will be seen from Annex I that all the plenipotentiaries for the different parts of the British Empire are grouped together after the King, but that, whereas the name of the plenipotentiary appointed by the Government in London is not accompanied by any territorial description, the names of the plenipotentiaries for the Dominions and India are preceded by the name of the part of the Empire on behalf of which each is authorised to act.

6. This arrangement reflects the present form of the full powers issued by His Majesty to the various plenipotentiaries. The form of full power issued to the plenipotentiaries acting on behalf of the London Government is unlimited, that is, it contains no limitation as to the part of the Empire for which they are authorised to sign. (Plenipotentiaries holding full powers in this form constitute what is sometimes known as the 'Central Panel.') The plenipotentiaries acting on behalf of the Dominions and India hold full powers authorising them to sign 'in respect of our Dominion of Canada,' &c. This procedure was adopted at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921, and it was provided in the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923, on the subject of the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties, that, as regards treaties negotiated at International Conferences, the full powers should be in the form employed at Paris and Washington.

7. As regards the form of signature, it is usual in the case of treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League to print against the names of the signatory plenipotentiaries the names of the countries for which they sign. The present form of signature, so far as the various parts of the British Empire are concerned, is shown in the specimen given in Annex I.

8. The effect of the form of the full powers described above is that the signature of the 'Central Panel' plenipotentiaries is of such a nature as, in the absence of any qualifying declaration, to bind the whole Empire, while the signature of each Dominion plenipotentiary only binds the Dominion which he represents. In order to prevent the signature of 'Central Panel' plenipotentiaries resulting in any Dominion being made a party to a League Treaty without its Government signifying its acceptance of the treaty by the signature of its own plenipotentiaries and binding itself by their signatures, a procedure is followed by which 'Central Panel' plenipotentiaries formally append to their signatures a declaration excluding from the operation of those signatures any Dominion which, being a separate Member of the League, does not by separate signature or accession become a party to the Treaty. The net result is that any Dominion whose plenipotentiaries sign a League Treaty is technically covered by two separate sets of signatures, viz., those of its own plenipotentiaries and those of the 'Central Panel' plenipotentiaries. Similarly, if a Dominion accedes, the accession extends *pro tanto* the operation of the signatures of the Central Panel plenipotentiaries."

Shall I read the others before we come to an explanation of those?

SIR CECIL HURST: If you would, please, as the next paragraphs are important.

MR. LAPOINTE:

"9. This system presents considerable advantages. From the point of view of foreign Powers, the fact that so much of the Empire as accepts the treaty is covered by the signature of a single plenipotentiary renders it impossible to contend that it is not contracting as a unit or that two separate parts of the Empire which accept the treaty are, in relation to one other, separate contracting parties. From the point of view of the Empire, it provides for the full operation of the principle that no Dominion is to be bound by a treaty without a signature or an act of accession for which its own Government is responsible. From the external point of view, the present system gives formal expression to an essential principle governing the relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, whether self-governing or not, viz., that they stand in relation to one another in a position entirely different from that in which each stands in relation to foreign countries. If this were not the case, that is, if it could be held that parts of the Empire were separate contracting parties *inter se* in the same sense as each is a contracting party in relation to foreign countries, it would be impossible for a part of the Empire which was a party,

for example, to a League Treaty guaranteeing equal treatment, to accord to another part of the Empire preferential treatment in respect of any of the matters covered by the treaty without at the same time extending that treatment to the foreign countries which were parties; further, if the treaty contained provision for the reference of disputes to the Permanent Court of International Justice, differences of opinion between two parts of the Empire, which were parties to the treaty, as to its application or interpretation would have to be referred to the Permanent Court. There would also be other reactions in the sphere of international relationships of the most far-reaching character; for example, there would be difficulty in maintaining that a commercial treaty granting most-favoured-nation treatment to a foreign country did not entitle that foreign country to any tariff concessions granted by one part of the Empire to another."

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not know, Mr. Chairman, whether you would like any very lengthy explanation of the system of nomination of plenipotentiaries on the Central Panel, because the matter is really condensed in these paragraphs you have just read. The historical origin of this system is, I think, to be found in what happened in Paris in 1919. We had, of course, during the War fought as one, and therefore it seemed natural also that we should make peace as a unit; but there were present at Paris representatives of the great Dominions, and they naturally felt that it was essential for their own peoples and for their own Parliaments that the signatures of men acting on their behalf specifically should also appear. These were appended to the Peace Treaty, and consequently from that historical circumstance there grew up this dual system. Now we, perhaps, in London become at times a little more impressed with the necessity for laying stress on what I may term the unity side of the question than always happens to the Ministers and the Governments of the self-governing Dominions. This is the aspect of this whole question which, so far as concerns what I may call the unity side of our work, really arises in connection with our relations with foreign Powers, and we in London have to bear the brunt of that work. It is no use concealing from ourselves the fact that foreign Powers are always on the watch to see whether they can discover any signs of want of union, any signs growing up of disunion, as between the various constituent elements of the British Empire. The more they see that there are such elements, or apparent elements, such fissures in the armour, if I may so describe them, the more they hope there will be an alteration in the position which ultimately, and in the long run, may tend to their advantage. We, I suppose, in London, being, as I say, the portion of the Empire most closely in touch with foreign affairs and foreign nations, are consequently more impressed than some of you are with the necessity of laying stress on anything which tends to symbolise and ensure the recognition by other people of that peculiar element in the Empire which causes us to stand on a different footing towards each other than we do to foreign Powers. The system that grew up in Paris has been continued in use up to the present day; it works, as is explained in these paragraphs, by the fact that you get, owing to this, what we call the Central Panel Plenipotentiaries, one signature which can be pointed to, in so far as our own relations with foreign Powers are concerned, as covering the whole of so much of the Empire as becomes a party to the treaty. Consequently, if any foreign Power goes to any part of the Empire and says: "Canada signed this separately, Australia signed this separately, and we assume that the other signatures we see only affect Great Britain," we can say: "No; those signatures which you see there are not merely a signature covering Great Britain, but cover the whole of the Empire. So much of the Empire as is a party to that treaty is there as a unit, and as a unit is not in relation to other parts of the Empire a separate contracting party from them." Consequently, we do thereby immensely diminish the risk of any demand on the part of an extraneous organ, such as the Council of the League or the Permanent Court of International Justice—if it is a treaty which provides for reference of disputes to such a tribunal—intruding into what really is a purely domestic affair.

That is the advantage we see from the point of view of our relations with foreign Powers. You have to look at the point of view of how it strikes your own people, your own Parliament and your own work in your own countries; but that side of the system is perfectly safeguarded by the fact that you do have your own plenipotentiaries nominated by a full power which indicates their responsibility to your own Government and to your own people, and, consequently, that is a side of it

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which is really of importance from your point of view. From the point of view of foreign Powers, we get the advantage of one signature covering the whole unit; from the point of view of your Governments, you get a signature which is that of your own plenipotentiary acting on behalf of your own Government. One can see, perhaps, that, like other matters, it seems to be a survival that implies, or might be thought to imply, something in the way of subordination of one part of the Empire to the other. Now, if you will look really into the details of this system, you will see there is nothing of the kind. It is not in the least essential that what we know as a "central panel signature" should come from any part of the Empire more than any other part of the Empire; the system of a central panel could work perfectly well if the central panel signature was not that of the Government in London, but was that of the Government in New Zealand or the Government in India. Technically, the important element in the system is that there should be one signature which binds the whole or so much of the Empire as is a party to the treaty. As you may know, it is not our custom to allow that signature to be binding on those parts of the Empire who do not wish to be included in the treaty; on the contrary, the man who signs on behalf of the Central Panel affixes to it a declaration that his signature is not to cover any part of the Empire which does not accept the treaty through its own plenipotentiary. That is explained in the memorandum on page 3 at the top. Consequently, this system can be combined with a system of the fullest possible autonomy of the self-governing Dominions of the Empire; what it is important to keep in mind from the point of view of your own Governments and your own people is the principle that autonomy means that it is for your own Government themselves to say whether they will be a party to the treaty. That is the important thing, I imagine, from the point of view of the Dominions. Now, we have had a good deal of discussion during the last few days as to the method by which the connecting link between the different parts of the Empire can be strengthened. I do not go so far as to say that the Central Panel is essential. I only say that it presents a great advantage, and therefore I hope that careful consideration will be given to the question before any intimation is made by the Conference that they wish the practice to discontinue, because one realises that the whole Empire is in a very rapid state of development. Just at the moment it may be important for the Dominion Governments to lay great stress on the autonomy within the Empire; but remember that, if we turn down a long road now, it will be very difficult to recover the lost ground afterwards, whereas, if we can maintain a practice which in the end does safely cover both points of view, there are very great advantages in maintaining it.

That, I think, really is what I may call the general case for the Central Panel system. The British Empire is a peculiar entity. We have always to bear in mind that, as against foreign Powers, we have strongly to emphasise the question of unity, while, from an internal point of view, we have to lay great stress on autonomy; but I venture to think that the more you look into the existing practice, the more you will find that it does satisfy these two conditions, and that until this controversy arose, for all these years since 1920, the system has been in practice with complete success and, as far as I know, without raising criticism, which shows that it does not really, in actual working, give rise to any difficulties.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I might just say how it strikes South Africa. In the first place, let me say that I fully agree with Sir Cecil that there are points in the Imperial armour—if I may so put it—which may prove vulnerable and points which may give foreign nations an opportunity of sowing discord, and we must, of course, in any method which we ultimately suggest, see that as little opportunity as possible is afforded for that. I can also see that this system was introduced in order to give as little opening as possible. Now, at the same time, I wish to point out this, that, to my mind, this is not so essential a thing, because, as I said yesterday, our position, the Empire's position, over against foreign nations is really governed by the Covenant. This form which has been adopted is taken over from or adapted to the form which was used in 1919. Now, in the signing, the Governments of the Empire, as I pointed out, felt that the self-governing Dominions were anxious to become, and were going to become, nations in the international sense, but that was subject to their will that, though considered international, they still formed a whole which is called the British Empire, and that together, under that condition, they were taken up as nations in the Covenant; so that this system is not essential—and there, again, I agree with Sir Cecil—and I want to point out how it is from the Dominion point of view unnecessary in respect of South Africa. In this I may differ from others

representing other Dominions, and I want to give the position clearly. The question arises, how far does this form militate against a complete conception of the status of South Africa under the League of Nations and internationally.

Now we have this—and I am now coming to the Central Panel; the Central Panel, the plenipotentiaries signing as members of the Central Panel, that is to say, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, have a general power, a power which covers not only what they do on behalf of Great Britain, but extends their functions as signatories to all the other Dominions, and for that reason it has been found necessary to insert that excluding clause. Now, what must be the effect of this upon other nations looking and enquiring into the status of any one of the Dominions? I do not think it can be anything else than this, that, though South Africa also signs, South Africa's signature is not really required because one or four plenipotentiaries appointed by Great Britain as belonging to that central panel signed, as I have said, both for Great Britain and for South Africa. The result is that your foreign Powers say, for instance, what was said in an article by Professor Rolin at Brussels, in the "Revue de Droit International," where he points out that the result is that, no matter what we may say in South Africa, the fact remains that the Government of Great Britain is really the Government which says what shall be done and in what manner it shall be done; in other words, that South Africa's representative signing is merely to satisfy the feeling of South Africa, and it has no international significance. The result is that the whole question is immediately open as to the international status of South Africa in the League of Nations. Now you can understand that, this being the interpretation which is put upon an act of that kind by the international world, it not only immediately throws everything into obscurity as to the real position and as to the status of South Africa as an international entity in the League of Nations, but it immediately does away with that equality which we started from since 1919 and brings about a real feeling of dissatisfaction, and that is something that you do not want. If, for instance, anything of that kind were said affecting Great Britain as it affects the Dominions, then I think, Sir Cecil or those representing Great Britain would very soon protest and say: "No, that will not do." We feel that we do not want in the eyes of the outside world to be looked upon as pretenders. We are being looked upon as pretenders to a status which we do not have. Therefore, we feel that the system is not one which gives satisfaction, and is one which we should try to alter in such a manner that, while necessary satisfaction is given to the Dominions and to Great Britain (because we must always be satisfied with what we do, and as things stand it does not give satisfaction, as I have said—on that point I agree with Sir Cecil), it does not suffer from the weakness of allowing foreign nations an opening to make mischief amongst ourselves. Then, if I am correct, what I would certainly suggest is this, that we do away with the Central Panel, that Great Britain's plenipotentiaries sign just as the plenipotentiary of any of the others, namely, for Great Britain, and that the others again sign each for the particular Dominion.

In that way various other difficulties would also be immediately done away with. For instance, there is the question as to how far the British Government should be the adviser to the King as to whether anything advised by a Dominion Government should be accepted or not. I say that if this proposal be adopted here that would immediately of itself settle that question, because otherwise, if the present system is maintained, we cannot get away from this, that the signature of any treaty, where you have a Central Panel signing also, must be considered as the signature on behalf of the King, but as advised by the British Government and by the British Government alone; and from that is immediately deduced your British Government, as foreigners interpret the position. We can say what we like, South Africa, Canada, &c., but, actually, the fact is, that any such State act is the act of the British Government, who, when they so desire and in a form of courtesy, allow us to have some formal say in the matter; but, in reality, they are the persons upon whose advice anything is done by and through the King or not. I hope I have put the whole case plainly on behalf of South Africa, at any rate, because I want us, when we consider a question of this kind, to see plainly what our difficulties are, so that we can as easily as possible meet them amongst ourselves.

MR. FITZGERALD: Sir Cecil Hurst asked me not to say anything against this until we had considered it rather fully, and perhaps I should not speak at the moment; but to begin with I want to point out one aspect of his statement that the Dominion representatives at Versailles were allowed to append their signatures. That seems to me really not to mean anything—pardon my saying that.

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SIR CECIL HURST: I did not mean it in that sense in the least.

MR. FITZGERALD: Their signatures were really all covered, they were not strictly necessary.

SIR CECIL HURST: They were essential from the point of view of the Dominions themselves.

MR. FITZGERALD: But not from the point of view of the instrument?

MR. LATHAM: That would depend upon the clause?

SIR CECIL HURST: In 1919 everyone came in, and it did not matter which was the operative signature. If General Hertzog will allow me in one small sense to correct him—if you will look at the present practice and examine it in detail you will see the operative signature that binds you is the signature of your own people and not the signature of the Central Panel, because the signature of the Central Panel does not operate in respect of a Dominion unless and until that treaty is signed, and by its signature accepted for a Dominion, by its own plenipotentiary.

MR. HAVENGA: Is not that so because the British Government by its own act excluded us from coming in?

SIR CECIL HURST: Not in the least. Look at the excluding declaration. It declares that the Central Panel signature is not to operate because it excludes from the operation of that signature any Dominion which does not by separate signature come in. Therefore, the really important signature from every point of view is that of the Dominions.

MR. HAVENGA: That is my very point. It is because the British Government, in drafting the instrument, specially excludes the Dominions. If that were not done as the act of the British Government we would, by virtue of the position we occupy, *ipso facto* be included. Why is it necessary to exclude specially if our relationship itself excluded us?

MR. FITZGERALD: If we come from the signature to the full powers, a plenipotentiary is appointed with full powers; he is appointed on the advice of the British Government, he goes with full powers, acting for South Africa or Canada, &c., until such time as it comes to his signature, when he states then that the full power does not cover that. This full power is issued on the advice of the British Government without necessarily any reference to South Africa or Australia, for South Africa, Ireland, &c., because there is no geographical limitation, which means —as I said, I am diffident about discussing it on the spot—that those full powers on behalf of South Africa are issued on the advice of the British Government and not on the advice of the South African Government. When it comes to the signature, the exclusive clause is put in. To come to the political side that Sir Cecil Hurst referred to, the need of showing unity abroad, as far as we are concerned, we have stronger need, I think, really than anyone around this table for actual unity. All our circumstances make for that; and we think that Governments abroad may look for a fissure, but the only way they will get any sort of fissure or apparent fissure is by irritation. What we are looking for is to give no one the opportunity of saying that there is a lack of co-equality. As soon as there is a suspicion with our people that there is a lack of co-equality, they will want to stress a divergence. As soon as there is no appearance even of a lack of co-equality, the natural factors will have their full play and there will be no fissure to be found. We feel that, so long as it is arguable even that the British Government advises His Majesty to issue full powers covering South Africa, Ireland and the rest of it, to a plenipotentiary, and he goes to sign, even though at the end he is going to put an excluding clause in, it will be the more necessary psychologically for our people to stress the fact that they are not there; whereas, if the British Government, acting as a co-equal member, says: "we have only power to issue powers in so far as our own jurisdiction is concerned, and we have not the power to issue these full powers covering South Africa, &c.," then we will come in by the natural force of events, and say: "we are most anxious for you to be there and most anxious to agree with what you say, and your word carries much more weight than our own, because you pull more weight." But as long as it can be argued in any way that the British Government purports to issue full powers to a plenipotentiary covering us, then, certainly, as far as I can see at the moment—and I am speaking without that long consideration that Sir Cecil Hurst advises—we cannot see that there is any real co-equality, there is decidedly inequality.

I cannot see circumstances whereby the Government of South Africa, or of the Irish Free State or Canada, purport to send a plenipotentiary acting for them as long as he acted, until it came to putting in an exclusion clause, with powers covering, and with the possibility of binding the Dominion, as actually did happen, I think, in one case, as far as we are concerned. I may say that the objection is not to a common plenipotentiary, but to the full powers being issued to him by one Government. It can be a common plenipotentiary appointed on the advice of all the Governments concerned.

DR. SKELTON: I think, Mr. Chairman, it is quite correct, as Sir Cecil Hurst has emphasised, that the whole procedure arose naturally, and perhaps almost inevitably, out of the circumstances which existed during the war and at the time of the Peace Treaty. The ambiguities and anomalies that have since come more clearly to light were implicit from the beginning in the form in which the Treaty of Versailles was drawn up. The very fact that the British Empire was the only State mentioned in the preamble and that the Dominions were mentioned when it came to the signature, but still were indented, made it very clear that the situation had not been wholly clarified or made consistent. One point which, to my mind, would carry weight particularly in favour of the preservation of the present system would be if, as a matter of fact, it was the best means of indicating in the long run to foreign countries our desire to remain united. Well, frankly, I doubt if it is. I think that argument might have been advanced at any stage in the past fifty years in the evolution of self-government among the Dominions. I think that side by side with the development of the self-governing status of the Dominions and its recognition by foreign countries there has come also a recognition of the greater strength and stability of the British Commonwealth. Foreigners are much less expecting to see a break-up now than they were twenty or thirty years ago—naturally so. The only danger, I agree with Mr. Fitzgerald in that, to our unity lies rather in the preservation of possible sources of irritation, so long as it is not clearly demonstrated that they are essential for a greater need. The whole system of the central panel seems to me to be quite inconsistent with the idea of any equal status, either in the League or elsewhere. The very fact that the excluding clause is brought in simply emphasises the fact, as has been indicated, that it is by the grace only of the British plenipotentiaries that the Dominions are allowed any distinct position at all. Nor could I agree that there has been no objection or comment upon it. I have seen a good deal of both continental and United States criticism to the effect that the position of the Dominions in the League is a sham because of the fact of the different ways in which it is made clear that it is really the Central Government which controls. I recall in our own Parliament a member stating that the whole system was a sham because our separate signature after the signature of the British plenipotentiary amounted to no more than putting a postage stamp on a franked letter, which was quite superfluous. I quite agree with Sir Cecil Hurst that we should reserve our judgment on many of these matters because they have very wide-reaching implications, and until the discussion was concluded and until we have had an opportunity of looking at the question as a whole, it might be difficult for us to come to any really valuable conclusion; but at first glance, certainly, it seems to me that the anomalies which exist under the present system should be removed, and I cannot see why it should not be possible to meet in some other way any possible difficulties that might arise from their removal.

MR. LATHAM: It seems to me that on this matter we should have to distinguish between questions of substance and questions of form, while recognising that, even if the position is satisfactory on questions of substance, questions of form are in themselves not unimportant, and that due weight must be given to inferences, possibly even to erroneous inferences, that may be drawn from a matter of form. I quite realise that. At the same time I must say I am not in the slightest degree impressed by certain erroneous inferences that may be drawn by representatives of foreign nations or by academic writers concerning the relations of parts of the British Empire or concerning the system of government under which we all live. I remember very well having a discussion with a member of another nation in which he asked me how Australia, which was supposed to be a democratic country, could possibly tolerate being governed by a Governor-General. I said, "We are not governed by him." He said, "You are." I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "No law can be made without his assent." "But," I said, "he gives his assent on the advice of responsible Ministers." "But," he said, "he could do

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as he likes, he is there. It is no use your arguing about it and saying you rely on his behaving in a reasonable way; the legal position, the position from which you are unable to escape, is that, without the consent of that individual, who is sent out from England, you cannot make a law and govern yourselves." He said to call it a democracy is a sham. I suggest that, on the documents, on the papers, on the strict reading of the position, there is a great deal to be said for that position, that the Governors-General theoretically govern because their signature is required to give effect not only to legislative acts, but also to a large number of executive acts, in exactly the same way as the King, people might say, is the governing agent of Great Britain, and, it might be put, of the whole Empire. Also, the position of the Imperial Parliament at present is a position which depends in relation to the Dominions simply upon the observance of an understanding, that the legal powers that exist are not going to be exercised except with the consent and by the request of the Dominions so far as Dominion affairs are concerned. Now perhaps I have been labouring the obvious, but it appears to me that this sort of thing is the kind of thing we want to bear in mind when a Belgian professor writes an article saying that the position of the Dominions in the League is a sham, and that the power of the Dominions to make their own international agreements is a pretence because there is a signature which technically covers them. Those arguments, for these general reasons, do not affect me very much, any more, I would say, than the argument that we are governed by the King or the Governor-General. It appears to me that, on the question of substance, there is no room for complaint, at least as far as Australia is aware; I think Mr. Fitzgerald said that in one case Ireland had become bound by a Treaty or some international obligation to which Ireland had not consented or given her assent. I do not know whether that is so.

MR. FITZGERALD: Full powers were signed by Great Britain; it was for a modification of Clause 393, as far as I remember, covering Ireland.

MR. LATHAM: If that is so, I should think that was an error, but, as far as Australia is concerned, I am not aware that Australia has ever become subject to any obligation, in recent years, that Australia did not desire to become subject to, and, speaking generally, I think that is the position of the other Dominions. If that is so, then I think we may fairly say that, upon questions of substance, there is no difficulty so long as we do not become bound when we do not desire to become bound. That leaves open the question of form. It seems to be we are dealing simply with the question of form, if the question of substance is a matter of common agreement, that no self-governing Dominion is to be bound by any treaty unless she signifies her desire through the responsible Ministers of the self-governing Dominion. Now, the question of form, for reasons I have sought to indicate by analogy, does not weigh very much upon my mind, or upon the minds of the Government of which I am a member, or upon the people of Australia. That does not mean that it is not important elsewhere—I fully appreciate that. What is the present position?

I understand that the effect of the present position is that, although, as Mr. Fitzgerald has said and General Hertzog also, there is one signature which is given by a plenipotentiary which binds the whole Empire, and that plenipotentiary is appointed by one of the Governments of the Empire, still, the actual substance of the matter appears to me to be this, when Great Britain signs anything, *i.e.*, when a plenipotentiary appointed in London, to make the position perfectly plain, signs any international document, that signature never binds that Dominion unless that Dominion has indicated by its responsible Ministers that it desires to be bound and indicates that desire by a separate signature. That, I understand, is the actual position to-day, and it seems to me that it pays rather more attention to form than to substance if it is said that it is a matter of grace that the Dominions are only let out, as it were, by an excluding clause; that we are in first of all, and that it is only by virtue of an excluding clause that we are let out. It seems to me that to found an objection on that point, having regard to the very clear understanding between the different parts of the Empire, that they are not to be bound except by their own signature, is rather over-emphasising the form; and that that is only a matter of grace might be said in the case of—let me take my example—of the Governor-General, that it is purely a matter of grace on the part of the Governor-General whether he will do his job according to the understanding under which he is appointed. I think there is a great deal in what Sir Cecil has said, that when the present system is rationally examined, when it is examined with the understanding upon which we are all working, there is much to be said for the present

system in preventing other people picking holes in the method of signature, whereas between ourselves the position is quite understood. At the same time, I would not now think of saying absolutely that one rather than another system should be adopted. It is a matter, I suggest, merely of discussing a formula, and if the present formula is objected to on the ground of form, then I am perfectly prepared myself to consider any actual alternative suggestion which is made which we can have before us in a concrete case, in a concrete example.

GENERAL HERTZOG: With regard to what Mr. Latham has said, I think Mr. Latham makes a little too light of the question of form in this; and in substance it is admitted even in this document before us that, when your central panel signs a treaty, it signs on behalf of all the Dominions, it binds all the Dominions; and the Dominions would be internationally bound, *i.e.*, over against the other contracting parties, if it were not that in that treaty any particular Dominion or all the Dominions are excluded.

MR. LATHAM: I think so.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Exactly. That is admitted. Then we see at once what the whole position is as far as foreign countries and interpreters of international law are concerned. When we enter into an international document, that document has to be interpreted by international law upon the one side as much as upon the other. Your lawyers are there to interpret according to strict rules of law. Now one thing that your international lawyer says, as in the article I referred to, which cannot be denied, is that it is Great Britain who contracts in such a document both on behalf of Great Britain and on behalf of the Dominions. That is a matter that is admitted by us here; and your international lawyers say this, and to my mind, quite rightly: "If Great Britain has the right to advise the King, as it does in such a case, to sign a document that binds also one or more of the Dominions, then, as far as that is concerned, the Government of Great Britain has an authority extending beyond Great Britain also to the Dominions concerned."

MR. LATHAM: Would you allow me to say one thing? That is, subject to the constitutional convention which is perfectly well understood between all the parts of the Empire, that the British Ministers are not going to advise the King to appoint a plenipotentiary who is able to act for a Dominion without the consent of that Dominion, testified by a separate signature.

GENERAL HERTZOG: That is exactly what we feel very strongly. Your international lawyer sitting at Brussels, or at Paris, or anywhere else, will say, "I know nothing as to your agreement amongst yourselves. Those are your agreements amongst yourselves. Those are as far as I am concerned ——

MR. LATHAM: That is where I join issue.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I am sure Sir Cecil Hurst will not deny that.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think Mr. Latham made a mis-statement there. I think, Mr. Latham, you overlooked the fact that the British Government, without separate advice from the Dominions, do appoint a plenipotentiary.

MR. LATHAM: They do, but without power to bind the Dominion unless the Dominion assents.

MR. FITZGERALD: That is the understanding.

MR. LATHAM: It appears to me that this is very nearly the critical point.

GENERAL HERTZOG: It is for that reason I have been trying to point out the necessity of having, whatever we may agree as to our status, officially brought to the notice of international statesmen. Until such time they can take no notice of what you say: that is merely a matter between us, as to which they will say, "We know nothing about it. You may agree as to how you are going to conduct the Empire, and run the Empire, and act, but all that we have to do with is this document. So far as we know, only Great Britain is the Power and the international State; and here Great Britain signs, and signs not only on behalf of Great Britain, but also on behalf of the Dominions." Consequently, it is really the act of Great Britain; and when she says in this document, "this document will not affect South Africa," then it is her act to which we agree; it is her desire, her will with regard to it, that South Africa shall not be affected; but as to South Africa—well South Africa

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does not come in at all as far as we are concerned, has no will over against us. It may be true that South Africa has said to you "I do not want to be bound by it," and England has accepted that; but it is the fact that England has agreed that excludes her from this document. In other words, South Africa does not come into it. I may sign on behalf of South Africa, but my signature is only there and will be considered by foreign countries and foreign jurists—I submit must be considered —only as a formal courtesy extended by the will of England that I should do it.

MR. LATHAM: If you add to that, unless your signature is there you are not bound, I do not see how a foreign jurist can contend that the presence of the signature is mere courtesy.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Take another instance, Mr. Latham. Suppose a treaty were signed between France, England and South Africa, and there is no excluding clause, but if I were to be allowed to sign and I were to say to France, "I am not going to be bound by this," this may be an agreement between me and France with the consent of England, but unless France knows and recognises my position as an international State, she will simply say, "You can sign it as often as you like, but, unless England consents, your signature is of no avail."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: We have been a very long time in conference, and I wanted to suggest the position is this. We all know that the Foreign Office must make treaties with foreign Powers, and must continue to make treaties. The Foreign Office has come here and told the Imperial Conference of the difficulties that it has, and has asked for suggestions. This has produced a very elaborate criticism, but there has been no suggestion so far as I know—my hearing is not very good—but I have not heard any suggestion put forward. I have heard substantial criticism of the form that the Foreign Office has suggested as an alternative, but I have not quite appreciated the force of the criticism—I suppose it is density—and we have had no suggestion. I did not understand Mr. Latham to make a suggestion.

MR. LATHAM: I think three suggestions were made at the first meeting, and I had hoped that we would have adopted one or the other of them in a slightly modified form within a quarter of an hour; but instead of that we have got on to a general discussion of the whole thing.

MR. LAPOINTE: We have not reached that.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It did not catch my hearing; probably it was my own fault. Either the outward or the internal hearing properties of this room are bad. Unless we come to some suggestion and have some alteration, not mere criticism, we may talk here for another three or four days, and then we should break up with nothing; and then the Foreign Office would be still in the position of having to make treaties, as they must, and they have asked us for advice and we have given them only comment.

MR. COSTELLO: Is not this a suggestion of fundamental importance, that the principle of the Central Panel should or should not be accepted? Dr. Skelton has suggested that it should not, Mr. Latham has suggested that it should. Is it not necessary to go into it, whether we shall adopt the first principles in the earlier paragraphs or the principles set out in paragraph 10? Has not the full question to be settled before we come to questions of form at all?

MR. LAPOINTE: I quite agree.

SIR CECIL HURST: Is not a good deal of the difficulty that is felt with regard to the Central Panel due to the idea which I think I heard General Hertzog put into words a few minutes ago, that if a Central Panel system is maintained it must necessarily imply some power on the part of the Government in London to intrude into the domestic affairs of the Dominions, because the Central Panel unlimited full power will have been initiated on the advice of the Government in London? By that I mean intrusion into the right of the particular Dominion to decide for itself what it is going to contract with a foreign Power. Is not that rather a misconception of the attitude? It is not an essential part of the Central Panel system. The Central Panel system means nothing more than this, that there should be a signature which covers so much of the Empire as is a party to the particular treaty. The Dominion right is not excluded under the system to-day, the system under which there is a plenipotentiary on behalf of the Dominion whose signature will operate only in regard to that Dominion. It does not mean an addition or accretion to the system

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under which there will be a single plenipotentiary from this country. It does not exclude that there shall be a method as to who shall be nominated to fulfil the purpose of the Central Panel. It does not exclude in the slightest degree Imperial consultation as to the occasions on which a Central Panel is desirable. All these things, if I may say so, are criticisms directed against the system because of dislike of features which may be present to-day, but which are not essential to the system. The only real item that is essential is there being one common signature which should operate.

MR. FITZGERALD: I was not arguing against, in a given set of circumstances, a common signature, but I was arguing against one Government having the right to give powers to a plenipotentiary without, say, reference to the Government of South Africa, or Australia, as the case may be.

SIR CECIL HURST: That criticism would be perfectly sound, and is perfectly sound, if the system did imply or entail anything of the sort. I do not think it does. A full power is an authority by the King, and not the Government, to say to a man: "You may sign that treaty"; and a full power of the unlimited variety is coupled with an instruction that he may sign under conditions which will make his signature operate in portions of the Empire in the case of Governments who intimate their desire that it should do so.

MR. FITZGERALD: It is an act by the King.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Our point is this. The Central Panel has the full power to sign. What we say is that we ask by whose advice that is done. Now on the document itself, it is by the advice of Great Britain. If you say to us this Central Panel can be asked not to do it and will not do it until after consultation, &c., then we still say: "Yes, we must sign on behalf of us all." Then the King has to give that Power twice over, whereas here the Central Panel is taken to represent all, the plenipotentiary is appointed by the King on the advice of the British Government. We say "No; if they are to act upon the advice of the British Government, that is to say, upon the power given to them by the King on the advice of the British Government, then that power should not extend beyond Great Britain, and it should not affect us." That is the point that is overlooked—no matter what consultation there may be. But what we feel is this, that if power is given by the King, that power must be to bind that part of the Empire upon whose advice it is issued. This is not the case; you cannot get away from it. It is the very fact for settlement, whether we shall leave it as it is—and, speaking on behalf of South Africa, I say there is no doubt that South Africa does not want to have its rights acquired or have itself bound in any way except upon instructions issued by the King and plenipotentiaries appointed by the King on the advice of his own South African Ministers.

MR. LATHAM: I think all the Dominions agree on that.

SIR CECIL HURST: There is no difference really anywhere.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Then the Central Panel must go.

SIR CECIL HURST: No, your objection is not to the Central Panel, but to the method by which at present the full power comes into being.

DR. SKELTON: Not wholly. It is quite true that there are cases where it would be convenient to have a single person signing for all on the advice of the Governments; but I do not know that we want to consider that as the sole point, and I take it there would be grave objections to the Central Panel system either if the plenipotentiary of the Central Panel is nominated on the advice of the British Government, or if he can only be nominated on the advice of all the Governments. The tendency then would be towards frustrating the intention of the Empire, and would not be in the direction they intend to go.

SIR CECIL HURST: Surely joint action is possible to-day between two Dominions. Joint action, even if it is joint action by all the Dominions together, does not imply a federal system. Let us go by steps. Supposing Australia and Canada desired simultaneously to enter into a treaty with France. Let us suppose that the Government of Australia and the Government of Canada decided jointly to secure the nomination of A. B. as their plenipotentiary, and also that they jointly advised the King to issue a full power to A. B. to sign on behalf of each or both of them.

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MR. FITZGERALD: In that case the full powers would set out on what Government's advice they were issued.

SIR CECIL HURST: At present there is nothing in the full power about that. There is no counter-signature. There has never been a counter-signature on a full power.

MR. FITZGERALD: There was one on the powers proposed to be given to the Canadian Minister at Washington. That is the sort of suggestion I am making as to the advice on which the full power is issued; and it should only cover the geographical area covered by that Government.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is general in some cases now. But let me pursue the pyramid I was attempting to build up. You get two Dominions jointly desiring that the King should issue a full power to a plenipotentiary to act on behalf of both of them. He clearly, without any violation of the understandings of the Empire, would be authorised to sign in a way that would bind each of the two Dominions concerned. They each participate in the act which will lead up to his nomination. Now take the case in which all the Governments of the Empire desire to enter into it. In that case, there would be a consultation as to a plenipotentiary to act on behalf of all of them, and, without any violation, his signature would bind all the Dominions, because they had acquiesced in the nomination. There you get joint action with an individual signature covering the whole, and you get all that is essential in the Central Panel.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Why not have it for individual cases as they turn up? The method which may be pursued in any particular case may always be agreed; but we say that when it is not agreed, then there should not be in existence a Central Panel, which has nevertheless all the true power, and would bind us if it were not that in the treaty itself we are excluded.

SIR CECIL HURST: When you say it has not been agreed upon, does that imply that we have been adopting a system against objections which have been raised by the Dominion Governments?

GENERAL HERTZOG: No, that is where we object; not because we are bound, because you have been very careful to take precautionary measures for excluding us; but what we say is this: "on the face of it, Great Britain here claims on this form to have the power to advise the King to appoint plenipotentiaries on behalf of any of the Dominions." We say "no."

MR. LATHAM: Is it possible to obtain a declaration that Great Britain does not claim to have that power?

SIR CECIL HURST: We do not claim it, and it is perfectly compatible with the Central Panel system that anything that has an appearance which leads to that suggestion should disappear. From the point of view of our relations with foreign Powers, General Hertzog a few moments ago used the most powerful argument you can have in favour of something in the nature of the Central Panel system when he said we were dealing with foreign Powers who are perfectly entitled to turn round and say to us: "We do not understand the intricate workings and the constitutional system of the British Empire." It is for that reason that we want to have something in the nature of a Central Panel to make our case watertight as against the foreign Powers.

GENERAL HERTZOG: All that I say is this: adopt a method, then, of preventing it that will not on the face of it, as it appears from this document, give the impression that Great Britain, notwithstanding that we say here we are all equal, the moment she faces a foreign nation, says: "You see, we are not; these Dominions really signify nothing, because, whether they sign or not, the two or three men mentioned here sign, and sign on behalf of all. True, South Africa is not affected in this treaty; but that is only because *we* exclude her here." That is the impression. We must not forget that. I am accepting fully, and I think we are all accepting this fully, that as to the arrangement between us Great Britain does not intend to override and go away from what has been settled between us as equal States.

SIR CECIL HURST: Certainly.

GENERAL HERTZOG: All that we say is that when we go forth and meet the foreign countries, do not let us come to them in a manner as though this were the case, namely, that Great Britain stood above them all; because as long as you do this you cannot blame foreign countries if they continue to say what they have said in the centuries past: "We only know Great Britain, and, whatever these others may say themselves, we cannot recognize them in any other form than as being subordinate." Then we come to what has been a question of difference in the League, for instance, and again in the Washington Conference: "Do these others deserve a vote, yes or no?" "No," it is said by the opponents, "they do not, because it is all pretence on their part to claim the status of international States." Whatever we do, do not let us add to this position in any form and confirm the position which is taken up by our opponents. Take the question of France: At Lausanne, and again at the Dawes Conference in London. We know that the Dominions were kept in the ante-room mainly because France said: "No, we do not recognize their right, they are really under Great Britain, and this is all pretence. Why should they come to take part in this Conference?" I say, do not let us confirm them in that position. It is not only a question of Dominion feeling, it is also a question of Dominion rights and Dominion prestige over against these foreign nations. If you do confirm that impression, I foresee that sooner or later foreign nations will come to a point with you which will make it very difficult when it might be very necessary that the Dominions should be represented and present in their actual form as agreed on between us, and where, in consequence of what you yourselves have caused them to think and given them ground for thinking, you may cause prejudice to your own and our position, let me say to the position of the Empire.

MR. HARDING: May I make a suggestion? With regard to the last point raised by General Hertzog, perhaps he will remember that the question of representation at international conferences is put down separately on the agenda, and I feel that the Foreign Secretary would prefer to be present personally during discussion on that point.

On the particular matter which we have been discussing this morning, it becomes quite apparent that it would be difficult to secure an agreement on the present system, but it has to be remembered that the memorandum does not deal only with the present system, it deals also with the possible alternative in paragraphs 10, 11 and 12. Might it possibly be of advantage to discuss the alternative procedure in paragraphs 10, 11 and 12, while reserving the question of the Central Panel, in order to see how that . . . .

GENERAL HERTZOG: I would certainly support that. As Sir Cecil Hurst said, let us discuss this freely, reserve it, and then later look at it as a whole.

MR. FITZGERALD: May I ask a question of Sir Cecil Hurst? With this exclusion clause, when you have the full power, it is possible for the area covered by the London Government to make a treaty not binding the whole of the areas governed from London?

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes.

MR. FITZGERALD: So that it is possible—we are trying to indicate there is unity and co-equality amongst us—it is possible to have a treaty with the exclusion clause reading like this: "Provided always that this shall not be understood to bind Canada, Australia, South Africa, Nyasaland, Ceylon, the Irish Free State"?

SIR CECIL HURST: An exclusion clause is not precisely in those terms, but is of similar effect.

MR. LATHAM: The same as Locarno.

MR. FITZGERALD: Nyasaland and Ceylon could also be excluded from Locarno. That would be merely opium or something like that, but that could happen.

MR. LATHAM: It is the present position.

SIR CECIL HURST: The colonial exclusion clauses are infinitely various in form.

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MR. FITZGERALD: So that the exclusion clause implies the co-equality amongst the constituent members of the Commonwealth that exists between Nyasaland and Great Britain?

MR. LATHAM: That does not follow at all.

MR. FITZGERALD: I am putting it in caricature . . . .

SIR CECIL HURST: The exclusion clauses are quite apart from anything in the nature of co-equality of the States. An exclusion clause is really an intimation of the geographical area in which the treaty is to operate. You cannot have an exclusion clause unless the terms of the instrument under which the individual plenipotentiary was authorised to negotiate were so wide as to necessitate that exclusion clause in order to prevent these territories being affected by his signature. You cannot, for instance, make a treaty, and this Government alone could not make a treaty, and put in a clause saying that the signature is not to bind Canada unless the terms of the original instrument appointing the plenipotentiary to negotiate the treaty were so wide as to have had the effect of its covering Canada if it had not been excluded.

MR. FITZGERALD: When you issue your full powers, supposing the plenipotentiary had a temporary mental aberration and finished the document without having put in the exclusion clause excluding Canada?

SIR CECIL HURST: It would be corrected when the treaty was ratified. Treaties do not come into force until they are ratified. I suppose that temporary aberration of the intellect on the part of the plenipotentiaries have to be corrected in that way.

MR. LATHAM: That, of course, would upset a good many of our arrangements in all walks of life.

MR. FITZGERALD: All I am pointing out is that the plenipotentiaries' powers cover Canada, except in so far as the exclusion clause is put in, and it covers Canada—I am putting it grotesquely—in the same way that it covers Nyasaland.

MR. LATHAM: Is there not a distinction between the Government, which is bound and which assumes obligations, and the territory in respect of which the obligation is to operate?

MR. FITZGERALD: It seems to me that if you send seven plenipotentiaries, all with the same powers—I mean to say, powers in respect of Canada, Australia, and so on—that implies a unity in as pronounced a form as if a plenipotentiary had been given authority to go ahead and concur in the document by means of a general full power. A cohesion is already implied amongst them which you may say is only the same cohesion that could exist between France and Belgium, but in this case there would be less fissures for someone to find out; whereas, as long as we have a Central Panel, the co-equality of status, which seem to us to be just as important as the other principle, is not implied at all, even although it is implied by a reservation that the British Government in that instrument is not going to bind Canada, although they have issued the full power.

SIR CECIL HURST: The Central Panel system is perfectly combinable with the fullest co-equality of status.

MR. FITZGERALD: I have not been convinced of that from Clause 10.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is not an alternative to the Central Panel system. The common plenipotentiary is the essence of the Central Panel System. The common plenipotentiary is a system perfectly combinable with the fullest co-equality of status, and the danger always present to our minds, more perhaps than it is present to your mind, is the case you have mentioned just now. If seven plenipotentiaries all nominated from constituent parts of the Empire went together to sign a treaty, that itself implies some cohesion, but you yourself added that it might be only the same sort of cohesion as might be present if the treaty were signed on behalf of foreign nations. It is that little difference that we want to ensure on the face of the treaty.

MR. FITZGERALD: Surely that can be arranged in each individual case? By consultation we can say: "In this case there is no need to send the seven."

SIR CECIL HURST: If we reach an agreed system, it much diminishes the volume of consultation that has to take place on every case.

MR. COSTELLO: Perhaps Sir Cecil Hurst would submit to one more question from me, the only one I wish to ask. Would not the adoption of the Central Panel system have the effect, with the signatures on behalf of the various Dominions who subsequently adopted the treaty and became bound by it, that foreign Powers would look at the signatures of the Dominions concerned merely for the purpose of construing the treaty, finding its scope and effect, and in that way the Dominions would not in any real sense be parties to the treaty, but their signatures would be there merely for the purpose of giving the necessary scope and effect to the treaty, so that the foreign Power would look at the particular Dominions' signatures to the treaty merely for the purpose of construing the treaty and finding out its scope and effect; and the adoption of the Central Panel system, if that is correct, would have the effect of completely submerging such national identity as the Dominions possess at present? There would only be really two parties to a treaty, one the foreign Power, the other the Central Panel Power, and the signatures of any other nation or Dominion that would be appended would be there merely to explain the scope of the Central Panel Power's signature and the construction of the treaty, and the signatures of the Dominions would not be there in any possible international sense whatever.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not myself believe that that either is or would be the effect, and I am perfectly certain there would be no justification for it. It is not really what I might call the foreign man-in-the-street, whose views we have to take into account; it is something like a foreign international tribunal. There is the possibility of misunderstanding. If you had some system under which, after the name of the King, there came this list of people: "For Great Britain, &c.: *A.B.*"; "For Canada: *C.D.*"; "For Australia: *E.F.*"; and so on all down the scale; "For the Irish Free State: *P.Q.*"; and at the end of it: "For all parts of the British Empire accepting this treaty: *X.Z.*"; surely, in face of that, who could say that the identity of the constituent autonomous parts of the Empire was submerged? And there you get just that element that we could point to, what I call the signature of a common plenipotentiary, which at the moment when it became necessary to do so would enable us to go to foreign States and say: "No, Great Britain, Ireland, Australia and Canada are not separate parties to the treaty; the whole Empire for the purpose of this treaty is a unit, and there is the common signature which indicates it."

DR. SKELTON: Does not that imply only one unit in the League of Nations, and that the British Empire?

SIR CECIL HURST: Surely not.

DR. SKELTON: You started by saying there would be no objection, and I think we would all agree to that, to, let us say, Australia and Canada, if they wanted to form a treaty jointly, appointing a common plenipotentiary, and so on. In the same way, if each of the parts of the Empire wished to make a treaty on the same subject, they could all appoint the same plenipotentiary; but there is a very great difference when you bring in, in addition to Great Britain, Australia, Canada, and so on, the concept of the British Empire as something distinct from them and really constituting the member of the League. That is our difficulty.

SIR CECIL HURST: We were not worrying about the member of the League; I was struggling to get something on the face of the treaty which would always enable us to say in a conclusive and satisfying way to any international tribunal or any international organ that was faced with the fact: "There on the face of that document is a signature which operates on behalf of all of us and makes us a unit for the purposes of this treaty and so far as concerns our relations with a foreign Power."

DR. SKELTON: But in which direction are apparent misunderstandings likely to come at the present time? Are they not more likely to underestimate the distinct status of the Dominions in the League under the present form than to underestimate the unity which prevails amongst us and which they have seen tested and know will prevail?

SIR CECIL HURST: Personally, I should have said, after a good many years' experience of constant attendance at Geneva, that the answer was no. To anyone

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who has had practical working experience by the League at Geneva, as Mr. Lapointe himself has had, all the people who are gathered together at Geneva must distinctly realise the separateness of the constituent autonomous elements in the Empire. I should say the greater risk was the other. It would be very interesting to hear Mr. Fitzgerald's comments on that point, because he also has had considerable experience at Geneva. Do you find, participating at Geneva in a gathering of the League, that foreign Powers in the least fail to realise the fact that the Irish Free State is a separate member of the League?

MR. FITZGERALD: Well, I think rather, yes; and, as far as our national psychology is concerned, certainly that would make it more necessary for us to stress that point than to press anything else. For instance, in September, when Spain withdrew, I know there was talk among pressmen, and they looked round first of all to see who should take Spain's place, and said: "What about the Dominions?" It was said immediately that the Dominions are represented on the Council by Sir Austen Chamberlain.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Because the Empire has a permanent seat. The permanent seat does represent us to a certain extent.

SIR CECIL HURST: There is another element probably. There are a good many candidates for the available elected seats, and the foreigners take the view that, if the Dominions are not qualified or eligible for that election, it increases their own chance of a permanent seat.

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite, and the more you make the one unit, the more grounds you give them for that.

SIR CECIL HURST: No; we all agree that the Dominions are eligible.

MR. FITZGERALD: I heard the conversation of a fairly prominent foreign statesman where someone had said: "Have you any objection to Ireland?" It was said: "No, they have an agreement amongst themselves, and, although they might differ on minor points, they are always going to be together on major points."

SIR CECIL HURST: It was not what they hoped.

MR. FITZGERALD: Not what they hoped to realise, and their hopes were fragile enough for them to decide that it was better to get someone else on.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You are not proposing to sit this afternoon?

MR. LAPOINTE: No. I think the next meeting is fixed for 4·30 to-morrow afternoon.

(The Committee then adjourned.)

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 3, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 5th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of the Fifth Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, *on Thursday, November* 4, 1926, *at* 4·30 P.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Hon. J. G. LATHAM, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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MR. LAPOINTE: Well, Gentlemen, we have discussed the first paragraphs as far as paragraph 10. We have explained the present system, especially with regard to the Central Panel. The system has been explained by Sir Cecil Hurst, and we have decided, quite tentatively, and I think now I had better read paragraph 10.

"10. If it is thought that the present procedure does not comply in form with the accepted principle of full equality between the various parts of the Empire, which forms the basis of any discussion of questions of this kind, some alternative form must be found which will safeguard the principles indicated above. A possible alternative would seem to be a form of full power containing words of geographical limitation applying to each plenipotentiary, with corresponding geographical limitation against the name of each plenipotentiary both in the preamble and the list of signatures. Any new arrangements should, however, be applied as regards the full power, the preamble and the list of signatures in such a manner as to safeguard the principle indicated in paragraph 9.

"An appropriate form of preamble would appear to be on the following lines: All the plenipotentiaries for the different parts of the British Empire would then continue to be grouped together after the King as contracting party in the following manner with words of geographical limitation applying to each plenipotentiary:—

"His Majesty the King, &c.,

"For Great Britain and Northern Ireland, &c.,

"*AB.*

"For Canada,

"*CD.*

"&c.

"The form of signature would then follow the same principle, and would be as follows:—

"British Empire—

"Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League.

"*AB.*

"Canada,

"*CD.*

"Australia,

"*EF.*

"&c.

"11. The objection to this course is that it does not emphasize to the same extent as the present procedure the important principle described in paragraph 9, and that if it were adopted it would be difficult to maintain that principle in connection with Treaties.

"12. This objection, however, would to a great extent be overcome if all the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference definitely placed on record their view that the principle in question forms the basis of their international position, and communicated to the League, and, if necessary, to individual foreign Powers, an expression of their intention to maintain it in relation to treaties to which they become parties."

My objection there, Sir Cecil, is to keeping the words "British Empire," especially when there are only two or three parts of the Commonwealth which have to sign the treaty. There seems to be rather a contradiction there.

MR. LATHAM: Not as it appears on page 4—it is split up there.

MR. LAPOINTE: Is it not recommended there that the words "British Empire" should appear there even for only two or three States of the Commonwealth which are parties to the treaty?

MR. LATHAM: Yes, these are all parts, I take it, on page 4. On page 4 the British Empire is a covering phrase, it is not identified with Great Britain—it is a covering phrase only.

MR. LAPOINTE: The British Empire would be parties to the treaty.

MR. LATHAM: There is no signature on behalf of the British Empire as a whole. In this case it is distinct from the different parts. On page 4 AB is Great Britain and Northern Ireland, CD is Canada and Australia. It shows the position generally in these cases. There is no signature which is operative as for the whole Empire. There are separate signatures for different parts.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is really carrying out what Mr. Latham suggests. It is an indication that in signing this treaty, in becoming contracting parties to this treaty, they are signing as units of the Empire.

MR. HARDING: Might not the terminology be left over until we come back to paragraph 3? Whatever decision the Committee comes to on the terminology suggested in paragraph 3 will really affect the terminology in paragraph 10.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I must say that as it stands here—I am speaking subject to correction—my objection is met. The British Empire will now include India also, and when you take "British Empire" as standing for Great Britain and Ireland plus the self-governing Dominions, plus India, then, as I have said on a former occasion, I think it is correct. It is only when we come to deal between Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions that I think that a term should be used which is more expressive of that particular content; and here, of course, there is done away with what we fundamentally took exception to, namely, the plenary powers given to Great Britain.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is, Great Britain comes in exactly as the others.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Exactly. That is as far as I can see it.

DR. SKELTON: There is one other question which Mr. Harding has said arises in paragraph 3, and that is the question of consistency in the usage of "British Empire," and that is probably a matter we shall have to come back to. Can "British Empire" be used here in one sense, and then in other places as relating to Great Britain and Northern Ireland? The great thing in these lists is to bring them all into uniformity.

MR. LATHAM: I do not think we can regard that list as being a list of all being on a level—British Empire one and then something quite different and distinct, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand. What is sought to be expressed, rather faultily, is that the British Empire includes all the other parts. I do not think you can read it as Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I don't think we like the British Empire "with" or "plus." I want to be within the British Empire, and I do not like an expression which seems to put me outside it; so cannot some other formula be adopted which would not do that at all events? You can see our objection to that form and appreciate it, can you not?

SIR CECIL HURST: I do. I hope also you see our objection to it, because we disappear altogether.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: No, you will not. There must be some means of expression which does not put New Zealand outside the Empire, and you are the genius to devise it.

SIR CECIL HURST: If the parentage of the phrase is to be admitted, it was mine. It was an expedient which I thought was the best that could be resorted to. Some formula had got to be devised, and I hoped that it was the best that could be devised in rather difficult circumstances at the moment, but I sincerely hope that we can now arrive by common agreement at a better one.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: We must devise another. The General objects to it, Canada objects to it, and now those who wish to support you in every way, and not carp at the great difficulties you have had to meet, feel the same difficulty equally. Personally, I said it at once when it was pointed out. I think Mr. Latham pointed it out, and certainly Mr. Bruce did. Everybody now is agreed that "the British Empire with" will not do, because that is absolutely confining the expression "British Empire" to meaning Great Britain and its Colonies.

MR. FITZGERALD: Although Sir Cecil Hurst said that the term "British Empire" has never been accurately used as meaning only Great Britain and the

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Crown Colonies, I am still quite satisfied in my own mind, if you look at the note at the bottom of page 9, that in the Arms Traffic Convention the term "British Empire" there had that meaning, and that meaning only.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You would like to confine it, and I do not want to confine it.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not want, Mr. Fitzgerald, to say that the interpretation you place upon, and the deduction you draw from, the phraseology on that particular occasion which is referred to at the bottom of page 9 may not be right. I am sure that that action was an expedient to which we had to resort in order to get over this particular difficulty that Great Britain does not figure in the Covenant at all. If the system can be introduced which is proposed at the bottom of page 3 and elsewhere in this paper, that there should be specific mention of Great Britain, this unpopular formula "with" and so on disappears.

MR. FITZGERALD: I said quite frankly that I do not like the word "Imperial," but, apart from that, I may as well say what is at the back of my mind. In the League of Nations there is a unit sitting in the Assembly called "the British Empire." There is also Canada, Australia, and so on. Internationally, in the League of Nations circles, we others who wish to assert our identity and our entity are always up against the idea that we are there twice over, that there is the British Empire and the parts of it. The proposals that come along seem rather to tend to justify that. We have been there as seven so far, and the unit "British Empire" has actually been that unit that I referred to. Now we come along. It is known in two ways; you know it here as what I call the whole Commonwealth; in the League of Nations, where I have come up against it most, it is known as a separate thing, and it tends to merge us into that one thing; it tends to justify all who say: "You are here masquerading as seven, but you are only one." We now come and say: "We are only one," but here, you see, we are sub-dividing that one. We are there more as part of a unit than units ourselves. That is the impression I am afraid of being conveyed.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Does not your argument come to this? Because "the British Empire" has been used in this form in the Covenant it prohibits us using the words "British Empire," giving to those words the meaning we all give to them outside the Covenant?

MR. FITZGERALD: I do not say prohibits using it; it only makes rather easy a misunderstanding of it.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I am certainly not going to be governed by the Covenant in that way for this purpose.

SIR CECIL HURST: May I put a question to you, Mr. Fitzgerald, in order to elucidate the matter in my own mind? Would it ease matters at Geneva in the common everyday work of the gatherings that take place in September if the Delegation coming from London passed under the name of "Great Britain," and, though there is no warrant for it in the Covenant, quietly abandoned the use of the words "British Empire"?

MR. FITZGERALD: I think so. The only objection I have is that the term has actually acquired a meaning. You understand what I mean?

SIR CECIL HURST: You mean the people at Geneva commonly regard the British Empire at Geneva for the purposes of Assembly meetings as no more than Great Britain?

MR. FITZGERALD: I say that is what has actually happened, and some people have said that we others are there actually masquerading. Therefore, I do not want a covering label, as you might say, to cover us all, which has actually been used for only one.

SIR CECIL HURST: That impression would very soon die out, would it not, if the Delegation coming from London ceased to pass and work under the label "British Empire"?

MR. FITZGERALD: Sooner or later, I think so, but we have to remember this. You have referred to the preamble of the treaty, and you have explained the difficulties that arise from it. That is seven years ago. If we go on seven years and

have the use of the words "British Empire" meaning one thing in the preamble coming up against us here, later on we will have the words "British Empire" in another meaning coming up against us seven years after.

SIR CECIL HURST: But the difference is that in the latter case the meaning would be the right one. I admit that our views in framing this paper were largely dominated by the fact that the wording of the Covenant has led to our feeling constrained to make the best of the system which has come into being by reason of that wording in the Covenant. I trust it is because we are a law-abiding people, and therefore do not like the idea of what one might call "kicking over the traces," but if there is really a good reason for it, and if it would be an advantage to the other Governments from the Commonwealth that come to the Assembly, that we should cease to pass under the name "British Empire" and should boldly claim the right to pass under what is our own name, "Great Britain," it would be very interesting to know that, because we should at least be bound to explore the possibility of doing it.

MR. FITZGERALD: Dr. Skelton made a proposal about changing the formula to "the King." Supposing the King's title were given in full?

SIR CECIL HURST: For the moment we were referring only to the signature part, the part that is dealt with at the top of page 4.

MR. FITZGERALD: If you knock out "the British Empire" at the top——

SIR CECIL HURST: Need you knock it out, because it would be perfectly accurate and would cease to give rise to any misunderstanding if we could terminate the present practice at Geneva under which, for certain purposes in the working of the Assembly, the delegation from London is bound to pass under that name? As you point out, it leads to a dual, and therefore misleading, use of the term.

MR. FITZGERALD: Then it comes to what term we think has stuck most. Quite frankly, this is a form of shop-windowism; we are anxious to show our entity, you are anxious to show the unity amongst us. Therefore, it seems to me that we should go down as units, each one as a unit, and you want to convey at the same time the unity of all of us. I should like to ask this: If the King is put at the head and it read like this: "His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, Emperor of India," and then you put at the bottom, "for the United Kingdom of Great Britain, *A.B.*," "for Canada, *C.D.*" and so on, would not that actually indicate not only the separateness of the signatures clearly, and not by a difference of alignment, and at the same time the unity?

SIR CECIL HURST: If I understand your meaning aright, it is that unity is adequately expressed by the use of "the King" in the preamble?——

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes.

SIR CECIL HURST: —— as being the political organ which has appointed all the plenipotentiaries?

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite.

SIR CECIL HURST: And that therefore nothing more is needed in the signature part?

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite.

MR. COSTELLO: Why import a second term, "British Empire," that has no meaning, except a popular meaning, apart from the Covenant?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I do not agree with that.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not think you can say that the phrase "British Empire" has no existence apart from the Covenant.

MR. COSTELLO: No meaning except a popular meaning.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: The popular meaning is everything.

MR. COSTELLO: Not at all.

SIR CECIL HURST (In reply to an observation by General Hertzog): I did not mean to go so far as that. I was for the moment turning the matter over in

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my mind to see really whether the element sufficient to ensure an international tribunal saying that there was no difference between the relations of the separate parts of the Empire *inter se*, and the relations between the parts of the Empire and the foreigner, would be avoided if we had nothing but the mention of the King in the list of plenipotentiaries.

GENERAL HERTZOG : "Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and all the parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League." You have the word "Empire" there, and then you go on to say "except those who are separate members of the League, for these *AB*." Canada, Australia, &c., they all know, are separate members of the League in the Empire. Is it necessary to have "British Empire"?

SIR CECIL HURST : In the list of signatories? Before I answer that question specifically would you give me a little time in which to think it over?

GENERAL HERTZOG : Certainly. We must consider these things.

SIR CECIL HURST : It is an important question and wants thinking out carefully.

MR. FITZGERALD : Will you consider my suggestion of the King's title, setting out in the title all his Dominions, "His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain"—I do not know what other things may want to come in—"and of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State, Emperor of India" at the head; and then, at the bottom, the geographically circumscribed plenipotentiaries would sign "For Great Britain, &c. *AB*," "For Canada *CD*," and so on?

SIR CECIL HURST : I hope we shall all consider these various suggestions, because they all merit careful attention.

MR. COSTELLO : The suggestion really comes to this, that it symbolises the unity you desire by the use of the expression "King" rather than by the use of the expression "British Empire"; and if you use the expression "King" in one place you symbolise that expression and use the expression "British Empire" in another place. That would certainly lead to . . . .

SIR FRANCIS BELL : Is not your difficulty this, Mr. Costello, that "the King" must be used in a treaty to which we are not parties? The King is himself an expression which, as a contracting party, is in some cases the personage who is contracting on behalf of certain parts of the Empire. You are describing the person who must be a party to every contract. It seems to me that you do not quite appreciate the difficulty that "the King" is used in treaties which exclude—for instance, Locarno.

MR. COSTELLO : It is proposed that the expression "British Empire" should be used in precisely the same sense.

SIR FRANCIS BELL : No; because you exclude from the British Empire easily.

MR. COSTELLO : Why not "King both of Canada, Australia, &c."

SIR FRANCIS BELL : "British Empire" is a geographical expression, and "the King" is a personal expression.

MR. COSTELLO : That is why we want it.

SIR FRANCIS BELL : You want to limit a geographical expression to a certain part of the Empire. I want the Empire to include the whole.

MR. COSTELLO : No, you want to get rid of the "Empire" altogether.

SIR FRANCIS BELL : You cannot get rid of it from the Covenant.

MR. COSTELLO : You want to get rid of the words "British Empire" altogether.

SIR FRANCIS BELL : You cannot get rid of them altogether.

GENERAL HERTZOG : May I draw your attention to this. Is it allowed to us in the same document to say : "The King appoints Plenipotentiaries"; "for Great Britain, so and so"; "for Canada, so and so"; and then you have *AB*, *CD*, and *EF* signing under the heading "British Empire"; "for Great Britain, &c., &c., &c." If the words "British Empire" mean nothing, then, of course, they will be signing practically neither for more or for less, nor for something different than what they have been empowered to sign for. Then why British Empire? Do you understand?

SIR CECIL HURST : Yes; but I do not think with deference that would be the effect. May I go back to the words that somebody used—I am not sure it was not myself—at the very first meeting of this Committee, when I was endeavouring to point out the necessity for what I described as an umbrella under which we were all going to march. This system set out at the bottom of page 3 and at the top of page 4—the part at the bottom of page 3 referring to the mention of the plenipotentiaries in the preamble, and that at the top of page 4 the signature which comes at the end of the treaty—involves what I may call a double repetition of the umbrella. In the first case the umbrella is the mention of "the King." In the second part it is the mention of the words "British Empire." The point we still have got to consider is whether two mentions of the umbrella are necessary, or whether only one is necessary.

GENERAL HERTZOG : That is the point.

SIR CECIL HURST : I shall want a little time to think that over.

GENERAL HERTZOG : Take into consideration what I have said before, that with regard to the British Empire it seems to me it is not necessary, because in the Covenant of the League, from which we practically draw whatever result we would like to have in the form of such documents, you have the words "British Empire," and under "British Empire" those saying that these are all members of the British Empire; so that it seems to me that is another reason why, apart from the difference in form, this is not necessary.

SIR CECIL HURST : These suggestions at the bottom of page 3 and at the top of page 4 were also coupled with the proposal which is made in paragraph 12 of this paper, under which it is suggested that we could take some opportunity of just reiterating at Geneva and making people there understand, and make sure that they accept, the principle which you, General, have drawn attention to, that when we entered the League we did all enter upon that special understanding.

GENERAL HERTZOG : Exactly.

MR. LATHAM : May I make this enquiry of Sir Cecil Hurst? Until the words "British Empire" appeared in the Covenant of the League, did they ever appear in any international document, or is that the first appearance? Were not all international documents, when placed in legal form, in the name of the King?

SIR CECIL HURST : I do not call to mind any case of the use of the term "British Empire" as a technical term in a diplomatic instrument before the Treaty of Versailles and of course the Covenant is a part of the Treaty of Versailles. It appears in the preamble of the Treaty of Versailles.

MR. LATHAM : It seems to me the use of the words "British Empire" as a matter of legal form is not anything that is consecrated by long usage. It has no particular sentiment about it. It appeared for the first time, as far as I know, and Sir Cecil Hurst has confirmed this opinion, in the Covenant. The ordinary method of making treaties is as between executive Heads of States, and if the executive Head of what we call and what we quite understand by the use of the words "the British Empire" is described by the full Title, as suggested by Mr. Fitzgerald, I think, without binding myself absolutely, it goes very far to meet the difficulties that have been suggested round this table.

SIR FRANCIS BELL : If you described the King and added some diplomatic expression "contracting herein in right of his Dominions of so and so and so and so," that would enable him to exclude the others. You could use the words "contracting herein in right of his Dominion of so and so" if you use "the King" as the umbrella.

MR. LATHAM : It is very close to that.

SIR CECIL HURST : The form suggested here is very near, because it nominates the plenipotentiary who is to act in the conclusion of a treaty for the purpose of . . . .

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SIR FRANCIS BELL: You want to say "the King" will contract. If he contracts without any limitations of his contract, he contracts for the whole of his realm—you can omit the word "Empire." Then you want in the treaty, because you will have to make no end of treaties without us, some diplomatic words expressing whatever will be the equivalent of "in right of his Dominion of so and so," and leave out the others—if they agree; or leave it with the colonial clause.

SIR CECIL HURST: If he appoints his plenipotentiary to contract for Canada, and that plenipotentiary is nominated and signs the treaty, he does thereby sign for Canada and nothing else.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Yes, but I think in a very great majority of the cases he will be forced to contract before he has got the ratification by the Parliaments of the various Dominions, so that he will have to contract himself alone by his own plenipotentiaries and reserve the right. I do not see how it is conceivable when the King makes an agreement with France, for instance, that it shall not be signed until the Parliament of Timbuctoo, we will say, has ratified the treaty. We are all saying that the Parliaments must ratify it, that is the idea, so that the general form, it seems to me, will be the form of a treaty with the colonial clause, and you want to modify the colonial clause so that it shall not imply that they would be bound by the mere signature of the King, if not excluded expressly.

SIR CECIL HURST: In a treaty which is going to be ratified, though in a sense the party is bound, the treaty does not come into force until it is ratified.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: But it comes into force as far as the King is concerned.

SIR CECIL HURST: Take Locarno, for instance.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: If you are going to wait for the ratification by the various Parliaments, the King of Great Britain, the Power, will have to be bound in the meantime if he is going to make any agreement at all.

MR. FITZGERALD: Is it not a matter of full powers? If powers are arranged so that he acts on behalf of Great Britain, and it is signed for Great Britain, is not that a limiting of the ambit of the thing to a certain portion?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It will be generally a treaty by the King alone. You will not appoint your plenipotentiaries until your Parliament has ratified. The King will not appoint a plenipotentiary for you without your nomination.

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite, but if he appoints plenipotentiaries on behalf of Great Britain, of course, it applies to England.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I would be quite content with that; but I do not think, after consideration, it would content you, because the King, if he appointed plenipotentiaries, would really be the King of you as well as of us, and it would seem to be a treaty that bound us all. If you put such words as "acting herein on behalf of his Dominion of so and so" and they are appointing plenipotentiaries on behalf of that, then you go on. If that form could be used diplomatically, that would seem to me really to meet the views of all of us.

GERERAL HERTZOG: I think we had better adjourn here as it is getting a trifle late.

MR. LAPOINTE: We will adjourn now; and I suppose we will not have a meeting to-morrow. The next meeting will be at 2·30 on Monday next. In the meantime, Sir Cecil Hurst will consider the suggestion of General Hertzog as to whether it can be done.

(The Meeting adjourned until 2·30 P.M. on Monday, November 8, 1926.)

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 4, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 6th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of the Sixth Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, *on Monday, November* 8, 1926, *at* 2·30 P.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Right Hon. S. M. BRUCE, M.C., Prime Minister.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. M. BONIWELL, Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.

Union of South Africa.

Mr. D. STEYN, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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MR. LAPOINTE: We were at paragraph 13, having just finished the consideration of paragraph 12. I understand that Sir Cecil Hurst had to deal with suggestions that have been made and he is to give us an answer this afternoon.

SIR CECIL HURST: The question which was put to me was this. Suppose that the form of treaty—the form of preamble suggested in the second paragraph of paragraph 10—were adopted and the contracting parties named with the King and then the form of signature at the top of page 4 was also adopted, the point was whether it is necessary to insert there the words "British Empire," or to use the particular formula we have used before, is it necessary to repeat "the umbrella" before the list of signatures with the principle that occurs there in the preamble? I find the question an extremely difficult one to answer, particularly at the present stage. What one has to bear in mind is not merely the impression with which this may be received at Geneva if this question came up for consideration now, but one has really to consider it from the point of view of what could conceivably be the weakest link in the chain, what interpretation could be placed upon the document if it came before some judicial tribunal. Would they hold, on the face of an instrument so prepared, that there was ground for maintaining that the various parts of the Empire had contracted on the basis of there being a special relationship between them different to what existed between them and foreign Powers? I find it extremely difficult to answer that question in the affirmative at the present stage. At any rate, I find it almost impossible to give with confidence a categorical yes or no. What I should prefer, if I may say so, is to suggest to you, when the appropriate moment arrives, a draft model form of treaty which I think we can adopt, and adopt with safety, which excludes the second mention of the "umbrella"; but I only feel it would be safe to leave it out in the way I have done in this draft, which I have got and can give you if you like, if we arrive at some conclusion on two other points on the paper, because I do not think you can take this item and separate it from the context. There is the point that arises in connection with paragraph 12; that is to say, if we have definitely made an announcement to the world that this is the case, that would clearly be a matter which the foreign tribunal or international tribunal, or any tribunal that would have to deal with the matter, would have to take into account. There is the suggestion made to you in paragraph 13, because of the basis on which we all now contract, that a special provision that has been inserted in treaties should be dropped; and there is another suggestion in another paragraph as well. I think it is better that we should come back to this question after we have discussed the rest of Part I of this paper.

MR. LAPOINTE: Then I will read paragraph 13 and we will come back to that later. (Paragraph 13 read.)

GENERAL HERTZOG: "In these circumstances the best course would seem to be to deal with the whole specifically in any resolution on the subject passed at the Imperial Conference . . . ." What does that mean?

SIR CECIL HURST: It means this. It has been already suggested to you in paragraph 12, which we have left for the moment, that the Conference should place on record its view on the principle forming the basis of the international position; so that it really is embodying your idea that we should reiterate to the world at large the fact that they accepted us into the League on a special footing.

MR. FITZGERALD: In that clause was inserted "territories forming part or placed under the protection of the same sovereign State"—that is the sort of thing that makes it all the more necessary for us to insist upon separateness. Is that a proper description of the position of the Dominions, that they form part of or are placed under the protection of the same sovereign State, because obviously any foreign person knows it applies only to the Dominions, because we are the only members of the League of Nations about whom there is any such question? By implication some such people are members, and it is intended to safeguard this relationship between the various parts of the British Commonwealth, and that description which is given there "forming part or placed under the protection of the same sovereign State," is that, in your view, a correct description of the relationship?

SIR CECIL HURST: I am not the author of that phrase; or do not hold a brief in any way for it. Really what you mean is that the phrase would be much more accurate if one cut out the word "State," and said "forming part or placed under the protection of the same Sovereign"; but it is obvious we do not form part of the

Sovereign, nor are the Dominions "placed under the protection" of the same Sovereign.

MR. FITZGERALD: A number of things like that have created an impression abroad, and we are very anxious to kill the thing; and I admit that that seems to me to be entirely at variance with what we know amongst ourselves here and is an entire misapprehension, but it puts out, as far as our status abroad is concerned, a wrong impression.

SIR CECIL HURST: You do not suggest that that is the intention?

MR. FITZGERALD: No. I am dealing with impressions only.

SIR CECIL HURST: It may be that the phraseology that has been used in the past is not quite satisfactory. That seems to be an additional reason why we should try to abandon its use in the future.

GENERAL HERTZOG: We are all agreed that we should find a substitute for this.

MR. LAPOINTE: I will now read paragraphs 14 and 15. (Paragraphs read.) I think it should be made clear that we are separate members of the League.

MR. FITZGERALD: There was a suggestion of creating Great Britain a signatory by usage, yet the British Empire is still a signatory.

SIR CECIL HURST: Not a signatory except of this which is only a formal instrument.

MR. FITZGERALD: It is intended according to this clause to retain that name "British Empire."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: We are all parts of the British Empire.

SIR CECIL HURST: We as a result of this Imperial Conference have clearly got to make changes. We have to get these changes accepted by the foreign people concerned. With regard to treaties it is important to get these changes made, and there we are, I think, in a position for insisting; but as to the mere workaday business of the Assembly of the League it would not be of sufficient importance to render it necessary to try and make a change which may be unwelcome to those in Geneva, because we are making a change which appears to be on the face of it inconsistent with the position in the League. What we felt when we worded that was that we were insisting upon changes that are really important, but these other matters which are dealt with in paragraph 15 are not of sufficient importance to render it necessary to insist. That was the view which we felt on the matter.

DR. SKELTON: It is true that you will have to consider how far changes will be made acceptable to all other members of the League. I am not sure that it would not be easier to make them acceptable if they were made consistent rather than that part should be changed and part left in an anomalous position. If you use the same terminology you may have more ground for getting acceptance.

SIR CECIL HURST: I said just the workaday business of the League at Geneva. This, of course, meant League Conferences and not a meeting of the Assembly. What I had in mind was the fear that if we laid too much stress on these matters of lesser importance we might be told: "Well, you must amend the Covenant." Amending the Covenant is a process which is such a very slow business that we want to be able to make this change without having to face the ordeal of amending it. Just think what the amendment of the Covenant means. We should have to go to a foreign State, like Italy, and ask them to pass through their Parliament legislative approval of a change of a treaty which did no more than affect the people of what is to them a foreign Power; and what chance is there of getting that through in a reasonable time? It is a very small chance, and we should have to face the possibility for a long time that we might be in a very precarious position, that having been told by somebody that a change in the Covenant was necessary, yet it had not been put forward.

MR. HAVENGA: There is an interpretative resolution.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is a method of solving the difficulty where there may be two alternative meanings, and you decide which you are going to adopt. The actual introduction of the words "Great Britain" into the Annex to the

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Covenant can scarcely be covered by an interpretative resolution, unless you are going to place a very extreme meaning on that phrase. Those are some of the difficulties which confronted us.

MR. FITZGERALD: There are two meanings of the words "British Empire," particularly as to where the League of Nations is concerned. It is a question as to which one of those you will encourage.

SIR CECIL HURST: You must not think I am obstructive——

MR. FITZGERALD: Perhaps you will think I am obstructive, too.

SIR CECIL HURST: ——but there are two meanings of "British Empire," the right and the wrong. That is the only extent to which there are.

MR. FITZGERALD: Is it harder to establish the right than the wrong?

SIR CECIL HURST: That is not really quite the case. We have been driven in practice to seem to use the words "British Empire" in the wrong sense, and we want to get rid of it.

MR. FITZGERALD: To get rid of it properly means an amendment of the Covenant.

SIR CECIL HURST: I think it does.

MR. FITZGERALD: At the same time, you think it would be better to face an amendment of the Covenant rather than go with the tide. As I said before, I do not want to appear obstructive.

SIR CECIL HURST: If we think we can get by general admission of practice what we want in matters that are really important, *i.e.*, to secure in these treaties that the language implied shall be such as to prevent any suggestion of want of equality between the constituent members.

MR. FITZGERALD: Of course, we are interested in impression as well as what is called "legal interpretation." If we have the words "British Empire" used one time not including us, and another time including us, we are afraid it would tend rather for the less to contain the greater than for the greater to contain the less. If we have the label "Great Britain" one time and "British Empire" at another time, even though the British Empire label is used for matters of an unimportant nature, to my mind, at this moment at any rate, it seems that it is likely to carry on the misinterpretation.

SIR CECIL HURST: I think, Mr. Fitzgerald, I have already pointed out that we have framed our proposals on a less courageous basis than you have put forward, and which we would be prepared to recommend to the Conference to adopt. From you the suggestion came that we should endeavour to secure at Geneva the use of the term "the King."

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite.

SIR CECIL HURST: If you think our proposals suffer from want of courage, can you frame an alternative which you think would be suitable?

MR. FITZGERALD: It seemed to me earlier, as I said, referring to a note at the bottom of the page here, to my mind the "British Empire" used there on page 9 meant one definite thing; and then you ask: "Would I insist upon the retention there of the 'British Empire' and reject the substitution by usage of the term 'Great Britain'"? I do not really, provided it is feasible, but in this paragraph it seems to me not to be quite feasible.

SIR CECIL HURST: What exactly would you suggest with regard to the whole of this paragraph 15?

MR. FITZGERALD: I do not know as much as you do about all that these things imply, but, on the one hand, if we retain the words "British Empire" we give them a new meaning or the wrong meaning; if we change to the words "Great Britain," it implies a change in the Covenant. It is a very doubtful thing; it is a thing one would have to consider.

SIR CECIL HURST: One formula that might be quite satisfactory with these final acts would be to group the Powers together, try to secure the dropping of the

words "British Empire" and the substitution of the words "Great Britain," but to group the various parts of the Empire together so that they would go after each other without any mention of the British Empire at all.

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes; or would it not be necessary, or could you make a statement to the League that in the Covenant the term "British Empire" had a special meaning. Would that help you?

SIR CECIL HURST: But surely that would be very dangerous. If the special meaning you propose to suggest is "Great Britain," you are at once going to destroy your unity.

MR. FITZGERALD: Except for the one "umbrella."

SIR CECIL HURST: There is one thing one must bear in mind. The Empire itself is going through a very rapid state of development; similarly, the usages and practices at Geneva at these International Conferences can without difficulty be left to develop; in fact, they will be more acceptable to the foreign people concerned if they are allowed to develop a little more slowly. If we can secure a general system for League treaties, is it not quite likely that we could after, let us say, the next Imperial Conference, secure whatever definite changes are necessary in order to regularise the position and practice? I put that to you as an alternative. I do not think that it is necessary that we should try to achieve everything at once.

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite; I am not in a hurry. I do not want any change to be made which can give rise to further misunderstanding. I am not so anxious to have everything made clear at once, but I do not want us to take any positive act which may make our position more difficult to be understood. Therefore, any change, to my mind, should be explanatory of the position as we want it to be understood.

SIR CECIL HURST: The only change which is suggested in paragraph 15 is that the legal solution for the prevention of the anomalous situation should be to adopt "Great Britain, &c." in the preamble, by which I mean the list of the contracting parties in the preamble.

MR. LAPOINTE: That would come after the words "British Empire," instead of being inserted as we are at present.

SIR CECIL HURST: Our original suggestion would have meant they would have come under the term "British Empire." Now, we are practically agreed to substitute "the King" for "the British Empire," but it is not quite so easy to see how that would work.

MR. FITZGERALD: Would the substitution of "the King" actually do what is proposed to be done by Article 15? It is not drafted on the assumption of changing the form of the preamble. Do you not think it is possible, if we have "the King" in the preamble, that it would save the double change in the preamble and in the signature?

SIR CECIL HURST: I am not sure that it is easy to draw up in that way a final act of a Conference, which is merely a historical document in the sense that it does not embody agreement, but merely just what has happened. For instance, you have all had one before you in connection with the Conference at Geneva in relation to the American desire to participate in the Court at The Hague. I am not sure that these things are always drawn up in the name of the State, but Mr. Malkin has gone to see if he can find any precedents.

MR. HARDING: I intervene in this discussion with great diffidence, but it occurs to me it might meet the views expressed both by Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Havenga if an interpretative resolution was sent to the League to the effect that the man who appears at International Conferences under the title of "British Empire" is appointed by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and represents Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League.

SIR CECIL HURST: How are you going to find any value in the phrase "British Empire" as an umbrella in cases where you want to use that phrase as an umbrella?

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MR. HARDING: I should have thought that, if you had an interpretative resolution, that would have supplied the special interpretation. That is really what it means as far as the League of Nations is concerned, because the Dominions are represented there separately. After you have given a resolution of that kind, it leaves the question of what "British Empire" means, apart from the special circumstances in which you use this description, quite open.

SIR CECIL HURST: I should be afraid of the deduction foreigners would draw. I should fear they would regard the term "British Empire" as meaning no more than Great Britain. That is an interpretation I am anxious to avoid.

MR. LAPOINTE: It is naturally the case. Canada is not represented in the League of Nations by the delegates of Great Britain, but by her own delegates. We want to make that clear. You say the "British Empire" means more.

SIR CECIL HURST: You are in the happy position that you are represented twice over.

MR. LAPOINTE: I am not so sure that we are pleased about it.

SIR CECIL HURST: We are in the position that we have only a part of the representative, whereas you have one and a half.

MR. FITZGERALD: We are quite ready to forgo the dual representation.

GENERAL HERTZOG: We feel strongly, speaking on behalf of our part of the Dominions, that we want to have as little as possible to do with anything that may prejudice our position in the eyes of the world. As it stands here, I fully agree with Sir Cecil Hurst. "The British Empire" really means nothing except this, as having an indication that those who follow in their alphabetical order are those which constitute the British Empire. I do not think we would have any objection against that if it had not been for our having grown out from that umbrella on our individual legs, and now this umbrella still gives the impression to the outside world of our still being under it. It is really more than an umbrella to indicate who those parts are, almost like a hen with her chickens. At the same time, I must say I see Sir Cecil Hurst's difficulties. On the other hand, you feel it is not to our advantage to hold that "umbrella."

SIR CECIL HURST: It may be on occasions very important.

GENERAL HERTZOG: It may on occasions be important when we desire. You must not forget our relationship which was admitted when we entered the League of Nations, our particular relationship; in other words, in legal terms, "British Empire" would not affect our position at all. It is only over against the world outside that we feel we are likely to be prejudiced, as we have been in the past. Take, for instance, South Africa, where really it is just that kind of thing, the British Empire being constantly held up as something, not only an umbrella, but an active ward which has been the cause of so much unnecessary bad feeling in South Africa. I feel it is this reason which makes me rather insist upon our getting a clear declaration of what is our actual position. When once that is there, we know it all. I am not speaking of the declaration as over against foreigners, but amongst ourselves. When once that is accepted, I doubt whether we should have much to say about this. I am not sure whether, if we come to an agreement as to the other, we would take such exception or much exception to this term "British Empire."

MR. FITZGERALD: No, General, but Sir Cecil here, speaking as a jurist, says we are represented in the League twice over. I think that can be juridically argued. At the same time, we send representatives there appointed by our Government. They represent number one; what is the second? It is the representation in the League of Nations, known as the British Empire, which is not recognised by our Government, and we must deny that they represent us. The use of the words "British Empire" there, I think, could be juridically argued when the Government in London, without reference to us, appoint people who are actually in a position to represent us there.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I thought we were agreed upon that, that that would not obtain any more?

MR. FITZGERALD: That is a position which has arisen from the use of that form of words. Don't you agree, Sir Cecil?

GENERAL HERTZOG: That is why I want that clear statement.

MR. FITZGERALD: We cannot be represented twice over unless our Government assents. We are represented twice over, for, although the Government only appoints one representative, there has been another Government which has power juridically or is able to place us in a position of appointing representatives empowered to act in a way that covers us also.

MR. HAVENGA: I thought it had very clearly emerged that nobody on the part of the British Empire claims that. That is what we want to be embodied in this statement. As the General says, if that is made perfectly clear, we shall not have these practical difficulties. But you are still afraid if we say this there may be some doubt about the proposition which you state, and I think we can accept that Sir Cecil Hurst does not contend for that.

MR. FITZGERALD: I entirely agree that Sir Cecil Hurst does not contend for that, but the use of that phrase has led to that position juridically. That has created an attitude of mind and a misunderstanding. We are all fighting for our own ends for what interests us most. What we must do is not only to do away with the position whereby we are dually represented, but also get rid of the false impression created by the fact that we are juridically represented twice over. It turns really on the use of that phrase "British Empire."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I follow your objection, but I do not see how you can eliminate the phrase; it is there in the Covenant and you cannot eliminate it.

MR. FITZGERALD: Therefore I made the suggestion that an interpretative statement with regard to the use of that phrase should be signed which would save changing the Covenant.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: In each treaty?

MR. FITZGERALD: As a matter of fact, each treaty is a thing by itself, it does not bind itself up with the others.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I am only trying to find out what you approve. We are agreed that you cannot eliminate the expression; it is there in the Covenant, and unless you amend the Covenant it must remain. It must be so, but one wants to be careful that it shall not be used to cover more than under the Covenant.

MR. FITZGERALD: Entirely.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Unless you repeat the same words to that effect in every treaty the mere declaration here—we are all ready to make it—will not satisfy you because you want to put it to the foreign nations.

MR. FITZGERALD: No, the League of Nations; if we send an interpretative clause to the League of Nations that there is an entity known as the British Empire in the League of Nations, but it must be clearly understood what the term "British Empire" means and that the representatives appointed are representatives of His Majesty's Government in London.

SIR CECIL HURST: Is there not really perhaps a formula less likely to give rise to trouble in the future, but nevertheless equally acceptable here, that we should in such a matter as a final act of a conference, which is merely a record of facts and not a convention, adopt the same form as we proposed to adopt for treaties; that we should drop the term "British Empire" altogether and substitute "Great Britain," but enumerate the self-governing parts of the Empire in a row, put them altogether and substitute "Great Britain" for "the British Empire."

MR. FITZGERALD: I did not mean to substitute the words "Great Britain" for "the British Empire."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: That will not cover everything.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is a record of historical fact.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: The expression "Great Britain" would not do; the expression "Great Britain and Northern Ireland and His Majesty's Dependencies beyond the seas, other than the Dominions and India."

MR. FITZGERALD: That is a matter of convenience.

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SIR CECIL HURST: Is not that the best way of harmonising the divergent views?

MR. LAPOINTE: Yes, if we are going to drop the words "British Empire," I entirely agree with the change suggested here, that we ought all to be put together instead of appearing alphabetically. If the words "British Empire" are to be retained, I think the fact that we are appearing here is recognition of the equality of status.

MR. FITZGERALD: Grouped together without an "umbrella."

SIR CECIL HURST: In this case there will be no "umbrella."

DR. SKELTON: You are all standing where the "umbrella" was.

MR. FITZGERALD: Exactly.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: This is an agreement between the States and not Heads of States.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is not an agreement.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: When it is expressed in form, will it be between the Heads or between States?

SIR CECIL HURST: It will be between States.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: If it is between the States, that is quite right. If it is expressed to be between the Heads of different nations, then you must keep "the King."

SIR CECIL HURST: Going back to the days before the League, for instance, in the Final Act of the Peace Conference at The Hague of 1907, the Final Act there was drawn up between the States, it enumerated the States, but even before 1907 the Final Act seems to have been drawn up with a list of the States.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: If it is the States we can easily settle it. If it has to be made between the Heads of States, then we must have "the King," and then we should have "the King" in right of his Dominion, so and so."

(Paragraph 16 read.)

SIR CECIL HURST: The whole paragraph there deals with purely details, but curiously enough, it has been the subject of difficulty at Conferences we have attended. We not only wanted to regularise the position for ourselves, but to know that the position of the territories mandated to South Africa and New Zealand was being regularised

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I suggest that you should send this paragraph to the Mandate Commission and see what they say of it.

(Paragraph 17 read.)

MR. FITZGERALD: Why must the Dominions be excluded from signature?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Does not that only mean that where a State is excluded by the agreement and then ratifies, it is not necessary to say that it excludes itself from the agreement. If it does not ratify, of course it is excluded. If it does ratify, you need not say that at the first it said it wanted to be excluded.

MR. FITZGERALD: I wanted to know whether it is intended to apply only to a part of the area, as when New Zealand wanted to exclude a mandated territory?

SIR CECIL HURST: It would be in a case such as when Gibraltar or Malta or other parts of the Empire have to be excluded specifically from the ratification.

MR. FITZGERALD: It does not mean that in the case of the Dominion the same thing would apply.

MR. HARDING: Does it not cover the case under which, if by any chance the Irish Free State signed a treaty and ultimately found that it would not ratify the signature, it would have to be excluded?

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes.

MR. HARDING: That is what it means.

SIR CECIL HURST: After all, it lays down a general principle of treaty. If you do not wish to sign you must say so.

(Paragraph 18 read.)

SIR CECIL HURST: This is what we may call the other end of the "umbrella." Just in the same way that the King is the link under which we all come in, so the ratification, which is the King's act, must also be regarded as a single act in respect of any separate parts of the Dominion.

DR. SKELTON: But if each part of the Commonwealth is a member of the League in its own right, does the ratification by the King constitute a distinct accession by that part to the treaty?

SIR CECIL HURST: It comes in where each Dominion has asked him to ratify for that particular area, but that does not make all of them separate parties. They are separate parties in a sense, but it does not make them a group of separate parties. There cannot be more than one ratification on behalf of one High Contracting Party, and if "The King" is an "umbrella" at the beginning of the treaty, so is ratification also a single act. That is what I meant by calling it the other end of the "umbrella."

DR. SKELTON: Cannot the King hold the umbrella over us separately? Instead of being 57 States, there will be 49.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is not so much the States in the League but the distinct act which brings the treaty into force.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Why should he not ratify in right of his Dominion? Over and over again, in right of one Dominion and of another Dominion, that can be done.

MR. COSTELLO: He can do it separately, though really he is acting in a dual capacity.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: He accepted the Mandate for Samoa "in right of his Dominion of New Zealand." That is a technical expression of the Foreign Office. He accepted for New Guinea "in right of his Dominion of the Commonwealth of Australia." I do not see why that expression should not be used. Though he is the same High Contracting Party he would execute the act in the several capacities of the Monarch of each State. There may be some technical difficulties I do not know, but that expression is constantly used, as I told you, in the case of the Mandates. The King accepts the Mandates, but he does not do so except "in right of his Dominion."

MR. COSTELLO: If there is only one ratification in writing, it will be the contracting party that comes in first?

SIR CECIL HURST: I think so.

MR. FITZGERALD: There are 55 members of the League, and it will put us in rather a false position. If there are actually 32 of the members ratifying, including all the Dominions, and then it is declared that the thing is not operative because a particular member has not ratified. Does not that put us in the position of not being members?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: There is another instance. I was appointed to the Genoa Conference by His Majesty "in right of his Dominion of New Zealand" . . . .

DR. SKELTON: It does, for all practical purposes, affect the voting power.

SIR CECIL HURST: No, it does not affect that, except from the point of view of the convention coming into force.

GENERAL HERTZOG: There seems to be a misconception of the King being able to ratify only once as one Party; he may ratify at another date for the rest of the constituent parts; and it seems to me rather that we have to look at the question from the point of view of the mind. The Crown is a fictitious person, and we have already accepted this person as one that has to perform functions to-day on behalf of us all, *i.e.*, on behalf of Great Britain, Canada, the Irish Free State and South Africa, &c., and we make him also appoint plenipotentiaries for each of them. When acting for South Africa he says: "I will ratify for South Africa," and when he acts for Canada he takes up the same position, the mind being directed towards that

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particular entity, and consequently the ratification is also for that entity. In this note at the foot of the page that you have been reading from I note that it refers to a case where two separate ratifications take place, and in the last sentence it says if they ask for it only one ratification will be deposited. If not, "one ratification would be deposited on behalf of those which were, followed by separate ratification on behalf of any which came in subsequently." This confirms my view. If you ratify succeeding treaties, it is really done for two separate entities, and if the King can do it in the case of sequence of time, I do not see why he should not do it when you have simultaneous cases. Is it asking too much when we ask that where there is simultaneous ratification for two or more Dominions, it must be accepted that the King or Crown is facing in so many different ways, performing so many different acts, for so many different parties? If, on the contrary, the King's ratification must be taken as a single act, I fear conclusions will be drawn which are not justified with a view to our equal status and our position in the League. If England, *e.g.*, goes to war with a foreign country, any treaty with that country goes overboard. But will this also be the case for any Dominion who is a party to that treaty, ratified by the King? Prior to 1919 this may have been so, but can it be maintained to-day? So much importance is laid upon one ratification that one asks what would be the position. Prior to 1919 it was assumed that when Great Britain went to war, the Dominions, *ipso facto*, also became parties. It seems to be assumed to-day that the same still holds. To me it seems that under the League of Nations the position has changed. It seems to me, if I may just shortly repeat this idea, this fiction of putting the King in the position of being able to ratify once, is a fiction which was invented mainly to escape from other positions that we thought unfavourable in 1919. Since the Covenant of the League of Nations, the reason for it has been taken away, and it seems we ought to bring it into harmony with the position in the appointment of plenipotentiaries, &c., and look upon the King as a person who stands in different relations over against the different entities of the Empire, and who can exercise his will specifically towards these parts.

MR. FITZGERALD: No, quite clearly the King can ratify more than once. As I tried to say before, the operative acts of the League are empowered and conventions are brought into force on a number of occasions according to the number of ratifications. As I say, there are 55 members of the League. If, say, the number necessary to bring the thing into force is 30, and several of us ——

MR. HAVENGA: Assuming there is a majority.

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes, Great Britain has ratified, South Africa comes along and ratifies, Canada comes along and ratifies, but they are all ratifying without adding to the number. Such a position seems to be illogical.

SIR CECIL HURST: Let me go back to what I think is the root of the whole trouble. We are all agreed that there is some special relationship which exists as between the various component fragments of what is known as the British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations. We are agreed that one of the consequences of that special relationship is that in the international sense a treaty does not operate as between those fragments of the Empire. I think that is agreed. As it very often is provided in a treaty, it can only come into force upon the ratification of the treaty by a given number of parts. I think a reference has been made to some convention in which it was agreed that it was to come into force when ratified by two Powers. You will see, for instance, if two ratifications made by the King on behalf of different parts of his Empire were to be regarded as separate ratifications for the purpose of that clause which says that the treaty shall come into force upon the deposit of a certain number of ratifications, it would then bring the treaty into force in spite of the fact that it had been ratified only on behalf of two units of the Empire. That shows you how illogical the situation would be. The ordinary phrase does not say it shall come into force when ratified by a certain number of members of the League; the regular formula is that it shall come into force as soon as it is ratified by a certain number of Powers. My interpretation of that word "Powers" in a case of that sort is that all the component parts of the British Empire must, for that purpose, count as one.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Powers or States?

SIR CECIL HURST: "Powers" is the regular phrase. I have here before me article 41 of the Convention for the Prevention of International Trade in Arms,

Ammunition and Implements of War, where they have used the expression "Shall have been ratified by 14 Powers." If for the purposes of a convention of this sort the King has to be regarded as a series of separate Powers, because in respect of the component parts of his Dominions he is signing and acting on their behalf separately, that clearly would be inconsistent with the idea that he can provide us with what we want, just an "umbrella" to indicate the unity of the Empire, which will enable us to contract on the basis that the relations between us are special and quite different from those which obtain between us and foreign Powers.

MR. FITZGERALD: Most of these conventions depend upon the adherence of Powers, members of the League.

SIR CECIL HURST: They do not say so. It is inconsistent with the idea in operation as between those two units.

MR. FITZGERALD: On the other hand it can be inconsistent with their membership of the League of Nations, if it says "Powers" and it means "members of the League," and a certain number; assuming Great Britain has ratified and six others come along without adding to the number, surely that nullifies us in our membership of the League. We do not act.

SIR CECIL HURST: What is an act of the League? If you sign a convention at Barcelona in regard to transport, that is not an act of the League.

MR. FITZGERALD: No.

SIR CECIL HURST: Or a convention for the purpose of facilitating customs.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Are the States of the Empire "Powers" within the meaning given there?

SIR CECIL HURST: We have never so interpreted it.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I only wanted to know. All the other States are Powers; Lithuania, for instance, is a Power.

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Did you take the word "Power" in our case as what is known as the Empire as a whole?

SIR CECIL HURST: It is the whole area that looks up to the King.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Great Britain, for instance.

SIR CECIL HURST: Is not a "Power" within that meaning.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I would not venture to stand up and maintain that if Great Britain were, for instance, to sign a document like that—we will take France and Great Britain as having signed.

MR. FITZGERALD: Then only one Power has signed.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Then you have two, France and South Africa, and, according to you—you are quite consistent—if Great Britain and France signed you have not two Powers.

SIR CECIL HURST: I am sorry that you misunderstood me. If South Africa enters into a treaty with Portugal—you entered not long ago into one defining your boundary; I do not know whether you made it in the name of the King or not—but if in the name of the King both you and Portugal would have been separate Powers; there is no doubt whatever about that. What I say is that, suppose France enters into a treaty with this country, Great Britain—whatever name this country contracts under—but the treaty is made in the name of the King, acting on behalf only of Great Britain, there, of course, the King, acting on behalf of Great Britain, counts as a Power. France is a Power and Great Britain is a Power. Suppose you got a treaty with a larger number of Powers, and you get Canada, France, Italy, Belgium and Austria; but you also get treaties signed by South Africa and the Irish Free State and Great Britain; I say that for the purpose of that treaty Great Britain and South Africa and the Irish Free State, all contracting as they do in the name of the King, count as one. There is the ratification whether it is to be effected by three instruments or by one, it is still a ratification by the King on behalf of three separate essential parts of this Empire, and therefore for the purpose of a clause such as that I have read it counts as one ratification.

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GENERAL HERTZOG: The last paragraph I read was 4, but let us take paragraph 5. Say a document like that is signed by four of the foreign countries, then in the fifth place it is signed by Canada.

SIR CECIL HURST: And ratified by Canada.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Thus you get the fifth.

SIR CECIL HURST: The first British ratification signed on behalf of South Africa, or Canada, or Ireland, counts as one.

GENERAL HERTZOG: We must not confuse our particular relation with what nations consider to be our position. I suppose the same will happen if four foreign nations and the Irish Free State were to sign, and South Africa. Why, then, if three instead of four foreign nations sign, should not Canada and the Irish Free State be each looked upon if they all signed as making up the five? Why should not they be looked upon as two Powers? I merely want to have this clearly. Your foreign nations cannot object to the word "Power" being assigned to Canada in the first instance, and then, of course, to the Irish Free State or to Great Britain. You go on objecting to the word "Power" being assigned first to Canada and secondly to the Irish Free State so that those two make up the five. It seems to me they would be perfectly inconsistent and would have no basis to stand upon, unless, of course, they could adopt this view, which I feel is a mere technical position. It does not so much matter whether the State entity signs as a State, as whether the Head of the State that signs is the same as the Head of some other State which has also signed in order to make up the five. It seems to me that would be the position. I do not see on what basis they can take up that position if they adopt the view that each of us is a separate entity and admitted in the comity of nations as a separate entity.

SIR CECIL HURST: Clearly admitted into the comity of nations as a separate entity, but not as being a separate entity which makes them two separate High Contracting Parties for a purpose such as this, because if those two Dominions on whose behalf the treaty has been ratified are to count as two separate Powers, there is no scope left for the application of that principle to the special relationship existing between them which differentiates them in their relations between themselves compared with their relations between each other and foreign Powers.

GENERAL HERTZOG: A thing like that will grow up. If this is the conception of your foreign Powers, then I think we cannot do enough to make them understand that that is not a relationship we accept, and I see very great difficulty eventually.

SIR CECIL HURST: If the two Dominions on whose behalf the treaty has been ratified are to count as two separate Powers, where is the logical basis that we are to find for maintaining that the treaty is not to apply as between them? Clearly, if they are separate parties to the treaty, the treaty must operate between them.

GENERAL HERTZOG: In what respect?

SIR CECIL HURST: That is what I want to know. I think we agreed it was not to operate between them.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Supposing the treaty was to come into force when it had been ratified by half the Powers. That has been done. Very well, it is ratified by the King for Great Britain and it is not ratified by the other Dominions. Do not they count as non-ratifying parties for the purpose of the aliquot ascertainment?

SIR CECIL HURST: I should have thought all parts that had contracted in the name of the King ——

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I am assuming that the treaty is to come into force—we should have signed the Convention. Supposing we had not signed the Convention and the treaty should come into force when it had been ratified by an aliquot part, say, half. If Canada has not ratified, is not Canada counted as a non-ratifying Power? If you put it as an aliquot part you have the exact point. It is the ratification of the King—Canada votes with the minority. I should have thought that each of the States should count as well as ratifying as non-assenting, or as well as ratifying as assenting parties. I do not know, but it seems to me the ratification by the King would still leave Dominions who do not ratify counted as non-assenting in the ascertainment of the aliquot.

MR. HAVENGA: In other words, we cannot square our conception with our admission into the League.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I dare say I am wrong, but it seems to me we are working on numbers.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not quite appreciate what you mean by putting it as an aliquot part.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You say, if it is ratified by us you count the King as one without counting the others; but if you say it has been ratified by half, but not half the nations including the Dominions, would it be in force because the King has signed or would you exclude the Dominions from the non-ratifying parts so as to make the ratification complete by the fact that it has been ratified by the majority of nations, excluding the Dominions, inasmuch as the King has signed. Do you follow that?

SIR CECIL HURST: The original ratification by the King counts as the ratification by the King.

MR. FITZGERALD: Take the League of Nations. You said that the word usually used was "Power." On the one hand, in the regulations they say "if one ratifies—Great Britain ratifies—it counts as one." We will suppose there are six others of us not ratifying. Do we count on the other side or not?

SIR CECIL HURST: You would get a clearer conception of it if you reversed the process and did not put Great Britain first. If you say a treaty had been signed by all the parts of the Empire and the ratification by Ireland was deposited first, your ratification would count.

MR. FITZGERALD: Surely nobody is going to tell me that Great Britain not ratifying is not going to count as one of those against, if it is decided by those who ratify for and those against.

SIR CECIL HURST: The question has never arisen in which one of these clauses has been drafted on the basis of its being merely provided that the treaty shall come into force when it is ratified on behalf of so many members of the League. That case has never arisen.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Assuming that each Parliament of the Dominions has passed a resolution that it will not ratify; the King has ratified for Great Britain. Now, do not the non-ratifying Dominions count as non-ratifiers for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is a majority? I should have thought they did.

SIR CECIL HURST: The case has never arisen. I do not know that any article has been drafted on that basis.

MR. FITZGERALD: It has arisen when a convention was coming into operation when so many ratifications were in. Supposing it is a thing the papers are very interested in. They say there will be 25. Twenty-four are already in and everybody wants to know who is coming in. The paper comes out the next day saying that "the Irish Free State and South Africa have now ratified, but it is still only only 24"; "Canada and Australia have ratified, but still it is only 24"; the next day they say: "New Zealand has ratified, but it is only 24," and then, "India has ratified, but it is still only 24." Surely that nullifies us entirely. You say the word used is "Power." It is demonstrable that Canada can be a Power, that Great Britain can be a Power, that Australia can be a Power, but when you put the three "ones" together you only get "one."

SIR CECIL HURST: The King has contracted on behalf of several.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Supposing he refuses to ratify?

MR. FITZGERALD: Is there any other way of indicating the non-operativeness of a convention among us here except ratification; is it the oneness of the ratification which can safeguard us?

SIR CECIL HURST: It is the oneness of the "umbrella," not the oneness of the ratification; if the oneness of the "umbrella" disappears, it ceases to be of any value whatever for the purpose.

MR. COSTELLO: In the same way as a man can act as executor and beneficiary.

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SIR CECIL HURST: If you are going to regard the organic link between the fragments of the Empire as the thing you see, it finds a solution for our difficulties in the use of the King.

MR. FITZGERALD: Of course, we are illogical, whichever way we look at it.

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes. Look at the thing which cropped up with regard to the Opium Convention, which provided that it was to come into force when ratified by two parties. England and India ratified it. Now, it is agreed that as between this unit, Great Britain and India, it was not to operate, and yet it said the treaty was in force. Who was to enforce it? You may, perhaps, legitimately criticise me for taking such a case, but the argument is equally true that one must not be drawn away from sound principles by taking cases which on the face of them appear to be illogical, which appear to mislead you and place you in a position which seems to be inconsistent with the equality of status.

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes, the equality of the Dominions in the League of Nations.

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes, but subject to a special basis.

DR. SKELTON: Clause 18 does lay down an equality of different parts between themselves, but not in regard to the way they vote. Possibly in some cases it can be avoided, but only if we use the phrase "members of the League," but the question still remains anomalous. All together, we are only one-seventh.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think it is quite possible that there is a way of indicating the thing other than by ratification. Take the Opium Convention; surely when it was drawn up it was thought that it should come into operation when two Powers signed it. These two Powers must not be members of the British Commonwealth. It seems to me that that could have been safeguarded against. In the peculiar case it could be provided against by some other means, whereas most of us here in the League of Nations must feel a certain doubt about our position. We are not only there because Great Britain is a Great Power. If America came in, it would be questioned very quickly, and if you have America coming in, and we are told that there are so many members of the League and only seven of them count as one, I think America will say, surely in that case, when seven only count as one for bringing a convention into operation, they should count as one when it comes to voting in the League. I am speaking subject to correction here. I might refer to what happened in September last year, when one of the Dominions got up and spoke on behalf of his Dominion. I imagine that, if there had been a representative of the United States there at the time, he would have got up and said: "What are you doing here?" and we might on that and other things find it very difficult to say what they were doing there.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not think that these particular difficulties to which you draw attention have a very intimate bearing on this particular point we are discussing on paragraph 18.

MR. LAPOINTE: Supposing we adjourn for a few minutes.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Would it be possible for a representative of Canada and a representative of the Irish Free State and a representative of South Africa to meet Sir Cecil and see if something could not be arrived at as a Sub-Committee of this Committee? I believe there should be Canada, and perhaps there ought to be another member of the British Empire with Sir Cecil, but I do not think we shall get any further—we have been reading, and every time we read we come to a deadlock. It is a very simple matter if it was not cumbered, quite properly cumbered, by a Foreign Office precedent and by a constitutional principle, and if Sir Cecil were not cumbered with those, he would settle it possibly in five minutes, but I believe that some formula could be arrived at in the way I have suggested. I suggested one which does not seem to be satisfactory to the Foreign Office, but I believe that, if Canada and South Africa and the Irish Free State, one from each, met Sir Cecil and another representative of the Foreign Office or of the Dominions Office, it would be more satisfactory, and they could come back to us with something, and thus we should be saved from rather lengthy speeches on the subject—if the General will allow me to say so.

MR. LAPOINTE: This Committee is meeting again at 3 o'clock to-morrow afternoon, and meanwhile it is suggested that Sir Cecil will remain a little longer

this afternoon with one member of the Dominions and try to come to some understanding on this paragraph and give us the result of their deliberations to-morrow at 3 o'clock. As far as Canada is concerned, I will ask Dr. Skelton to stop.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I am quite prepared to stay.

MR. LAPOINTE: I think it will be the best way out of the difficulty. I think there will be several difficulties in Part II. The difficulty arises with regard to the League treaty.

MR. FITZGERALD: We have passed over a lot of this on which we have expressed our points of view, but there is no decision.

DR. SKELTON: I do not think a Sub-Committee would be very fruitful until they have had time to review the various conclusions we have tentatively come to. Perhaps it would be better if we had a day in which to see how best we can go on.

MR. FITZGERALD: I expect that if we ask Sir Francis to prepare a formula and bring it along now, it is asking more than he will agree to.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I really think that we had better go on. May I just ask Sir Cecil this? Could not a general formula be adopted by the League? It is more for League purposes in the future that you want some formula which would avoid such a thing recurring as you have had. How would it be if they had a general formula, that this would come into operation after, we will say, two parties amongst whom the treaty seeks to establish relations shall agree that it shall come into operation. But, taking the case of India and Great Britain, I take it there would be no harm done by the two signing.

SIR CECIL HURST: No harm was done by the Secretariat regarding the treaty as being in force.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Yes, quite so.

SIR CECIL HURST: No harm was done except to imply something which, if pushed to its logical conclusion, would lead to disruptive forces as between various parts of the British Empire.

MR. COSTELLO: If they say that, the difficulty starts.

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes, but it is a little bit dangerous. I may not be taking quite the same view of what you mean, Mr. Costello, but there must be some link between the various parts of the British Empire, which is different from the link that applies between another group of Powers, who say they are going to act together. For instance, there must always be something more between different parts of the Empire than that which exists in the case of the Little *Entente*—that, if they eat each other up, they would become the victim of Soviet Russia, so accordingly they stand together. If they say they are going to work together on international matters, it does not imply that there is between them necessarily the same political link as between the various parts of the Empire. You used a formula which in your mind would not have quite the same meaning as in my mind.

MR. COSTELLO: This difficulty referred to in paragraph 18 is a difficulty really raised by the Foreign Office and not by any foreign nation.

SIR CECIL HURST: The difficulty has arisen through the action of the Secretariat at Geneva on the question of the position with regard to the opium question. They had taken a similar line with regard to other treaties.

DR. SKELTON: They do not agree to the ratification of each member of the League, whether a part of the British Empire or not?

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not call all the details to mind, but I can let you have a note about it.

MR. COSTELLO: Therefore, our rights, interpreted by the League of Nations, would be definitely derogated from by the adoption of paragraph 18.

SIR CECIL HURST: No, I am not prepared to assent to that statement. Your rights cannot depend upon mistakes made by the Secretariat of the League.

MR. COSTELLO: Nor by mistakes made by the Foreign Office.

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SIR CECIL HURST: What we are trying to arrive at is a correct understanding as to the correct position.

MR. COSTELLO: Surely a correct understanding can be arrived at by recognising the fact that the King, while he can act as one contracting party, can act in several capacities as one party. As one contracting party he is King of Great Britain, Canada and Australia and the rest.

SIR CECIL HURST: Surely it does not mean that he becomes several contracting parties?

MR. COSTELLO: Yes, acting in different capacities. The ratification will count for the purposes of the League.

SIR CECIL HURST: Surely not. He is one contracting party in different capacities.

MR. COSTELLO: Doing several different acts.

SIR CECIL HURST: We are talking about something different from mere terms with the idea expressed by General Hertzog, which must be considered, so long as it is an understanding of the underlying principle, that if a treaty is to operate as between two units, then those two units should count as separate contracting parties; but taking the treaty as not between two contracting units, then, for this last purpose, these units should not count as separate contracting parties. Mind you, it is not only a question of the treaty not operating; it may in many cases be the fact that we want, as in all matters relating to Imperial preference, to give better terms to each other, but we may be prevented.

DR. SKELTON: I am not sure that it is altogether an appropriate illustration, is it, because, as a matter of fact, I recognise the serious difficulty if we were to preclude their giving each other special privileges? Take the special privileges we wish to give, namely, preference in trade matters. That is not the sort of thing that is likely to arise to any extent under League treaties, but it may in other treaties.

SIR CECIL HURST: The way that would affect it is where you could get a convention which provides that in certain matters there are not to be any discriminatory terms between the various contracting parties. Then those foreign Powers say to themselves: "If the members of the British Empire are separate contracting parties for the purpose of that treaty, clearly there must be no discrimination as between them and other Powers."

MR. HAVENGA: Surely that is overcome in a case which we have had. We put in a special clause saying that we agreed to give special relations that shall not interfere with our basic position under which we give preferential treatment to Great Britain and the Dominions on account of the special arrangement that exists. If you do not do that, then this difficulty would arise. If you say there shall be no discrimination, then people would say you are acting against the spirit of your agreement.

GENERAL HERTZOG: If you do not do that, of course, this difficulty would arise. If you say there would be no discrimination, they would say you acted against the spirit of your agreement.

SIR CECIL HURST: That particular case can be easily met by a particular provision; but you want to secure a general provision which is intended by the clause that is now to vanish under paragraph 13, and also to vanish by means of the agreed resolution here regarding foreign nations, that the parts of the Empire do stand to each other on a special relationship. If the King's various ratifications were each to count for the purposes of such a clause, we should really undermine the value and foundation of that principle

GENERAL HERTZOG: I said when I read this, "On what is it based and what does it imply?" It seems that it is true that we shall never have clearness upon that until after we have considered a question which is on the agenda, viz., how are our relations being affected, and if so, to what extent are our relations being affected by our becoming members of the League? That question is one that is on the agenda, not exactly in the terms I have put it, but that is what it would come to. I think as soon as we have gone into that question and got clearness upon the whole position, then we would be prepared to come back to this principle and decide it.

As it is now, I gather from what you said a few minutes ago that there must be a principle which distinguishes us, or something to that effect, from them. We feel it, you feel it, and I think we all feel it; but I think it is a principle which we ought to be able to define. The only definition I would be able to give would be after taking into full consideration our position as a member in the League, because I cannot help getting away from the question of how our relationship thereby has been affected with foreign nations. We must come to some clearness between ourselves. Now, if I were to ask you what is this based on, and what does it imply, then I think you would find it would raise some difficulty.

SIR CECIL HURST: I think there is no difficulty; but, if there is, it is a difficulty that can be surmounted.

MR. FITZGERALD: In an earlier stage I got the idea that we were stressing the unity of us, because outside countries were looking for fissures amongst us—I forget who used the expression. Personally, I cannot see that. Nobody makes fissures among the Little *Entente;* they are bound by common interests, and we are bound by our own interests, and we also have a definite bond in the Crown. No doubt you have a whole lot of treaties it might be unnecessary to have binding amongst ourselves. That could be safeguarded by a definite reservation. On the other hand, to try to cover it by a general thing definitely puts the members of the League of Nations into two classes, one where full members are exercising full powers, and the other where they are only practically part members of a certain number of fairly important nations. That seems to me to be a thing that must be avoided. It seems to me the other disadvantage can be avoided by the insertion of a definite reservation at the moment of signature.

SIR CECIL HURST: You can cover specific points of view by specific reservations, but I am not sure that by a specific reservation you can cover all questions and the deductions that tend to flow from the principle. There is this difficulty with regard to any reservation, and it is that it is difficult to say you can make a reservation as of right, and when you come to the point, various Powers may say: "We are not prepared to admit all members of the unit parties to this treaty to make any such reservation." We should have to be in a position of having to say: "We cannot come into that."

MR. HAVENGA: I do not see how you can overcome that. We have had a special case in our own experience. We had a country which objected in particular terms to the special reservation I put in. I said: "If you do not want that, the thing is off." That shows me the necessity for it.

MR. COSTELLO: The reservation could be on the face of the document, and the suggestion of paragraph 18 would imply it in every treaty. The implification would not be present to the minds of the other signatories to the treaty, and to that extent they might possibly have a grievance.

MR. FITZGERALD: You take the "most-favoured-nation" clause and Imperial preference. I think the "most-favoured-nation" clause is rather ridiculous, because every nation that makes a treaty with another nation has the "most-favoured-nation" clause. The United States of America objects to Imperial preference very strongly, and they say quite clearly they do not see why we should be separate members of the League of Nations when it suits us. A part of the Empire makes a treaty with America, and reserves the right to have special arrangements with the other members of the Empire. They say, "we will not have the treaty." We have to face up to this, as it is true that you cannot have it both ways. If America will not make a treaty with us on those terms, we have either to forgo those terms or not to make a treaty with them, although we could say, "we will have a treaty on specific points, but leave out the 'most-favoured-nation' clause."

DR. SKELTON: In the arrangements made in 1911 between the United States and Canada, the United States definitely and decisively dropped an initial objection to our intention to grant to Great Britain an additional preference over and beyond what we would give to them under the treaty. They did not press the objection, they accepted it. That came out still more clearly in the 1910 negotiations, President Taft had been empowered or instructed by Congress to enforce the American maximum tariff against any country which did not give the United States its most favoured terms. The question arose whether the terms which Canada granted to Great Britain constituted a ground for action by the United States in the way of

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imposing its maximum tariff. After discussion between Mr. Fielding and the representatives at Washington, they definitely agreed that it had not. They said that certain terms granted to France did constitute a discrimination, and we made a rather nominal concession to them, which they considered equal to what we had given France. In that case they specifically, and impliedly in the 1911 Reciprocity Agreement, recognised that our granting special terms to the British Empire did not constitute discrimination.

MR. FITZGERALD: I feel we should agree whether we would insert this reservation in all League treaties, but we feel we must be prepared not to do it. We are prepared to agree not to do it now, but it must be our agreement not to have a reservation putting us in a separate category in the League. We only put ourselves in a separate category in the League when we, as members of the League, make an agreement with certain members of the League, but we will put a reservation in each time. It is putting us in a different category from anybody else in the League.

SIR CECIL HURST: I think the position is a little difficult, although the particular matter which is dealt with in paragraph 18 can be covered by the use of some such formula as General Hertzog indicated a few minutes ago, that the treaty should only come into force as soon as it had been ratified on behalf of so many Powers between whom the treaty was to operate. I feel that there is a question of principle to which we ought to adhere. It really, I think, comes down to this, that it being admitted that there is some special link between the parts of the Commonwealth which distinguish their relations between each other and between any one of them and a foreign Power, and if on the face of the treaty we are going to use the King as an outward symbol, and that itself is sufficient, so far as the face of the treaty is concerned, to indicate that special relationship, we ought not to be introducing into the body of the treaty phraseology to get over particular difficulties which appear to run counter to the principle. I feel that the whole of this question that is dealt with in paragraph 18 is really a deduction from the fact that the ratification is the act of the King, and to my mind, therefore, it is for that reason that all the ratifications of the King constitute but one act, though it may come in a succession of acts. It is really a little difficult; my difficulty may seem a little subtle and perhaps unreal.

MR. FITZGERALD: There is the "umbrella" at the beginning of it, and the separate signatures at the end. When you put down those separate signatures you also state, as indicating those signatures, that a separate relationship exists. My idea is not so much to bring them into the body of the treaty or convention.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do not want to be obstructive; and if the general view is that some formula such as General Hertzog has outlined is sufficient and would be acceptable, I should be very sorry to raise any difficulty.

MR. LAPOINTE: Read paragraph 19 of the paper.

MR. COSTELLO: Would it not be preferable to go over the first part before we deal with the rest?

GENERAL HERTZOG: Can we not have time to go over the whole of it; would not it be better to put the whole before us?

SIR CECIL HURST: What I feel is that it is really necessary to agree on a model form of treaty.

GENERAL HERTZOG: You will have your draughtsman draft it, putting in the suggestions as understood.

SIR CECIL HURST: When I say a model form of treaty I suppose it embodies a little more than the mere actual model form of the treaty.

MR. FITZGERALD: It has to embody certain principles.

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes. We agreed that a communication would have to be made to the League, and the terms of that communication would be important.

MR. FITZGERALD: I am not sure about that. My idea was—I admit if I went over it again I might find I had forgotten things—that in each separate treaty we should in effect make a communication to the League.

SIR CECIL HURST: In a sense that is so, but the difficulty is that the mere terms of the treaty have got not only to satisfy an international tribunal, should the

treaty come before that international tribunal, but also one has got to consider the basis upon which other people who sign the treaty have been negotiating the document with you. It would be far simpler in every way that we should endeavour to get the basis on which we conclude all these treaties, a matter on which Geneva will then have had a fair indication of the views that come from the British members, and that basis should not be merely indicated, but also agreed.

MR. COSTELLO: Would not a declaration such as is suggested have a very strong tendency to confuse further the position of the Dominions in the League of Nations?

MR. LAPOINTE: It cannot be more confused than it is now.

SIR CECIL HURST: We know that, Mr. Costello, but, really, apart from the confusion that may still prevail, what I think is above all things to be deprecated is any friction between the representatives on behalf of the various units of the Empire who happen to meet at the Conference.

MR. COSTELLO: That can easily be arranged by conference between ourselves rather than by public declarations to the League.

MR. FITZGERALD: We can agree now that we will attach an *inter se* reservation with regard to those things; we can agree to that now.

SIR CECIL HURST: Let us look at it from the practical point of view. We agreed that we are to secure in future that all League treaties are made in the name of the King. For that purpose we have got to go to Geneva and to say: "We want you to introduce a change in your practice. We want to secure that change in the practice in Geneva, because the existing basis is unsatisfactory to all of us from the point of view of our inter-Imperial relations, unsatisfactory to us for one reason, and to you for other reasons." At the same time Geneva will say to us, unless we explain to them why we ask for that change: "Why do you want that change made?" We must give them something. We cannot expect them to accept it because we express the wish. We must give them reasons, and it is in the course of giving those reasons that we can indicate the basis upon which we want them to realise that we will do all this international work. That seems to me the case for making some statement.

MR. LAPOINTE: That statement would be satisfactory to all of us.

SIR CECIL HURST: Really, the whole basis of our work here is that the relations between us are not international; therefore, reservation would introduce a new element into the difficulty.

DR. SKELTON: Will not the question whether a declaration is to be made to the League depend upon the procedure which we think should be followed? Perhaps when that is settled, we shall know better whether that can be done by our own action. A good deal depends upon the extent and the formality of the changes. That suggests a point that has been at the back of my mind during the afternoon. I have only been at Geneva once and have very little experience of international affairs elsewhere, but my experiences there did show me that there was nothing like being brought up against foreign nations to realise how much we are at one in the standard of looking at things. The moment you get to Geneva you know at once it is just a question of how far we can rely upon that genuine harmony of view-point which exists in our general attitude towards international affairs. I can understand that Sir Cecil is up against these questions every week and every month and realises the difficulties more than even we do.

SIR CECIL HURST: I think we do in this Office, where we have to bear the major share of the brunt of the relations with the foreign Powers, in the course of which it is the unity side of the whole business which requires to be stressed.

MR. LAPOINTE: Do you think we should come to a definite conclusion as to League treaties before embarking on the Second Part?

SIR CECIL HURST: No, I think you ought to read through the whole document before you attempt to arrive at a definite agreement, because you see the effect of the provisional agreement to which the Committee has come to endeavour to secure that all these treaties should be made in the name of the King, renders the

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whole of the procedure more applicable than that which is recommended with regard to non-League treaties. I think that before the Committee attempts to arrive at a conclusion on the First Part, they should go through the whole.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Would it be advisable to get the draughtsman to draft a League treaty more or less on the basis that we have been discussing, and let us then have a look at that? It seems to me that if you had a thing like that before you, you could go over the whole and see really what it is.

SIR CECIL HURST: I should like to put forward the draft of a Resolution, because I think that is now becoming very important. I am afraid that it will be rather more difficult to frame than to prepare a draft treaty.

MR. LAPOINTE: Could you do that for to-morrow?

SIR CECIL HURST: I will try.

MR. LAPOINTE: Perhaps the General might like to prepare some draft treaty?

GENERAL HERTZOG: I think I am prepared to attempt to do so.

MR. FITZGERALD: We are, of course, handicapped in doing any such thing.

SIR CECIL HURST: If we had several drafts coming from various quarters, it would facilitate the appointment of a little Drafting Committee in order to prepare one for submission to this Committee.

The Committee adjourned until 3 P.M. to-morrow, the 9th November.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 8, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 7th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of the Seventh Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, *on Tuesday, November* 9, 1926, *at* 3 P.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Hon. J. G. LATHAM, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Union of South Africa.

Mr. D. STEYN, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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MR. LAPOINTE: (Part II read: Non-League Treaties, paragraphs 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24.)

SIR CECIL HURST: The most important point, I think, in that section really is the distinction it draws between the treaties there described as imposing "active obligations" and those not imposing active obligations. Really the case of a treaty not imposing active obligations is that where the results of the treaty have got to be recognised without the particular Government concerned having to take actually any steps itself to carry it out. For instance, there was a case that may well be an illustration of what I mean. The South African Government recently came to an agreement with the Portuguese Government for the settlement of some boundary question, and I think under that treaty also certain active obligations were undertaken by the South African Government in the sense that certain particular things had to be done. That is a very good instance of the distinction that is drawn in this Section. Clearly there was one of the King's Governments entering into a treaty with a foreign Power. The only part of the Empire where there were active obligations imposed upon the Government was the Union of South Africa, but nevertheless that state of things was created in the sense that the boundary was fixed which it is incumbent upon all parts of the Empire to recognise. They have not got to do anything, but the citizens of any other part of the Empire could hardly come forward and say: "It is true this treaty was signed in the name of the King—it was made by the King's Government, although not signed in the name of the King—and I, as another subject of the King, therefore am now going to contest it." That I do not think is possible. I have taken that instance, but, of course, there are a good many others of which we occasionally have cognizance here—the Tangier Convention which is mentioned in paragraph 23 is another. You will see at the top of page 7, in paragraph 24, three possible instances are given:—

"(*a.*) In which active obligations will only fall upon a part of the Empire other than Great Britain."

That is exactly the recent case of the settlement of the Portuguese boundary.

"(*b.*) In which active obligations will fall on two or more parts of the Empire, one of which may or may not be Great Britain."

Take, for instance, what is quite possible, a new treaty in the course of the next few years relating to seal fishing in Canadian waters. We should be interested in that, and there would be active obligations imposed under the treaty both on Canada and us, and there would be yet other parts of the Empire on which no active obligations were imposed, but the obligations would arise to recognise the consequences of the treaty. For instance, suppose that under that treaty there was a provision agreed to with some foreign Power concerned, let us say Japan or Russia, that within a certain area there should be no fishing by British vessels. You will remember that is the existing arrangement with regard to the seal fishing in the neighbourhood of the Commander Islands, within a radius of 50 miles there is to be no fishing. That does impose, according to the view set up in these paragraphs 23 and 24, an obligation upon the Governments of the Empire—even though not directly interested—to recognise and take note of the effects of the treaty. I mention that case because it is one where quite certainly there would be active obligations falling on two or more parts of the Empire.

"(*c.*) In which other parts of the Empire are for special reasons interested, even though they may have no active obligations."

Take, for instance, a treaty such as the one that was being negotiated, although negotiations have now broken down, with regard to the tariff imposed on goods entering China. All the parts of the Empire who trade with China are clearly interested in that. I doubt whether they would find, however, that the contents of the treaty would impose active obligations upon them.

GENERAL HERTZOG: (*b*) and (*c*) really ought to go together—the case in which active obligations will fall on two or more parts of the Empire, one of which may or may not be Great Britain, and the case in which other parts of the Empire are for special reasons interested.

SIR CECIL HURST: Take the case of the Chinese tariff. I have no doubt there is a growing trade at this moment between Canada and China. Supposing an arrangement was come to under which Chinese tariffs were raised by agreement,

I do not think that agreement need necessarily entail active obligations upon the Canadian Government, though certainly they would be interested.

MR. LAPOINTE: You do not suggest that any rules should be laid down to cover all the cases, but that the form of the preamble should be arranged to meet cases as they arise.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is true, but still those are the type of cases that I think you ought to have in mind when considering the proposals made in this section.

DR. SKELTON: Under 24 (*a*) would unlimited full powers be granted as is mentioned has been done under 23?

SIR CECIL HURST: The practice hitherto has been, as is stated in paragraph 23, to issue unlimited full powers. I am not really sure, Dr. Skelton, that I ought to answer categorically with regard to 24 (*a*), because, so far as we know, I am not sure that there has been such a case. I am not sure whether full powers were issued by the King in respect of the recent arrangement between South Africa and the Portuguese Government. I rather think it was signed in the form of a governmental agreement, in which case there would have been no full powers, but if it has been made in the name of the King, then the case would have arisen. Now, according to what I think is sound principle, the South African plenipotentiary who negotiated that treaty ought to have had unlimited full powers. That seems to me to be really the constitutionally and politically sound line.

DR. SKELTON: All the other Governments have previously acceded to that issue.

SIR CECIL HURST: They would all have been cognisant according to the treaty resolutions of 1923. Assuming that these were carried out, as I have no doubt they were, all the Governments of the Empire would have been aware that these negotiations were going on. They would all, therefore, have been entitled to say: "We think the fixing of this boundary is of such importance that we should like to participate." In the particular case I gave you, they obviously would not, because it is a matter solely affecting South Africa. Then they would say: "We are perfectly content that South Africa should make such an arrangement." If they had been aware of the fact that South Africa was negotiating and was proposing to conclude this agreement, and they had intimated no desire whatever to participate, then is not their accordance implied?

DR. SKELTON: Perhaps. I can imagine perhaps a little difficulty occurring if the matter were one in which the interest were a little more direct, and yet they were not primarily one part of the Empire concerned.

SIR CECIL HURST: Of course, if there was anything in the nature of active obligations imposed I cannot help thinking ——

DR. SKELTON: Take passive obligations. Take the question of the Pacific seal matter. Assuming Canada and Great Britain are the two countries chiefly concerned, would they have the right to say no British subject will be allowed to catch seals in the Behring Sea without having got the direct consent of the other Governments of the Empire? The way we got round it in the Halibut Treaty was we did not attempt to say what any citizen of the Empire should do while out in the ocean, but we did say that no one who poached would be allowed to make use of the Canadian ports.

SIR CECIL HURST: That was the form of the legislation.

DR. SKELTON: That was the way we got round the fact that we had no right to bind Australians or South Africans.

SIR CECIL HURST: If Australia had been aware of the fact that you were contemplating the making of this treaty for the regulation of the fur seal fishery and was aware that the proposal was the preservation of the fur seals by prohibiting fishing within a certain area and they stand by and are silent, is not that a tacit acquiescence in the making of a treaty which may affect the fishing rights of Australians?

DR. SKELTON: Yes, I suppose it is.

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MR. LATHAM: I should think it would be after the 1923 Resolution, if a communication were made to Australia in the light of the 1923 Resolution.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Simply to bring this out clearly, how can it affect Australia more than it would affect Holland? Supposing that notice was given of these negotiations going on between Canada and England.

SIR CECIL HURST: It affects them more only to this extent, that there is that special relationship which we have mentioned from time to time which subsists between the different parts of the Empire. Therefore it really seems to me it would be an impossible situation if, such a treaty having been made in the name of the King on behalf of one of his Dominions, another of his Dominions, or the inhabitants or the citizens of another of his Dominions, came forward and said: "We ignore this treaty." It means that the King is doing with his right hand what he has practically promised not to do with his left.

GENERAL HERTZOG: In legal language it is *mala fide*. It is because of the special relationship in which we stand to one another that as friends we want to co-operate as much as possible and strengthen the hands of one another. I am merely putting this question to make clear how it bears upon this. Now, I think that is the same position that should be taken up in regard to us seven, who really are trying to work together in such a way that not only we, who are directly concerned, shall help one another; but we shall also try and assist any of the others which enters into a treaty. In our own case, when we entered into the treaty with the Portuguese Government we looked upon it as being of no interest to any of the others, and the result was, it was concluded by us alone, but if anything should arise later on, as I have said, then we certainly do expect whatever claim will be made will not be made by one of us there, because of any signature.

MR. HAVENGA: Does not that position only arise in regard to a treaty which will extend beyond the borders of a Dominion, not if it is a treaty affecting only the rights of a particular Dominion? It would be confined to the rights or obligations entered into by the Dominion of South Africa—it would not have extended to anyone outside. We probably did not consult the other Dominions.

SIR CECIL HURST: The idea that is embodied in the Treaty Resolutions of 1923 is that it is not always easy for the Government of any part of the Empire itself to decide whether other parts of the Empire are interested; and it was for that reason that the Treaty Resolution of 1923 embodied the principle that a Government intending to negotiate a treaty should inform the other Governments in order that they may have an opportunity of considering whether or not they are interested.

MR. HAVENGA: After all, it lays down that this consultation must take place if another Dominion is affected. I am quite sure we always intended to carry out these Resolutions in the spirit and the letter, but it never occurred to any one of us that the question of a mandated territory in South Africa could possibly have interest for any of the other Dominions. I think the other Dominions agreed.

MR. HARDING: My recollection is that the 1923 Resolutions left it to the Dominion primarily interested as to whether it would consult the other Dominions.

GENERAL HERTZOG: That is how I understood it. It contemplated three cases. The one where the Dominion said, "I am sure no one else should be consulted"; another where the Dominion said, "Some Dominions may be consulted"; the third where it said, "This is a matter where all the Dominions should be consulted."

SIR CECIL HURST: The point raised by Dr. Skelton was really in regard to the full powers. It may be that in such a case as that, there is no reason whatever why the full power given to the plenipotentiary should not be limited. But take now another case which is also mentioned there, the case of the Tangier Convention; or again, the case of the China tariff convention we had hoped to conclude, for which the negotiations at the moment have broken down. Supposing that a limited full power had been issued in that case and that the men who were negotiating that treaty were in terms negotiating only on behalf of Great Britain, it would be rather illogical, would it not?

DR. SKELTON: You mean the position of British residents other than residents in Great Britain would be very doubtful and the position of Australians and Canadians trading in China?

SIR CECIL HURST: In the case of Tangier, the treaty affected the rights of citizens in the other parts of the Empire.

DR. SKELTON: I do not think that difficulty need arise. In certain other discussions we had we always distinguished between citizens and local citizenship. I do not see that there should be any difficulty for any of the Dominions to enter into a treaty which only affected its own citizens.

SIR CECIL HURST: I was purposely taking a case where you cannot have any differentiation. Take the case of the China Tariff business, where we are, in fact, modifying the extra-territorial status of all British subjects. You could not differentiate there between the different classes; you are really bound to have one status only.

MR. HAVENGA: It may be desirable here to have it. I do not think there would be any difficulty if you wished to do it in a particular case. That difficulty could be overcome. In South Africa we can enter into obligations for the citizens of South Africa which do not affect the rights of other British subjects. If, in a particular case, we thought that the obligations should be assumed by South African citizens, we may limit those obligations only to that particular class of the King's subjects because we admitted where the case cropped up in other discussions we had on all sides that there was a difference between the subjects of His Majesty—the local citizenship and the broader citizenship. That distinction we should draw in all cases, otherwise we should get into trouble.

MR. FITZGERALD: It seems to me that Sir Cecil refers to modification of a right existing under a treaty in regard to British subjects in China. In that case, I think on consultation it can be announced to us: "There are certain rights under a treaty which we propose allowing to be modified in such a direction." In that case it seems to me each Dominion can say: "We are quite agreeable to that, and are quite prepared to advise His Majesty to issue full powers for that purpose to the plenipotentiary named by you." At the same time, in certain circumstances, even abroad, there should be a distinction between the rights of British subjects.

MR. LATHAM: Is there a distinction?

MR. FITZGERALD: There was an annex to the Lausanne Treaty dealing with the juridical rights of foreigners. The Turks insisted they would only give the rights where they are given them. It was entirely reciprocal. If I remember rightly, Great Britain and Australia adhered, Canada did not, and I do not think we did. Now, under that Convention—I do not remember the details of the Convention, the language of the Convention—but under that Convention something comes up and a person affected says: "I am a British subject"; obviously the Turks will say: "That is not sufficient; are you an Australian or a Canadian?"

SIR CECIL HURST: Logically, perhaps, the Turk in that case ought to, but I am not sure they always do; we very often induce, and succeed in inducing, foreign Powers to take the other line: "You agreed to give these rights to British subjects; you must give them to all."

MR. FITZGERALD: But juridically there may be a distinction in the case of an extra-territorial concession between a citizen of Canada and a citizen of Australia. Therefore, it seems to me that a treaty need not necessarily affect the citizens of all parts of the Commonwealth unless the treaty is made on the separate advice of each Government of the Commonwealth. On the one hand, it seems to me it is possible to have a distinction if that is necessary in certain circumstances. On the other hand, it is possible to avoid a distinction by the plenipotentiary acting jointly on the separate advice of the various Governments.

SIR CECIL HURST: If one were a professor delivering a lecture, one could make out a very good case for saying: "You can draw this distinction between one class of British subjects because they are citizens of Dominion A, and another class of British subjects because they are citizens of Dominion B." But you will find when you come to the practical application of the treaty that cannot be. Supposing that in matters relating to the extra-territorial jurisdiction in China it was to be held that one class of British subjects were to be entitled to special privileges, and

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another class of British subjects were to be entitled to another privilege, and so on, and in regard to another class of British subjects extra-territorial provision was to exist and with others it was abandoned, you would find that you set up a degree of administrative confusion under which your treaty would break down. Therefore, from a practical point of view, I am sure that in various cases we are up against a situation in which there must be identity of terms. But this discussion arose out of a question put by Dr. Skelton as to whether, when one part of the Empire has concluded a treaty which imposes active obligations only upon one or more parts and not upon the whole, but imposes upon the remainder of the Empire the obligation to recognise the effects of the treaty, the full power given to the plenipotentiary should be unlimited. I was saying, from the juridical point of view, it was more in accordance with sound principle that the full power should be unlimited.

MR. FITZGERALD: Issued on the advice of all the Governments?

SIR CECIL HURST: For the moment let us leave that out of this question. That full power should be unlimited, because in reality these are the cases where the consequences must be common to all the citizens of the British Empire who look up to the King. Now a case was put in regard to the Portuguese-South African Treaty, where it was said that in reality only one part of the Empire was affected; and it may well be that in that case there was no need in logic for giving more than a limited full power. But in most cases I think you ought to find that an unlimited full power is desirable. The important point is this: If all the Dominions know that a particular negotiation is going on, if they are kept informed of these negotiations and know the proposals which it is hoped to insert in the treaty, and indicate no desire to participate and are perfectly content to let the negotiations go on, then they cannot turn round afterwards and say: "I am not going to recognise that treaty."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Is not the answer to the instance given by Mr. Fitzgerald—if a treaty between one Dominion and Great Britain, or between a Dominion and other Powers, provides for special conditions to British subjects any British subject can take advantage of it, whether his country has ratified the treaty or not? "British subject" means a British subject.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is the line we have very often taken in the past, and usually have succeeded in getting foreign Governments to recognise it.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You can take advantage of anything which names you, even if you have not undertaken obligations which give you the advantages. That is the answer in that respect. If you give it to Jones, Jones can take it without undertaking the obligations.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think that worked out in the treaty with Japan, where Australia did not give privileges to the Japanese, but where the Japanese gave them to all British subjects. I think that what Sir Cecil Hurst proposes is very dangerous, viz., that assent is presumed in the absence of dissent.

MR. LATHAM: Does not that depend altogether on the circumstances? If the 1923 Resolution is interpreted as a means of providing for each part of the Empire which is self-governing, informing every other part of the Empire which might possibly be interested in any negotiations which it has in hand, and if the Resolution in that respect is carried out, may it not then quite fairly be said that when Dominion B hears from Dominion A that Dominion A is conducting negotiations of a particular kind, having regard to the terms of the treaty, it is the duty of Dominion B to claim an interest if it considers it has an interest. That is, in effect, what the Resolution says; that is to say, if Dominion B desires to claim an interest and to say: "I want to be heard in this," and then, on the other hand, does what is so often the real source of difficulty in these matters, that is, pays no attention to the matter—that is largely, I think, the source of difficulty—is there then any room for complaint on the part of Dominion B if Dominion A acts upon the view that Dominion B is not concerned? If Dominion B is not sufficiently concerned to write a letter and say: "There is a point in this which you have not thought of; we want our views considered, we want to discuss it with you." If Dominion B has not that degree of interest, it is hard for me to see that there is any room for complaint on the part of Dominion B.

MR. FITZGERALD: South Africa is concluding a treaty with Portugal; we hand it to our lawyers and say: "Could that affect us in any way?" They say:

"Yes; under an extraordinary set of circumstances it could affect you; to a minor degree it is advantageous." It is a very important thing for South Africa. On the one hand, it would be rather ridiculous for us to say: "In a miraculous series of circumstances that could affect us, and therefore we object to your going ahead with that treaty." On the other hand, we want, in the event of such a circumstance happening, to be protected, and we say: "Yes, you go along with it, but leave us out of it." There are two sorts of things where consequential effects are inevitable. For instance, Great Britain concluded the Pact of Locarno. We might have come together in Dublin and have said: "It is conceivable that out of this will come war. Our membership of the British Commonwealth, plus our geographical position, the whole set of circumstances mean that if there is war we are going to be in it." We naturally have to weigh the matter carefully, and we say: "This is, on the whole, making for a more peaceful condition in Europe, and we are quite glad that Great Britain is going on with it. We know there are certain consequences possibly arising from it which are going to affect us, but in the general interest we say we will have to face that. In the meantime we hope this will not happen, and let us stand for the general good." Great Britain is concluding treaties every day more or less, and if she writes to us, as is done most conscientiously, giving us details of everything, and we enter a *non possumus* or negative, and say we object to that treaty because of its possible reactions on us, we would be a perfect nuisance.

SIR CECIL HURST: No, you would not be, because what you would do would be that you would either write and express your views, in which case you may be sure the point which would interest you would be taken into account, or, if your interests were intimately involved, you would send a man to participate in the negotiations.

MR. FITZGERALD: Quite, but all I say is that when Great Britain does not hear from us that we have an objection—we might have minor objections, but you have to weigh Great Britain's interests as against ours; theirs is the greater interest in this, positive, greater than ours, negative, therefore we say, "Go ahead with it"; but it does not follow that we wish to be bound. I admit that in the whole circumstances of the case we cannot escape consequences, but we do not want to be bound beyond the minimum point.

SIR CECIL HURST: The minimum point is exactly what we are talking of, is it not? The minimum point is the recognising of the consequences of the treaty. In any case where it is going to impose active obligations upon you, then, under this paragraph here, it is suggested that the right course is that the treaty should be signed on your behalf; but we are dealing only with cases where it imposes no active obligations, where the only passive obligation is that of recognising the new status which is brought into being.

GENERAL HERTZOG: As I take it, really a treaty like that between two parties, say Canada and another party, cannot throw any active obligations upon any of the other Dominions not participating; but the question is, how far can South Africa later on claim to exercise her right, which is contrary to, and a violation of, Canada's treaty? As I said a few minutes ago, when it comes to claiming a right to do something which would be contrary to that treaty, it would be considered that if South Africa sat still all that time, she was not playing the game, and she would be bound to the extent that she cannot claim to exercise the right to do anything which would be contrary to what she tacitly consented.

MR. HARDING: Might I perhaps remind General Hertzog and Mr. Fitzgerald that this subject was considered by the full Committee last week in connection with foreign relations generally. You will remember that the Committee adopted a Resolution, the purport of which was that so long as the Government received no adverse comments, and so long as its policy involved no active obligations on the part of the other Governments, it might act on the assumption that it was at liberty to proceed with its policy. That is your point?

GENERAL HERTZOG: In other words, the others will always respect it after that.

MR. FITZGERALD: Does that mean that Great Britain, say, not hearing from South Africa that they object, proceeds to issue full powers to a plenipotentiary to act in the name of the whole Commonwealth?

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MR. LATHAM: But not so as to impose any active obligations on South Africa.

MR. FITZGERALD: I come now to the question of the powers issued.

MR. LATHAM: It only applies to such a case, I understand.

GENERAL HERTZOG: If I might put this to you, is it not so that there you suppose a case where really obligations are thrown upon the others; but if you take the case where, say, Great Britain appoints an Ambassador with full powers to act for us all, then you say, "Well, we may not appoint an Ambassador," but that would be throwing upon us really direct obligations.

MR. FITZGERALD: If she said we could not appoint another Ambassador.

MR. LATHAM: I do not think that is the point.

MR. FITZGERALD: Suppose we are not interested in the least, I cannot myself see that there is any justification, without the direct assent and advice of the individual Governments concerned, for a man to be empowered to act in the name of the whole area which forms the Commonwealth.

MR. LATHAM: That appears to have been dealt with by that Resolution as read by Mr. Harding. But may I suggest that it is quite possible to meet Mr. Fitzgerald's point of view quite readily—this is merely a suggestion, and I do not bind myself to it—by allowing each Government to define its own position. Some Governments would be content to say: "You can act on our behalf where you have informed us unless we warn you that there are difficulties and we want certain points considered." Other Governments might prefer to say—and I suggest this is the logical result of what Mr. Fitzgerald has said—"As far as we are concerned, unless you hear from us affirmatively that we desire to be affected by this treaty actively or passively, we desire you to introduce a clause saying that this treaty does not confer any benefits upon persons whom we define as our citizens, nor are they subject to any obligations." Let that be a general form. The position would be that supposing it were the Irish Free State, the citizens of the Irish Free State would not obtain any of the advantages from general treaties dealing with British subjects, nor would they be subject to any obligations except in the case of treaties to which the Government of the Irish Free State had given an explicit consent. It appears to me that this is a perfectly feasible method of procedure if a Dominion were to adopt it; but before any particular Dominion adopts it I think they would have to consider the results pretty carefully, because they would find themselves involved in perhaps some difficulties with their own citizens in some matters; but that would be entirely a matter for the Dominion concerned.

MR. FITZGERALD: I agree with you in principle; but I may be historically wrong, but I seem to remember that a treaty with Japan in about 1911 gave British subjects rights in Japan, and gave Japanese subjects rights in Great Britain but not in Australia. I presume that the powers issued to the plenipotentiary were full powers.

SIR CECIL HURST: Unlimited; I have no doubt they were.

MR. FITZGERALD: Unlimited powers. I also think that if the Japanese gave rather more than they got it did not arise from the fact that there were unlimited powers, but merely from the fact that it was a plenipotentiary from the greatest Power in the world, and that what the Japanese wanted was much more with regard to Great Britain. They did not bother much about Australia (not wanting to hurt Australia's feelings).

MR. LATHAM: They are not hurt.

MR. FITZGERALD: I do not think they would have cavilled if the powers issued had been geographically limited.

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes, but, Mr. Fitzgerald, in many of these cases, the limitation in the full way you ask for would really cause the machine not to work. What we have to guard against really, I think, is this—anything which would entail what I may call a breakdown of the machinery. These negotiations with foreign Powers have got to go on. Take a case such as that of Tangier, mentioned in this paragraph we have been discussing; there all the Dominions were kept fully informed of all the negotiations which were going on, and they knew what was proposed.

They must, therefore, have seen that there was a proposal to establish a new Court, to which was to be delegated certain of the extra-territorial Powers that were then in existence, and which was consequently going to have jurisdiction over all British citizens. Therefore, every Dominion must have known at the time that those negotiations were going on that its own citizens were going to be affected. If any Dominion says: "I see that my citizens are going to be concerned, therefore I want to sign this treaty, and therefore I want to participate in the appointment of a plenipotentiary," that is a practical, logical position. The Dominion has a right to do so, which is safeguarded by the Resolutions adopted in 1923, and it has only to indicate the wish and it will be given effect to. If we are to be told that the Dominion has all this information, expresses no wish to participate, does not say: "I want to join in the appointment of a plenipotentiary," lets the whole matter go by, and then claims, by reason of its silence, that the Government here is only to be entitled to make one part of the treaty, *i.e.*, that it would only be able in those cases to give its plenipotentiary a limited full power, and therefore would not be able to conclude the treaty as it is required—you see the difficulty that arises. Surely the point is that the Dominions have got the remedy in their own hands. They have only to say: "We want to participate," and they will then participate, either by direct signature or by participation in the appointment of the plenipotentiary. All we want to secure is that the conduct of foreign affairs shall not be impeded by a refusal of that kind.

MR. FITZGERALD: I notice the cases you quote are those where there is a modification of, or adding to, or taking away from, something in relation to a treaty previously made by Great Britain modifying, adding to, or taking from rights achieved for the whole citizens of the Commonwealth by a treaty which you propose to modify. I think that falls into a special category. Some time ago Great Britain entered into an arbitration treaty with Siam. We have no desire to interfere, but it was at a time when our Parliament was being told to stay late, when we had a very important, urgent programme for them; we told them we were not going to have any sort of recess this summer. We were asked if we had any observations to make, and we said "No." Then it was presupposed, owing to the issuing of unlimited powers, that we were going to be parties to it, which would have meant that, after Parliament—they had to stay late and we had a very urgent, necessary programme —I should have had to go there and say: "I want you to ratify an arbitration treaty with Siam." They would have all burst out laughing and said: "We have no interest in Siam; we do not touch Siam, and you cannot keep us late at night on an arbitration treaty with Siam."

SIR CECIL HURST: I cannot believe that, if the point had been put clearly to the members of the Dail, that they would have burst out laughing. What is an arbitration treaty? It is a method of settling disputes. Now suppose that treaty was called into play by the Siamese in respect of a dispute between that country and your country. Now, is it not perfectly reasonable that Siam should say: "I am told that I have behaved improperly in respect of the rights of this particular man. I maintain that I acted properly. If it is considered I have not acted in accordance with my national duty, I claim arbitration"?

MR. FITZGERALD: That is quite right, but there are plenty of countries with whom we are more likely to have some dispute than with Siam; and at a moment when you are particularly persuading Parliament that it has to sit late and stay, when they want to get away, to come along with a treaty with Siam, it is only a matter of the sense of proportion. There were a hundred other matters we wanted to get done which were really more urgent. There is the possibility that in twenty years' time we may have some quarrel with Siam. Well, we have twenty years to fix that treaty in, whereas it was presumed we were in it until we had said it was an impossible position.

MR. HAVENGA: It would have been very easy to say: "We are very busy in the House. We want to stand out of this. Leave us out, and we will think it over later on when we have more time."

MR. FITZGERALD: We really do not want to interfere with Great Britain.

MR. HAVENGA: It is very difficult to have it both ways.

SIR CECIL HURST: These arbitration treaties are a substitute for war——

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MR. FITZGERALD: I entirely agree with the thing——

SIR CECIL HURST: These arbitration treaties are a substitute for war, and consequently they are matters upon which it is almost essential that the same units affected by the war should be bound by the arbitration treaty as a substitute for war. Is the whole of the rest of the Empire to be held up for twenty years in making some satisfactory arrangement for the settlement of the disputes that there may be because one part of the Empire says: "My interests are so small, I will not help them"?

MR. FITZGERALD: No, no, I entirely agree.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is all you were asked to do.

MR. FITZGERALD: We were quite ready for you to go ahead, but we did not want to be bound by presupposing that we are in a thing unless we say we are out. I prefer that we should be considered out of it unless we definitely affirm that we want to come in.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is a very good illustration of the difficulty of which this Government as a rule alone has to bear the brunt. There was a case where, for the reasons that I have just explained, it is desirable that the method of settling disputes should be commensurate with the area which will be involved in the war if the dispute is not settled. All the Dominions were kept informed as to the proposal to conclude it and as to the lines of investigation. Is not this Government in London entitled to assume that a Dominion which does not say so at the time the negotiations are going on will not object afterwards to such a treaty having been concluded?

MR. FITZGERALD: We have no objection to its being made.

SIR CECIL HURST: Objection to its being made in the shape in which it was then being negotiated, *i.e.*, of general application.

MR. FITZGERALD: Well, of course, on this equality point I do not see myself —I am sorry to appear so cantankerous about it—how one Government can appoint a man, or the King appoint a plenipotentiary, to act on our behalf without the advice of our Government.

MR. LATHAM: That advice may be in two forms, *e.g.*, if the Government were to say that in the absence of adverse comment from us, in the absence of any such comment, go ahead; if that is said, it is all right. There is the authority from the Dominion.

MR. FITZGERALD: If we agree here.

MR. LATHAM: Then it seems to me, as to the rest of it, that if any Dominion likes to take the responsibility of placing the Empire in general in this position, it is able to do so.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You do not see the actual terms of the treaty.

MR. LATHAM: But we can ask for them if we want them. If any Dominion wishes to place the Empire as a whole in this position, and to take the responsibility of doing so, it is able to do it. Supposing an arbitration treaty were being negotiated, say, with the United States or Germany—leave out the existence of the League of Nations for the moment—and a Dominion says: "Well, you can go ahead with an arbitration treaty with Germany as a substitute for war, but we are very busy; we have been sitting very late, and we have not the time to attend to it, so leave us out as we have to rise next week." Suppose the effect of that is that Germany says: "We will not know where we are going with an arbitration treaty as a substitute for war in this form, and, therefore, we will not make the treaty." That is the responsibility of the Dominion, and I think the Dominion is able to do that; but it would have to be regarded as accepting a very serious responsibility.

MR. FITZGERALD: If we do the other thing and in a negative way advise—I will give another instance. There were negotiations between Great Britain and Italy dealing with Abyssinia. The first we got to know about that, I think, was we read about it in the newspapers; and the first news we had of it was an answer to a question in the House of Commons. Now the plenipotentiary, or whatever you like to call him, when he negotiated with Italy on that, had powers in the names of Australia, South Africa and of us, and the first we knew about it was what we saw in the newspapers. Where is the co-equality?

MR. LATHAM: I think that would be wrong.

MR. FITZGERALD: That happened during the last few months.

MR. LATHAM: I think it would have to be admitted that that was wrong, if that was done.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think it is a most dangerous thing to set down that unless we state to the contrary we are in.

MR. LATHAM: Only after information received.

MR. FITZGERALD: That is more likely to lead to these mistakes. It may have been that a despatch was held up unwittingly here or something like that—I do not know. Also of course it may happen at a time when we have to have a quorum of our Cabinet; we may have to wait a fortnight, as we shall do in the next few months, and no reply will be received. Merely because one Minister is in Cork and another is in Galway we are going to be committed to something. The case of Abyssinia is a thing that will inevitably happen. I am not blaming the British Government.

MR. HAVENGA: If in connection with this Resolution we enter into a treaty after having given notice to the other Dominions, you would never assume that we had a right to appoint on behalf of any of the other Dominions.

MR. FITZGERALD: Certainly not.

MR. HAVENGA: Because they did not raise any objection at the time. I do not suppose that is the case here.

MR. FITZGERALD: That is what occurs to me.

MR. HAVENGA: They could not impose any obligations on us because we understood.

MR. FITZGERALD: We do understand that we have to accept certain obligations, and we have to weigh up to them, but to say definitely that in such a thing we are going to accept obligations is a different matter. Another Government may come along and say: "We regard you as having obligations," but we do not regard ourselves as having obligations, and I gave you that instance of Abyssinia.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You were not concerned with Abyssinia.

MR. FITZGERALD: No, we were not, but I am giving the instance of what might happen.

SIR CECIL HURST: I only took this on the footing that the conditions of 1923 were being carried out. I cannot guarantee that in some particular cases there might not have been an oversight, but let us assume that there are cases in which these paragraphs were intended to apply where the Treaty Resolutions had been carried out. These conditions have been an immense burden on the Government, but we have tried to play the game.

MR. FITZGERALD: That is so; but owing to disorganisation or to our own bad business methods, the thing does not come up for consideration.

SIR CECIL HURST: We cannot be responsible for that.

MR. FITZGERALD: I quite agree, but at the same time there was a case at one time where they presumably did not read the thing. That could happen, and you cannot put the whole country in a position of being committed to something merely because one responsible Minister was sick, another on holiday and another addressing an election meeting, or that the papers got muddled up and the matter did not come under notice. I think it is a wrong thing to take the matter on the negative side. Either, it should be, we wish to be parties to it and we accept the consequences of it, or we do not.

MR. HARDING: Take this particular case, surely the principle underlying that was carried out.

MR. FITZGERALD: I thought when we had no observations to offer it was assumed that we wished to be included. It was a misunderstanding of machinery.

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When we said we had no observations to offer it meant that we had not much interest in this—go ahead with it.

MR. HARDING: But if you had said so, it would have been a different matter.

MR. LATHAM: It is a very easy thing to add that to a letter.

MR. FITZGERALD: I frankly misunderstood it. I meant that when we had no observations to offer we were not in it, but apparently when we were not sufficiently interested to offer observations we were included in it.

DR. SKELTON: Do all treaties fall into the same class? There are those we recognise which are carried on by two parties of the Empire; in the case of those we recognise, those of us in the other Dominions not immediately concerned in the negotiations, that we are probably going to be concerned, and therefore would wish to appoint plenipotentiaries to take a part in framing the deed and be bound whatever conclusion is come to. On the other hand, there are those which do not affect us at all, and which we therefore think should be so drawn up as to apply only to those parts of the Empire that are affected, or is there an intermediate class in which we recognise that there are indirect and minor results which may affect our nationals? We do not want to be excluded from them. We do not want to take a part in the negotiations, but wherever possible accept the consequences, or perhaps a little more than that. We say definitely that we have no objection to having those affect us. I do not think the third is a logical one; but it may be that there are certain cases in which it might be carried out, in which we may have either to take a part in the treaty which is going to affect and bind us or be excluded definitely from the operation of the treaty. That is the logical way of looking at it. There is the third alternative of recognising the binding effect in minor ways of treaties in which we have no direct part, and this might have to be followed.

SIR CECIL HURST: I was going to express a doubt whether Dr. Skelton's classification is quite a logical classification. Does this treaty impose an active obligation upon the Dominion? In that case it is clear that it ought to be signed on behalf of the Dominion so as to introduce an element which will justify that Dominion Government in taking and practically require it to take whatever steps are necessary to bring it into force, whether that be through its Parliament or by joining in the ratification. The other class is where it imposes no obligations except the obligation of recognising the effect. Now that category can fall into two classes: one is sufficiently important for the Dominion to say: "We wish to participate in the negotiations; we wish to join in the appointment of a plenipotentiary or to be represented by a separate plenipotentiary"; the other class of case is where the Dominion says: "My interest in this is so small that I am aware of the general lines that are going to be pursued in this particular negotiation and I accept the result."

DR. SKELTON: Even though it admits that we are being bound by the action of the plenipotentiaries, in whose appointment we have had no share?

SIR CECIL HURST: He is perfectly entitled to say: "The inhabitants of my country will be affected by this negotiation. I should like to join in the appointment of plenipotentiaries." You would then telegraph to London who was going to be nominated as plenipotentiary. In Canada you would do that, for instance.

MR. LATHAM: May I mention also in connection with what Dr. Skelton has said that there is a well-known distinction between a general power and a special power. A Dominion may be perfectly prepared to give a general power in relation to certain matters, which it would define for itself from time to time, by making no comment; and if the Dominions were to intimate to the British Government: "In a case where we do not forward any comments within a reasonable time you can understand that we are content that your plenipotentiary should act generally, with the effect that we would be bound to recognise the results of this treaty," that would correspond to what one might call a limited form of general power, and would be a protection from the constitutional point of view and assist in foreign policy on behalf of the whole of the Empire.

MR. LAPOINTE: I will now read paragraphs 26 and 27 (paragraphs read). Shall we come back now to paragraph 10?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: We shall all have to go very soon. I must go in five minutes.

MR. LAPOINTE: If some of the members of the committee have formed some draft on the preamble or form of treaty, perhaps we might now consider it.

SIR CECIL HURST: I have prepared a form in accordance with your desire. I have prepared a draft form of a resolution and I have prepared also a draft of the "head and tail" of a treaty. Shall I distribute these? (Drafts distributed.)

"*Draft Resolution.*

"The imperial Conference.....agrees as follows:—

1. Though the Dominions separately represented in the League of Nations and India are entitled in virtue of such separate membership to all the rights and privileges of Members of the League, they became members upon the footing that the relationship between the various parts of the Empire is different from the relationship between them and foreign Powers.

2. This special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire whether separately represented in the League or not is a fundamental element in their international position.

3. Treaties (other than agreements between Governments) whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not should be made in the name of Heads of States, and if the treaty is signed on behalf of the Empire or of any part of it, the treaty should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire. The British units on behalf of which the treaty is signed should be grouped together in the following order:—

Great Britain, &c., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India.

4. The principles laid down in paragraphs 1 and 2 render superfluous the inclusion in a treaty of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King.

5. Where a treaty provides that it is to come into force on the deposit of the ratifications of a specified number of Powers, the principle that the treaty does not operate between the various territories on behalf of which it has been separately signed in the name of the King precludes his ratification on behalf of such territories being reckoned as the ratifications of different Powers."

"*Specimen Form of Treaty.*

"The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King of (..... whatever title may be decided on with the concurrence of the Imperial Conference), Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Bulgaria, &c., &c.

.....

Desiring .....

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:—

The President .....

.....

His Majesty the King of (*title as above*):

for Great Britain and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate Members of the League (of Nations).
AB.

for the Dominion of Canada,
CD.

for the Commonwealth of Australia,
EF.

for the Dominion of New Zealand,
GH.

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for the Union of South Africa, *IJ.*

for the Irish Free State, *KL.*

for India, *MN.*

.....

.....

who having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

.....

.....

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

AB .....
CD .....
EF .....
GH .....
IJ .....
KL .....
MN .....

or if the territory for which each Plenipotentiary signs is to be specified as is customary at Geneva:

(for Great Britain, &c.).....*AB.*
(for Canada).....*CD.*
(for Australia) .....*EF.*
(for New Zealand) .....*GH.*
(for South Africa).....*IJ.*
(for the Irish Free State) .....*KL.*
(for India).....*MN.*"

The draft treaty as circulated was then read by MR. LAPOINTE.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: That does not deal with cases where they do not agree, where some of them do not agree.

SIR CECIL HURST: That would imply they would not sign.

MR. LAPOINTE: Have you any remarks to make on this?

DR. SKELTON: I have one. I suggest: "For Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of His Majesty's Realms," or some such phrase; and also there is the question, though I think it is of minor importance, whether, when the names of the country are given, they should be in the League alphabetical order, or all be grouped together, as in the preamble.

MR. LATHAM: Does Sir Cecil propose this as the League form for League treaties?

SIR CECIL HURST: Both.

MR. LAPOINTE: The dotted line is for the League signature.

SIR CECIL HURST: Do you see the words "of nations"? I am assuming that in a League treaty you would not want those two words, but that "the League" would be sufficient, but where you were making a non-League treaty you would have those two words.

MR. LATHAM: Why I enquired was because this begins by: "The President of the United States of America," and "His Majesty the King of the Belgians"; that is not the League form.

SIR CECIL HURST: "League treaties" is a phrase we have got into the habit of using here to cover any treaty or convention which is negotiated and concluded under the auspices of the League. The Americans have participated in various treaties or conventions negotiated under the auspices of the League—the Opium Convention, for instance.

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MR. LATHAM: Take a thing like the Slavery Convention, which was concluded at Geneva at the last Assembly. Did "The King of the Belgians" come into that, or was it not "Belgium"?

SIR CECIL HURST: It was "Belgium" there. All League treaties hitherto have been made in the name of the country.

MR. LATHAM: The point is, it was suggested that an endeavour should be made to substitute the Heads of States for the names of countries generally in League practice.

SIR CECIL HURST: That was what emerged from one of our discussions here a few days ago. The draft Resolution is really, I think, much the most important part of it.

MR. LAPOINTE read the draft Resolution.

MR. LATHAM: Might I enquire as to how the line is drawn between treaties and agreements between Governments; what is actually the dividing line?

SIR CECIL HURST: Primarily, the distinction is formal. In practice the system of governmental agreements is made use of for more technical arrangements between administrative services, such as postal and railway agreements, and so on.

MR. LATHAM: Such a matter as a cession of territory, if it were involved in the adjustment of a territorial boundary, would ordinarily be regarded as a political matter.

SIR CECIL HURST: In this country we should have made a treaty providing for the cession of territory or for the fixing of a territorial boundary in the form of a treaty between Heads of States.

MR. LATHAM: Why I raise the point is this: under the form of governmental agreement anything could be done, and then these Resolutions would not apply. The Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923 in its general terms would not apply. It appears to me to be a rather vague term, not referable to the substance of the matter. I mean the term "agreements between Governments" is rather a vague term, is it not?

SIR CECIL HURST: It is a vague term, and I think there must be a certain measure of elasticity as to the purposes for which any such form of making an agreement is reserved. I do not think I can state it any further than this, that the usual diplomatic practice in the past has been that important agreements were concluded with the Heads of States because it was the desire to surround such an agreement with a higher measure of formality and importance.

MR. LATHAM: I think, Mr. Chairman, we shall have to have an opportunity of considering these proposals, and possibly of circulating any alternatives that any member might feel inclined to suggest. I think it would be a great help if any members who were not satisfied substantially with these proposals, on other than mere drafting points, were to give other members the benefit of circulating their alternative proposals.

The question of a meeting on Wednesday, the 10th instant, was discussed in connection with the proposed meeting of the Antarctic Sub-Committee, and it was agreed that, if possible, there should be two meetings of the Committee on Thursday and Friday, which the Committee considered should be sufficient to allow them to come to an agreement.

(The Committee adjourned until Thursday.)

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 9, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 8th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of the Eighth Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, on Friday, November 12, 1926, *at* 3 P.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Commonwealth of Australia.

The Right Hon. S. M. BRUCE, M.C., Prime Minister.

Union of South Africa.

General the Hon. J. B. M. HERTZOG, Prime Minister.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. W. E. BECKETT, Assistant Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Union of South Africa.

Mr. H. GORDON WATSON, I.S.O., Secretary to the Delegation.

Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. M. BONIWELL, Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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MR. LAPOINTE: Sir Cecil Hurst has prepared a specimen form of treaty and a projected resolution of this Sub-Committee, and since he has done that there has been another draft report suggested by the Canadian Delegation as a basis of discussion, so that these two matters are for consideration this afternoon. I suppose everybody has read the papers prepared by Sir Cecil Hurst. Would you like me to read the draft resolution prepared for consideration by him, which reads as follows:—

"1. Though the Dominions separately represented in the League of Nations and India are entitled in virtue of such separate membership to all the rights and privileges of Members of the League, they became members upon the footing that the relationship between the various parts of the British Empire is different from the relationship between them and foreign Powers."

SIR CECIL HURST: Almost the same phrase occurs in Dr. Skelton's draft.

DR. SKELTON: The only suggestion I could make is on the question of the form that any statement is to take, and then how far we can usefully make it less a pronunciamento directed at the head of the League, by making it more or less complementary to the 1923 Resolution and as general as possible in its terms. I have a feeling that the less we say here as to what our position in the League of Nations is the better, from the points of view both of whether we have the right as seven members of the League to lay that down in general terms and of the possibility of raising discussion in the League after a general statement has been made.

SIR CECIL HURST: There would be a great advantage in adopting some procedure which would prevent this question being constantly raised at Geneva. I will not say it has been raised constantly in the past, but it has cropped up not infrequently when Conferences have been taking place, and it would be a great advantage to escape, if we could, from having any similar repetition of the matter in future by making what Dr. Skelton calls a pronunciamento once and for all.

MR. FITZGERALD: What has been raised in the League? Have they questioned the special relationship between us or questioned whether it is not rather more than——

SIR CECIL HURST: What they have questioned is the application of the special relationship, more particularly in matters dealing with Imperial preference.

MR. FITZGERALD: What has been questioned so much in America is the right of us to be seven in the League. This draft begins: "Though the Dominions are separately represented in the League." Regarding that "although" as exceptional, it seems to me to say: "There is an exceptional circumstance, and by virtue of that exceptional circumstance we claim all rights and privileges of the members of the League."

SIR CECIL HURST: That was not the intention at all. It was intended to make abundantly clear that there is a special footing upon which they were accepted.

MR. FITZGERALD: Well, it seems to me, taking paragraph 1 as it is, that we should base our claims to the rights and privileges of members of the League on our inherent right to be members of the League, and not to the fact merely that we are members of the League. That right to the rights and privileges exists by virtue of the integrity of each separate member who has gone through the formality of joining the League. This begins with: "Though the Dominions are separately represented in the League of Nations." It states that because we are separate members who have all the rights and privileges, and then it seems to go on to stress the oneness.

SIR CECIL HURST: I should have thought that would be the order in which you would put it.

MR. FITZGERALD: The way of looking at it is this. The autonomy and the national entity of these various members are separate, and as such they had a perfect right to join the League; having joined the League deriving more from the very nature of their existence rather than from their membership of the League—there would not be any question—we naturally have the same rights and privileges of members of the League as anybody else, because we joined the League on the same footing with a special relationship existing between us, and therefore in many cases, such as multilateral treaties, the application of those treaties will not apply as between us.

MR. COSTELLO: Sir Cecil, what is the advantage of the draft circulated on your behalf to that suggested by Dr. Skelton, comparing the two?

SIR CECIL HURST: The draft that I circulated I understood was at the request of the Committee; the draft is composed of two things, a specimen form of treaty and a draft resolution, and they were both prepared two or three days before the document submitted by Dr. Skelton.

MR. COSTELLO: I am discussing those two points in paragraph 1 of your draft and the suggested reforms of Dr. Skelton. I want those two compared. It is not so much the form, what I want to get at is, is there any essential difference between Dr. Skelton's suggestion and the suggestion in paragraph 1 of your draft?

MR. BRUCE: It seems to me a point arises, quite apart from which of these two drafts would be the more suitable, in this fact, that what we are concerned about, I understand, is the question of the form in which a treaty shall be signed and the general procedure in regard to treaties. But I did not understand that the object of this Committee was to endeavour to lay down in words what is the exact position of Great Britain and the various Dominions at the League of Nations, and I think it would be an extraordinarily undesirable thing to attempt to do anything of the sort from the point of view of the Dominions in particular. We have a very wonderful recognition at the League of Nations, and I think the last thing we should do is to try and promote any discussion about it. In the Prime Ministers' Committee we, as a preface to anything that is coming in under any of these reports, are trying to frame a few words to define that which we take as an accepted fact, namely, what the position of the British Empire is; and inside that definition—it is not a definition—but inside that preface to the question we deal with generally, you will have that fact that all the self-governing parts of the Empire are autonomous, but that they are in a peculiar relationship one to another owing to the fact that they are all members of the British Nation. Surely that covers 1 and 2 straight away. There is no need to touch this; and that avoids the bringing up of this question to the League of Nations and possibly having foreign countries arguing about it, which, I think, is extremely undesirable. The suggestion I would make is, if we can agree upon the method of dealing with treaties—for example, the substitution of the Head of the State for the British Empire as far as League treaties are concerned—that we should merely reaffirm the Resolution which we passed in 1923 and add on to it "and in addition with regard to treaties the following procedure should be observed: that treaties"—I would not mention the League of Nations—I would merely say "that treaties generally should be entered into by the Head of the State," and then follow out the general procedure suggested and outlined here. I think that will avoid a lot of difficulty which we shall otherwise get into in attempting a definition.

MR. LAPOINTE: I am willing to agree with you.

MR. FITZGERALD: Picture what would be written by an American journalist who had taken up the attitude taken by so many now. What would he say on the first paragraph? He would say the British Government managed to slip into the League of Nations as separate members its various component parts. Having done that, they now proceed to claim on the strength that, having put that across the League of Nations, all rights and privileges, and then they come along and show the cloven hoof that they are all one at the same time. That first paragraph undoubtedly would cause a tremendous amount of comment which, as Mr. Bruce said, would certainly be to the injury of the position of the Dominions in the League of Nations.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Mr. Bruce has raised the point I myself raised on two occasions, that while the Prime Ministers are in their own higher sphere, for it is a higher sphere, endeavouring to arrive at something like any addition that may be necessary to the Resolution of 1923, we here were endeavouring to frame something which might conflict with, or at all events, would embarrass the process of the Prime Ministers. I agree entirely with Mr. Bruce because he is only repeating what I raised myself. General Hertzog thought that, without conflicting with the matters that he was one of those determining in another place, we could proceed in this to arrive at a formula declaratory of our relations without embarrassing or interfering with the Prime Ministers. But it appears to me, as it does, I understand, to Mr. Bruce, if I understood him aright, that what is proposed by us here is to lay down a line of definition of status which may, or may not, correspond with that which is arrived at at the Prime Ministers' Committee. At

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any rate, it is extraordinarily difficult, and a matter to be decided by the Prime Ministers, not by us.

MR. LAPOINTE: Still, I must say it has been referred to us. Document E. 104, paragraph 12, refers to some sort of resolution or statement as suggested by Sir Cecil Hurst. If you read paragraph 12 you will see it is not out of our jurisdiction and province to consider such a resolution or statement. On the point whether it is desirable to make it, I am inclined to agree with Mr. Bruce that it is not.

MR. BRUCE: I did not suggest it was outside our jurisdiction, because as the thing started I think that was the line you had to follow; but things have developed so much, and now we know you are going to have a short introductory paragraph, which will more or less deal with the points raised in paragraph 4 of this draft resolution, I think in this Committee we can concentrate on the more specific job of work we were given, that is, to suggest the form the treaties should take, leaving it to the general covering words to deal with the necessity there may be for defining to the world generally what our actual relations are between ourselves as against the relations existing between different Powers.

MR. HARDING: Might I make a suggestion? It would be most convenient if this Committee could frame any report that it wants to make in a way in which it can be included straight off in the report of Lord Balfour's Committee. It appears to me it might be possible to preface the report of this Committee by saying that a special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations, as defined in the declaration with which the report will begin, is a fundamental element in their international position. The reason for putting in an introductory sentence of that kind is that it forms a very useful beginning to the statement as to the form of treaty. In fact, I think it is essential.

MR. BRUCE: The only objection to that is, I think, that it is a little difficult to make one Committee fit into another when the personnel are not familiar with the trend of thought on each Committee, but I do not think it wants to have any reference to any declaration which has been made. The way the thing is swinging is that the introductory points come in as a statement of something so obvious and so well known that we are not proceeding to define something new or make a fresh declaration about anything. It is because these things exist and are known by us all to exist that it is necessary we should do certain things. Then we deal with the specific thing. I think it can be dealt with quite well by reaffirming the 1923 Resolutions, which I do not think anybody has any view about except that they are admirable, and add on to them the question of the signature of treaties. It was examined, and it was determined the proper course to adopt was, say, take paragraph 3, leaving out the particular reference to the League of Nations, and make it cover all treaties.

MR. FITZGERALD: I do not see how you can use the word "definition," because we are all quite frankly trying to avoid definition as far as we can. I think, as Mr. Bruce says, we presuppose certain things. That is inherent in what we say later on. What we say later on can only be translated in terms of what we presuppose. We are not beginning now a fresh relationship; it has existed all through. Therefore, we do not need to refer to it except so far as our proposals are based on that assumption, but certainly I understand all through we are avoiding anything in the way of what can be called definition.

SIR CECIL HURST: You must not forget what is the real purpose which we are pursuing. We have got to formulate some treaty form which can be used on occasions when required in the future, and it should be satisfactory from the point of view of ensuring that any international body, such as the Court at The Hague, would hold that upon the face of the treaty the interpretation which we put upon it was the correct interpretation. Now we are all agreed here sitting round this table there is this special relationship between the different parts of the Empire, and in consequence the provisions of the treaty will not operate as between the different parts of the Empire. It is one thing to have that agreed by you members of the Imperial Conference sitting round a table. It is another thing to make sure that the treaty should be so interpreted by any international body which was called upon to interpret it. Now, hitherto,

we have ensured the non-application of a treaty of that sort between the different parts of the Empire by various methods. One has been that of the Central Panel, another has been that which is referred to in paragraph 13 as the Inter-Imperial Clause. Another, which has now only come into being of late, has been partial reliance upon the doctrine enunciated in Geneva in 1925, that it must be an understood thing that such a treaty as the Arms Traffic Convention did not operate as between territories subject to the same sovereignty. Now, if we start upon the footing that we have got to find a treaty formula which is watertight, we must consider it not only from the point of view of past practice, but also with the modifications which it is proposed to make in the practice that we have followed hitherto. Objection has been taken to the principle that has been explained in paragraph 9 of this document before you, that of the Central Panel. The Central Panel was a system that ensured without doubt that the treaty did not operate as between different parts of the Empire because there was one set of signatures which governed the whole. If that system is to go, we must make quite certain that the systems which are to be followed in the future are adequate. One alternative system which has been under consideration is that explained in paragraphs 10 and 11 of this paper, No. E. 104. The system set out there was coupled in paragraph 12 with the proposal as a safeguard that there should be this declaration made at Geneva and that we should make sure that Geneva accepted that view. Well, it may be that for any such declaration to be made at Geneva is undesirable, but, if so, we must make it more certain that the form of the treaty is such as to prevent there being any risk of an international body maintaining that the treaty does operate between the different parts of the British Empire. Mere acceptance of that principle round this table may not be sufficient. I will not say that it will not be sufficient, because one can always urge, and urge very strongly, the argument that, if that was in the minds of the large number of those who signed the treaty, it was made upon a basis which any international tribunal certainly could not ignore, but there could not be perfect safety on the point. If you abandon the idea proposed in paragraph 12 of having this declaration made at Geneva, are you prepared to strengthen in the treaty itself the elements which indicate the special relationship between the various parts of the Empire? You will remember that the more immediate cause of my preparing this document was the question General Hertzog put to me at one of the meetings whether it would be possible, if we adopted the proposals set out in paragraphs 10 and 11, to omit the words "British Empire" at the head of the signature clause at the top of p. 4. There again, if we are going to omit from the treaty some of the elements which tend to show the special relationship, it makes it more dangerous also to omit the idea of pronouncing and securing acceptance at Geneva of this idea that the special relationship has involved as one of its consequences the non-conclusion of the treaty between separate parts of the Empire.

MR. BRUCE: These resolutions you have submitted purport to do that.

SIR CECIL HURST: They do that.

MR. BRUCE: Is it going to be any more difficult to do it by putting in a new clause which would define this position in the sense of laying it down quite definitely that treaties do not apply as between the different nations of the Empire as if they were nations without any sort of relation one to another, and make that applicable not merely to the League treaty, but general, because as this is drawn it would only deal with the League treaty?

SIR CECIL HURST: Paragraph 4 at the top of page 2 is the paragraph which deals with that, and as drawn it covers all treaties.

MR. BRUCE: I hope it is so, but why I did not think it was was because you are talking in 1 and 2 of League matters.

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes, but I think paragraph 3 makes it quite clear that treaties, whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not, are to be drawn in the form there prepared.

MR. BRUCE: And then 4 says: "The principles laid down in paragraphs 1 and 2 render superfluous the inclusion in a treaty of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King." You would say that "a treaty" would mean all treaties?

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SIR CECIL HURST: Yes. 1 refers only to the League, but 2 refers generally to "this special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, whether separately represented in the League or not," as "a fundamental element in their international position."

MR. BRUCE: The words "separately represented in the League" rather bring it back towards the League interpretation, do they not?

SIR CECIL HURST: The words were introduced not for that purpose, but to show that this special relationship existed just as much between two parts of the Empire that were represented in the League as it does between two parts of the Empire not represented in the League; for instance, from the juridical point of view, the relationship between Australia and Canada is not different from that which obtains between Australia and Newfoundland, but Newfoundland is not represented in the League.

MR. BRUCE: Supposing you take 1 out and have 2 coming after 3 and link it up with 4 to make it all one paragraph, would not that do it?

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes, I should be content to see 1 disappear altogether provided it is clearly understood round this table that the doctrine it enunciates is correct.

MR. BRUCE: I was going to get a little more than that, or I imagined I was. Make 3 into 1 and then redraft 2 and 4 taken together and call them 2. You will then refer to the special relationship rendering it unnecessary. Do you see the idea?

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes.

MR. BRUCE: I think you would get exactly the same thing without too much of a special reference to the League. That was the only point. That seemed to me to present a good deal of difficulty.

SIR CECIL HURST: Let us take it by stages. I am entirely open that 3 should go first; then 2 would follow on very correctly after 3, because 3 contains the words "the treaty should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire," and then we have "this special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, whether separately represented in the League or not, is a fundamental element in their international position."

MR. LAPOINTE: And then the words of paragraph 4: "The principles laid down in paragraphs 1 and 2 render superfluous the inclusion in a treaty of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King."

SIR CECIL HURST: If it became paragraph 2, following on, it would simply be this: "This special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, whether separately represented in the League or not, is a fundamental element in their international position. The principles laid down in paragraph 1 renders superfluous the inclusion in a treaty of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King."

MR. BRUCE: That is what I mean.

MR. FITZGERALD: I would like to ask a question. "This special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, whether separately represented in the League or not, is a fundamental element in this international position." I believe in the document E. 104 it was "basis of their international position." I do not know whether Jamaica is regarded as represented in the League of Nations, but I think the international position, that is to say, the position existing, say, between Canada and Nicaragua, is different from that existing between Jamaica and Nicaragua.

SIR CECIL HURST: This sounds rather hypothetical, but I should have thought it was not a bit different.

MR. FITZGERALD: Looking at it from the layman's point of view, supposing Canada were to make a treaty with Nicaragua, Jamaica could not make one on the same terms.

SIR CECIL HURST: A treaty can be made on behalf of Jamaica with Nicaragua.

MR. FITZGERALD: But it is not the same.

SIR CECIL HURST: But the difference does not affect Nicaragua; the only difference is domestic, isn't it?

MR. FITZGERALD: From the point of view of national vanity, if you like—feeling that we wish to appear, as we feel, equal to any other country in the League of Nations or elsewhere—if we now lay it down that the international status of Canada is equal to that of the Falkland Islands, or Jamaica, or Trinidad, or any place you like, it is not very helpful from that point of view.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Or equal to Great Britain.

MR. BRUCE: It does not do that. The insertion of those words does not seem to me to do that. You have got your special relationship—one cannot get over that—and it is only adding some words that will make it perfectly clear that we recognise it. I cannot see how the position of a Crown Colony, because it is inside the words "the British Empire, whether separately represented in the League or not," is going to reduce distinguished persons like ourselves to the same rating as Jamaica. I cannot see it.

MR. FITZGERALD: I must say it seems to me that to the ordinary foreign layman it would certainly give that impression, even if it did not mean it.

SIR CECIL HURST: Substitute Great Britain in your own mind, Mr. Fitzgerald, for the Irish Free State; as between Nicaragua and Great Britain, the relationship is exactly the same as between Nicaragua and Jamaica.

MR. FITZGERALD: Yes, that is all right, but, you see, there is this sort of thing: if you had done two or three terms in gaol for picking pockets, you would have to be much more careful not to appear as a pickpocket than the man who was an elder in the Presbyterian Church. In the same way, Great Britain's position is so firm and unassailable that she can afford to be very humble about it. We cannot; we would be taken too much at our word.

GENERAL HERTZOG: May I ask this? We want to provide something that is practicable. This particular resolution is meant to be supplementary to this draft treaty that you have laid before us. You are afraid that this draft treaty, unless there is the draft resolution with it, will not say certain things or contain certain things which are essential as to the relationship we stand in as regards one another when we sign a particular treaty?

SIR CECIL HURST: I would not put it quite as high as that. I should say I should feel less anxiety with regard to the form of treaty being adequate if our position had been made clear at Geneva.

GENERAL HERTZOG: You want that to be made clear at Geneva, but it seems to me that the point you raised a few minutes ago is a point we have to keep in mind, namely, that if Great Britain, South Africa and, we will say Holland, enter into a treaty, and we, Great Britain and South Africa, become signatories to that treaty, it will be clear to the world that the relationship arising from the Dominion connection between Great Britain and South Africa is not affected by that. For instance, would you look at the draft treaty on the second page: "Who having communicated their full powers," and so on? Then simply have a standing clause that this will not apply in practically all cases—it is hard to conceive of a case where it will apply—this treaty will not apply as between Great Britain and the other Dominions.

SIR CECIL HURST: That means, in fact, going back to the procedure of having the Inter-Imperial Clause in the formula set out in paragraph 13 of E. 104 inserted in every treaty.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Exactly. It was really that formula, I think, if I may say so, that gave rise to the exception which was taken to it. Instead of saying "unless the Dominion specifically takes part it will be considered to be excluded." That is the Dominion Clause, is that how it goes?

SIR CECIL HURST: That is the Exclusion Clause you are referring to now.

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GENERAL HERTZOG: Yes.

SIR CECIL HURST: This clause ought to have been to the effect that "the statute is not to be interpreted as regulating the rights and obligations *inter se* of territories under the same Sovereign or the protection of the same Sovereign." That would be the clause which it would be desirable to get rid of, that is to say desirable to get rid of the necessity of having it in, if we can—because getting it in leads to argument with foreign Powers.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think one of our troubles here is this. You won't reach your end if you try to get it watertight. If I may say this, what we want is not to give a set-back to the general status of our various countries internationally, but rather to indicate it more and more; not to make it absolutely watertight and give a declaration that Canada is equal in every respect to Lithuania in the League of Nations. We do not want to do that, but merely to indicate it or gradually encourage it, whereas you want to make your side juridically watertight. I do not think we can make anything juridically watertight. We are trying frankly to have things both ways at once here, and if you are going to make one side juridically watertight you are going to make it negatively juridically watertight. Now, in the Arms Traffic Conference in 1925, it was stated that it was generally understood that these things did not apply. That, it seems to me, practically does away with the need for the *inter se* clause. On top of that now we propose changing the form of the treaty and bringing in The King at the top as the symbol of the special relationship existing between us. It seems to me, although that might not be absolutely juridically watertight, it would give a fair degree of certainty as to the finding if the thing were brought before a Court. The most that I think one could say then is, not to go back to our entering the League and say "Although we did not tell you at the time we entered the League, we come and tell you such a thing now that we are safely in, and being in claim all rights and privileges," we could possibly say: "But we have agreed amongst ourselves that such treaties would not apply amongst ourselves unless it was specifically stated that they would."

SIR CECIL HURST: Mr. Bruce proposes to drop clause 1. Therefore the proposal in it as to the relationship on which the various parts came into the League would disappear.

MR. FITZGERALD: The special relationship existing between us, I think, will be said twice over, if we put in The King as a definite concrete symbol of that special relationship and then come along and talk of the special relationship, especially, as I say, as whatever it does juridically, in the popular sense it makes the international position of Canada equal to that of Trinidad.

SIR CECIL HURST: Surely that is not so. This inter-Imperial clause has been inserted in many treaties that have been drawn up. The practice is to be abandoned altogether, and no such clause is to be inserted in treaties at all. Surely we must make it quite clear that this change of practice does not show any abandonment of the idea? That is the object of the sentence that is embodied in paragraph 4, which it is now proposed to add as a sentence at the end of paragraph 2. You have got to bear in mind the effect that change of practice may have on the minds of the foreigners.

MR. FITZGERALD: But the change of practice has not been all in the one direction. We are definitely indicating it in one way by The King. This special declaration, which I think will be harmful to the general esteem that we will have, is put in for a number of reasons; one is that it may be difficult to persuade the foreign nation to allow the *inter se* clause to go in; another is that it might conceivably be juridically held that the treaty obtains between us. Now we have as much right to say to the League of Nations: "Now we here have agreed that treaties will not apply between us unless we state specifically that they do," and we have as much right to say that as we have to come along to them and say: "You must remember that when we entered the League the special relationship obtained, and it has to translate itself in such a way in treaties that are negotiated." We have as much right to state an agreement given by us here as we have to say this thing was implicit all through.

SIR CECIL HURST: Are you quite right in saying that the changes have not all been in one direction? I think they have. This proposal to group the various parts together after the name of The King is not a new addition, the various parts of the Empire were previously grouped together.

MR. FITZGERALD: Without an "umbrella."

SIR CECIL HURST: And also we had the system of the Central Panel. The change has been very much all in one direction.

MR. FITZGERALD: It seems to me that the words "British Empire" appeared there. On the one hand we could say that meant the entity belonging to the League of Nations under that heading, which is Great Britain, its Colonies, Protectorates, &c. On the other hand, you had an alternative thing, that that was a sort of "umbrella" for all of us, which appeared in the words but did not appear in the entity of the person, but also appeared in the Central Panel. You may not consider this quite as strong as it was before, but we have definitely done something in the general heading of the King; and besides that, on the position you are anxious to avoid, there has been a definite declaration in 1925 on the Arms Traffic that that was understood.

SIR CECIL HURST: With regard to that Convention, are you quite sure it applies generally?

MR. FITZGERALD: No; but I think I picture it in a Court. A Court is saying: "Does this apply between Great Britain and Canada?" You appear to say it does not, while someone else appears to say it does. They quote the Covenant of the League, and so on. You bring up first of all that this treaty was negotiated and that such a declaration was made. We were justified in presuming the statement made in 1925 continued to have application. Further, we have the King as the Head of all these States concerned, indicating that a special relationship exists; and further, possibly—I am not saying even now I would agree to it myself—on such a date it was notified by the members of the British Commonwealth, who agreed amongst themselves, that treaties to which they were severally parties with foreign Powers should not apply as between themselves. That was indicated to the Secretary-General of the League, and we know that the League does not go out of its way to cavil at a proposal made by Great Britain pre-eminently for the recognition of special conditions of the British Empire. I think that those things adduced as proof would be pretty convincing.

SIR CECIL HURST: Where do you find the statement that the treaties do not apply as between different parts of the Empire, except in the paragraph you are now suggesting we should drop?

MR. FITZGERALD: No, but it is a difference of form.

MR. BRUCE: I am afraid I have not got the hang of it. What are you suggesting at the moment?

MR. FITZGERALD: I am suggesting, first of all, that we are stating that the basis or the fundamental element of our international position, whether that of Jamaica or Canada, is the special relationship; of course, if we drop clause 1 *in toto* certain things I object to would be gone; but what I want to do is this. If we are making a change, I feel those changes do not in any way prejudice the position which existed before; it does not make it watertight, but it does not prejudice it.

MR. BRUCE: The suggestion, I understand, we are considering is that paragraph 2 comes in still as paragraph 2, but following the present paragraph 3, which becomes paragraph 1. Are there words in that which you want to strike out or alter? What exactly is it that you want to do?

MR. FITZGERALD: As I say, it is what you call a propagandist point, namely, that paragraph 2 indicates quite clearly, when it uses the phrase "international position," that it refers to the international position of the various parts of the Empire, and it states that they are all the same, whether that part of the Empire be Great Britain, Canada, the New Hebrides, or Jamaica.

THE CHAIRMAN: Shall we say the self-governing parts of the Empire.

MR. HARDING: That would hardly do, because the special relationship does apply throughout.

GENERAL HERTZOG: But I think that need not be mentioned, because if England contracts on behalf of Jamaica, Jamaica is a part, naturally. Her relationship to Jamaica will not be affected by that.

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SIR CECIL HURST: Would it be more acceptable if we left out the words "Whether separately represented in the League or not? This special relationship between the various parts of the Empire is a fundamental element . . . ."

MR. BRUCE: If that would do, I do not think anyone could object to it. Will it do without those words?

SIR CECIL HURST: From our point of view it would do.

MR. BRUCE: It would be interpreted quite safely that it did cover a Dominion which, in fact, was a separate member of the League?

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes.

MR. BRUCE: Will it do, then, with those words out, so that it reads: "This special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire is a fundamental element in their international position"?

GENERAL HERTZOG: "In their international position" can only refer to the self-governing Dominions and Great Britain.

MR. BRUCE: If that is gone, that certainly removes every possible objection.

MR. COSTELLO: Would it be possible to strengthen that paragraph by the addition of phrases which occur in the Canadian draft? Would this do?: "This special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, while not affecting the position of each State as a distinct international entity, is a fundamental element in their international position."

MR. BRUCE: That brings in a word about which we have had very great discussion elsewhere.

MR. FITZGERALD: Do we propose considering the Canadian draft?

DR. SKELTON: Our draft is purely tentative: We are not wedded to it if we can get the essential points in some other way. I assumed our discussion on the first draft would be tentative, subject to review of the whole position when we had completed it.

MR. BRUCE: I have to leave for a meeting in the Dominions Office now; but, so far as I am concerned, I would be prepared to look at that as a draft, taking paragraph 2 and joining it with paragraph 4 and getting those points in paragraphs 2 and 4 expressed, and leaving out 1 and the particular reference to the League of Nations, which I think a little dangerous.

MR. LAPOINTE: Would you mind giving us your views on paragraph 5, as to ratification, before you go?

MR. BRUCE: I agree with that: I agree that there should not be the ratification of Great Britain and India, the two ratifying Powers, and it is all over. That is the view we take at the present moment.

MR. LAPOINTE: Take the case mentioned the other day by Sir Francis Bell as to ratifications in the instance of League treaties and covenants which come into force only after a certain proportion of the Powers have ratified—supposing one-half of the powers. Will all the Dominions be considered as only one unit in that case with Great Britain, to make a proportion?

MR. BRUCE: I have quite got the point you are on, but I see a lot of difficulties in it. I think it would be a very dangerous thing myself it we got to the basis that the fact of Great Britain and Australia ratifying, and only two being necessary to ratify, makes the treaty operate, when we equally frankly say that these treaties do not operate between us, *inter se*.

DR. SKELTON: Is not that rather an extreme case? Let us take the case cited of Great Britain and India ratifying the Opium Convention. Surely in such a case the British and Indian Authorities could get together and decide to wait for some other nations to ratify. It certainly does look anomalous that Great Britain and India should bring a treaty into operation when it is not to apply as between themselves; but, on the other hand, if all seven members of the League count only as one when a treaty comes into force, it makes our position inferior to that of any other fifty members of the League.

MR. FITZGERALD: As I indicated the other day, there are a number of things barring us. It would be perfectly impossible, it seems to me, when we quoted the case of Great Britain and India and proposed to legislate for them. That is an exception and we must legislate for all generally and try to provide for all. I think it a case where it would obviously be futile and ridiculous that three, four or any number of people between whom the thing was not going to operate would count to make the thing effective. All that could have been avoided, I think, and I have no doubt in cases likely to arise it could be avoided.

MR. LAPOINTE: We will come back to this paragraph. I will read those two first paragraphs, and they would be following the suggestions of Mr. Bruce.

MR. FITZGERALD: I am objecting to this up to a point. I am asked what I object to, and my answer is that I do not object to anything specially. If I am reading these two paragraphs I do not find that they say anything very different in this draft, but the effect is that it balances the thing; but the general impression is that it is not taking from us any inherent rights in the League of Nations by a mere, what I may call, stress laid on. Therefore, when one objects to a draft it is not merely necessary to ask what one objects to. I realise that it is going to make a wholly noxious impression—that is, from our point of view.

MR. LAPOINTE: If we have to refer to practically all, we might have to look through the drafts and see which one is best.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Cannot we arrive at this? I wish we could. You know the objection of some of us to making this settlement of the form of the treaty a vehicle for a declaration to foreign nations as to our status. Why should we want to use this as a vehicle? Our business is only to settle for the Foreign Office the form that should be adopted. It is quite true that there is the duplication of the expression "British Empire" which we wish to avoid, and we can state that; but why should we make the settlement of the form of treaty a vehicle for a declaration of our internal relations? We are not likely to agree upon a declaration beyond the status declared in 1923. Let us do it by other means; but do not let us import into this settlement of the mere form, or the principle and form, of the method of treaty, and take that as the occasion for using language which it is not likely that all round this table will agree upon. It may be that by a long process we might arrive at a harmless form, but that would not suit Mr. Fitzgerald. Quite candidly, both he and the General have said that this is a useful occasion for presenting a card to the foreign nations and saying, "this is an extension of the principles of 1923." We are a set of business people settling forms; why make it a vehicle for settling substance? I do not think it is likely that we should be in accord upon any setttlement of that kind, though we can be in accord in arriving with Sir Cecil Hurst at a form which the Foreign Office can use without embarrassment. I do not think Mr. Fitzgerald disguises that he would like to use this for something to be shown to foreign nations.

MR. FITZGERALD: I am not disguising that; I am satisfied that it will, in my opinion, have the inverse effect.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Well, I sympathise with and recognise the object of Mr. Fitzgerald. The difficulty that I can see is that we cannot agree upon that, and we can agree upon a matter of form.

MR. LAPOINTE: Do you suggest that we should take up their form?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Well, Mr. Bruce put it much the same way. He begins with paragraph 3, which is going straight to business; and you may give a reason if you like and develop the reason, but to use it for the purpose of informing foreign nations of a position which is an extension of that of 1923 is, in my opinion, a purpose upon which it is unlikely that all round this table will agree. Personally, I have very great difficulty, though I don't want to be an obstacle, and I don't think I have been; but in this thing I have been endeavouring to get down to business and also to avoid expressions which are expressions of policy, of high statesmanship, as distinct from expressions of business relations between ourselves and foreigners, which is the purpose of our functions. We are not engaged upon determining what would be treaties between ourselves, but we are engaged on determining what shall be the form of treaty which we enter into individually or collectively with foreign States, and it seems to me that we can settle that form without stating the reasons, upon which reasons we shall almost certainly find ourselves in divergence.

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SIR CECIL HURST: I don't know that I can follow you in this respect. Hitherto, the treaties which have been concluded under the auspices of the League have all been made in the form of treaties between named countries. We now want to introduce a system of making them between Heads of States.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: We can give one reason, and that is that the expression "British Empire" as used in the Covenant of the League leads to misinterpretation, and that is the sole reason why we want to use the Heads of States, so that the name of the State which is used in the Covenant may not be so used as to lead to misinterpretation that it covers the whole of the States which form the Empire. We can give that as a reason, and that reason will be quite sufficient, as it seems to me, speaking with great respect to you, because I have throughout spoken and thought with real respect for your difficulties and for any dictum of yours; but I do not see why that is not quite sufficient, that the phrase "British Empire" is used in the Covenant and is open to misinterpretation and misleading, and for that reason we want for our Commonwealth of Nations to adopt in our treaties the form of treaty by Head, and not of treaty by State.

DR. SKELTON: I absolutely agree with Sir Francis Bell that, if we can agree upon a form, that is the gist of the whole matter; if it is substituted by declaration, then that introduces a very difficult question of how that is going to be framed.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: If you will agree with me to avoid using it as a vehicle for something more, you will find me only too ready in giving any help I can; but I cannot agree in the formula, because I know that anything that will satisfy me will not satisfy you. I have always wanted to stop at the point from which you start.

MR. FITZGERALD: At present I am all for putting the brake on.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I think, if Sir Cecil would mould his form on that principle, and give us a form which is desirable and the reasons that actuate us, we could put this about the separate relations, if you like, but it will have to be put in language that will satisfy Mr. Fitzgerald and the General; but if Sir Cecil would mould his resolutions on that principle, then I do not think we shall be five minutes in agreeing.

SIR CECIL HURST: Then, in that case, it is quite clear that we must come back to having in the treaty itself everything that is to safeguard our position. Are we to go back to maintaining the position of the central panel? We seem to be going round in a circle.

DR. SKELTON: We have already in the form, without any addition of a declaration as indicating the special relation between the different parts of the Empire, the mention of the King, with the names grouped together, at least in the preamble, and possibly in the signatures. I think we would probably agree to that form in the signature as well as in the preamble. We have, further, the practice laid down in 1925 at the League. Are not these sufficient indications of that special relationship without some general clause?

SIR CECIL HURST: A general clause in the treaty?

DR. SKELTON: Yes, or the general statement now.

SIR CECIL HURST: The two things are very different

DR. SKELTON: There is something to be said, perhaps, for making a specific statement at the time of concluding a treaty for or against application between ourselves; conceivably there might be treaties which we should desire should apply between different parts of the Emipre.

SIR CECIL HURST: Paragraph 6 of this draft deals with that.

DR. SKELTON: There might be a League treaty as distinct from an administrative arrangement which we might wish to apply among ourselves. I have mentioned the Opium Convention, and there might be others; so, if it is thought that it is necessary to safeguard the position further, it is question of whether a clause in the specific treaty might not be inserted at the time. At the same time, I am bound to say that the reference to the King and the practice since 1925 do seem to avoid any misinterpretation.

SIR CECIL HURST: The point is that we can safeguard our position by making it abundantly clear that that is the footing upon which we open negotiations. That was the purpose of the proposed declaration in paragraph 1.

DR. SKELTON: That raises the question, as Mr. Fitzgerald has stated, whether we should state the other half, to make clear the emphasis that is required in each direction.

SIR CECIL HURST: The purpose of the declaration is to make the special relationship clearer.

DR. SKELTON: Still, I am simply raising the question whether it is necessary after the other indications to have an additional declaration to that effect.

MR. FITZGERALD: What is the purpose of it, to make clear the special representation, or is it to prevent the treaties applying among ourselves? There is a slight difference. When Sir Francis Bell was speaking, he said we want the form changed to bring in the name of the King. Something can be done, possibly, by the mere insistence of doing it on each occasion, or by indicating to the League of Nations. Supposing, as Sir Francis Bell said—I am only thinking this aloud at the moment—we indicate to the League of Nations that, as the use of the phrase "British Empire" in the Covenant is misleading or may conceivably mislead, we desire a change in the form of treaties; henceforth all those States, members of the League of Nations, who are also members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, inasmuch as a special relationship exists between them, all having the one King, desire that the King's name be placed at the beginning. That is not a good form of words.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: That would do it. I am speaking for myself—if the League of Nations did not like it, I would tell them to go to blazes; I would not bother with them.

MR. HARDING: Possibly we are rather in difficulty on this account. There are two ways in which it can be done, one by means of a formal resolution of the Committee, and the other by way of what you might call a declaratory report. Sir Cecil Hurst's draft is based on a resolution and Dr. Skelton's on the supposition of a report. It occurred to me that it might be possible to meet the two views by putting the special relationship doctrine in the form not of a resolution but of a piece of a report, and then go on, basing yourself on the report, to consider the form of the treaty.

MR. COSTELLO: You are up against the question of the form that declaration would take.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You can say quite properly, inasmuch as the present position is misleading, that it is a cardinal principle that no treaty made by His Majesty binds any part of the Empire that does not agree to it and ratify it—any of the self-governing Dominions, and so on. Now that can be put in; there is no objection to that because it is obvious. Then say, for that purpose and for those reasons this form is adopted. Then you have it all there; you have the King, the appointed plenipotentiaries, and it might be well to insert some words such as "contracting herein only," but that is for the Foreign Office language. I feel sure we can get to an agreement in a quarter of an hour, if Mr. Fitzgerald is willing to yield it, if we do not want to utilize it for any purpose which is quite foreign to that which we have been appointed to consider. I think Mr. Bruce's suggestion of beginning with paragraph 3 shows exactly the same principle. You can go on after that and put in the language that Sir Cecil wants, and I am sure that would satisfy both the General and Mr. Fitzgerald and satisfy recalcitrants like myself.

SIR CECIL HURST: Could not we have a little clearer indication from Mr. Fitzgerald of the change of it. He says that the drafts would leave a wrong element . . . .

MR. FITZGERALD: No.

SIR CECIL HURST: You said you could not indicate . . . .

MR. FITZGERALD: If I take p. 2, on the one hand you want to safeguard your position and on the other hand I am anxious that there can be nothing in this to make us equal to Jamaica. That statement does not leave any opening for

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bringing out the difference between us and Jamaica. We are basing everything on the special relationship existing between States represented here among themselves and also between Jamaica and Great Britain.

GENERAL HERTZOG: May I just make a suggestion in connection with what Sir Francis Bell has said? I am going to ask something and make a suggestion which follows on something he said a little while ago. I think we agreed that the reason for all this is that your League of Nations and, therefore, the outside world, should know what our position is, now that we have adopted a different form for our treaties and know how far hereafter we will stand in the same position as before. Take paragraph 3. If it is simply said and intimated to the League more or less in these terms:—

> "Treaties (other than agreements between Governments), whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not, should be made in the name of Heads of States, and if the treaty is signed on behalf of the Empire or any part of it, the treaty should be made in the name of the King as a symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire."

Does not that sentence by itself contain everything that you seek to convey as information to the League? There it is in the first place, "the treaty is signed on behalf of the Empire or any part of it"—you have the word Empire. The treaty shall in future be made in the name of the King as a symbol of the special relationship. This will have served for whatever purpose may have been served previously by the words "British Empire," which now disappear. Here you see the symbol of the special relationship, the King practically standing for what the words "British Empire" previously stood for, and when he signs he signs really, although he is King of this, nevertheless with that special relationship which has always obtained. It seems to me almost that those few words convey everything that we seek to achieve.

MR. LAPOINTE: You would eliminate 2 and 4?

GENERAL HERTZOG: Yes.

SIR CECIL HURST: Surely it is not safe to assume, without saying so, that that special relationship covers the matters which were dealt with in paragraph 4. "Special relationship" is a vague phrase; there may be special relationships of many kinds.

GENERAL HERTZOG: The special relationship in which they stand as the Empire.

SIR CECIL HURST: I think it would be very difficult to ensure that no extraneous organ will attempt to interfere between them, or no international tribunal will say that there is nothing to present the operation of an international treaty . . . .

GENERAL HERTZOG: You want 4 included?

SIR CECIL HURST: Yes.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I have no objection, to make it clear. "The principles laid down render superfluous the inclusion in the treaty of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as . . . . *inter se* . . . ." I have no objection to that.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: You would have to add something to the effect that nothing binds any part of the Empire unless it assents.

GENERAL HERTZOG: That is what 4 dealt with.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I think it would be well to put it in there.

MR. LAPOINTE: Would that be acceptable to you, Sir Cecil?

SIR CECIL HURST: Let me be clear before I give an answer to that. Is it meant that we drop the whole of paragraph 2.

MR. LAPOINTE: Yes, because after all it refers to the special relationship which will always be included in 1.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: What we are trying to do is this. Speaking from my own point of view, I do not want to add anything to the Resolution of 1923, and my friends on my left, so long as their position is not deteriorated, so long as they

are not prejudiced by anything we say, are content. That is open to the objection that it may or may not be used to their prejudice—that expression.

SIR CECIL HURST: Which expression?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: The 2.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I am afraid that 2 will raise questions from the League, and I am anxious about the position we should take up with the League with regard to any nation belonging to the League, and that we should say simply, "Look here, we maintain that the position of the British Empire is that it stands in a special relationship, and in this case that special relationship is in this"; whereas, if you put in this I am afraid you will then have a number of objections made before it is necessary, which may prejudice us.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Do you not think we ought to give them a little reason: that the expression "British Empire" is misleading and, therefore, we cannot treat in the name of States; so that it has been forced upon us that we should have it in the name of the King? That would be reasonable to be put in.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Yes.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Otherwise we should be dictating to the League without giving a reason why we adopt it.

GENERAL HERTZOG: Exactly. I would say: "Look here, Gentlemen, we have changed the form. You must know that by changing its form we do not mean to surrender the rights *inter se* that we had before."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I am sure we all agree, because none of us want to use it for the purpose of making a change in our relations, but only in the form.

SIR CECIL HURST: As I understand it, the present proposal is that the whole document should be as follows: "Treaties (other than agreements between Governments), whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not, should be made in the name of Heads of States . . . ."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: If you begin with this difficulty about the Empire.

MR. FITZGERALD: If you will allow me, I would like to submit this. Sir Cecil wants something for the League of Nations.

Would this meet your point, Sir Cecil:—

> "As the term 'British Empire,' as used in the Covenant, tends to convey a wrong impression, the States members of the League of Nations who are also members of the British Commonwealth of Nations desire that the present form of treaties be changed. As the fact that the several States of the Commonwealth are united by the common bond of the King creates a special relationship, they desire that in all treaties the name of the King should appear, and that the names of the various nations of the Commonwealth who are parties to such treaties should be grouped after his name.
>
> "In view of the common bond uniting these several States, they desire also that it be understood that in the case of multilateral treaties to which two or more States of the Commonwealth are parties, such treaties shall not apply as between themselves."

Would not that convey all you want to convey?

SIR FRANCIS BELL: "As between themselves," that would want a little altering, otherwise it expresses what I mean, and you do give the reason.

MR. FITZGERALD: I say—

> "As the fact that the several States of the Commonwealth are united by the common bond of the King creates a special relationship . . . ."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I think you should refer to the special difficulties created by the words "British Empire."

MR. FITZGERALD: I have done that in the beginning:—

> "As the term 'British Empire,' as used in the Covenant, tends to convey a wrong impression, the States Members of the League of Nations who are also members of the British Commonwealth of Nations desire that the present form of treaties be changed."

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MR. HARDING: Might I ask General Hertzog a question in connection with his formula? If I understand aright, in the last draft discussed by the Prime Minister's Committee, the terminology implied that "the British Commonwealth" is a smaller conception than "British Empire."

MR. FITZGERALD: I believed it is argued in the Committee that it is not. It talks of "the Dominions who are members of the British Commonwealth." I have an idea, from when we had a draft of the thing, that it does not always use the word "Commonwealth" as interchangeable with "Empire." What is within the Empire is not the whole Commonwealth, but this states here, "members of the British Commonwealth."

MR. HARDING: I do not want to comment on the word, except broadly. The wording will have to be thought about a good deal.

MR. FITZGERALD: In reading over my draft I can see many flagrant errors of draughtsmanship, and I dare say others will see many more.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Sir Cecil, having assured us of the difficulty of "the umbrella," and having himself substituted one "umbrella" for the other, now wants to know what the umbrella he has discarded means.

GENERAL HERTZOG: I understand the difference between Sir Cecil and Mr. Fitzgerald is only one of form. But you did not finish, Sir Cecil.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: May I point out one technical point in regard to the Head of the State? Would it not be better to say, "so far as this body is concerned must be made in the name of the Head of the State"? Saying that it shall be in the names of the Heads of the States seems like a dictation to the League. What we mean to say is, "any treaty that is made by us will be made by us in the name of the King." They may make it in whatever name they like.

GENERAL HERTZOG: "If a treaty is signed on behalf of the Empire or any part of it . . . ."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It might be read by the League as meaning that we say to them they must make all treaties with us in the names of the Heads of the States.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is the intention. A treaty would be between the Heads of States.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It could be made between the King and the Irish Free State.

MR. LAPOINTE: May I suggest that we adjourn and appoint a Drafting Committee of three or four, to come to the next meeting of this Sub-Committee on Tuesday and submit what their combined wisdom has produced? I confess that General Hertzog's suggestion of the two paragraphs 3 and 4 becoming 1 and 2 appeals to me, so far as I am concerned. Then Mr. Fitzgerald has another draft.

MR. FITZGERALD: I was trying to convey what Sir Cecil Hurst said. I thought it conveyed clearly what he intended, and did not tend to derogate from our position in the League of Nations and internationally generally.

MR. LAPOINTE: Supposing Sir Cecil Hurst, Mr. Fitzgerald and Dr. Skelton get together and draft a Resolution. If it is accepted by the three of them I am sure we shall accept it on Tuesday. I think that would be the best way of expediting our work.

MR. HARDING: Might I suggest that not only should this sub-committee prepare a draft resolution—I am now looking at it from the point of view of the Secretariat of the Conference—but, if possible, that it should prepare a draft Report to Lord Balfour's Committee because time is getting so short? If it is not done soon, we shall be holding up the Conference.

MR. LAPOINTE: I am willing to accept the suggestion if the others do.

SIR CECIL HURST: The draft Report, I take it, will cover all the matters in E. 104 that are agreed, even though they may seem to be matters of some detail.

MR. LAPOINTE: I take it then that it is agreed that Sir Cecil Hurst, Dr. Skelton and Mr. Fitzgerald should form the sub-committee.

SIR CECIL HURST: You want it as soon as possible.

MR. HARDING: By Tuesday afternoon, the next meeting of this Committee.

SIR CECIL HURST: These things are much too important to scamp. Though we may not have agreed round this table altogether, it seems to me vastly preferable that we should quarrel round this table than round the table of an international conference. That seems to me above all things the point to bear in mind. We must arrange all these details that crop up so that there is no difference of opinion when we sit round an international table.

MR. FITZGERALD: It is better to fight here than in Geneva, I agree.

MR. HARDING: I do feel there will be a great outcry on the part of Lord Balfour's Committee if there is any delay over our Report.

(The proceedings then terminated.)

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 12, 1926.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.). 9th Meeting.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

Stenographic Notes of the Ninth Meeting of the Sub-Committee, held in the Cabinet Room, Foreign Office, S.W. 1, *on Tuesday, November* 16, 1926, *at* 3 P.M.

Present:

The Hon. E. LAPOINTE, K.C., Minister of Justice, Canada (*in the Chair*).

Great Britain.

Sir C. J. B. HURST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. E. J. HARDING, C.B., C.M.G., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office, and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C, on behalf of the Hon. J. G. Latham, C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General.

Union of South Africa.

The Hon. N. C. HAVENGA, Minister of Finance.

Canada.

Dr. O. D. SKELTON, Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

New Zealand.

The Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS BELL, G.C.M.G., K.C., Minister without Portfolio.

Irish Free State.

Mr. DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D., Minister for External Affairs.

Mr. J. COSTELLO, K.C., Attorney-General.

India.

Mr. G. H. SPENCE, I.C.S., Secretary to the Delegation.

The following were also present:

Great Britain.

Mr. H. W. MALKIN, C.B., C.M.G., Second Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Mr. W. E. BECKETT, Assistant Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.

Commonwealth of Australia.

Mr. M. BONIWELL, Assistant Parliamentary Draughtsman.

Irish Free State.

Mr. J. P. WALSHE, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. H. F. BATTERBEE, C.M.G., C.V.O. (Dominions Office)
Mr. F. E. F. ADAM (Foreign Office)
Mr. R. G. CASEY, D.S.O., M.C. (Australian Delegation) } *Joint Secretaries.*

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MR. LAPOINTE: At the last meeting we appointed a sub-committee for the purpose of trying to draft the Report of the Committee from the Sub-Committee—Sir Cecil Hurst, Mr. Fitzgerald and Dr. Skelton—and I am pleased to say that they have agreed upon the form of the report which has been circulated.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I have had an opportunity of reading the report and am absolutely content with it. I have not a word to say against it.

MR. LAPOINTE: I had better now read the report.

(Draft Report read.)

SIR CECIL HURST: My attention has just been called to words at the end of page 2, "in the case of Governments that prefer." I think it should be "in the case of a Government that prefers."

MR. FITZGERALD: I think it should be "in the case of a Government that prefers."

(Agreed.)

SIR CECIL HURST: In the last paragraph but one on page 4 the suggestion is that, after "the Arms Traffic Conference in 1925," the words should be "and that the Legal Committee of that Conference laid it down that the principle to which the foregoing sentence gives expression underlies all international conventions." On page 6 the word "separate," I think, should go out. It is superfluous.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: That prevents a member of the British Empire being counted. I should have thought it better to keep in the word "separate."

SIR CECIL HURST: I think it would be better if we had at the head "coming into force of multilateral treaties."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Whatever you think is best—I only want you to consider the point.

SIR CECIL HURST: It seemed to me to be rather an odd word.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: In the last paragraph it should read "to the Secretariat at the League."

SIR CECIL HURST: The Secretariat are the servants of the League. If anything is going to be published we should not communicate only with the Secretariat.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: "The other members," then, it would be.

MR. LAPOINTE: I will read the Appendix:—

"*Specimen form of Treaty.*

"The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King of (. . . . whatever title may be decided on with the concurrence of the Imperial Conference), Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Bulgaria, &c., &c.

.....

"Desiring.....

"Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

"The President.....

.....

"His Majesty the King of (title as above); for Great Britain and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate Members of the League (of Nations)."

SIR CECIL HURST: The words "and Northern Ireland" should be inserted in that paragraph after the words "Great Britain."

MR. FITZGERALD: That is a definite title now? The unit is now Great Britain and Northern Ireland?

SIR CECIL HURST: "Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League." That is not the King's title.

MR. FITZGERALD: If you say "Great Britain and all parts of the Empire not separately represented in the League" it includes Northern Ireland.

SIR CECIL HURST: It is one of those things which still make political difficulty.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: Northern Ireland is not in the present title of the King.

SIR CECIL HURST: That is not the title.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I understand that.

MR. LAPOINTE:—

"*AB.*
"for the Dominion of Canada,
CD.
for the Commonwealth of Australia,
EF.
for the Dominion of New Zealand,
GH.
for the Union of South Africa,
IJ.
for the Irish Free State,
KL.
for India,
MN.

.....

who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

.....

.....

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

AB .....
CD .....
EF .....
GH .....
IJ .....
KL .....
MN .....

[or if the territory for which each Plenipotentiary signs is to be specified:—

(for Great Britain, &c.).....*AB.*
(for Canada) .....*CD.*
(for Australia).....*EF.*
(for New Zealand).....*GH.*
(for South Africa) .....*IJ.*
(for the Irish Free State) .....*KL.*
(for India) .....*MN.*]"

I am like Sir Francis in that it entirely satisfies me.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: I am entirely satisfied and have nothing to add, except to express what I believe to be the feeling of the whole Conference, that our thanks are due to the Drafting Committee, and especially to the Representatives of Ireland and to Sir Cecil Hurst, for having arrived at so satisfactory a conclusion for our report; and I feel with regard to Sir Cecil Hurst that he has been driven from pillar to post gallantly defending each position as he retired from it, and has met us all in a spirit that is not common with the Foreign Office, if I may be allowed to express my opinion.

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SIR CECIL HURST: While thanking you for what you have said, I do not know that I can sit still under what is suggested, that the Department to which I belong is occasionally obstructive. This may not be in exact accord with the proposals put before you, but I think it does all that is asked from the point of view of the various Governments represented.

MR. LAPOINTE: There is no objection on the part of any representative?

DR. SKELTON: I should like to endorse what Sir Francis Bell has said about the work of Sir Cecil Hurst and all the other members, and I think we all feel that in approaching a subject of this complexity we have been much helped by the very complete, frank and clear statement of the situation presented to us in the original memorandum.

MR. HAVENGA: I am quite satisfied on behalf of South Africa, and associate myself with what Sir Francis Bell has said with regard to the Drafting Committee and Sir Cecil Hurst.

MR. LAPOINTE: Australia is satisfied, too?

MAJOR CASEY: Mr. Latham is not here to-day, but I have every reason to think that he would be satisfied.

MR. FITZGERALD: I should like to express my own personal appreciation to Sir Cecil Hurst. Perhaps I have been one of the biggest nuisances to him. I must admire the patience he showed as an expert in bearing with us, who are so far from being experts, in having to explain things in a way which would have been so much simpler if we had been more expert.

MR. SPENCE: India is quite satisfied.

MR. LAPOINTE: The Chairman associates himself with the tribute, which seems to be unanimous on all sides.

SIR CECIL HURST: I thank you for your very kind wishes.

DR. SKELTON: There is the question of a satisfactory definition for non-League treaties. It seems odd to use in such treaties the descriptive term here suggested: "Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all other parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League of Nations."

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It is very difficult to define it otherwise.

DR. SKELTON: Very difficult, other than to refer to the "Self-Governing Dominions," but I have no suggestion. I was wondering if Sir Cecil Hurst has anything for us.

SIR CECIL HURST: I said we would think the matter over to see if we could find some form that could be substituted in the case of non-League treaties, but up to the moment I personally have not had time to find it. I had hopes that we might receive suggestions from other quarters.

MR. FITZGERALD: I think we can accept it until an alternative is produced.

SIR CECIL HURST: At the moment.

MR. LAPOINTE: There is nothing wrong about it except that it seems too long.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: It is quite possible that in the definition of the King's title, which must devolve from other Conferences—there must be another title for the King, of course—that the matter might be made simpler in that event, instead of "British Dominions beyond the Seas," "The Colonies and Dominions" or something of that kind. But I should say we need not bother our heads about that. Something will be used that will not be so clumsy eventually, but it will not be "the British Empire and Canada."

MR. FITZGERALD: There are a couple of points I think Sir Cecil might want to bring up. One is, we have generally agreed that in Geneva we will, by constant reference to the British Delegation as the Delegation of Great Britain, try to get that established; and I think we more or less decided yesterday that at an international conference an attempt should be made to have every Government represented here present, so that if there comes up a question for explanation it would be

perfectly clear that it is not one trying to put it across another, but that we are all agreed about it.

SIR CECIL HURST: I do attach very great importance to the second question, as when the first international conference takes place at which we desire to secure the introduction of the changes indicated in this report, there may be some hesitation or reluctance on the part of other States to accept it, and whoever is responsible for securing the introduction of these treaty forms will find his path very much facilitated if he receives support from all the British units there represented, so that the Secretariat and foreign States represented may not think it is merely some individual suggestion of one part of the Empire.

In regard to the first matter, I should, if I may, like to regard our hands as a little bit free, for I am not sure to what extent it may be possible to introduce these changes. The question of the rules that may bind the Secretariat and so on are not matters we have yet had time to look into, and I doubt very much whether we can get to know what will be possible at Geneva.

MR. FITZGERALD: I only thought that would be satisfactory.

SIR FRANCIS BELL: If we are all agreed on that I think we all want to express our appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, for patience which exceeds so far that of Job that you deserve to have the monument on which patience sits smiling at grief.

MR. LAPOINTE: I will send you my photograph. Is there anything else for us to do. I suppose this concludes our work, and we must thank our Secretaries for the strenuous work they have done.

(The proceedings of the Sub-Committee then terminated.)

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 16, 1926.

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

FORM OF PREAMBLE AND SIGNATURE OF TREATIES.

THE Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923 has laid down an agreed method of procedure as regards the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties.* Experience has since shown that these resolutions, while satisfactory as far as they go, do not cover the whole ground nor provide a solution for all the difficulties which arise. It is hoped therefore that it may be possible at the forthcoming Imperial Conference to supplement this Resolution by further resolutions dealing with difficulties, particularly in regard to the form of preamble and signature, to which experience has called attention, and the following suggestions are made with this end. It is proposed to consider the subject under three heads :—

I.—League Treaties.
II.—Non-League Treaties.
III.—Governmental Agreements.

I.—*League Treaties.**

Present Form of Preamble and Signature.

1. League treaties are regularly made in the form adopted in the Peace Treaties, *i.e.*, they begin with a list of the names of the contracting parties, followed by the recitals of the preamble and the list of the Heads of States and the plenipotentiaries appointed by them. A specimen of the form at present employed, so far as the various parts of the British Empire are concerned, as regards the preamble and signature is shown in Annex I.

Description of Contracting Party.

2. Adherence to the wording of the Annex to the Covenant† for the purpose of describing the contracting party leads to the absence of any mention of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the Colonies and Protectorates in the preamble. The position as regards those parts of the Empire is therefore obscure. From the point of view of the Dominions and India, owing to there being no mention of Great Britain, there is a risk of uncertainty as to their own position and a suggestion that they are not on a footing of equality with Great Britain as participants in the treaties in question.

It may be well to add that in this memorandum the term " Great Britain " is for the sake of brevity frequently used alone, but it is intended in all cases to include Northern Ireland. For treaty-making purposes some phrase is required which should be understood universally to include Great Britain and Northern Ireland as well as the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. Until a decision has been taken as to what phrase is to be adopted, the term Great Britain is retained in this memorandum for convenience. It is to be understood as including Northern Ireland if that territory is not specifically mentioned.

* The word " treaty " is here used in the wide sense as covering any international agreement in conventional form other than Governmental agreements, which are dealt with in Section III.

† This wording is as follows :—
" Original Members of the League of Nations—
" British Empire—
" Canada.
" Australia, &c.
" China."

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Similarly for the sake of brevity the phrase "the Dominions" is sometimes used without mention of India, but it is intended in all cases to include India, even though not mentioned.

3. Whatever changes are made, the form adopted should comply with two requirements: (1) it should preserve the principle of the unity of the Empire, *i.e.*, indicate that "the British Empire" is something which includes and is made up of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Colonies, &c., as well as the Dominions‡ and India; (2) it should not imply any want of equality between Great Britain, the Dominions and India as participants in the treaties in question. With these objects in view, it is suggested that in future the contracting party should, in cases where the treaty is signed on behalf of all parts of the Empire, be described in the list at the beginning of the treaty as "the British Empire," followed in brackets by the words "Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and India."

4. This form would only require slight modifications in cases where the treaty is not signed on behalf of all parts of the Empire. In all cases where it is signed on behalf of more than one part of the Empire which is a member of the League, the formula would be as shown above, only omitting within the brackets those parts of the Empire which do not sign. In cases where the treaty is signed on behalf of Great Britain and not on behalf of the Colonies, &c., the phrase "and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League" would be omitted. Cases where the treaty is signed only on behalf of one part of the Empire which is a separate member of the League should be divided into those in which the terms of the treaty give liberty to members of the League to sign subsequently up to a given date and those in which they do not. In the first case the words "the British Empire" should be retained and the name of the signatory part of the Empire placed within the bracket, so that in the event of another part of the Empire signing subsequently, its name can be added within the bracket. In the second case, the expression "the British Empire" should not be used, and the name of the signatory part of the Empire should be inserted in its position in the alphabetical order of the signatories. Forms showing the procedure in each of these various cases are appended in Annex II.*

Description of Plenipotentiaries and Form of Signature.

5. It will be seen from Annex I that all the plenipotentiaries for the different parts of the British Empire are grouped together after the King, but that, whereas the name of the plenipotentiary appointed by the Government in London is not accompanied by any territorial description, the names of the plenipotentiaries for the Dominions and India are preceded by the name of the part of the Empire on behalf of which each is authorised to act.

6. This arrangement reflects the present form of the full powers issued by His Majesty to the various plenipotentiaries. The form of full power issued to the plenipotentiaries acting on behalf of the London Government is unlimited, that is, it contains no limitation as to the part of the Empire for which they are authorised to sign. (Plenipotentiaries holding full powers in this form constitute what is sometimes known as the "Central Panel.") The plenipotentiaries acting on behalf of the Dominions and India hold full powers authorising them to sign "in respect of our Dominion of Canada," &c. This procedure was adopted at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921, and it was provided in the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1923, on the subject of the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties, that, as regards treaties negotiated at International Conferences, the full powers should be in the form employed at Paris and Washington.

7. As regards the form of signature, it is usual in the case of treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League to print against the names of the signatory plenipotentiaries the names of the countries for which they sign. The present form of signature so far as the various parts of the British Empire are concerned is shown in the specimen given in Annex I.

‡ Papua and Norfolk Island are regarded as being covered by the term "Australia." For the position of mandated territories, see paragraph 9.

* The examples of forms for the list of States in the preamble to League treaties quoted in Annex II do not exhaust all possible cases, *e.g.*, there might be a convention similar to that negotiated at the First Opium Conference at Geneva in 1924–5, which by its terms applied only to India and certain Eastern Colonies, &c. It does not seem necessary to determine in advance what modifications (if any) in the suggested forms would be required; it would seem sufficient to leave such special cases to be dealt with as they arise in accordance with the general principles here laid down.

8. The effect of the form of the full powers described above is that the signature of the "Central Panel" plenipotentiaries is of such a nature as, in the absence of any qualifying declaration, to bind the whole Empire, while the signature of each Dominion plenipotentiary only binds the Dominion which he represents. In order to prevent the signature of "Central Panel" plenipotentiaries resulting in any Dominion being made a party to a League Treaty without its Government signifying its acceptance of the treaty by the signature of its own plenipotentiaries and binding itself by their signatures, a procedure is followed by which "Central Panel" plenipotentiaries formally append to their signatures a declaration excluding from the operation of those signatures any Dominion which, being a separate Member of the League, does not by separate signature or accession become a party to the Treaty. The net result is that any Dominion whose plenipotentiaries sign a League Treaty is technically covered by two separate sets of signatures, viz., those of its own plenipotentiaries and those of the "Central Panel" plenipotentiaries. Similarly, if a Dominion accedes, the accession extends *pro tanto* the operation of the signatures of the Central Panel plenipotentiaries.

9. This system presents considerable advantages. From the point of view of foreign Powers the fact that so much of the Empire as accepts the treaty is covered by the signature of a single plenipotentiary renders it impossible to contend that it is not contracting as a unit or that two separate parts of the Empire which accept the treaty are, in relation to one other, separate contracting parties. From the point of view of the Empire it provides for the full operation of the principle that no Dominion is to be bound by a treaty without a signature or an act of accession for which its own Govevrnment is responsible. From the external point of view the present system gives formal expression to an essential principle governing the relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, whether self-governing or not, viz., that they stand in relation to one another in a position entirely different from that in which each stands in relation to foreign countries. If this were not the case, that is, if it could be held that parts of the Empire were separate contracting parties *inter se* in the same sense as each is a contracting party in relation to foreign countries, it would be impossible for a part of the Empire which was a party, for example, to a League Treaty guaranteeing equal treatment, to accord to another part of the Empire preferential treatment in respect of any of the matters covered by the treaty without at the same time extending that treatment to the foreign countries which were parties; further, if the treaty contained provision for the reference of disputes to the Permanent Court of International Justice, differences of opinion between two parts of the Empire, which were parties to the treaty, as to its application or interpretation would have to be referred to the Permanent Court. There would also be other reactions in the sphere of international relationships of the most far-reaching character; for example, there would be difficulty in maintaining that a commercial treaty granting most-favoured-nation treatment to a foreign country did not entitle that foreign country to any tariff concessions granted by one part of the Empire to another.

10. If it is thought that the present procedure does not comply in form with the accepted principle of full equality between the various parts of the Empire, which forms the basis of any discussion of questions of this kind, some alternative form must be found which will safeguard the principles indicated above. A possible alternative would seem to be a form of full power containing words of geographical limitation applying to each plenipotentiary, with corresponding geographical limitation against the name of each plenipotentiary both in the preamble and the list of signatures. Any new arrangements should, however, be applied as regards the full power, the preamble and the list of signatures in such a manner as to safeguard the principle indicated in paragraph 9.

An appropriate form of preamble would appear to be on the following lines: All the plenipotentiaries for the different parts of the British Empire would then continue to be grouped together after the King as contracting party in the following manner with words of geographical limitation applying to each plenipotentiary:—

His Majesty the King, &c.,
For Great Britain and Northern Ireland, &c.,
A.B.

For Canada,
C.D.

&c.

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The form of signature would then follow the same principle, and would be as follows:—

British Empire—

Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League: *A. B.*

Canada: *C. D.*

Australia: *E. F.*

&c.

11. The objection to this course is that it does not emphasize to the same extent as the present procedure the important principle described in paragraph 9, and that if it were adopted it would be difficult to maintain that principle in connection with Treaties.

12. This objection, however, would to a great extent be overcome if all the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference definitely placed on record their view that the principle in question forms the basis of their international position, and communicated to the League, and, if necessary, to individual foreign Powers, an expression of their intention to maintain it in relation to treaties to which they become parties.

Inter-Imperial Clause.

13. Further formal expression of the principle described in paragraph 9 has in the past been given by a Clause in League Treaties which runs as follows:—

> "It is understood that this Convention/Statute must not be interpreted as regulating in any way rights and obligations *inter se* of territories forming part or placed under the protection of the same sovereign State, whether or not these territories are individually members of the League of Nations."

This Article was originally inserted in the instruments signed at Barcelona in 1921; it has been inserted in some, but not all, of the League treaties signed since that date. The present position in this respect is unsatisfactory, first, because it is difficult to decide in each particular case whether the general interests of the British Empire require the insertion of the Clause or not, and, secondly, because there is always a risk of the insertion of the clause being opposed by foreign representatives, with the result that it may be impossible to secure its insertion, while its omission is always liable to give rise to a suggestion that the principle which it embodies is no longer upheld. The question was discussed at the Arms Traffic Conference in 1925, and the Legal Committee of that Conference laid it down that the principle which the Clause embodied underlies all international conventions. In these circumstances, the best course would seem to be to deal with the point specifically in any Resolution on the subject passed at the Imperial Conference, and not to attempt in any future case to secure the insertion of the Article. Where, as not infrequently happens, the Governments of different parts of the Empire are willing that certain provisions of a treaty should be applied between themselves as an administrative measure, they should be prepared to state the extent to which, and the terms on which, such provisions are to apply.

*Order of Precedence.**

14. The order in which the British Empire plenipotentiaries appear in the preamble and sign should be the order of precedence adopted at the Imperial Conference, *i.e.*, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India.

Final Act, &c.

15. The Final Act of a League Conference is not a conventional instrument but merely a record of what has been done at the conference. At present the practice is that the signatures of the representatives of the different parts of the British Empire to the Final Act are not grouped together as in the case of signatures to a convention, but appear in the alphabetical order of members of the League under the names of the Dominions which they represent, the representatives appointed by the

* This paragraph applies also to non-League treaties.

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Government in London figuring under the name "British Empire." No mention is made of Great Britain, and as Great Britain is not a member of the League it would be difficult in present circumstances to justify that designation in the Final Act. The logical solution for the present anomalous situation would be to adopt the formula proposed for the preamble of League treaties. No change would appear to be necessary in the existing practice as regards the order of seating, voting, &c., at League Conferences. For these purposes the alphabetical order of the members of the League (including the Dominions and India) should be retained.

Mandated Territories.

16. There has in the past been some uncertainty as to the effect in relation to mandated territories of the signature of a League treaty on behalf of the different parts of the British Empire. It is suggested that for the future it should be laid down that the plenipotentiary representing "Great Britain and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League" should be regarded as representing the mandated territories of Palestine (including Trans-Jordan), Tanganyika Territory, the Cameroons, Togoland and Nauru, and that his signature should bind them, and that similarly the plenipotentiary representing a Dominion should be regarded as representing any territories mandated to that Dominion and that his signature should bind them. The result will be that, in cases where it is not desired that a treaty should apply to a mandated territory, it will be necessary for the plenipotentiary concerned to make a declaration excluding such territory from his signature, unless the treaty excludes mandated territories or contains a "colonial clause" under which mandated territories can be excluded at the time of ratification. As regards Irak, the signature of the plenipotentiary will not bind Irak unless he is authorised to sign by the Irak Government. In that case Irak must appear separately in the list of contracting States and signatures.

*Ratification.**

17. Where a treaty is ratified by means of an instrument which reproduces the text of the document as signed, there is no need to repeat in the ratification instrument any declaration made at the moment of signature and appearing in the text of the document, which excludes from the operation of the treaty any specific part of the Empire; but where the ratification is to apply only to part of the area for which the treaty was signed, the part to be excluded from the ratification must be specified in the instrument.

Coming into Force of League Treaties.

18. Practically all League treaties contain a ratification clause and a provision that the treaty will come into force on the deposit of a certain number of ratifications. The question has sometimes arisen whether, for the purpose of making up the number of ratifications necessary to bring a treaty into force, ratifications on behalf of different parts of the Empire which are separate members of the League should be counted as separate ratifications.† There has been a case recently where it was suggested that a treaty which only required two ratifications to bring it into force could come into force because ratifications had been deposited on behalf of the "British Empire" (excluding all the Dominions, none of whom were parties to the convention) and India. Constitutionally, there can be no doubt that ratification is the act of the King, and that, even though it may happen that separate ratifications have been deposited in His Majesty's name, this does not make the King more than one High Contracting Party for the purpose in question. Further, the opposite view is inconsistent with the principle that the various parts of the Empire stand in relation to one another in a position entirely different from that in which each stands in relation to foreign countries, and also with the proposal made in paragraph 13 as regards the "Inter-Imperial Clause."

* This paragraph applies also to non-League treaties which are of such a nature that any question of exclusion may arise.

† Every ratification is a ratification by the King, and the question whether, in the case of a League treaty, one or more ratifications are deposited on behalf of His Majesty depends entirely on whether the different Governments of the Empire concerned are all ready to advise ratification at the same time. If they are, only one ratification would be deposited; if they are not, one ratification would be deposited on behalf of those which were, followed by separate ratifications on behalf of any which came in subsequently.

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Proposed Joint Statement to League.

19. If the recommendations contained in this part are adopted by the Imperial Conference it will be desirable that a joint statement should be made to the League explaining the practice which it is proposed to adopt in future.

II.—*Non-League Treaties.*‡

20. The negotiation of these treaties is governed by paragraph 1 (1) of the 1923 Resolution, under which every Government of the Empire which may be concerned is to be informed of the proposal to open negotiations and to have the opportunity of participating in the negotiations, should it desire to do so. This principle underlies all the recommendations which follow.

It is proposed to consider these treaties under the following heads :—

(A.) *Multilateral :—*
(1.) Political.
(2.) Technical.

(B.) *Bilateral :—*
(1.) Political.
(2.) Technical and Commercial.

(A.) *Multilateral.*

(1.) *Political.*

21. Except in the case of the Peace Treaties and certain instruments subsidiary thereto, the usual practice is that treaties of this description are made in the names of Heads of States, and accordingly do not (as in the case of League treaties) begin with a list of the contracting States. This is the more convenient practice and should be adopted so far as possible.

22. Multilateral political treaties imposing active obligations on all parts of the Empire (*e.g.*, the Treaty of Versailles and the Washington Naval Disarmament Treaty) should be signed by a plenipotentiary or plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the Governments concerned. Whether such signature is effected by a plenipotentiary or body of plenipotentiaries acting on behalf of all the Governments, or by plenipotentiaries acting on behalf of each Government separately, is a matter which can be settled in each case as may be convenient, but there must be uniformity; if the treaty is signed separately on behalf of some Governments, it should be signed separately on behalf of all.

A specimen of the form of preamble at present employed in the case of treaties signed separately on behalf of each Government is given in Annex III (A). If the procedure indicated in paragraph 10 is adopted as regards League treaties, it would naturally be adopted in these cases also as regards the form of preamble and full powers. As regards signature, no question normally arises, as it is not the practice in such cases to print the names of the countries represented against the signatures.

Should the treaty be signed by a plenipotentiary or body of plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the Governments their full powers should in any case be unlimited.

23. The case of multilateral political treaties not imposing active obligations on all parts of the Empire is more complicated. Speaking generally, where active obligations have in the past been imposed at all under such treaties, the obligations have been imposed on one part of the Empire only, viz., Great Britain. The treaties have, however, affected the whole Empire in that the fact of their conclusion on behalf of the King entails recognition by all parts of the Empire of the state of affairs arising from them, and particularly of any resulting changes in the position of British subjects generally. An instance of such a treaty is the Tangier Convention, which defined the status of the Tangier territory and set up a special form of government therein, and at the same time imposed active obligations on Great Britain only. The practice has been for such treaties to be signed on behalf of the King by one or more plenipotentiaries appointed on the advice of the London Government and holding unlimited full powers.* No mention of any of the different parts of the Empire is made in the

‡ In this section the word " treaty " is used to denote any international agreement in conventional form other than Governmental agreements, which are dealt with in Section III.

* See Annex III (B) for the form of preamble used in such cases.

preamble, the active obligations it imposes being made clear in the text of the treaty. This practice has proved convenient, and its continuance is desirable, especially as it is hoped that the proposals to be made for improving the methods of inter-Imperial consultation in foreign affairs will facilitate the settlement of any points that may arise.

24. Although in the past the active obligations under such treaties, so far as the British Empire is concerned, have rested with Great Britain, it by no means follows that this will always be the case in future. Thus, in the case of multilateral political treaties imposing active obligations on any part of the Empire, situations may arise—

(*a.*) in which active obligations will only fall upon a part of the Empire other than Great Britain;
(*b.*) in which active obligations will fall on two or more parts of the Empire, one of which may or may not be Great Britain;
(*c.*) in which other parts of the Empire are for special reasons interested, even though they may have no active obligations.

Further, in the case of multilateral political treaties not imposing active obligations on any part of the Empire, more than one part may be interested for special reasons in their conclusion.

In all the above cases the whole Empire would be concerned in the sense explained above, *i.e.*, to the extent of recognising the state of affairs arising from the treaty.

It does not seem desirable to attempt to lay down rules designed to cover every conceivable case, and it would appear that it should be possible, without difficulty, to adapt the proposals made in this memorandum as regards the form of full powers and preamble to meet such cases as arise. The criterion as regards separate signature should be whether or not any part of the Empire has an active obligation, in which case the treaty should be signed on its behalf, or such practical interest that it may desire separate signature on its behalf.

(2.) *Technical.*

25. These are generally made in the names of Heads of States, and this is the more convenient practice. Such treaties differ from political treaties in that they may well be, and often are, signed on behalf of parts only of the British Empire. It is therefore important that the preamble and text of the treaty should make plain the parts of the Empire to which it applies.

26. Where such a treaty is to apply to Great Britain or to any of the Dominions it should be signed by separate plenipotentiaries on their behalf. If the procedure indicated in paragraph 10 is adopted as regards League treaties it would naturally be adopted in these cases as regards the form of preamble and full powers and also as regards the list of signatures (if the names of the countries signed for are printed alongside of the signatures).

A special feature of multilateral technical treaties is that (unlike multilateral political treaties) they often make provision by which portions of the territory of the contracting parties(viz., Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories) are not included unless by subsequent accession. Where such provision is not made, any necessary excluding declarations should be made by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the Dominions in regard to the territories with which they are respectively concerned at the time of signature.

The parts of the Empire to which a multilateral technical treaty is to apply will accordingly be shown—

(1.) by the list of plenipotentiaries in the preamble;
(2.) by any excluding declarations made at the time of signature;
(3.) by the form of the Colonial exclusion clause, if any, and by any action taken thereunder;
(4.) in some cases by the text of the treaty itself.

27. In cases where the treaty begins with a list of the names of the contracting States, the position will be much the same as in the case of League treaties, and the forms adopted for use in the preamble of such treaties should be used (see paragraphs 3, 4 and 19, and Annex II).

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(*B.*) *Bilateral.*

(1.) *Political.*

28. The regular practice is to make such treaties in the names of the Heads of States. The great majority of such treaties can without difficulty be placed within one or other of the classes into which multilateral political treaties are divided in paragraphs 23, 24 and 25, and the recommendations made in those paragraphs as regards the form of full powers, preamble and signature are respectively applicable.

In cases where the obligations of the treaty are expressly confined to one part of the Empire only, the recommendations in paragraph 2 (*a*) of the 1923 Resolutions are applicable.* The form of preamble used in a treaty whose application is confined to one Dominion only is given in Annex IV.

(2.) *Technical and Commercial.*

29. Such treaties are regularly made in the names of Heads of States. Paragraphs 2 (*a*) and 2 (*b*) of the 1923 Resolution are applicable to such treaties,* and any further questions arising should be dealt with in accordance with the principles referred to in paragraphs 23, 24 and 25.

It is usual to define the scope of such treaties either (*a*) by specifying *nominatim* in the text of the treaty the part or parts of the Empire included, or (*b*) by inserting an "exclusion and accession clause." Sometimes a combination of both methods is employed.

The form of preamble given in Annex IV is suitable for use in the case of a bilateral technical or commercial treaty applicable to one Dominion only.

III.—*Governmental Agreements.*

30. These are dealt with in Section II of the 1923 Resolution, and no difficulties arise in relation thereto. Where such agreements are multilateral, the names of the contracting Governments will appear in alphabetical order, and, where several Governments of the Empire are parties to such an agreement, there is no need to group them together either in the preamble or in the signatures.

The principle laid down in the latter part of paragraph 13 applies to these inter-governmental agreements.

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* Paragraphs 2 (*a*) and 2 (*b*) of the 1923 Resolution are as follows:—

"(*a.*) Bilateral treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire only should be signed by a representative of the Government of that part. The Full Power issued to such representative should indicate the part of the Empire in respect of which the obligations are to be undertaken, and the preamble and text of the treaty should be so worded as to make its scope clear.

"(*b.*) Where a bilateral treaty imposes obligations on more than one part of the Empire, the treaty should be signed by one or more plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the Governments concerned."

ANNEX I.

*Specimen Form of Preamble and Signature in League Treaties.**

The British Empire (with New Zealand and India), Germany, Austria, Belgium, &c.,†

Desirous of making provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and transit, and of promoting for that purpose international co-operation in the organisation and working of railway traffic;

* * * * * *

The High Contracting Parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

* * * * * *

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, G.C.B., Chief Economic Adviser of the British Government, delegate at the Second General Conference on Communications and Transit;

For the Dominion of New Zealand:

The Honourable Sir James Allen, K.C.B., High Commissioner for New Zealand in the United Kingdom;

For India:

The Right Hon. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., I.S.O., Privy Councillor, former Viceroy, former Ambassador;

* * * * * *

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention.

Done at Geneva, the 9th day of December, 1923, in a single copy, which shall remain deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

Germany:	SEELIGER. P. WOLF.
Austria:	EMERICH PFLÜGL.
Belgium:	XAVIER NEUJEAN.
Brazil:	E. LEITAO DE CARVALHO. E. MONTARROYOS.
British Empire:	H. LLEWELLYN SMITH.
New Zealand:	J. ALLEN.
India:	HARDINGE OF PENSHURST.
Bulgaria:	D. MIKOFF.

* * * * * *

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* See note on p. 6.

† In the case of the Arms Traffic Convention, signed on June 17, 1925, the form used was:—

". . . . . Belgium, Brazil, the British Empire, Canada, the Irish Free State and India, Bulgaria . . . . . ."

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Annex II.

Suggested Forms for List of Contracting Parties in Preamble to League Treaties.

1. Treaty signed on behalf of all parts of the British Empire.

The British Empire (Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the Empire which are not separate members of the League, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Irish Free State and India).

2. Treaty signed on behalf of Great Britain, but not the Colonies, and some, but not all, of the Dominions.

The British Empire (Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, New Zealand and the Irish Free State).

3. Treaty signed on behalf of several Dominions, but not on behalf of Great Britain or the Colonies.

The British Empire (Australia, South Africa and India).

4. Treaty signed on behalf of one Dominion only, but with liberty to members of the League to sign subsequently.

The British Empire (Australia).

5. Treaty signed on behalf of one Dominion only, without liberty to members of the League to sign subsequently.

Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, &c.

N.B.—In cases 4 and 5 the formula would be similar if the one part of the mpire on whose behalf the treaty was signed were Great Britain and Northern Ireland instead of a Dominion.

Annex III.

(A.)

Specimen Form of Preamble of a Multilateral Treaty in the Names of Heads of States and signed Separately on behalf of all the Dominions and India.

The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the President of the French Republic, &c.,*

Desiring . . . . . :

Have resolved . . . . . , and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries ;

The President of the United States of America :

Charles Evans Hughes,
Henry Cabot Lodge,
Oscar W. Underwood,
Elihu Root,
citizens of the United States ;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India :

The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P., Lord President of His Privy Council ;

* Where such a treaty begins with a list of the contracting States, this formula should be replaced by the following :—

"The United States of America, the British Empire, France, &c. ;"

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The Right Honourable Baron Lee of Fareham, G.B.E., K.C.B., First Lord of the Admiralty ;
The Right Honourable Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, K.C.B., His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America ;

and

for the Dominion of Canada :
The Right Honourable Sir Robert Laird Borden, G.C.M.G., K.C. ;

for the Commonwealth of Australia :
Senator the Right Honourable George Foster Pearce, Minister for Home and Territories ;

for the Dominion of New Zealand :
The Honourable Sir John William Salmond, K.C., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand ;

for the Union of South Africa :
The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P. ;

for India :
The Right Honourable Valingman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, Member of the Indian Council of State :

&c.

Method of Signature for above Treaty.

Charles Evans Hughes.
Henry Cabot Lodge.
Oscar W. Underwood.
Elihu Root.
Arthur James Balfour.
Lee of Fareham.
A. C. Geddes.
R. L. Borden.
G. F. Pearce.
John W. Salmond.
Arthur James Balfour.
V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.
&c.

(B.)

Specimen Form of Preamble of a Multilateral Treaty made in the Name of Heads of States and signed on behalf of the King by two Plenipotentiaries appointed on the Advice of the London Government (Tangier Convention).

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Spain, the President of the French Republic, desirous of assuring to the town and district of Tangier the régime laid down by the Treaties now in force, have appointed as their plenipotentiaries for this purpose :

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India :

Mr. Malcolm Arnold Robertson, Minister Plenipotentiary, His Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Tangier ; and
Mr. Gerald Hyde Villiers, Counsellor of Embassy, Head of Department in the Foreign Office ;

His Majesty the King of Spain :
Marquis de la Torrehermosa, &c. ;

The President of the French Republic :
M. Caron de Beaumarchais, &c.

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Method of Signature for above Treaty.

Arnold Robertson.
G. H. Villiers.
Mauricio López Roberts, Marquis de la Torrehermosa.
M. de Beaumarchais.

ANNEX IV.

Form of Preamble for a Treaty signed on behalf of one Dominion only.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of (the Dominion of Canada);

and

The President of the United States of America;

Being desirous . . . . :

. . . . and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of (the Dominion of Canada):

A. B.

The President of the United States of America:

C. D

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SECRET.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.) 1.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

THE accompanying drafts prepared by Sir Cecil Hurst of—

(*a.*) A Specimen form of Treaty, and
(*b.*) A suggested Resolution of the Conference,

are circulated for consideration at the next Meeting of the Sub-Committee.

(Signed) H. F. BATTERBEE,
Joint Secretary.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 11, 1926.

SPECIMEN FORM OF TREATY.

The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King of (. . . . whatever title may be decided on with the concurrence of the Imperial Conference), Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Bulgaria, &c., &c.

.....

Desiring .....

Have resolved to conclude a treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:—

The President .....

.....

His Majesty the King of (title as above):

for Great Britain and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate Members of the League (of Nations), *AB.*

for the Dominion of Canada, *CD.*

for the Commonwealth of Australia, *EF.*

for the Dominion of New Zealand, *GH.*

for the Union of South Africa, *IJ.*

for the Irish Free State, *KL.*

for India, *MN.*

.....

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who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, nave agreed as follows :—

.....

.....

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty :

AB .....
CD .....
EF .....
GH .....
IJ .....
KL .....
MN .....

or if the territory for which each Plenipotentiary signs is to be specified as is customary at Geneva :

(for Great Britain, &c.) ..... *AB.*
(for Canada) ..... *CD.*
(for Australia) ..... *EF.*
(for New Zealand) ..... *GH.*
(for South Africa) ..... *IJ.*
(for the Irish Free State) ..... *KL.*
(for India) ..... *MN.*

DRAFT RESOLUTION.

The Imperial Conference . . . . agrees as follows :—

1. Though the Dominions separately represented in the League of Nations and India are entitled in virtue of such separate membership to all the rights and privileges of Members of the League, they became members upon the footing that the relationship between the various parts of the British Empire is different from the relationship between them and foreign Powers.

2. This special relationship between the various parts of the British Empire, whether separately represented in the League or not, is a fundamental element in their international position.

3. Treaties (other than agreements between Governments) whether negotiated under the auspices of the League or not, should be made in the name of Heads of States, and if the treaty is signed on behalf of the Empire or of any part of it, the treaty should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of the special relationship between the different parts of the Empire. The British units on behalf of which the treaty is signed should be grouped together in the following order : Great Britain, &c., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India.

4. The principles laid down in paragraphs (1) and (2) render superfluous the inclusion in a treaty of any provision that its terms must not be regarded as regulating *inter se* the rights and obligations of the various territories on behalf of which it has been signed in the name of the King.

5. Where a treaty provides that it is to come into force on the deposit of the ratifications of a specified number of Powers, the principle that the treaty does not operate between the various territories on behalf of which it has been separately signed in the name of the King precludes his ratification on behalf of such territories being reckoned as the ratifications of different Powers.

6. In the case of inter-governmental agreements where, as not infrequently happens, the Governments of different parts of the Empire are willing that certain provisions of a treaty should be applied between themselves as an administrative measure, they will be prepared to state the extent to which, and the terms on which, such provisions are to apply.

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E. (I.R./26/T.P.) 2.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

Treaty Procedure Sub-Committee.

SUGGESTIONS FOR DRAFT REPORT.

(Circulated by the Canadian Delegation.)

THE attached notes for a draft report on Treaty Procedure are circulated by the Canadian delegation as a basis of discussion, proceeding on the assumption that any report might well take the form of a supplement to the 1923 Treaty Resolution.

2, *Whitehall Gardens, S.W.* 1,
November 11, 1926.

NOTES FOR DRAFT REPORT ON TREATY PROCEDURE.

The Conference has found it desirable to give further consideration to the relations of the various parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations in connection with the negotiation, signature and ratification of treaties. It was agreed that the procedure recommended in the treaty resolutions of 1923 had in most respects proved acceptable and effective in practice. In the light of experience, it appeared necessary to examine more in detail some phases of treaty procedure, and to consider how far the resolutions of 1923 could be usefully supplemented.

1. *Negotiation of Treaties.*

It was agreed in 1923 that any of the Governments of the Empire, in preparing to negotiate a treaty, should give due consideration to its possible effect upon other parts, and should take steps to inform other Governments likely to be interested of its intention.

It is understood that, if in such case another Commonwealth Government considers that its interests would be affected, it may express its desire to participate in the negotiations through the issue of full powers to a plenipotentiary appointed on its behalf. If, after such information has been conveyed, no proposal for joint action is received, the initiating Government is entitled to assume that it is not desired to have the treaty apply to any other part. In some cases provision might be made on request for accession later by other members of the Commonwealth.

2. *Full Powers and Scope of Application.*

The full powers issued in each case, on the advice of the King's Ministers concerned, should indicate and correspond to the part or parts of the Commonwealth to which the treaty is to apply. It will frequently be found convenient, particularly where it is not contemplated that active obligations will be imposed on the Governments of some parts, but where the position of their nationals will be affected in some measure, for such Governments to request that the plenipotentiary appointed in respect of the Government or Governments mainly concerned should also act on their behalf.

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3. *Form of Treaty.*

It is desirable that treaties, other than agreements between Governments, and including treaties negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations, should be made in the name of Heads of States. If a treaty is to be signed on behalf of several or all of the nations of the British Commonwealth, it should be made in the name of the King as the symbol of their special relationship, with an indication in the preamble of the several members participating, corresponding to the issue of full powers. The British units on behalf of which the treaty is negotiated should be grouped in the preamble under the King's name in the following description and order: Great Britain, &c.,* Dominion of Canada,† Commonwealth of Australia, Dominion of New Zealand, Union of South Africa, Irish Free State, India. This involves a slight departure in nomenclature, particularly in case of treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, where it has been customary to use the term "British Empire" for the senior unit, though it is well established that in the appointment of members of the Assembly and Council the payment of contributions, seating, voting, and other League operations it is really the Government at London which is concerned. If the treaty is to apply only to one part, it should be stated to be made by the King in respect of that part, *e.g.*, Great Britain, &c., or Canada, or Australia.

In the signature and final act of treaties the different parts of the Commonwealth participating should be designated in the same manner, if it is necessary to give the names of countries. In non-League treaties the names should be grouped together as above; in League treaties the present alphabetical practice is preferable.

The allegiance of the several States of the Commonwealth to a common King, while not affecting the position of each State as a distinct international entity, including their position as members of the League of Nations, constitutes a relationship between them differing from their relationships to foreign Powers, which is a fundamental element in their international position.

Note.—No paragraph has been included as to ratification; it is considered that the present practice or proposed practice of the League is satisfactory (which is understood to be to count the ratification on behalf of each Empire member as a distinct ratification), as corresponding to the distinct membership of the several parts of the Commonwealth in the League. In special cases, such as the Opium Convention, which could be brought into effect by two ratifications, and which was ratified for "The British Empire" and "India," which, however, did not intend to apply it as between themselves, it might be supposed that any anomaly could be prevented in practice by agreement to allow some other member to share in the first step.

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* In League treaties, this appellation might run: "Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of His Majesty's realms which are not separate members of the League." It is more difficult in other treaties to secure a satisfactory excluding phrase; perhaps: "and all other parts of His Majesty's realms exclusive of the Dominions," though this is open to objection.

† Or simply "Canada," "Australia," and so forth.

COMMITTEE ON INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.
TREATY PROCEDURE SUB-COMMITTEE.

E. (I.R./26/T.P.) Series.

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