

CONFIDENTIAL

*This is an excellent  
summary of a difficult  
discussion*

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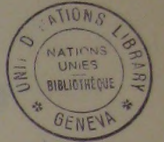
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

RECEIVED IN  
FOURTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL REGISTRY

28 JAN-1929

(Secret Meeting)

held on Saturday, 4th September 1926 at 10.45 a.m.



members

Present: All the ~~representatives~~ of the Council with the exception of the representatives of Spain and Brazil, and the Secretary-General.

Report of the Committee instructed to consider the composition of the Council.

The question of the Assembly's procedure.

The PRESIDENT called upon the Council to

discuss the following resolution:

(A)

4.09.1926

Chybę jest  
już zrobioną!



LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

GENEVA, September 4th, 1926.

COMMITTEE ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL.Resolution of the Council.

The Council, taking note of the Resolution proposed by the Delegate of France and passed by the Special Assembly of March 1926 - resolution which reads as follows:

"The Assembly,

Regrets that the difficulties encountered have prevented the attainment of the purpose for which it was convened,

And expresses the hope that between now and the ordinary September session of 1926 these difficulties may be surmounted so as to make it possible for Germany to enter the League of Nations on that occasion"

And acting in pursuance of the wish expressed in that Resolution:

- 1.- Approves the Report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council;
- 2.- In consequence and in virtue of the powers which it derives from Article 4 of the Covenant decides upon:
  - (a) the appointment of Germany as a permanent Member of the Council upon her entry into the League of Nations;
  - (b) the increase in the number of the non-permanent seats to nine;
- 3.- Recommends to the Assembly the approval of these decisions;
- 4.- Commends to the favourable consideration of the Assembly the proposals made by the Committee as regards the method of election and tenure of the non-permanent seats.



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LOND \* GENEVA \*

Viscount ISHII pointed out that legally the Council could not propose that a State which was not a Member of the League should be granted a permanent seat. It would therefore have to meet immediately after the admission of Germany in order to make such a proposal.

The PRESIDENT agreed. What was essential however was to avoid delay.

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN thought that the first item to be placed on the Assembly's agenda should be the admission of Germany, and the second the consideration of the Council's resolution. When the Assembly was discussing the latter item Germany would already be a Member of the League.

M. SCIALOJA agreed. The Assembly would only approve the Council's resolution after it had voted the admission of Germany. The Council's proposal was in conformity with the terms of the Covenant, for the Council had been given power to take steps to secure the entry of certain Powers, notably Russia and Germany, who had not become members of the League at the outset.

The PRESIDENT pointed out that after the Assembly had admitted Germany it might refer the Council's resolution to one of its Committees, which would take ~~some~~ several days to discuss it.

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN strongly urged that the procedure of the Assembly should be as rapid as possible. The Committee appointed to study the





the composition of the Council had provided <sup>a solution</sup> ~~the draft~~ which must be regarded as a single whole and must be submitted as such to the Assembly. <sup>175</sup> ~~The draft~~ <sup>substantive proposal</sup> consisted of three indivisible parts - (1) <sup>the</sup> admission of Germany, (2) the attribution to her of a permanent seat, and (3) an increase of three in the number of non-permanent seats. ~~He thought that~~ if it was necessary to refer the <sup>proposal</sup> ~~draft~~ to a Committee, the Committee should ~~get the~~ <sup>get</sup> to work immediately. ~~The Committee should~~ report to the Assembly on the same day. He thought it would be possible for the whole matter to be dealt with on Monday, 6th September.

The SECRETARY GENERAL pointed out that on Monday the Assembly would hardly have had time to constitute itself. It would therefore be impossible for it to consider the Council's resolution on that day.

M.SCIALOJA said that the whole matter ought to be concluded in a single day.

The PRESIDENT agreed with M.Scialoja and Sir Austen Chamberlian. The only difficulty concerned procedure.

M.SCIALOJA pointed out that the First Committee of the Assembly could scarcely discuss the attribution of a permanent seat or the creation of additional non-permanent seats, for that was not within its competence. The most that it could discuss would be the procedure entailed by the creation of the three additional non-permanent seats, the rules concerning re-eligibility, &c.



The SECRETARY GENERAL pointed out that the President of the Assembly could immediately remind it that a report from the <sup>First Case of the</sup> Extraordinary Assembly was before it recommending the admission of Germany. That report could be adopted on Wednesday, and the Assembly could immediately afterwards <sup>ap</sup> prove the Council's resolution. / <sup>The</sup> Only question was whether the Assembly would be ready to approve immediately the increase in the non-permanent members without discussing the procedure connected with it.

M. SCIALOJA pointed out that questions of procedure concerning the ~~three~~ non-permanent seats could be referred to the First Committee.

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN said that it was of the utmost importance to deal with the matter as a single whole. The question of the admission of Germany, of the attribution to her of a permanent seat and of the creation of three new non-permanent seats must not be dealt with separately. ~~But~~ To do so would mean delays and even possible failure. This should at all costs be avoided.

M. UNDEN thought that the procedure connected with the election of non-permanent members, their term of office &c. would have to be referred to the First Committee.

The PRESIDENT noted the anxiety of Sir Austen Chamberlain to avoid dealing with the matter in separate stages. Perhaps the admission of Germany could first be voted, and then the remaining proposals of the Council dealt with together.



M. SCIALOJA thought there was no real difficulty. The entry of Germany, the attribution of a permanent seat and the creation of three additional non-permanent seats formed one indivisible whole. They could all be submitted to the Sixth Committee of the Assembly which had already discussed the question of the admission of Germany, and he felt sure that it would not take that Committee an hour to complete its work and report to the Assembly.

The SECRETARY GENERAL said that if the question of the non-permanent seats was referred to the First Committee a long discussion might take place and a delay result.

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN pointed out that the report of the ~~Sixth~~ <sup>of the Sixth Ass'y</sup> Committee was in favour of the admission of Germany, and that all that remained to be done was to adopt it. In those circumstances it would be unnecessary for <sup>a</sup> the Committee to reconsider the matter.

the Council regarding the Assembly's procedure in the matter. It was merely a question of private organisation and conversations between the members of the Council and the various delegates to the Assembly. It was essential to show to the world that the machine of the League worked smoothly and that there was no further crisis. To waste time over procedure might mean failure at the eleventh hour. The programme was perfectly clear. Germany would enter, she would be given her permanent seat, and three new non-permanent seats would be created. That could all be done immediately



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M. BRIAND reminded the Council of the admirable restraint shown by the Extraordinary Assembly during the March crisis. This had shown that the Assembly above all things desired a solution of the problem. The Council should have no reason to suppose that such an attitude had changed. Indeed, everything pointed to the contrary. ~~But~~ The Assembly had in March warmly welcomed the constitution of the Committee to Study the Council's composition. That Committee had met, and after much difficulty had produced a definite draft containing a number of points which must be considered as forming one united whole. The Committee had decided to recommend that Germany should enter the League that her request for a permanent seat should be granted, and that to make this possible three new non-permanent seats should be created. Germany was satisfied and the other countries, with one notable exception, were also satisfied. The question was, therefore, merely one of inducing the Assembly not to lose time and allow questions of pure procedure to delay the attainment of the object all desired. He felt sure that the members of the Assembly would prove amenable to any unofficial suggestions made by the members of the Council regarding the Assembly's <sup>action</sup> procedure in the matter. It was merely a question of private organisation and conversations between the members of the Council and the various delegates to the Assembly. It was essential to show to the world that the machine of the League worked smoothly and that there was no further crisis. To waste time over procedure might mean failure at the eleventh hour. The programme was perfectly clear. Germany would enter, She would be given her permanent seat, and three new non-permanent seats would be created. That could all be done immediately



as it formed part of one whole. There remained the procedure with regard to the election of <sup>non-</sup>permanent <sup>members</sup> seats, the length of term of office ~~of~~ non-permanent members, etc. This could be discussed by the Assembly <sup>later</sup>. Speed would create an excellent impression on public opinion.

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN pointed out that the ~~Sixth~~ Committee of the Extraordinary Assembly had already done all the preliminary work concerning the admission of Germany, and that its report in favour of that admission had been submitted to the Assembly, which had adjourned its decision on it until ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> forthcoming session. All that was now necessary was, therefore, for the President of the Assembly immediately to move the adoption of the report.

M. SCIALOJA thought that the Sixth Committee should discuss the entry of Germany, the attribution <sup>to her</sup> of the ~~a~~ non-permanent seat, and the creation of the three new/permanent seats, for its report at present was incomplete, in view of the work which had been done by the Committee on the Composition of the Council. He did not think it would take more than an hour for the Committee to complete its report.

M. VANDERVELDE did not agree with this procedure. The question of the entry of Germany had been settled in September, and only required adoption. The question of her permanent seat had not been quite so definitely settled, but all the members of the Council had given undertakings concerning it, and he thought ~~there would be~~ <sup>that</sup> no difficulties were to be anticipated from the Assembly. The question of the increase in the non-permanent seats, however, might give rise to a discussion. The Assembly would certainly adopt the proposal for there was a great majority in its favour,





but it would equally certainly want to discuss it. Hence ~~the~~ delay would be caused if the three questions were submitted to the Sixth Committee. It was better to secure the admission of Germany first, and then allow the Assembly to discuss the rest later.

M. BRIAND said that the proposals of the Committee of the Council formed an indivisible whole. It was impossible to adopt a part without the rest. To do so would destroy the League. What was wanted was a League so constructed that universal peace could be assured. Therefore, the idea of peace must dominate everything. Germany and Poland had been <sup>Satisfied</sup> ~~consulted~~ as the result of the Council Committee's work. Every kind of negotiation had been conducted, and every kind of difficulty ~~might~~ met with and surmounted. All were now satisfied with the exception of Spain, which he was convinced would not remain aloof indefinitely. The procedure proposed by the Council Committee must, therefore, be loyally fulfilled. Germany on her entry must not have the slightest doubt concerning her permanent seat, and other States must not have the slightest doubt about the creation of the new non-permanent seats. To vote those three things together was essential. To split them up would provoke another crisis, and the League could not afford the luxury of too many crises. To vote them together would have a great effect on public opinion, and would show that the League was strong and united.

M. UNDEN, while feeling sure that the Assembly would examine the report of the Council Committee, and approve it with the greatest rapidity, thought that a <sup>too rigid</sup> ~~certain~~ method of procedure should not be forced upon it by the Council.





The PRESIDENT agreed with Sir Austen Chamberlain in thinking that the Assembly could immediately discuss the adjourned report of the Sixth Committee. At the same time the Bureau of the Assembly would recommend the immediate discussion of the Council's resolution concerning the creation of the permanent seat and the three non-permanent seats. All this could undoubtedly be effected in one meeting.

Then the remainder of the Council's resolution concerning the procedure in connection with the non-permanent seats could be referred to the First Committee. In theory M. Vandervelde might be right in considering that Germany should be admitted first and the question of the non-permanent seats discussed afterwards, but the consideration that the three points in the Council's resolution should be regarded as one whole must, in the interests of the League, prevail. Political considerations made it imperative to vote the three points simultaneously.

M. VANDERVELDE pointed out that the only reason why he had suggested a division was that there might be a discussion on the third of the three points which would mean that Germany would have to wait for admission until that discussion had been concluded.

M. BRIAND pointed out that Germany could not object to the increase in the non-permanent seats for her representative had sat on the Council Committee and had agreed to its report.

*Sir A Chamberlain asked the Council requested leave for 20 April to speak. leave having been given,*



Lord CECIL said that the very foundation of the Council Committee's report was that a permanent seat should be granted to Germany and three <sup>new</sup> non-permanent seats created. That solution had been reached as a result of a bargain between various States, and to imperil its adoption by a separate vote on the admission of Germany, the attribution to her of a permanent seat and the creation of three new non-permanent seats would upset that bargain and make it possible for those States who had agreed to it to feel justly aggrieved.

M.UNDEN pointed out that some States represented <sup>at</sup> the Assembly had neither been represented on the Council nor on the Council Committee. These States would certainly want to discuss the question of the non-permanent members. He suggested that the President of the Council should inform the Bureau of the Assembly of the present exchange of views between members of the Council.

M.BRIAND repeated that the resolution must be voted as one whole, or not <sup>at</sup> all. To separate it into parts would be impossible, for then all the work of the Council Committee would go for nothing. He would agree to submit the whole resolution to an Assembly Committee, although that would entail what would be in his view unnecessary delay, rather than that a vote should be taken separately on its three parts. At all costs that must be avoided.



M. VANDERVELDE said that he would never have moved his proposal had he not been convinced that there was an enormous majority in the Assembly for the adoption of the resolution. He would withdraw his proposal as the result of Lord Cecil's observations.

The PRESIDENT noted that the members of the Council were in general agreement. He would propose therefore that in accordance with the suggestion of M. Under he be empowered to explain the views of the Council to the Bureau of the Assembly if necessary, and that on Wednesday morning <sup>8<sup>th</sup> September</sup> the Assembly be called upon to elect Germany a member of the League, to approve the recommendation of the Council that she be given a permanent seat and to increase the number of non-permanent seats to nine. The Assembly could then be recommended to submit the remainder of the Council Committee's report to the First Committee for discussion ~~and~~ if it desired to do so. It was understood that these proposals should be submitted to the Bureau of the Assembly unofficially by the President.

These suggestions were approved.

The Council rose at 12 noon.