

1937.  
NEW ZEALAND.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1937.  
SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS.

[PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM BY COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY,  
JUNE, 1937.]

*Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly of New Zealand by  
Command of His Excellency.*

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## IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1937 : SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS.

### I. PRELIMINARY NOTE.

THE proceedings of the Conference opened in London on the 14th May, 1937, and were continued until the 15th June. Plenary meetings were attended by the following:—

#### UNITED KINGDOM.

At the first plenary meeting:—

- The Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, M.P., Prime Minister (in the chair).
- The Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Lord President of the Council.
- The Right Hon. Neville Chamberlain, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., O.B.E., K.C., M.P., Secretary of State for the Home Department.
- The Right Hon. Viscount Halifax, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Lord Privy Seal.
- The Right Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.
- The Right Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies. (Representing colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories.)

As the result of changes in the composition of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom made during the period of the Conference the final plenary meeting was attended by:—

- The Right Hon. Neville Chamberlain, M.P., Prime Minister (in the chair).
- The Right Hon. Sir John Simon, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., O.B.E., K.C., M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- The Right Hon. Viscount Halifax, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Lord President of the Council.
- The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, Bt., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., C.M.G., Secretary of State for the Home Department.
- The Right Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.
- The Right Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies. (Representing colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories.)

#### CANADA.

- The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P., Prime Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs.
- The Hon. T. A. Crerar, M.P., Minister of Mines and Resources.
- The Right Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., M.P., Minister of Justice.
- The Hon. C. A. Dunning, M.P., Minister of Finance.
- The Hon. Ian Mackenzie, K.C., M.P., Minister of National Defence.

#### COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

- The Right Hon. J. A. Lyons, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister.
- The Hon. Sir Archdale Parkill, K.C.M.G., M.P., Minister for Defence.
- The Hon. R. G. Casey, D.S.O., M.C., M.P., Treasurer.
- The Right Hon. S. M. Bruce, C.H., M.C., High Commissioner in London.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

- The Right Hon. M. J. Savage, M.P., Prime Minister.
- The Hon. Walter Nash, M.P., Minister of Finance.
- Mr. W. J. Jordan, High Commissioner in London.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

General the Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog, M.P., Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs.

The Hon. N. C. Havenga, M.P., Minister of Finance.

The Hon. A. P. J. Fourie, M.P., Minister of Commerce and Industries.

Senator the Hon. C. F. Clarkson, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and of Public Works.

## INDIA.

The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Secretary of State for India.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, K.C.S.I., Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

## SOUTHERN RHODESIA (AS OBSERVERS).

The Hon. G. M. Huggins, F.R.C.S., M.P., Prime Minister.

The Hon. J. H. Smit, M.P., Minister of Finance and Commerce.

## BURMA (AS OBSERVER).

Dr. Ba Maw, M.H.R., Chief Minister of Burma.

The following were also present at one or more plenary meetings of the Conference or meetings of principal delegates:—

*United Kingdom.*

The Right Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. Sir Thomas Inskip, C.B.E., K.C., M.P., Minister for Co-ordination of Defence.

The Right Hon. A. Duff Cooper, D.S.O., M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty. (Secretary of State for War before the changes in the composition of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.)

The Right Hon. L. Hore-Belisha, M.P., Secretary of State for War. (After the changes in the composition of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.)

The Right Hon. Viscount Swinton, G.B.E., M.C., Secretary of State for Air.

The Right Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P., President of the Board of Trade. (Before the changes in the composition of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.)

The Right Hon. Oliver Stanley, M.C., M.P., President of the Board of Trade. (After the changes in the composition of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.)

The Right Hon. W. S. Morrison, M.C., K.C., M.P., Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries.

Sir Donald Somervell, O.B.E., K.C., M.P., Attorney-General.

The Right Hon. Leslie Burgin, LL.D., M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. (Before the changes in the composition of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.)

Mr. R. S. Hudson, M.P., Secretary to the Department of Overseas Trade.

The Marquess of Hartington, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, Minister in Charge of publicity arrangements.

*Canada.*

The Hon. Vincent Massey, High Commissioner in London.

*Union of South Africa.*

Mr. C. T. te Water, High Commissioner in London.

*Southern Rhodesia.*

Mr. S. M. Lanigan-O'Keeffe, C.M.G., High Commissioner in London.

The Right Hon. Sir Halford Mackinder, Chairman of the Imperial Shipping Committee.

Sir Campbell Stuart, K.B.E., Chairman of the Imperial Communications Advisory Committee.

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.

Mr. Neville Wright, Chairman of the Executive Council of the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux.

The delegates were attended by advisers, secretaries, and personal staffs, a list of whom is printed in Appendix I.

## SECRETARIAT OF THE CONFERENCE.

Colonel Sir Maurice Hankey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Secretary to the Conference.

Sir Harry Batterbee, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Deputy Secretary to the Conference.

Sir R. B. Howorth, K.C.M.G., C.B., Administrative Secretary to the Conference.

Mr. L. B. Pearson, O.B.E. (Canada).

Mr. F. Strahan, C.V.O., C.B.E. (Commonwealth of Australia).

Mr. C. A. Berendsen, C.M.G. (New Zealand).

Dr. H. D. J. Bodenstein (Union of South Africa).

Mr. W. Christie, M.C. (India).

Mr. J. R. Adlam (Southern Rhodesia).

Mr. P. G. E. Nash (Burma).

The opening and closing plenary meetings of the Conference were held in Queen Anne's room, St. James's Palace. The general direction of the work of the Conference was conducted at meetings of principal delegates held at No. 10 Downing Street, and in the room of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the House of Commons. These meetings were normally attended by the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, and the Secretary of State for India as head of the Indian delegation, accompanied by other delegates and advisers according to the nature of the subjects under discussion. Committees were set up both at the full Conference and at the meetings of principal delegates.

On the motion of the Prime Minister of Canada, seconded by the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was asked to take the chair at the meetings of the Conference and of the principal delegates.

Mr. Baldwin, as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, accordingly presided at the opening plenary meeting of the Conference and at meetings of the principal delegates up to the 27th May, the last occasion on which the delegates met before Mr. Baldwin retired from office. On the conclusion of the meeting on that day the Dominion Prime Ministers and Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, on behalf of the Indian delegation, expressed their great regret that that was the last occasion on which Mr. Baldwin would preside over the Imperial Conference. References were made to the great part which he had played in the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926, and the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan conveyed to him the good wishes of the delegations. Regret was also expressed at the retirement of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who had presided over the 1930 conference.

Subsequent meetings of the principal delegates and the final plenary session of the Conference were presided over by Mr. Neville Chamberlain. At the meeting of the principal delegates on the 31st May Mr. Chamberlain was congratulated on his assumption of office as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and welcomed, as Chairman of the Imperial Conference during its remaining stages, by the Dominion Prime Ministers and Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan.

## II. THE CORONATION.

The Conference met on the morrow of the Coronation of a new Sovereign. In the speeches at the opening plenary meeting of the Conference on the 14th May reference was made to the lasting character of the foundations of the British Commonwealth of Nations as laid down at the Imperial Conference of 1926, and the delegates declared their faith in the principles of liberty and co-operation under the Crown as the inspiration of the Commonwealth relationship and as the guiding principles of all their deliberations. There was general recognition of the significance of the Coronation ceremony, and it was noted that, as a result of communication between the Governments concerned, the forms of the Coronation service had been adapted to accord with the new constitutional relationships. Reference was made in particular to the significance of the changes in the Coronation oath, the first paragraph of which as taken by King George VI reads:—

“ Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the peoples of Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, of your possessions and other territories to any of them belonging or pertaining, and of your Empire of India, according to their respective laws and customs? ”

The position may be summed up in the words of Mr. Mackenzie King—

“ . . . Continuity through change; progress through development of proved courses and innate tendencies; permanence and flexibility, are the distinctive mark of the political institutions which are our common heritage.

“ The great occasion which has given this week its colour and its imperishable place in our memories has appropriately illustrated this quality of British institutions. Those who participated in the Coronation of the King and Queen—and thanks to the inventions of the years that have passed since the last Coronation, it may truly be said that all the King’s peoples everywhere took part—must have been impressed by the blending of tradition and adaptability to new needs and new occasions which characterized that impressive service. It was marked by the continuing use of ritual and words and symbols which were ancient when the New World lands represented here were undiscovered and unknown, but it was marked also by the recognition of new political facts and constitutional relationships brought into being by the change and growth of the past generation and recorded in the Imperial Conferences of recent years.

“ Particularly significant was the new form of the oath by which the King solemnly declared the sense in which he has accepted the Crown. For the first time South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada are expressly named. His Majesty thus records that sovereignty is to be exercised in the interest of the peoples of Canada, and the other countries set forth, according to their own laws and customs. For the first time in this great ceremony it was recognized that the relationship between the King and his people of Canada is direct and immediate. The oath has long embodied the principles upon which our system of democratic governance is built. It now recognizes that the relationships of the several peoples under the Crown, one with another, as well as with foreign states, have become interpenetrated by the ancient principles of freedom and the rule of law. Thus it may be said that the new oath, preserving the old and finding place for the new, embodies in simple fashion our political faith and mirrors the structure of this group of free, equal, and autonomous States known as the British Commonwealth of Nations.”

## III. MESSAGE TO THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND QUEEN AND HIS MAJESTY’S REPLY.

At the first plenary meeting, and as the first official act of the Conference, a message of greeting to Their Majesties the King and Queen was moved by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, seconded by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, and passed unanimously by the Conference.

In moving the message Mr. Baldwin referred to the fact that it was the first occasion on which an Imperial Conference had met in a Royal Palace, and expressed the gratitude of the Conference to His Majesty for permitting the use of St. James’s Palace for the purpose.

The terms of the message were:—

“The Prime Ministers and other representatives of the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations, assembled in Conference in London, at their first meeting, and as their first official act, desire to present their respectful duty to the King, and to offer to Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen their tribute of loyal devotion.

“They pray that Your Majesties’ reign, which has been inaugurated so auspiciously by the Coronation ceremony celebrated two days ago, may be happy and prosperous, and that under Divine Providence Your Majesties may long be spared to strengthen the ties of affection and loyalty which unite all the peoples of the British Commonwealth under the Crown.”

The following gracious reply, signed by His Majesty, was received during the meeting and was read to the Conference by the Chairman:—

“I sincerely thank the Prime Ministers and other representatives of the British Commonwealth of Nations for the message of loyalty and devotion which they have addressed to the Queen and myself on the opening of the first Imperial Conference of my Reign.

“It is very fitting that the solemn ceremony of Wednesday last should be succeeded immediately by your deliberations. I shall follow them with the greatest interest, in the confident hope that they will advance the happiness and prosperity of all my peoples.

“(Signed) GEORGE, R.I.”

#### IV. OPENING STATEMENTS.

At the opening plenary meeting on the 14th May statements were made by the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, and by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda on behalf of the Indian delegation.

In the course of these statements tributes were paid to the memory of His late Majesty King George V.

Short statements were also made by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and by the Chief Minister of Burma.

The statements were published in full immediately after the conclusion of the meeting and are reproduced in Appendix II hereto.

#### V. ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE.

At the opening plenary meeting of the Conference it was agreed that the following subjects should be discussed, at any rate in the first instance, at meetings of principal delegates:—

- (1) Foreign affairs.
- (2) Defence.
- (3) General review of the progress of Empire trade.
- (4) Colonial affairs.

It was also agreed that the following questions should be referred to Committees:—

- (1) General questions arising in connection with shipping policy, including a review of the work of the Imperial Shipping Committee.
- (2) Civil air communications.
- (3) Certain economic questions—viz., the work of the Imperial Economic Committee and a proposal for the establishment of an Empire Agricultural Council.

At the first meeting of principal delegates it was agreed that a Committee on Constitutional Questions should also be appointed to deal with certain matters which had been raised by His Majesty’s Government in the Union of South Africa and which had formed the subject of preliminary and informal discussions between advisers prior to the opening of the Conference.

It was also agreed subsequently that a Committee should be appointed to consider questions of mutual interest in the supply and production of munitions and food supplies.

## VI. PUBLICITY ARRANGEMENTS.

It was agreed that, as at previous Conferences in London, the publicity arrangements should be under the general supervision of a United Kingdom Minister, and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, was asked to undertake this responsibility. The Marquess of Hartington, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, was in actual charge of the arrangements and was assisted in this work by the press liaison officers associated with the delegations.

At the conclusion of the meetings the Conference thanked those responsible for the valuable help they had given.

## VII. HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY.

On 9th June the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom submitted to His Majesty The King the following message on behalf of the Imperial Conference:—

“On this day on which Your Majesty's birthday is being celebrated the representatives of the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations assembled together in Conference, desire me, on their behalf, to tender to Your Majesty their respectful and loyal greetings.

“They earnestly trust that Your Majesty's reign, so happily begun, may be long, peaceful, and prosperous for Your Majesty and for all your peoples.”

To this message His Majesty was pleased to send the following reply:—

“The Chairman of the Imperial Conference.

“I am greatly touched by the kind thought of the Representatives of the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations in sending me a message of loyal greetings on the day that my birthday is being celebrated.

“I thank them most heartily and would like to assure them how deeply I appreciate their good wishes for the future.

“(Signed) GEORGE, R.I.”

## VIII. DEATH OF SIR ROBERT BORDEN.

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden, G.C.M.G., K.C., Prime Minister of Canada from 1911 to 1920, died on 10th June. The following resolution was passed at the meeting of principal delegates on that day:—

“The members of the Imperial Conference desire to put on record their sincere regret on hearing of the death of Sir Robert Borden. They recall especially Sir Robert's valuable work at the Imperial War Cabinets and Conferences of 1917 and 1918 and his great contribution to the constitutional development of the British Commonwealth.

“They wish to express their deep sympathy to Lady Borden.”

## IX. FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

At the plenary meeting of the Imperial Conference on 14th May, the Chairman made the following statement in the course of his opening speech:—

“Though we shall discuss other important subjects, we are agreed that questions of foreign affairs and defence shall be our main subjects. It is fitting that they should be. For we are met at a time when the international situation is difficult and even threatening, and the responsibility rests upon us to see that our deliberations not only are of service to ourselves, but also may help in some measure towards the solution of those international problems which are now perplexing the world.”

Similar views were expressed by other speakers, and, as indicated in Section V above, it was then agreed at this plenary meeting that questions of foreign affairs should be discussed at meetings of principal delegates. A series of meetings, of which the first took place on the 19th May, was devoted to the consideration of various aspects of foreign affairs under the heads of the general international situation, including the League of Nations, the European situation, and the Pacific and the Far East.

On behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made comprehensive statements under all these heads. He also kept the Conference informed of the current international situation. Statements as to the views of their respective Governments were made by the Prime Ministers of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, and by the Marquess of Zetland on behalf of the Indian Delegation. General appreciation of all these reviews was expressed. The statements on behalf of the delegations were followed by full and frank discussion, and it was agreed that the exchange of views, especially at the present juncture of international affairs, was of great value to the representatives gathered at the Conference. During the discussions emphasis was laid on the importance of developing the practice of communication and consultation between the respective Governments as a help to the co-ordination of policies.

The Conference recorded the results of its deliberations on the subject of foreign affairs in the following statement:—

“The representatives of the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations gathered in the Conference, have in the course of their proceedings had an opportunity of exchanging views upon foreign affairs and the international situation as it affects their respective interests and responsibilities.”

While no attempt was made to formulate commitments, which in any event could not be made effective until approved and confirmed by the respective Parliaments, the representatives of the Governments concerned found themselves in close agreement upon a number of general propositions, which they thought it desirable to set out in the present statement.\*

Thus they agreed that for each member of the Commonwealth the first objective is the preservation of peace. In their view the settlement of differences that may arise between nations and the adjustment of national needs should be sought by methods of co-operation, joint inquiry, and conciliation. It is in such methods, and not in recourse to the use of force between nation and nation, that the surest guarantee will be found for the improvement of international relations and respect for mutual engagements.

Holding these views and desiring to base their policies upon the aims and ideals of the League of Nations, they found themselves unanimous in declaring that their respective armaments will never be used for purposes of aggression or for any purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris. At the same time, being impressed with the desirability of strengthening the influence of the League by the enlargement of its membership, they united in expressing the view that this object would be facilitated by the separation of the Covenant from the Treaties of Peace. Observing that in respect of certain regions in which a number of States have special interests, regional agreements of friendship and collaboration between individual members of the British Commonwealth and the other States so interested have been entered upon or may be contemplated, they welcomed all such agreements in so far as they can be made to contribute to the cause of peace, and do not conflict with the Covenant of the League of Nations.

They noted with interest the statement made on behalf of the Australian delegation at the opening plenary meeting that Australia would greatly welcome a regional understanding and pact of non-aggression by the countries of the Pacific, and would be prepared to collaborate to that end with all the peoples of the Pacific region in a spirit of understanding and sympathy. They agreed that if such an arrangement could be made it would be a desirable contribution to the cause of peace and to the continued maintenance of friendly relations in the Pacific, and that it should be the subject of further consultation between Governments.

They all desired earnestly to see as wide a measure of disarmament as could be obtained. At the same time they were agreed that the several Governments of which they are the representatives are bound to adopt such measures of defence as they may deem essential for their security, as well as for the fulfilment of such international obligations as they may respectively have assumed.

\* It was understood and agreed that nothing in this statement should be held to diminish the right of His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, and the Government of India to advocate and support their statements of policy as submitted to the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1936.



Being convinced that the influence of each of them in the cause of peace was likely to be greatly enhanced by their common agreement to use that influence in the same direction, they declared their intention of continuing to consult and co-operate with one another in this vital interest and all other matters of common concern.

The representatives of the several Governments concerned further had under review the possibility of reviving confidence and increasing the stability of economic and financial conditions in the world, a process which they considered essential to the prosperity of individual countries as well as to international peace. In order to assist in furthering this end they declared themselves ready to co-operate with other nations in examining current difficulties, including trade barriers and other obstacles to the increase of international trade and the improvement of the general standard of living.

Finally, the members of the Conference, while themselves firmly attached to the principles of democracy and to parliamentary forms of government, decided to register their view that differences of political creed should be no obstacle to friendly relations between Governments and countries, and that nothing would be more damaging to the hopes of international appeasement than the division, real or apparent, of the world into opposing groups.

#### **X. DEFENCE.**

The Conference gave close attention to the subject of defence, and considered ways in which it would be possible for the Governments concerned to co-operate in measures for their own security. The occasion was taken for a detailed review of the state of defence in each of the countries represented at the Conference, and this opportunity was generally welcomed.

The discussions began with a review of the events which led up to the adoption by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of their rearmament programme, and of defence problems generally. The members of the Conference noted with deep concern that since the session of 1930 international tension had increased in a marked degree, and that there had been a large and rapid increase in the armaments of all the principal Powers. They were impressed by the world-wide effect of these increased armaments on the international situation and on the financial and economic position of the nations concerned, and, while their respective Parliaments had already recognized the necessity for taking measures to put their defences in order, they thought it of the highest importance that negotiations for the limitation of armaments should be reopened whenever there was a reasonable prospect of success. They recognized with regret that, notwithstanding the measure of success in the limitation of armaments attained by the countries concerned in the London Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments of 25th March, 1936, and in the Anglo-German Agreement of 18th June, 1935, international conditions were not at the moment favourable to further progress in the direction of disarmament. At the same time, however, they acclaimed the efforts now being made to extend naval limitation to other countries.

The statements made to the Conference by the delegation of the United Kingdom concerning the rearmament programme of the United Kingdom reported the further developments in the organization of the Committee of Imperial Defence, notably in improving the arrangements for joint planning between the three Defence services and for the mobilization of industry. Facilities are always given to Dominion representatives to attend meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defence, if they so desire, when questions of defence affecting their respective countries are under consideration. Attention was also drawn to the important progress made in recent years in the standardization by the Governments concerned of the training and equipment of the defence forces in different parts of the Empire, as well as in uniformity of administrative practice in defence matters. Reference was made to the increasing importance of the industrial side of defence owing to the progress of technical development in armaments, and emphasis was placed on the advantages attending co-operation in the production and supply of munitions

and raw materials as well as of food and feeding stuffs to meet the several requirements of the United Kingdom, the Dominions and India, and the Colonial Empire.

The discussion was continued by the delegations representing the Dominions and India. The Conference was informed of the developments in the Canadian defence forces from 1926 to the present time. After considerable reductions in 1931 increased appropriations had recently been made for the defence services of the Dominion. The strength of the Canadian naval and air forces had been increased, the militia had been completely reorganized, and a policy of modernization and mechanization of equipment had been adopted. The industrial aspect of defence preparations had received close attention, and a Committee of the Cabinet had been appointed to maintain active supervision of defence problems.

The defence organization of the Commonwealth of Australia next received consideration. The basis of Australian defence policy was described as participation in Empire naval defence for the protection of sea-borne trade, as a deterrent to invasion and as a general measure of defence against raids, combined with local defence to provide a further deterrent to and a defence against invasion and raids. The great importance from the Australian point of view on the Singapore base was noticed. The Conference was informed of the large increases in the defence votes in Australia under a three years' programme commenced in 1934 and that a new four years' programme overlapping the last year of the other programme had been put in hand. It was stated that the guiding principles of the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926 had been adopted by His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia as the basis of its policy and the main features of the programmes that sought to implement them were as follows:—

- (i) *Naval principles providing for the maintenance of adequate naval strength, and the provision of naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel.*

The construction of a new cruiser and two new sloops.

The rearmament of the fixed defences and provision of air co-operation.

Facilities for naval repairs and oil storage.

- (ii) *Responsibility for local defence.*

In addition to strengthening the fixed defences of the important ports, the Australian Government had recently provided a special increase in the Army vote to bring the Field Army of seven divisions up to its minimum nucleus establishment. The strength of the permanent forces was also being increased, and improvements were being effected in the efficiency, armament, and equipment of the Army.

The Air Force would complete this year Part I of the scheme laid down by Sir John Salmond, and have a first line strength of eight squadrons and 96 aircraft.

The building-up of the munitions supply organization had reached the stage that the Government factories had developed the capacity for the production of the various types of the ordinary requirements of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and these resources were being further expanded. A survey of civil industry was also being carried out to determine the possibilities of capacity for production, and to prepare plans for mobilizing its resources in an emergency.

The Government had recently arranged for the establishment of the aircraft industry on a sound basis, and this would be an important adjunct to defence.

As affecting the whole field of defence, great importance was attached by the Australian delegation to the development of co-operation in defence matters between the several parts of the British Commonwealth.

The Conference was informed that His Majesty's Government in New Zealand also attached the greatest importance to close co-operation in defence matters. The Government were anxious to make sure that expenditure on the three Services was

properly balanced and laid out so as best to enable the New Zealand forces to act in the most efficient way possible not only in the local defence of their country, but also in Commonwealth defence in co-operation with the forces of other countries of the Commonwealth. In this connection great importance was attached to the Singapore base.

With regard to the Union of South Africa, it was recalled that matters of principle had been discussed and agreed between the Union Minister for Defence, Mr. Pirow, and United Kingdom Ministers during the visit of Mr. Pirow to London in 1936. South African expenditure on defence had recently been greatly increased, being in the last year nearly three times as much as in 1932-33. An important feature of South African defence organization was the preparation in peace-time of the industrial resources of the Union to meet possible military requirements in the event of war.

The Conference was informed that the Defence Forces of India are designed primarily to meet a possible attack on the North-West Frontier and to cope with the ever-present problem of dealing with the tribesmen in that region, in addition to maintaining internal law and order. It was recognized that the Army in India is fully equipped for these purposes and constitutes a force which is as well prepared as any other to take the field if the occasion arises.

The Conference took note of the measures, recently adopted by the various countries represented at the Conference, often at a heavy cost, and recognized that the increased programmes of armaments were no more than sufficient for the defence of their territories and trade and the fulfilment of such obligations as each might have assumed.

The Conference recognized the vital importance of measures to safeguard maritime communications, including routes and waterways essential to defence and trade, and to provide naval bases and facilities for repairs and fuelling of ships.

The Conference accordingly was glad to be informed that steps have been taken with these ends in view and, in particular, that substantial progress has been made towards the completion of the naval base at Singapore and its defences, with the aid of the generous financial assistance received from various parts of the Empire.

With regard to land forces, the Conference observed the various duties which the Regular Forces of the United Kingdom and India have performed in protecting British interests and the frequency of the occasions on which it has been necessary to despatch reinforcements to several parts of the world.

The Conference heard with satisfaction of the important steps taken by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for the maintenance of a Home Defence Air Force of sufficient strength to afford adequate protection against attack by the strongest air force which may be at any time within striking distance of the shores of the United Kingdom. In this connection the Conference took note of the extensive preparations that are being made by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in the spheres of both active and passive defence against air invasion.

The Conference also recorded the progress made by the several Governments in creating and maintaining an adequate chain of air bases and refuelling stations along the lines of communications between the different parts of the Empire.

The Conference noted with satisfaction that, in accordance with recommendations of previous Conferences, a common system of organization and training and the use of uniform manuals, patterns of arms, equipment, and stores had been adopted, as far as practicable, for the naval, military, and air forces of their several countries. Each of them would thus be enabled to ensure more effectively its own security and, if it so desired, to co-operate with countries of the Commonwealth with the least possible delay. The interchange of individual officers of the naval, military, and air forces of the countries was recognized as conducing to the dissemination of the experience acquired by the officers concerned under the

widely different conditions existing in various parts of the Empire. Defence Councils or Committees have been established in the Dominions. Considerable advantage has been taken by the Governments represented at the Conference of the facilities afforded by the Imperial Defence College in London for the education of officers in the broader aspects of strategy.

The Conference gave careful attention to the question of munitions and supplies required for defence both by the United Kingdom and other parts of the Commonwealth, and also to the question of the supply of food and feeding stuffs in time of emergency. The Conference was impressed with the value of the free interchange of detailed technical information and recommended that it should be continued between the technical officers of the Governments concerned, it being understood that any questions of policy arising in connection with any such technical exchange and discussion would be submitted to the respective Governments for decision and that each Government reserved to itself complete freedom of decision and action.

In the course of the discussions, the Conference found general agreement among its members that the security of each of their countries can be increased by co-operation in such matters as the free interchange of information concerning the state of their naval, military, and air forces, the continuance of the arrangements already initiated by some of them for concerting the scale of the defence of ports, and measures for co-operation in the defence of communications and other common interests. At the same time the Conference recognized that it is the sole responsibility of the several Parliaments of the British Commonwealth to decide the nature and scope of their own defence policy.

#### **XI. GENERAL REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF EMPIRE TRADE AND ALLIED QUESTIONS.**

A meeting of the principal delegates was held on the 27th May to discuss the main economic item on the agenda of the Conference—namely, “General Review of the Progress of Empire Trade and questions arising therefrom.” It had been agreed that questions arising out of the Ottawa agreements could best be dealt with as occasion offered in separate discussions between the individual Governments concerned and apart from the Conference, and there was accordingly no discussion on matters of detail affecting trade between the different parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The meeting, however, afforded a valuable opportunity for an interchange of views between the representatives of His Majesty’s Governments on economic questions of general concern.

Mr. Runciman opened the discussion with a comprehensive statement on trade questions. After referring briefly to the development of Empire trade since the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932 he outlined the steps which had been taken by His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom since that date in pursuit of their policy to take whatever action was open to them to assist in the removal of barriers to international trade.

This statement was followed by a general discussion, in which representatives of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, and the United Kingdom took part.

In the course of the proceedings suggestions were made by the New Zealand delegation as to possible means of ensuring the regulated expansion of production and marketing in necessary foodstuffs and other commodities.

Note was taken of a number of recent encouraging developments in the economic sphere; the declaration of September, 1936, which the Governments of the United Kingdom, France, and the United States of America made in connection with the devaluation of the franc and, in particular, the statement of these Governments that they “attached the greatest importance to action being taken without delay to relax progressively the present system of quotas and exchange controls with a view to their abolition”; the informal investigation which the

Belgian Prime Minister had been invited by the United Kingdom and French Governments to undertake as to the possibility of securing relaxations of quotas and other obstacles to international trade; and the steps taken by the United States Government in this connection. It was hoped that every effort that would tend towards the promotion of international trade would be maintained and encouraged.

The outstanding feature of the discussion was the emphatic desire expressed by the representatives of every part of the British Commonwealth represented at the Conference that all practicable steps should be taken to secure the stimulation of international trade: It was recognized that in the last resort the prosperity of the countries of the Commonwealth depends on that of the world as a whole and that a healthy growth of international trade, accompanied by an improvement in the general standard of living, is an essential step to political appeasement.

Further reference to the international aspect of these problems is also made under Section IX above.

## **XII. COLONIAL AFFAIRS.**

On the 31st May, the Secretary of State for the Colonies made a statement to the Conference reviewing the affairs of the Colonial Empire during recent years.

Mr. Ormsby Gore dealt first with the economic progress of the Colonial Empire. He laid stress on the fact that, generally speaking, trade between the Colonial Empire and the rest of the British Commonwealth was complementary and not competitive. As an instance of this, he referred to the increasing trade between Canada and the British West Indies, and expressed the hope that the Canadian - West Indies trade agreement would be renewed when the present period of its operation expired.

He considered that the main political problem which confronted the Colonial Office was still the relationship between Natives and non-Natives, both European and Asiatic, in many territories, following the growth of education and the awakening of political consciousness. He also made reference, in particular, to the present difficulties in Palestine, where the two opposing elements had become increasingly hostile to each other and critical of the administration, which had the unenviable task of trying to be fair and just to both sides.

Mr. Ormsby Gore referred to the machinery which had been established in the Dominions for the recruitment of personnel for the various colonial Services, and expressed the hope that the number of young Dominion applicants for appointment would continue to increase. He also mentioned the invaluable work performed by the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad in connection with the training of future colonial officers in agriculture, which was the basis of the prosperity of the Colonial Empire.

Mr. Ormsby Gore's review was welcomed by the delegates generally. Mr. Dunning, in reference to the Canadian - West Indies trade agreement, observed that while he was by no means pessimistic about the possibility of concluding a fresh agreement which might be mutually satisfactory to both parties, he feared that some difficulties would have to be overcome.

Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan referred to the great interest taken in India in the future of Palestine, and stressed the urgency for an equitable solution of the problem. He also alluded to the varying position of Indians in different territories of the Colonial Empire. Mr. Ormsby Gore briefly reviewed the conditions of the Indian communities in various colonial territories and expressed his willingness to discuss with Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan the questions which had been raised by him.

## **XIII. WORK OF THE IMPERIAL WAR GRAVES COMMISSION.**

The Conference considered a memorandum from His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, President of the Imperial War Graves Commission, communicating to the Conference a report on the work of the Commission during the twenty years which have elapsed since its establishment in 1917, on the recommendation of the Imperial War Conference of that year, and decided to

place on record its warm appreciation of the work which had been accomplished and of the manner in which the Commission had discharged and was continuing to discharge the duties entrusted to it.

The Conference desired that, in view of the wide interest that was taken in this work, the Imperial War Graves Commission should make arrangements for the report to be published.

#### XIV. CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

Certain constitutional questions which had been raised by His Majesty's Government in the Union of South Africa were considered by a Committee on Constitutional Questions under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. E. Lapointe, K.C., M.P., Minister of Justice, Canada. Questions as to the nationality of married women, which had been raised by His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia, were referred to the same committee.

The committee presented the following report, which was adopted by the Conference:—

##### (i) NATIONALITY.

The committee considered certain questions which had been raised in regard to the relationship between the common status possessed by subjects of His Majesty and the particular status of membership of any one of the individual communities forming the British Commonwealth of Nations. This subject was dealt with in paragraphs 73 to 79 of the report of the Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation, 1929, and Section VI (b) of the Summary of Proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1930, and it was then contemplated that further consultation should take place with a view to arriving at a settlement of the problems involved.

In the course of the discussions at the present conference it was in no way suggested that any change should be made in the existing position regarding the common status based on the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of the United Kingdom and the corresponding enactments in other parts of the British Commonwealth. This common status is described by the term "British subject." The term does not, of course, mean a "subject of Great Britain." It is one of long standing as denoting generally all subjects of His Majesty, to whatever part of the British Commonwealth they belong.

Attention was drawn to the fact, as indicated in the report of 1929 above referred to, that British subjects not only have this common status, but also, generally speaking, have a particular connection with one or other member of the British Commonwealth. It was pointed out that in the absence of rules for determining the part of the Commonwealth with which any particular person has the connection just referred to, practical difficulties arise, or might arise, with regard to such matters as immigration, deportation, diplomatic action, extra-territorial legislation, and treaty rights and obligations.

The suggestion was made that these difficulties could be overcome if each of the members of the Commonwealth were to undertake to introduce legislation, as some members have already done, defining its nationals or citizens. It was, however, found that some members of the Commonwealth were not disposed to introduce such legislation. In the case of the United Kingdom in particular it was pointed out that the wide differences existing between the large number of separate territories, legal jurisdictions, and races for which the United Kingdom was responsible would render impracticable the adoption of any single classification which would be in any real sense analogous to that expressed by the terms "national" or "citizen" or "member of the community" in the case of other members of the Commonwealth. Moreover, it is the practice of the United Kingdom to make no distinction between different classes of British subjects as regards the grant of civil and political rights or the right of entry into and residence in the United Kingdom, and the paragraphs which follow must be read in the light of this position so far as the United Kingdom is concerned.

It should also be mentioned that in foreign countries where there is no separate diplomatic or consular representation of a particular member of the

Commonwealth, the diplomatic and consular representatives of His Majesty, appointed on the advice of the United Kingdom Government, are prepared to afford protection and assistance also to British subjects belonging to that member. No change in this practice is contemplated or desired; and it may well be that the diplomatic and consular representatives appointed on the advice of the Governments of other parts of the British Commonwealth would be prepared, should occasion arise, to undertake similar duties.

It was thought that a closer examination of the particular difficulties to which attention has been called might be of service with a view to removing points of obscurity, inconvenience or possible misunderstanding.

The questions that arise are seen most clearly in the case of a part of the Commonwealth which has defined membership of its community in terms of distinct nationality, and that was the case first considered. But it was recognized that to a greater or less extent members of the Commonwealth, whether or not they have given legislative definition to such a concept, do distinguish for some practical purposes between British subjects in general and those British subjects whom they regard as being members of their own respective communities. When the question arises, for example, whether a person has a right to enter a particular part of the Commonwealth or can be excluded as an immigrant, when a particular part of the Commonwealth has to decide whether or not to accept the responsibility for admitting a person on deportation from abroad, when the question is whether or not a person is liable in some part of the Commonwealth to be deported—in all these cases (apart from the special position in the United Kingdom referred to above) the deciding factor will not be whether the person is a British subject, but whether or not, being a British subject, he is regarded by virtue of birth or residence, or otherwise, as a member of the community in the territory concerned. When, therefore, persons are described in the following paragraphs as “members of the community” of a particular member of the Commonwealth, the phrase is intended to have a rather technical meaning, as denoting a person whom that member of the Commonwealth has, either by legislative definition of its nationals or citizens or otherwise, decided to regard as “belonging” to it for the purposes of civil and political rights and duties, immigration, deportation, diplomatic representation, or the exercise of extra-territorial jurisdiction.

In the light of these considerations the following are the conclusions which have been reached:—

1. It is for each member of the British Commonwealth to decide which persons have with it that definite connection, envisaged by paragraph 73 of the Report on the Operation of Dominion Legislation, 1929, which would enable it to recognize them as members of its community. It is desirable, however, to secure as far as possible uniformity in principle in the determination by each member of the Commonwealth, of the persons, being British subjects, to be regarded as members of its community, and to avoid, as far as possible, the inconveniences which might arise if a particular person were to belong, at the same time, to two or more members of the British Commonwealth. These objectives could be secured upon the following basis:—

(1) Each member of the Commonwealth would in the normal course include as members of its community—

(a) Persons who were born in, or became British subjects by naturalization in, or as a result of the annexation of, its territory and still reside there; and

(b) Persons who, coming as British subjects from other parts of the Commonwealth, have identified themselves with the community to which they have come.

As regards those mentioned under (b), it is for each member to prescribe the conditions under which any British subject coming from another part of the Commonwealth will be considered to have so identified himself with the new community to which he has resorted as to become a member thereof.

- (2) Although it would seem that no question could arise as between members of the British Commonwealth in the case of those referred to in subparagraph (1) (a) above, it is recognized that in the case of a migrant, referred to in subparagraph (1) (b) above, the member from which he came might wish to declare an interest in the conditions under which the member to which he went might claim to be entitled to regard him as a member of its community. It is also desirable to avoid laws or rules as to acquisition or loss of such membership which might lead to overlapping. As time has not allowed consideration to be given to the different criteria which a member might desire to impose, it is recommended that any member contemplating passing a law on the membership of its community, should submit its proposals to the other members of the Commonwealth, so as to enable them to offer observations thereon, if they feel so inclined.

The object of this consultation would be to ensure agreement, so that other members would not thereafter raise any objection to the consequences which would follow from the proposed action.

Speaking generally, it seems unlikely that any member would wish to make any reservations with regard to provisions which were based either on some formal act such as an application or declaration by the individual migrant indicating his wish to identify himself with the member to which he had migrated, or on a substantial period of residence, though in this latter case exception might be made for cases in which the residence, though long, was due to some cause such as a special but terminable post or employment, and not to any wish of the individual to identify himself with the community.

- (3) In the event of a member desiring to pass new or amending legislation dealing with nationality or citizenship, it might be faced with the problem of how to deal with those British subjects not born in, but at the moment residing in, its territory. One solution of this problem would be to provide for the inclusion of all such persons, coupled with the right of those not wishing to become nationals or citizens to opt out. If our recommendation as to consultation is adopted, each member would have an opportunity of commenting, if it so desired, on the actual proposals so far as they might affect members of its community.

2. Those members of the Commonwealth which do not desire to proceed to a definition by legislation of the requirements for membership of their communities will consider giving effect administratively, in accepting responsibility for particular persons, to the principles contained in the foregoing paragraphs, subject, of course, to the provisions of any law which may, from time to time, be in force. They may also find it expedient to give effect to some of the implications thereof by legislation without the necessity of resorting to a definition of the members of their communities.

#### (ii) TREATY PROCEDURE.

As regards the nature and effect of the participation of members of the British Commonwealth in a multilateral treaty, it was recognized:—

- (1) That each member takes part in a multilateral treaty as an individual entity, and, in the absence of express provision in the treaty to the contrary, is in no way responsible for the obligations undertaken by any other member; and
- (2) That the form agreed upon for such treaties at the Imperial Conference of 1926 accords with this position.



## (iii) NATIONALITY OF MARRIED WOMEN.

The committee took note of the reference to the subject of the nationality of married women contained in paragraph VI (c) of the Summary of Proceedings of the Imperial Conference of 1930. In that paragraph it was stated that all the members of the British Commonwealth represented at the Hague Conference of 1930 signed the Nationality Convention there concluded. Since 1930 legislation on the lines recommended in the Hague Convention has been passed in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and New Zealand, and the introduction of similar legislation in the Union of South Africa is contemplated.

The Australian and New Zealand delegations, in opening the discussion, called attention to the further legislation recently passed in the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand which does not affect the common status of British subjects, but under which a woman who prior to her marriage was a British subject but ceased to be a British subject by reason of her marriage to an alien may retain within the Commonwealth of Australia or New Zealand respectively the political and other rights and liabilities of a British subject.

A full discussion took place on the various aspects of the whole question, including:—

- (a) The enactment of legislation to provide that the nationality of married women should not necessarily be dependent on that of their husbands;
- (b) The possibility of securing reciprocal arrangements on the basis of the general adoption of legislation on the lines of the Australian and New Zealand legislation referred to in the second paragraph of this part of this report; and
- (c) The state of the law in countries outside the British Commonwealth.

It was not found possible to arrive at an agreement in favour of any change in the existing law. While, therefore, the committee was unable to put forward any recommendations, it was assumed that the matter would be the subject of further consideration by and consultation between the respective Governments.

**XV. CIVIL AVIATION.**

Questions concerning civil air communications were referred to a committee under the chairmanship of the Hon. Sir Archdale Parkhill, K.C.M.G., M.P., Minister for Defence, Commonwealth of Australia.

The committee discussed the prospect of establishing a British Commonwealth chain of air communications interconnecting all parts of the Empire, and the methods of co-operation which might be adopted by members of the British Commonwealth with this aim in view.

The committee arranged that the proposed air services across the Tasman Sea and Pacific Ocean should be discussed by representatives of the delegations concerned.

On the recommendation of the committee, the Conference adopted the following resolution:—

“(i) Appreciating the many benefits, direct and indirect, immediate and potential, to be secured by nations possessing substantial and extensive civil aviation enterprises, the Conference is unanimous in its approval of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations pursuing a vigorous policy in regard to their air services, embracing expansion within each of their territories and interconnection between members:

“(ii) In order to promote arrangements whereby air lines of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations will link them together, the Conference affirms the willingness of the countries represented to co-operate with each other to the greatest possible extent:

“(iii) In emphasizing the importance of continued co-operation in the development of air services connecting the territories of the various members, the Conference recognizes that the most effective method of co-operation and efficient organization can best be settled by the Governments concerned in each particular

case as it arises, but any method should recognize, where desired by a Government, local control not only over services operating within its own territory, but also, by agreement with the other Governments concerned, in adjacent areas in which it is particularly interested:

“(iv) It is agreed that, whenever an application received by one member for facilities for foreign air services is likely to affect another member, there should be consultation between the respective Governments concerned before facilities are granted; and if an agreement has been reached between the Commonwealth Governments concerned as to the service to be required in return for such facilities, the Commonwealth Government to whom the foreign application has been made will use its best endeavours to secure the reciprocal facilities agreed upon:

“(v) The Conference notes with approval the practice followed by nations of the Commonwealth whereby, when operational rights are granted to a foreign air line, the concession expressly provides for reciprocal rights as and when desired; and suggests for consideration the desirability of including in such concessions a general safeguard of the right of the Government, at its option, to take over the ground organization within its territory on suitable terms.”

### XVI. SHIPPING.

General questions arising in connection with shipping policy, including the work of the Imperial Shipping Committee, were referred to a committee on shipping questions under the chairmanship of the Hon. Walter Nash, M.P., Minister of Finance, New Zealand.

The Committee reviewed the position regarding British shipping (by which is meant all shipping registered as British wherever the registration be effected) in relation to the needs of the several parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and realized that the maintenance of adequate British shipping is a matter of common concern to the countries of the Commonwealth.

The committee also noted that certain forms and methods of discrimination have latterly been adopted by Governments outside the Commonwealth whereby British shipping in certain areas is seriously prejudiced, if not threatened with entire elimination.

The Committee recommended accordingly that the Conference should reaffirm the declaration relative to overseas shipping of the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923,\* and that in any case in which it may be considered by the Government of one part of the British Commonwealth that undue assistance, to the serious prejudice and danger of British shipping, is being given by any Government outside the British Commonwealth, there should be an opportunity for consultation between the Government of that part of the Commonwealth whose shipping is endangered and the Government of any other part of the Commonwealth concerned, in order to determine the validity of the complaint and the best means of meeting the situation, due regard being had to the interests of the Government of that other part of the Commonwealth.

One case of difficulty, arising out of the competition of subsidized ships running across the Pacific between the United States and New Zealand and Australia is under consideration by the Governments concerned (United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) with a view to maintaining British shipping on this route. This question was referred by the committee to a sub-committee representing the four Governments, which reported that its discussions had not reached finality. The matter will continue to be dealt with by the four Governments in consultation.

\* The declaration reads as follows:—

“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.”

The committee also noted that the Imperial Shipping Committee is at present engaged upon an investigation into the position of British shipping in Middle and Far Eastern waters, having regard to the increased competition of foreign flags.

The committee was informed that additional statistics relating to shipping are now being compiled in the United Kingdom, and each of the Governments represented on the committee expressed willingness in principle to arrange for the provision of similar statistics in respect of their import and export trade.

The Conference approved the report of the committee, and on the recommendation of the committee, adopted the following resolution with regard to the work of the Imperial Shipping Committee:—

“(1) The Conference expresses to Sir Halford Mackinder, Chairman of the Imperial Shipping Committee, and to the members and staff of the committee, its warm thanks for the very valuable work which the committee has done in the interests of the Governments and the commercial communities of the British Commonwealth of Nations:

“(2) The Conference notes that the committee has established itself as a very useful instrument for co-operative examination of the shipping problems of the British Commonwealth, with a tradition of unanimity now extending over seventeen years:

“(3) The Conference is of opinion—

“(a) That it is desirable that the committee should be continued on the present basis, following the general lines proposed by the Imperial Committee on Economic Consultation and Co-operation in 1933, and deriving authority from, and being responsible to, the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference. The Conference would welcome the addition of a representative of Burma to the committee;

“(b) That a sum of £2,000 per annum should continue to be provided for the work of the committee in respect of each year up to and including the year ending 31st March, 1943, and that the cost should be borne by the Governments concerned on the existing basis as recommended by the Imperial Committee on Economic Consultation and Co-operation in 1933, subject to any apportionment of India's present contribution which may be agreed on between India and Burma in the event of Burma desiring representation on the committee.”

## **XVII. COMMITTEE ON CERTAIN ECONOMIC QUESTIONS.**

Questions relating to the work of the Imperial Economic Committee and a proposal for the establishment of an Empire Agricultural Council were referred to a committee on economic questions under the chairmanship of the Hon. N. C. Havenga, M.P., Minister of Finance, Union of South Africa. The following is a summary of the committee's report:—

### **(i) QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE WORK OF THE IMPERIAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.**

The committee considered the progress report, 1933–36, of the Imperial Economic Committee. General appreciation of the work of the Imperial Economic Committee was expressed by all delegations, and the committee recommended that it should continue on the existing basis.

The committee also recommended that if Burma should wish to participate in the future work of the Imperial Economic Committee as a separate country, with one representative, arrangements to this end should be made.

The cost of the Imperial Economic Committee is met from a fund to which the participating Governments contribute on the scale recommended by the Imperial Committee on Economic Consultation and Co-operation, 1933. This fund, since 1st October, 1933, has been £20,000 a year. The Imperial Economic Committee, in a financial statement and forecast for the period 1st April, 1938,

to 31st March, 1943, foresee that the work at present in view would make it desirable to increase the fund to £22,000 a year. The committee recommended that this increase over the five-year period should be approved.

On the committee's recommendation, the Conference adopted the following resolution:—

- “ The Conference desires to place on record its warm appreciation of the valuable work done by the Members and Staff of the Imperial Economic Committee since the last Imperial Conference:
- “ The Conference is glad to note the success which has attended the operations of the committee on the basis of the complete constitutional equality of the participating Governments:
- “ The Conference approves the continuance of the Imperial Economic Committee as at present constituted and would welcome a representative of Burma on the committee:
- “ The Conference approves generally the proposals for the finance of the Imperial Economic Committee set out in the financial statement and forecast prepared by the committee in May, 1937, in respect of the five-year period from the 1st April, 1938, to the 31st March, 1943, and in particular approves that the annual fund of the committee, over this period, to which the several Governments subscribe, should be £22,000.
- “ The Conference approves the continuance of the scale of contributions recommended by the Imperial Committee on Economic Consultation and Co-operation, 1933, and at present in force, subject to any adjustment which may be agreed between India and Burma in the event of Burma desiring representation on the committee.”

(ii) PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EMPIRE AGRICULTURAL COUNCIL.

The proposal by His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia for the establishment of an Empire Agricultural Council was considered and fully discussed. The representatives of the Commonwealth explained that the proposed Council would consist of the Ministers concerned with agriculture in the Governments represented at the Imperial Conference. It would meet as opportunity afforded or occasion required between Imperial Conferences and would be designed to provide more frequent opportunities for joint examination of agricultural questions than are at present afforded by Imperial Conferences and occasional meetings between Ministers. When Ministers could not attend they could be represented by High Commissioners. The Council would be purely advisory and would not require any elaborate organization of a permanent kind.

It was agreed that the Governments of the Empire should aim at the greatest possible measure of co-operation in the examination of problems of common concern. Doubt was expressed, however, by certain representatives whether many of the problems were of a kind which could be best dealt with by an organization such as that proposed. Furthermore, before deciding to set up any new advisory or consultative body, it should be clear that it would not duplicate work which is within the scope of the already existing Inter-Imperial agencies. The constitution of the Imperial Economic Committee, whose terms of reference have been revised by the resolutions of successive Imperial Conferences, seemed, it was considered, to be well qualified to meet most of the functions proposed for the Agricultural Council. Moreover, co-operation in the interchange of information concerning agricultural research is provided by the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux.

The opinion was also expressed that where the need arose for a common consideration of subjects of importance to different Empire countries, which could not be met by existing agencies, the best course would be to appoint *ad hoc* bodies for the purpose.

For these reasons, the committee, while appreciating the motives which inspired the Australian proposal, considered that the establishment of an Empire Agricultural Council is not called for, and recommended accordingly.

The Conference took note of this conclusion.

### XVIII. NEW HEBRIDES.

The position in the New Hebrides was examined by representatives of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in consultation with representatives of His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand.

### XIX. POLAR QUESTIONS.

Representatives of His Majesty's Governments interested in Polar questions met under the chairmanship of the Hon. R. G. Casey, M.P., Treasurer, Commonwealth of Australia, to consider what forms of co-operation could best be pursued in connection with any scientific or economic activities which might be undertaken in the Antarctic. In particular, their attention was directed to the possibilities of co-operation in the following fields:—

- (a) The establishment of meteorological stations in the Antarctic Continent:
- (b) The activities of the R.R.S. "Discovery II" during any voyage which she might be directed by the Discovery Committee of the Colonial Office to make in the waters north of the territories administered by His Majesty's Governments in the Commonwealth of Australia or New Zealand, and generally.

As regards (a), it was recommended that the attention of His Majesty's Governments in the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa should be drawn to certain recommendations made by the Director of the Meteorological Office of the United Kingdom on this subject, and in particular to the suggestion that, in the interests of the accurate forecasting of weather conditions in all parts of the world, there is need for the establishment of one or two permanent meteorological stations in the Antarctic for the accurate recording of daily climatic conditions.

As regards (b), it was hoped that it would be found possible to carry out the twenty months' cruise of the R.R.S. "Discovery II" planned for the present year, and that at an appropriate later date His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would consider, in conjunction with representatives of His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions interested, the programme and policy as to future Antarctic investigation.

It was recommended that—

- (1) In the meantime the Dominions concerned should be kept in as close touch as possible with the work of the Discovery Committee and should for that purpose be invited to appoint representatives from their permanent staffs in London to attend meetings of the Committee.
- (2) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom should explore the possibility of inviting His Majesty's Governments in the Dominions interested to select a few scientific or other workers to accompany the "Discovery II" during her next cruise.

The Conference approved these recommendations.

### XX. CONCLUDING RESOLUTIONS.

At the concluding meeting, the Conference adopted the following resolution:—

"The Imperial Conference desires to express its appreciation of the work which has been accomplished by the Chairman and Members of the Conference committees and sub-committees which have been engaged in the discussion of particular subjects remitted to them.

"The Conference feels that the detailed study of these subjects in committee has been most valuable both in helping forward the work of the Conference and in affording opportunities for close personal contact between those engaged in similar work in various parts of the British Commonwealth."

The Conference also passed the following resolution at its last meeting:—

“ On the termination of the meetings of the Imperial Conference, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues of the United Kingdom delegation desire to express the pleasure which they have derived from the opportunity afforded them by the Coronation and the Conference 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 oversea Governments, desire to record their thanks to the Earl Baldwin of Bewdley and to Mr. Chamberlain for presiding over the business of the Conference, and their gratitude to them and their colleagues for the arrangements which have been made to make their stay in the United Kingdom a pleasant one.

“ The members of the Conference trust that the work which has been accomplished during the past few weeks may prove of lasting benefit to all the countries of the Commonwealth.”

The concluding statements are reproduced in Appendix III.

### **XXI. ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING, EMPEROR OF INDIA.**

The following Address to His Majesty was moved by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the concluding plenary session of the Conference, was seconded by the Prime Minister of Canada, and was unanimously adopted. Mr. Chamberlain, 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 Commonwealth of Nations, who during the last few weeks have been assembled together in Imperial Conference, desire at the conclusion of our labours to express once again on our own behalf and on behalf of the peoples we represent, our loyalty and devotion to Your Majesty.

“ We pray that under Divine Providence Your Majesty and Her Majesty the Queen may long continue to preside over the destinies of the nations of the British Commonwealth and that in that high task Your Majesties, whose Coronation it has been our privilege to attend, may ever find inspiration in the devotion and affection of your loyal subjects which was so strikingly manifested on that happy occasion.”

The following gracious message from His Majesty was received and read by the Chairman at the close of the proceedings:—

“ I sincerely thank the Prime Ministers and representatives of the Governments of the British Commonwealth of Nations for their address to me from the final session of the Imperial Conference. The Queen and I greatly appreciate the generous terms of their message and the good wishes to which it gives expression.

“ I earnestly trust that the happiness and prosperity of my peoples in all parts of the Commonwealth may be enhanced as the result of the deliberations of the Conference. For my part it has given me a very welcome opportunity, which has also been of the utmost value to me, of meeting my Ministers and other representatives of the Empire at the very outset of my reign.

“ The Queen and I wish the members of the Conference God-speed and a safe return to their homes. We hope that they will take back with them the same happy memories as we shall always retain of their visit to this country in our Coronation year.”

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**APPENDIX I.—ADVISERS, SECRETARIES, AND PERSONAL STAFFS.**

## ADVISERS.

## UNITED KINGDOM.

- Sir Warren Fisher, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., Secretary to the Treasury.  
 Sir R. V. N. Hopkins, K.C.B., Second Secretary, Treasury.  
 Sir Frederick Phillips, K.C.M.G., C.B., Under-Secretary, Treasury.  
 Mr. J. A. N. Barlow, C.B., C.B.E., Under-Secretary, Treasury.  
 Sir Thomas Barnes, C.B.E., His Majesty's Procurator-General and Treasury Solicitor.  
 Mr. E. E. Bridges, M.C., Principal Assistant Secretary, Treasury.  
 Mr. E. Hale, Assistant Secretary, Treasury.  
 Sir Frederick W. Leith-Ross, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Chief Economic Adviser to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.  
 Sir Horace J. Wilson, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.B.E., Chief Industrial Adviser to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.  
 Sir Claud Schuster, G.C.B., C.V.O., K.C., Permanent Secretary, Lord Chancellor's Office, and Clerk of the Crown.  
 Sir Oscar Dowson, C.B.E., Legal Adviser, Home Office.  
 Sir Robert Vansittart, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., M.V.O., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office.  
 Sir George Mounsey, K.C.M.G., C.B., O.B.E., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office.  
 Sir William Malkin, G.C.M.G., C.B., K.C., Legal Adviser, Foreign Office.  
 Mr. F. T. A. Ashton-Gwatkin, C.M.G., Counsellor, Foreign Office.  
 Sir Edward Harding, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office.  
 Mr. E. G. Machtig, C.M.G., O.B.E., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office.  
 Mr. C. W. Dixon, C.M.G., O.B.E., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office.  
 Sir Grattan Bushe, K.C.M.G., C.B., Legal Adviser, Dominions Office.  
 Mr. R. A. Wiseman, C.M.G., Assistant Secretary, Dominions Office.  
 Mr. W. Bankes Amery, C.B.E., Principal, Dominions Office.  
 Sir John L. Maffey, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., C.S.I., C.I.E., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.  
 Sir John Campbell, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., O.B.E., Economic and Financial Adviser, Colonial Office.  
 Mr. G. L. M. Clauson, C.M.G., O.B.E., Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office.  
 Mr. R. V. Vernon, C.B., Assistant Secretary, Colonial Office.  
 Admiral of the Fleet Sir A. Ernle M. Chatfield, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.V.O., First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff, Admiralty.  
 Field Marshal Sir Cyril J. Deverell, G.C.B., K.B.E., Chief of the Imperial General Staff, War Office.  
 Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Edward L. Ellington, G.C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., Chief of the Air Staff, Air Ministry.  
 Colonel Sir Donald Banks, K.C.B., D.S.O., M.C., Secretary of the Air Ministry.  
 Sir Francis C. Shelmerdine, C.I.E., O.B.E., Director-General of Civil Aviation, Air Ministry.  
 Sir Horace P. Hamilton, K.C.B., Permanent Secretary, Board of Trade, at the beginning of the Conference.  
 Sir W. B. Brown, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.B.E., Permanent Secretary, Board of Trade, in later stages of the Conference.  
 Mr. A. E. Overton, C.M.G., M.C., Second Secretary, Board of Trade.  
 Mr. L. Browett, C.B., C.B.E., Second Secretary, Board of Trade.  
 Mr. H. L. French, C.B., O.B.E., Director, Food (Defence Plans) Department, Board of Trade.  
 Sir Edward Crowe, K.C.M.G., Comptroller-General, Department of Overseas Trade.  
 Sir Julian Foley, C.B., Under-Secretary, Board of Trade.  
 Mr. W. G. Hynard, C.B.E., Director of Sea Transport, Board of Trade.  
 Mr. W. Carter, C.B.E., Assistant Secretary, Mercantile Marine Department, Board of Trade.  
 Sir J. D. B. Fergusson, K.C.B., Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.  
 Mr. A. W. Street, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., M.C., Second Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.  
 Mr. C. T. Houghton, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

## CANADA.

- Dr. O. D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.  
 Mr. J. E. Read, K.C., Legal Adviser, Department of External Affairs.  
 Mr. Loring C. Christie, Counsellor, Department of External Affairs.  
 Mr. N. A. Robertson, First Secretary, Department of External Affairs.  
 Lieut.-Colonel L. R. La Fleche, D.S.O., Deputy Minister of National Defence.

Major-General E. C. Ashton, C.B., C.M.G., V.D., Chief of the General Staff.  
 Commodore Percy W. Nelles, R.C.N., Chief of the Naval Staff.  
 Air Commodore G. M. Croil, A.F.C., Senior Air Officer, Department of National Defence.  
 Colonel H. D. G. Crerar, D.S.O., Director of Military Operations and Intelligence.  
 Colonel V. I. Smart, Deputy Minister of Transport.  
 Mr. P. T. Coolican, Assistant Deputy Postmaster-General.  
 Mr. H. Beaulieu, Director, Administrative Services, Post Office Department.  
 Mr. Paul Fontaine, K.C., Legal Officer, Department of Justice.

## COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Mr. G. S. Knowles, C.B.E., Solicitor-General.  
 Mr. F. Strahan, C.V.O., C.B.E., Secretary to the Prime Minister's Department.  
 Mr. F. L. McDougall, C.M.G., Economic Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner.  
 Lieut.-Colonel W. R. Hodgson, O.B.E., Secretary, Department of External Affairs.  
 Mr. A. C. Joyce, Assistant Secretary, Treasury.  
 Mr. F. G. Shedden, O.B.E., First Assistant Secretary, Department of Defence.  
 Mr. E. McCarthy, Assistant Secretary to the Department of Commerce.  
 Professor K. H. Bailey, M.A., B.C.L., Professor of Public Law in the University of Melbourne.

## NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. C. A. Berendsen, C.M.G., Permanent Head of Prime Minister's Department.  
 Mr. C. A. Jeffery, C.M.G., Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.  
 Mr. G. C. Rodda, M.B.E., Secretary to the Treasury.  
 Mr. G. McNamara, C.B.E., Director-General of Post and Telegraph Department.  
 Mr. R. M. Campbell, Economic Adviser in London.  
 Sir Cecil Day, C.M.G., C.B.E.,  
 Captain L. V. Morgan, C.B.E., M.V.O., D.S.C., R.N.  
 Colonel E. Puttick, D.S.O., New Zealand Staff Corps.  
 Mr. T. R. Aickin, Personal Secretary to Mr. Nash.  
 Dr. W. B. Sutch.  
 Mr. J. P. D. Johnsen.  
 Mr. G. A. Pascoe.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Major-General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld, K.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., Chief of the General Staff.  
 Dr. H. D. J. Bodenstein, Secretary for External Affairs.  
 Dr. P. R. Viljoen, Secretary for Agriculture.  
 Mr. J. D. Heddon, Commissioner for Customs and Excise.  
 Mr. A. H. Broeksma, K.C., Legal Adviser to the Department of External Affairs.  
 Dr. J. E. Holloway, Economic Adviser to the Treasury.  
 Mr. F. J. du Toit, Trade Commissioner.  
 Dr. A. J. Stals, Member of the Board of Trade, Department of Commerce and Industries.  
 Mr. E. K. Scallan, Political Secretary.  
 Mr. D. G. Malan, Economist.  
 Dr. A. J. Beyleveld, Economist.  
 Mr. J. von Eden, Statistician.

## INDIA.

Sir S. F. Stewart, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., C.S.I., Permanent Under-Secretary of State, India Office.  
 Mr. J. C. Walton, C.B., M.C., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, India Office.  
 General Sir W. H. Bartholomew, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Chief of the General Staff.  
 Major-General Sir R. C. Wilson, K.C.B., D.S.O., M.C., Military Secretary, India Office.  
 Air Marshal Sir E. R. Ludlow-Hewitt, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.C., Air Officer Commanding in India.  
 Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, K.C.I.E.  
 Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., M.L.A.  
 Sir G. R. F. Tottenham, C.S.I., C.I.E.  
 Captain A. G. Maundrell, C.B., C.I.E., R.I.N.  
 Sir D. B. Meek, C.I.E., O.B.E.

## SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Mr. B. F. Wright, Official Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner.  
 Mr. S. M. Symons, Controller of Customs.

## BURMA.

Mr. P. G. E. Nash, I.C.S.



## SECRETARIES AND PERSONAL STAFFS.

## UNITED KINGDOM.

*Secretary to the Delegation.*

Colonel Sir Maurice Hankey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., Secretary to the Cabinet and Committee of Imperial Defence.

Mr. L. F. Burgis, C.M.G., M.V.O. (*Private Secretary*).

*Deputy Secretary.*

Sir Harry Batterbee, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Dominions Office.

*Administrative Secretary.*

Sir R. B. Howarth, K.C.M.G., C.B., Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.

*Administrative Assistant Secretaries.*

Colonel H. L. Ismay, C.B., D.S.O., Deputy Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence.

Mr. J. E. Stephenson, C.V.O., O.B.E., Assistant Secretary, Dominions Office.

Mr. W. D. Wilkinson, D.S.O., M.C., Principal, Cabinet Office.

Mr. N. E. Archer, O.B.E., Principal, Dominions Office.

Major V. Dykes, M.B.E., Assistant Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence.

Mr. N. E. Costar, Assistant Principal, Dominions Office.

*Personal Staffs.*

Mr. O. S. Cleverly, C.V.O., Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Mr. C. G. L. Syers, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Mr. J. H. E. Woods, M.V.O., Principal Private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. W. C. Hankinson, O.B.E., M.C., Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

## CANADA.

Mr. H. R. L. Henry and Mr. Edward A. Pickering, Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister.

Mr. C. W. Jackson, Private Secretary to the Minister of Mines and Resources.

Mr. L. P. Picard, Private Secretary to the Minister of Justice.

Miss L. C. Craig, Private Secretary to the Minister of Finance.

Mr. C. N. Senior, Private Secretary to the Minister of National Defence.

*Secretary to the Delegation.*

Mr. L. B. Pearson, O.B.E., First Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner.

Miss K. A. McCloskey and Miss M. McKenzie, Administrative Secretaries to the Delegation.

## COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

Mr. R. I. Douglas, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister and Press Liaison Officer.

Mr. J. A. Swanson, Assistant Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Mr. A. Stirling (External Affairs Officer in London), Personal Assistant to the High Commissioner.

Mr. F. A. McLaughlin, M.M., Private Secretary to the Minister of Defence.

Mr. W. E. H. Stanner, Private Secretary to the Treasurer.

*Secretary to the Delegation.*

Mr. F. Strahan, C.V.O., C.B.E., Secretary to the Prime Minister's Department.

## NEW ZEALAND.

Mr. T. R. Aickin, Personal Secretary to Mr. Nash.

*Secretary to the Delegation.*

Mr. C. A. Jeffery, C.M.G., Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. McD. Spies, Private Secretary to General Hertzog.

Mr. D. de Bruyn, Private Secretary to Mr. Havenga.

Mr. P. A. Euvrard, Private Secretary to Mr. Fourie.

Mr. W. J. du Plessis, Private Secretary to Senator Clarkson.

Mr. H. Necthling, Private Secretary to the High Commissioner.

Mr. H. D. Uys, Personal Clerk to the Chief of the General Staff.

Miss M. Nielsen.

Miss R. M. Cronje.

Miss A. van der Klashorst.

*Secretary to the Delegation.*

Dr. H. D. J. Bodenstein, Secretary for External Affairs.  
Mr. J. P. V. Visser, Assistant Secretary to the Delegation.

INDIA.

*(a) To Secretary of State.*

Mr. W. D. Croft, C.I.E., Private Secretary.  
The Viscount Hood, Assistant Private Secretary.  
Mr. F. F. Turnbull.

*(b) To His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.*

The Yuvaraj of Baroda.  
Mr. H. E. Dale, C.B.

*Secretary to the Delegation.*

Mr. W. Christie, M.C., I.C.S.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

Mr. F. M. C. Stokes, O.B.E., Private Secretary to the Prime Minister.

*Secretary to the Delegation.*

Mr. J. R. Adlam.

BURMA.

Mr. P. G. E. Nash, I.C.S.

CEREMONIAL AND RECEPTION SECRETARY.

Rear-Admiral A. Bromley, C.M.G., C.V.O.

SECRETARY, GOVERNMENT HOSPITALITY FUND.

Major E. N. S. Crankshaw, C.M.G., M.B.E.

PRESS OFFICERS.

Mr. G. F. Steward, C.B.E., Chief Press Liaison Officer, Treasury.  
Mr. A. Ridgway, Publicity Officer, Dominions Office.

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## APPENDIX II.—OPENING STATEMENTS.

### OPENING STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

#### WELCOME TO DELEGATES FROM OVERSEAS.

*The Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin:* My first and very pleasant duty is to extend a cordial welcome to the representatives of the Dominions and India here assembled. Three of the Prime Ministers present here this morning—Mr. Mackenzie King, General Hertzog, and myself—are attending their third Imperial Conference; others are present for the first time. Since we last met, Burma has ceased to be an Indian Province, and we greet to-day her Chief Minister as witness of her separate political existence. (Hear, hear.) We are glad to have with us also representatives of Southern Rhodesia, who with the representative of Burma have come to take an appropriate part in those aspects of our deliberations which especially concern them. Newfoundland, whose recent difficulties will be familiar to most of us here, is being represented by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, with such advice as may be necessary from the Commission of Government. The Colonial Empire is being represented as at previous Conferences by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who is a member of the United Kingdom Delegation. To all alike, whether old friends or new-comers to our council table, I give a most hearty welcome.

#### TRIBUTE TO HIS LATE MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

When I look round the table this morning I reflect on the last occasion when many of us met, and my first thought is of the grievous loss which all of us have sustained in the death of our late loved Sovereign, King George V. Little did we think when we gathered from all the corners of the earth to celebrate his Silver Jubilee how soon he would be taken from us. By the wisdom, insight, and sympathy with which he presided over the destinies of the Empire, he contributed in a unique manner towards the smooth progress of those great political developments which were so distinguished a feature of his reign. Many of us round this table knew the value of his wise counsel and quiet courage in times of difficulty and of stress. Devotion to duty and the service of all his subjects was the keynote of his life. As head of this great family of peoples he has left to all who follow a great and enduring example. (Hear, hear.)

#### OPPORTUNITIES FOR CONSULTATION SINCE THE 1930 IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The last meeting of the Imperial Conference in London took place in 1930 and led to the passage of the Statute of Westminster. In the intervening years there have been many opportunities for consultation. We met at the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1932. There were negotiated a whole series of trade agreements which played a great part in enabling our countries to emerge from the economic depression, and have proved of value in the development of inter-Imperial trade. We met again, as I reminded you, at the time of King George's Silver Jubilee two years ago, when we had the opportunity for a number of most valuable, though informal, discussions.

Apart from special meetings, there are other opportunities for consultation. Our representatives meet periodically at International Conferences. Moreover, during the last year or two we in the United Kingdom have had welcome visits from many individual Dominion Ministers for discussion on particular questions of concern between us, whilst similar visits from representatives of the United Kingdom have been paid to some of the Dominions, and I am sure that these frequent personal contacts with each other will be fruitful in maintaining understanding and co-operation between us.

Meanwhile the work of discussion and consultation on all sorts of subjects of common concern by means of correspondence between His Majesty's various Governments has proceeded continuously and to an ever increasing extent.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS.

The present Conference meets on the morrow of the Coronation of the new King and Queen. In the solemn service which we attended two days ago in Westminster Abbey there was the ancient ceremonial which has accompanied the King's crowning for centuries; but there were also innovations marking the constitutional developments which have occurred since the last Coronation twenty-six years ago. No other quarter century of our history has witnessed constitutional changes so profound, so far-reaching, and so naturally achieved. The British Empire has never been a static organism. Bearing within itself seeds of development of which its founders were unaware, it has been moulded by, and itself has moulded, a political philosophy. Since the last Coronation there have been far-reaching changes in status and mutual relationships; in particular, I would refer to the declaration of the Imperial Conference of 1926, and to the passage into law in 1931 of the Statute of Westminster, and in 1935 of the Government of India Act. The self-governing communities of the British Commonwealth have become an association of peoples, each with sovereign freedom of its own but accustomed to co-operate closely with each other in matters of common concern and all associated under the Crown.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATION.

I have referred to co-operation, and I have done so because I wish to stress this aspect of our relationship with one another. For in the whole process of change during these important years one principle has for us remained constant—the principle of co-operation. But if the free exercise of this principle is to be preserved it is necessary that the nations who believe in it should strengthen the foundations upon which it rests, not only professing it but practising it and being seen to practise it. It is our duty to realize at this moment that the maintenance of our ideals is a trust imposed upon us. And here I believe is the great service which the British Commonwealth of Nations can render not to itself alone but, by its example, to the world. We are partners in a great enterprise, jointly responsible for a new experiment, the success or failure of which must profoundly influence the future of mankind.

We believe in agreement as the mainspring, and in democratic institutions as the method, of Government; and we have set our trust in them because we think that they are the best means that mankind has devised of preserving these things to which we attach supreme value—liberty, and individual freedom of thought, of speech, and of conscience. But because of this we do not underestimate the value of that idea to which other ways of government attach supreme importance—the idea of service to the State. We ought, I think, constantly to remember this necessary aspect of life in a community: that individual right require to be completed by the fulfilment of duties to the community. And what is true of a community of individuals is equally true of a community of nations.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

The main lines of our agenda have been settled between us in correspondence and have been published, and there is no need for me to recapitulate them in detail. Though we shall discuss other important subjects, we are agreed that questions of foreign affairs and defence shall be our main subjects. It is fitting that they should be. For we are met at a time when the international situation is difficult and even threatening, and the responsibility rests upon us to see that our deliberations not only are of service to ourselves, but also may help in some measure towards the solution of those international problems which are now perplexing the world.

It will be our task to examine the causes of the present international unrest, to exchange views upon them, and to consider whether there is any contribution which we, co-operating together, could make to their diminution or removal. No more important subjects could engage any responsible body of men than those which confront us round this table, but let us not be discouraged by the greatness or the difficulty of our task. I believe that we shall find that the principles on which we ourselves rely are the key to the solution of the rivalries, suspicions, and bitterness which so grievously divide the world to-day.

## QUESTIONS OF DEFENCE.

My predecessor, speaking at the Imperial Conference of 1930, said:—

“The strength of armaments in the world to-day and the general unwillingness of Governments to advance the cause of a secured peace by a reduction of military material, unless checked, must soon lead to a new race in armaments to which the most pacific of nations cannot be indifferent.”

His words were prophetic of that ruinous race for rearmament which we are now witnessing. With so many of the most powerful nations of the world expanding their armed forces, we, in this country, have decided that it is our duty to put our own defences in order, at a cost the magnitude of which you know. We deplore the necessity, but we have no choice. We shoulder that burden for the security of this island, which is still the heart of the Empire, but also that we may be equipped to fulfil our responsibilities in guarding the security of the Empire overseas and as a loyal member of the League of Nations. Others of you here, impressed with the same dangers though equally deploring the necessity, have felt compelled to revise your own defence preparations, and it will be our task to consider whether, while preserving our individual rights of decision and action, we can co-ordinate our various policies in such a way as to assist one another and—as is, I know the hope and prayer of us all—to help forward the cause of peace.

## OTHER SUBJECTS ON THE AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE.

I have left myself little time to speak to the other subjects on our agenda. The Government of the Union of South Africa have suggested for discussion a number of constitutional questions connected with inter-Imperial relations, and I am glad to know that we have been assisted in dealing with them by the preliminary talks which have been held in London during the last fortnight. I feel confident that we shall find the solution of these questions if we approach them in the light of the principles which I have already mentioned. As regards economic matters, it has been generally agreed that any questions connected with the Ottawa Agreements can best be dealt with by discussion between the individual Governments concerned, and some discussions of this nature have already taken place. The present Conference will, however, afford an opportunity for reviewing generally the progress of Empire trade since the Ottawa Conference and for considering shipping and certain aspects of co-operation in the economic sphere. It would also, I think, be of advantage if we could give some attention to the problem of the present trend of population, which is one requiring most careful thought.

There are other questions of a technical nature which will also claim our attention. In particular, questions of air communications have grown greatly in interest and importance since the last Conference, and some aspects of these will demand our consideration. We can, I suggest, apply to these technical problems the principle of partnership on an equal basis which has been applied so fruitfully to the organization of scientific research and the dissemination of its results. Much useful work in this direction has been done by the special Conferences of Commonwealth representatives which have met in recent years. It is said that all scientific problems can best be attacked in the "team" spirit by a band of collaborators working together in the same field, and I submit that what is true of the collaboration of individuals is true also of the collaboration of governments.

#### CONCLUSION.

Let my last word be this: In all human relationships, whether of individuals or of States, co-operation is most fruitful when it is based, as that of the peoples of the British Empire is based, upon mutual loyalty and trust. It is in circumstances such as these that steady progress towards ultimate success is ensured by free discussion in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding. And in achieving this we may give to the peoples of this distracted world a proof that combined work amongst nations is as possible as it is in the everyday experience of the social life of each one of us. Whatever be the nature of our problems, whether they relate to international and political questions, or are of a technical and scientific character, I am confident that we shall be able to find the solution of them through co-operation in unity of purpose under the Crown, which is at once the symbol of our partnership and the focus of our common loyalty.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA.

*The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King:* It is my happy privilege to express appreciation of the welcome which you, Prime Minister, have extended to the delegations from overseas, a welcome as kindly in feeling as it was felicitous in expression. If any of us felt strangers in this old land, we should now feel more than at home.

#### TRIBUTE TO HIS LATE MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

I should like to associate the people of Canada, as well as my colleagues and myself, with the sentiments expressed by the Chairman of the Conference in the reference he has made to His late Majesty King George V.

The late King greatly endeared himself to all his peoples, but to none more than to the people of Canada. We remember with gratitude his unfailing efforts to advance the well-being of all his realm, and to promote friendship and peace among all nations.

In the period of unprecedented conflict and change which coincided with his reign, the Nations of the British Commonwealth were indeed fortunate in having so wise and so good a king. His essential humanity and the character of all his public utterances brought us together as members of a great family. His conception of empire was always proclaimed in terms of the loyalties of the home and the affections of family life.

In everything King George strove for the unity and goodwill of all parts of the Empire. In concord and co-operation he saw the means of bringing about peace not only between the nations, but between classes and creeds, and within the economic order. In him, Monarchy and Democracy became united in serving the common needs of man.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

Meeting once more in Imperial Conference, I may be permitted also to refer to the loss the British Empire suffered in the death a few weeks ago, of Sir Austen Chamberlain. Many present have listened to him in public and in private, in London and in Geneva, discussing the problems of foreign policy with sureness, simplicity, and straightforwardness, and we recognize what a force for international goodwill has been lost to the world.

#### CHANGES SINCE THE 1923 IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

As I look around this table I am impressed by the many changes which have come about since I first attended an Imperial Conference in 1923. You, Prime Minister, occupied the chair that year, as well as in 1926. It is a source of particular pleasure to me, as I know it is to all present, that this Conference also is to have the benefit of your wide knowledge and sympathetic understanding of Commonwealth affairs. I recall that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Secretary of State for Air were present at some of the meetings of the Conference of 1923. But of the delegates on that occasion from India and the Dominions, only Mr. Bruce and I are present to-day. General Hertzog, Mr. Havenga and Mr. Lapointe were with us at the Conference of 1926. General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga and Mr. Fourie have attended Conferences since then, but nearly all the other delegates, at least from outside Britain, are to-day sitting in an Imperial Conference for the first time.

It is not only in personnel that change is apparent. The Irish Free State, whose delegates took part in their first Imperial Conference in the year to which I have referred, is not represented here to-day. I am sure we all trust that this is only a temporary situation, and that future Conferences may benefit by the distinctive contribution to their discussions, of the Free State representatives, as did those of 1923 and subsequent years.

The great Empire of India is now entering upon another stage of self-government. It has our warmest good wishes for the achievement of the full success which is to be expected from its own capacities and its association with the other countries under the sovereignty of His Majesty. Newfoundland is now represented by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, rather than directly; Southern Rhodesia and Burma, which were not directly represented in the Conferences of the "twenties," have sent their first ministers as observers to the present Conference.

I have been emphasizing changes in composition and personnel, as is perhaps natural in one who looks back fourteen years to his first Conference and who, from a much longer period spent in public life, has become somewhat familiar with its vicissitudes. Equally striking, however, to my mind, is the continuity which distinguishes these Conferences, and not these Conferences alone. For continuity through change, progress through development of proved courses and innate tendencies, permanence and flexibility, are the distinctive mark of the political institutions which are our common heritage.

#### THE CORONATION AND THE CORONATION OATH.

The great occasion which has given this week its colour and its imperishable place in our memories has appropriately illustrated this quality of British institutions. Those who participated in the Coronation of the King and Queen—and, thanks to the inventions of the years that have passed since the last Coronation, it may truly be said that all the King's peoples everywhere took part—must have been impressed by the blending of tradition and adaptability to new needs and new occasions which characterized that impressive service. It was marked by the continuing use of ritual and words and symbols which were ancient when the New World lands represented here were undiscovered and unknown, but it was marked also by the recognition of new political facts and constitutional relationships brought into being by the change and growth of the past generation and recorded in the Imperial Conferences of recent years.

Particularly significant was the new form of the oath by which the King solemnly declared the sense in which he has accepted the Crown. For the first time South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada are expressly named. His Majesty thus records that sovereignty is to be exercised in the interest of the peoples of Canada and the other countries set forth, according to their own laws and customs. For the first time in this great ceremony it was recognized that the relationship between the King and his people of Canada is direct and immediate. The oath has long embodied the principles upon which our system of democratic governance is built. It now recognizes that the relationships of the several peoples under the Crown, one with another, as well as with foreign states, have become interpenetrated by the ancient principles of freedom and the rule of law. Thus it may be said that the new oath, preserving the old and finding place for the new, embodies in simple fashion our political faith, and mirrors the structure of this group of free, equal and autonomous states known as the British Commonwealth of Nations.

#### INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.

The experiment in ordered relationships between free countries, which we call the British Commonwealth of Nations, has, we may venture to hope, value for other countries as well as for our own. We are endeavouring to prove the enduring possibility of establishing peace and sharing the gains of progress among peoples situated in every continent, held together not by centralized control or reliance upon force, but by similarity of political institutions and political ideals, by common interests and common loyalties. Through the past three centuries Britain gave the world an example and a challenge in the political democracy and the individual liberty it achieved within its own borders. It should be the aim of the members of the wider Commonwealth of Nations which has been built upon that foundation so to order their relations and co-ordinate their policies that they, in their turn, in the twentieth century, by the success of this experiment, may contribute, in the peaceful ordering of international relations, something of equal value to the common stock of mankind.

The trend of events abroad, to which the Chairman has referred, makes it clear that it will be no easy task to hold these gains of the past, much less to make further advance. Democracy and individual freedom have been challenged and scorned abroad, and questioned and belittled in some quarters at home. Under the driving force of new social gospels, combined with old ambitions for dominance and glory, individual and political liberty have been sacrificed in many lands to the demands of the all-powerful state. In the countries in which liberty has taken deep and firm root its precious and indispensable quality has been realized afresh, and new bonds of sympathy have been established between democratic states. In nations where the struggle for political freedom and equality had been substantially won it was perhaps natural that in the wake of war some reaction should have arisen, and that the rights our fathers had won, the institutions they had built up, often came to be taken for granted or to be regarded as outworn. Sometimes even in this motherland of Parliaments it was contended that the institutions of democracy were inadequate to meet the needs of the twentieth century. Sometimes in other members of the Commonwealth it was contended that insistence upon the full measure of self-government was quibbling about academic constitutional issues of little practical importance. To-day such doubts have passed. Now that the stark contrast between liberty and regimentation has been made

manifest to all the value of freedom as the source of individual self-realization, of national power, of enduring international co-operation, is more fully realized than ever before. In bringing about the realization of the abiding value of freedom and in reinterpreting democracy in relation to new needs, you, Prime Minister, I may venture to observe, have played a foremost part.

#### PROBLEMS OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO CANADA.

I shall not, at this time, make any special reference to the problems which are of special concern to Canada beyond stating that economic conditions are definitely improving, though we are still faced with the aftermath of war and depression in the form of a difficult unemployment and relief situation. One outcome of the depression has been to increase sectional stress and strain and to bring to the surface problems which may require some readjustment of the financial and constitutional relations between the Dominion and the Provinces. Foremost among our present tasks is the careful study and adjustment of the problems which arise from the differences in the economic situation in various parts of the Dominion, and the working of our federal system of government with its division of legislative and administrative authority. The maintenance and extension of national unity is a task of primary importance. It is a task in which progress is being made. Fortunately these problems lie within our own boundaries. Our relations with other members of the Commonwealth present no special difficulties and have, we are glad to state, never been more cordial than they are at the present time.

#### BARRIERS TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

The international situation will be reviewed in detail at later sessions. I shall, therefore, not make any reference to it at this point, beyond expressing our firm conviction that enduring peace cannot be achieved without economic appeasement, that political tension will not lessen without abatement of the policies of economic nationalism and economic imperialism. The countries here represented have, I feel, a definite responsibility to join with other countries willing to co-operate in a concerted effort to avoid increasing tariffs or exchange or quota controls, and to lessen, in every practicable way, the barriers to international trade.

In Canada we have endeavoured to open the channels of trade. Negotiations with the United States, and more recently with the United Kingdom, led to substantial reductions in our tariff rates. In no instance were concessions to either country effected by raising duties against any other country. At the same time we have greatly liberalized customs administration. We hope to be able to continue on these lines with countries both within and without the Commonwealth and thus contribute in the measure of our power to the revival of trade and the consequent removal of international friction and conflict.

#### CONCLUSION.

This Conference and the Coronation are closely linked in more than point of time. It is of interest to recall that every Imperial Conference in the strict sense of that term was held in the reign of George V, and that these Conferences contributed notably to the recognition of equality and co-operation within the Commonwealth. It is our belief that the series of Conferences beginning under George VI will bring an equal contribution to continuous co-operation among the peoples of the Commonwealth, and we trust, an enduring contribution to peace and co-operation among all nations of goodwill.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

*The Right Hon. J. A. Lyons:* The Commonwealth of Australia is proud to be associated with this Imperial Conference, coming, as it does, immediately after the Coronation of Their Majesties, the King and Queen, for whom, in unmistakable manner, all the Dominions have shown their loyalty and affection. Australia joins whole-heartedly with the other members of this Conference in reaffirming that loyalty.

#### TRIBUTE TO HIS LATE MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

I wish to associate Australia with what Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Mackenzie King have said about the late King George V. It was my proud privilege to know him personally, and I came to realize his sterling qualities both as a King and as a man. All of us here appreciate the magnitude of the self-sacrificing services he rendered to the Empire during one of the most difficult periods of its history. In Australia he was loved and respected. His noble example of duty will, I know, be an inspiration to his son in the great task to which he has dedicated himself.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS.

I feel that I speak for all sections of the Australian people when I say that we come to this Imperial Conference as willing partners in a great enterprise, the success of which will depend upon a spirit of co-operation, based upon mutual interest.

One of the most conspicuous features of the period since the last Imperial Conference has been the increasing participation in international affairs by the Dominions as sovereign nations.

The peoples of the Dominions—and this is very noticeable in Australia—are taking a widespread interest in all questions of foreign policy, because of the growing realization that no nation can live unto itself. At successive Imperial Conferences since 1902 the development of the Dominions towards nationhood has been recognized, and the principles of free co-operation on a basis of equality have been consistently applied.

This has led to a rapid evolution in the relationship between the Mother country and the self-governing Dominions, and yet, despite the forebodings of some who saw in this development a threat to Imperial unity, never has the Empire been more united.

This unity has its source in the unique position which the Crown holds in the British Commonwealth, and has been greatly strengthened by the affection and esteem which the King and the members of the Royal family have won by their devotion to duty, self-sacrifice, and spirit of high endeavour in the best interests of all their people.

To-day we stand as a group of peace-loving nations united by our allegiance to the Throne, and bound together by our faith in democracy and our common love of liberty and justice. World peace is the ideal which all the peoples of the British Empire have as their objective.

#### FOREIGN POLICY.

We are all members of the League of Nations, and of recent years the declared policy of the British nations has been based on the League's concept of permanent peace ensured by the principles of conciliation, arbitration, and collective action.

These principles constituted a focal point for a common Empire policy. Unhappily the experience of the last few years has shown the impracticability, under present conditions, of achieving to the full the great ideals which are embodied in the Covenant. The Australian Government, therefore, is of the opinion that an examination of the bases of the British Commonwealth foreign policy and of the position of the League should be one of the major considerations of this Conference, with a view to the formulation of a consistent and unified Empire policy.

In this examination we of the Dominions must recognize that the new status which we have achieved and which we regard with such pride carries with it not only great privileges, but also great responsibilities. These responsibilities involve the obligation of assuming the full burden of nationhood. No longer can we shelter behind our partnership in the British Empire. We must face to the fullest extent of our capacity the obligation to provide for our own national defence. We must be prepared to play our part in ensuring the peace of the world. We must be prepared to offer our counsel and to reinforce that counsel with our assistance should the circumstances ever arise wherein those great principles for which British people have ever stood are imperilled. Further, we must ever remember that never before have our own people and the people of the world looked more anxiously for British leadership.

All democratic peoples, and all who desire the maintenance of international law and order, are hoping for positive results from this Conference. They look for a clear lead along the path of stable and enduring peace, and the Australian Government feels that a statement should issue from this Conference which will demonstrate to the rest of the world that the countries composing the British Commonwealth of Nations are prepared to act together in support of the maintenance of international law and order.

As a result of the work of this Conference we can make a great contribution to the stabilization and pacification of the world. It is my sincere hope that we shall rise to the height of our opportunity.

#### NON-AGGRESSION IN THE PACIFIC.

While I do not desire to anticipate the discussion which will take place when we have the question of foreign policy before us, there is one area of the world, the Pacific, where Australia's interests are so vitally concerned that I desire to make a brief reference to it.

The Australian Government has noted the tendency of States to endeavour to enter into agreements in the form of regional pacts in respect of regions where their interests are directly concerned. Australia would greatly welcome a regional understanding and pact of non-aggression by the countries of the Pacific, conceived in the spirit of the principles of the League. Towards the achievement of such a pact we are prepared to collaborate with all other peoples of the Pacific in a spirit of understanding and sympathy.

#### DEFENCE.

I now desire to say a word on defence. Australia views her security and that of the British Commonwealth as lying within three successive ramparts—the Covenant of the League, the strength of the British Commonwealth, and her own Defence Forces.

We recall the words of the United Kingdom Government that it can no longer close its eyes to the fact that adequate defences are still required for security and to enable the British Empire to play its full part in maintaining the peace of the world. We are also aware of the extensive measures being taken by the United Kingdom Government to strengthen its defences, in conjunction with its declared intention to pursue the national policy of peace by every practicable means.

Australia looks for the frankest discussion during the Conference of the international position and its relation to the United Kingdom defence programme in order to enable the Australian Government to review its defence policy in the light of the facts which emerge, and to put before the people and Parliament for endorsement the policy that the Ministry may decide upon.



We would submit that the British Commonwealth—a lesser League within the League—has its common interests developed to such a degree that it is vital to the welfare of its members to afford each other mutual support. The principle is really the same as that which underlies the regional pacts commended to members of the League as the first stage of collective security. As our policy is one of peace and fidelity to the League, in looking to our own defence we also contribute to the general cause of peace and stability.

Australia feels that it is important for a common understanding to exist between the British Nations as to the manner in which measures should be concerted between them for the maintenance of their common ideals.

The weakening of the collective system has reacted more disadvantageously against the small nations of the world than against the great and powerful States, for the small Powers must look to a greater strength than their own to repel a strong aggressor. The Dominions, however, have the great good fortune to be members of the British Commonwealth, the main source of whose military, financial, and economic strength is the United Kingdom; but to receive we must be prepared to give.

Australia, therefore, subject to the sovereign control of its own policy and without prior commitment, stands for co-operation in defence between the members of the British Commonwealth, and it has adopted the guiding principles laid down at Imperial Conferences as the basis of its policy for co-operation in Empire naval defence and for its own local defence.

#### AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE MEASURES.

In view of the suggestion I have made for the further development of co-operation it is probably desirable that I should give to the Conference an indication of what Australia has done to implement the principles which I have indicated have governed our defence policy.

The naval principles provide for the maintenance of adequate naval strength, and the provision of naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel. Since the establishment of the Royal Australian Navy on a national basis in 1910, Australia has spent £70,000,000 on Naval Defence. Nine ships are at present in commission—three cruisers, three destroyers, two sloops, and a survey ship—and three ships are in reserve. The squadron has recently been strengthened by one new cruiser and two sloops and the permanent seagoing personnel by 1,050 men. The rearming of the fixed defences of the main Australian ports is being carried out at an estimated cost of £3,200,000, of which half has already been provided; air co-operation is being provided for these defences; facilities for naval repairs are being maintained; and naval oil-fuel tanks have been constructed. Of the additional amount that will have been spent under the three years' programme, ending on the 30th June next, 41 per cent. has been allotted to the Navy.

The Conference of 1923 declared that it is the primary responsibility of each part of the Empire to provide for its own local defence. In addition to strengthening the fixed defences of the important ports, the Australian Government has recently provided a special increase in the Army vote to bring the Field Army of seven divisions up to its minimum nucleus establishment. The strength of the permanent forces is also being increased, and improvements are being effected in the efficiency, armament and equipment of the Army.

The Air Force completes this year Part I of the scheme laid down by Sir John Salmond, and it will have a first-line strength of 8 squadrons and 96 aircraft, which will later be expanded to 17 squadrons and 194 aircraft.

The Australian Government has established munitions factories of various types at a capital cost of £3,500,000, and arranged for a strong industrial and financial group to erect a factory for the manufacture of aircraft. Australia also possesses dockyard resources for ship repairs and construction which are not been fully utilized. The proposal for co-operation would cover a survey of the munitions manufacturing resources of the Dominions in relation to probable demands of the Empire, and the Government feels there are considerable potentialities for Empire supply in the Governmental and other factories of Australia.

Australia is of the opinion that, if the several parts of the Empire implement the guiding principles already laid down and adopt the proposal for further co-operation, the security of the whole Empire should be assured. As the objective of the British Commonwealth's policy is peace and defence, and not war and aggression, it should become a rallying-point for other peaceful States. In this respect all members of the British Commonwealth and other peace-loving States endorse whole-heartedly the declaration of the Foreign Secretary that British arms will never be used contrary to the spirit and principles of the Covenant of the League.

#### ECONOMIC POLICY.

If, in regard to foreign affairs and defence, we have both a great task and a great opportunity, this is no less the case in the field of economic policy.

Free as each Empire nation is to choose its own path, we have a common purpose in our economic as well as in our foreign policies.

We are a group of nations practising economic co-operation, first for the welfare of each separate nation, but also for our mutual advantage.

Since the Ottawa Conference we have made much progress in intra-Imperial trade. Our co-operation has enabled us to secure that, within the British Empire, trade could be carried on under stable conditions in spite of the world depression.

To-day all Empire countries and a number of foreign nations have emerged from the depression. The recovery of production and of internal markets is widespread, but has not, as yet, been reflected to a corresponding extent in world trade.

The first purpose of economic policy is to secure the welfare of the individual citizens of our respective countries.

In achieving this object Australia regards the development of secondary industries as highly important, and this fact is recognized in the framing of our trade policies.

Australia's future, however, is bound up with her primary industries, and the advancement of these industries makes vital the extension of our external trade.

This trade has been found to an important degree within the British Commonwealth, but almost every Empire country has become increasingly aware of the need for wider markets than even the Empire can supply. Hence, if we are able progressively to improve our standards of living, it is essential that there should be an increase in world trade.

Economic policy, however, also has profound effects upon the political relations of the countries of the world. To-day we are confronted by the picture of a world in which science has made possible standards of living for all countries far in advance of anything previously experienced, and yet in which poverty and unemployment have led to grave political discontents.

There is thus urgent need for wide policies of economic appeasement if our endeavours to bring about peaceful conditions in the world are to be successful.

For this purpose the revival of world trade is of first importance.

The Commonwealth Government, therefore, feel it essential that at this Conference we should undertake a general review of our trade relations. We believe that such a review will lead us to conclude that intra-Empire trade has been and will continue to be, of the utmost importance to each part of the Empire, but that the incidence of our trade agreements amongst the various members of the Empire requires careful re-examination.

It is also essential to examine how we can jointly and severally contribute to the great objective of a restoration of conditions in the world which will allow of a freer interchange of goods and services, so that every country may be able to improve the well-being of its population.

There is in the world to-day a stronger tendency towards economic co-operation than has been evident for a number of years, and the Commonwealth Government greatly welcomed the currency alignment agreements. We also feel a warm interest in the mission which the United Kingdom and the French Governments have entrusted to M. Van Zeeland.

It must be our task to see along what lines our national and Imperial economic policies can contribute to world prosperity. The paths toward these objectives can converge. Just as in the realm of foreign policy the group of nations which constitutes the British Empire must work for ideals embodied in the Covenant, so in economic policy we need to translate our strong existing co-operation among ourselves into policies which, while safeguarding our individual interests, will contribute to world prosperity and thus promote better relations both economically and politically between the nations of the world.

Australia would therefore urge that this Imperial Conference should give the closest attention to economic problems, since it is in this field that it may be found that positive results can be achieved in the near future.

#### CONCLUSION.

The agenda for the Conference embraces many other subjects. I feel, however, that the questions with which I have dealt so far transcend any other matters to which we will have to direct our attention that it is desirable that I should confine my remarks at this opening session to outlining the view of the Commonwealth upon them, and with those who have already spoken I express the hope that the greatest possible success will result from our deliberations.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND.

*The Right Hon. M. J. Savage:* Mr. Prime Minister, I gratefully acknowledge your kind words, and warmly appreciate the whole-hearted welcome and hospitality which have been so generously extended to us and which have made us feel so completely at home in the Homeland.

This is my first visit to the United Kingdom and my first attendance at an Imperial Conference. I can assure you, Sir, that I fully appreciate the honour that has fallen to my lot of representing the Dominion of New Zealand at this Great Council of the British Commonwealth, and I fully realize the responsibility that devolves upon each and all of us.

I take this early opportunity of affirming, on behalf of the Government and people of New Zealand, our warm attachment to the people of this land, from which we have sprung, and our determination to do all that lies in our power to further the interests of that great association of free peoples to which we are privileged to belong.

I entirely endorse Mr. Baldwin's feeling reference to His late Majesty King George V. We have been proud to assist at the Coronation of Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, and we fervently trust that this reign will be long, happy, and prosperous.

## CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

New Zealand attaches no particular importance to the theoretical basis of our association as members of the British Commonwealth. We have found no difficulties, and expect to find no difficulties, in conducting the affairs of our Dominion with complete freedom and ability to carry out any policy we may decide upon. We realize, however, that our conditions are not necessarily those of other portions of the British Commonwealth and, while we would deprecate any attempt to lay down too rigidly the structure of our association together as members of the Commonwealth, we shall be happy to collaborate in any clarification of the position which may appear to be necessary and may be desired by any of our partner Governments. All that we as a Dominion ask is that our association, whatever its theoretical basis, should endure, that it should be made fruitful, effective, and ever closer, and that the influence of the British Commonwealth should be maintained undiminished.

## FOREIGN POLICY.

We are met to-day in most difficult times. Both politically and economically the world is greatly disturbed. And I hope I may be pardoned for suggesting that we who are gathered in this room, representing as we do a very large proportion of the area and of the population of the world, and the greatest force for peace and justice that exists in this world to-day, can give a lead to our peoples and to other nations which might conceivably point the way to that alleviation of distress, that rectification of grievances, that mutual co-operation amongst nations, which the world so sorely needs to-day.

I fully realize that the Dominion which I have the honour to represent is both small and distant, and that we can hope to play only a modest part in the deliberations of this Conference, or, indeed, in the affairs of the world. Nevertheless, we hold definite views on many of the subjects that this Conference has been called to consider, and at the appropriate time it will be my function to express those views as cogently, indeed as forcibly, as I may. At the same time, I wish to affirm at this early stage of our deliberations that in all things, and on all subjects, the activities of the delegation that I have the honour to lead will be guided by the widest principles of co-operation. We realize that points of view must necessarily differ and that, perhaps, policies may differ, but we are convinced that, animated as we are by the single object of promoting the peace and the prosperity of our people and of all peoples, it will be possible for all of us to sink, to the extent that it is necessary, individual points of view to attain a common end. That will be the guiding principle of the New Zealand delegation.

I sincerely trust that on this occasion, when the peoples of the Commonwealth and, indeed, of the world, are so sorely in need of temperate guidance, it will be possible for us to arrive at definite decisions which can be applied without unnecessary delay. There is, I fear, a risk in all Conferences such as this that delegates may be content with an innocuous and unhelpful formula, and reluctant to attack and solve difficult problems merely because of their difficulty. Conditions are such at present that we must, I suggest, avoid temporizing. We must approach our problems earnestly, and we must endeavour with all our power to solve them for the common good of mankind. I, for one, shall be most disappointed if, after coming so many thousands of miles to attend this Conference, I should unhappily be forced to return without effective results. I know that my colleagues in this room will be animated by the same motives, and I am looking forward with interest and with a full appreciation of the privilege that is mine, to the discussions that are to follow and to the good that we may be able to do.

## STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

*General the Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog:* Mr. Prime Minister, I wish to be quite brief, and I am sorry to say that I shall not be so formal as my colleagues from the other Dominions have been this morning. I shall therefore at once begin, Sir, by saying how deeply I appreciate the words which you have spoken here this morning in such clear terms, and I wish to give you the assurance at once that, as far as the principles of co-operation which you have enunciated are concerned, I think we all heartily agree with them; at any rate, there is not a single one to which I felt I could take any exception.

## TRIBUTE TO HIS LATE MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

You, Sir, have referred to the late King George, and I wish to say here that I shall always look back upon him with affection. He has certainly not laid the foundations of the Commonwealth, but what I have felt and what I do feel is that he has given definiteness and certainty to those foundations upon which the Commonwealth ought to last for many years to come. I cannot help thinking, Sir, that the course of development which the Empire has taken during his reign is such a one that it will with time become a more effective and a more potent instrument for maintaining the peace of the world than the League of Nations. I think that we have already, in this Commonwealth idea, come to realize what is implicitly contained in the Kellogg Pact itself.

## CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

As I have said, I want to be brief, and I shall not delay here any longer. You, Sir, have referred to the constitutional questions which have been raised by the Union of South Africa for this convention. May I here say that those questions no longer have to deal—and I am very glad to say it—with an amendment or change of the constitution of the Commonwealth. As far as that is concerned, I think that the principles upon which it has been founded will last and will at any rate for very many years not require any further amendment; but what is contemplated by South Africa is that, if I may use the words of the Prime Minister, we must now try to co-ordinate our policies of action in such a way that we shall be as mutually helpful as possible. That is all that is contemplated by the suggestions or proposals which are being made by South Africa in this case.

## FOREIGN POLICY.

Then, Sir, you have touched upon the European situation, and here let me say this: that I feel that this Conference will be known more by what it is going to achieve in the interests of peace and the maintenance of peace in the future than by anything else which I think we shall be able to do here on this occasion. May I say here that, as far as South Africa is concerned, more and more she is feeling, she is realizing, how closely she is implicated in the fate of Europe and in the fate of the world. If there is anything that has been brought home to us in South Africa more than anything else it is, I think, this, and you can well understand how during these last anxious days, I might almost say years, which you have had here in Europe, the hearts in South Africa were no less filled with anxiety as to what might happen. I wish to take this opportunity, Sir, of assuring you of our very hearty appreciation of the manner in which the British Government has succeeded in steering through these difficult times. At this Conference I feel that this matter will be the most important, though we may think, perhaps individually that there are economic and other questions of very great importance. But this question no doubt, I take it, will be felt—certainly will be felt by us from South Africa—as the greatest question that can be discussed and deliberated upon at this Conference.

I can only hope that with respect to this question we shall each contribute our very best so that we may eventually achieve what is the very best not only for us individually but also for the Empire and for the world at large.

With those few words, Sir, I shall end, leaving anything else to be deliberated upon later when the occasion arises in committee.

## STATEMENT BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA ON BEHALF OF THE INDIAN DELEGATION.

Mr. Prime Minister and Members of the Conference: It is my privilege to address the Imperial Conference on behalf of India, on this historic occasion when the Conference follows closely upon the Coronation of the Sovereign to whom the great communities here represented all acknowledge allegiance.

## DEVOTION OF INDIA TO THE CROWN.

The splendid and moving ceremony of two days ago, the vast crowds gathered together in order and freedom at the centre of the British Commonwealth, the presence here to-day of men representing different communities in widely separated parts of the world—all remind us that the Crown remains as it has been for generations. It is still surrounded and sustained by the reverence and affection of millions: it is still the visible symbol of the Empire's unity and the centre of its loyalties.

We are confident that His Present Majesty, with His Gracious Consort by his side, will show himself a worthy heir of the highest traditions of the British Monarchy; and, as spokesman to-day of the Government, Princes, and peoples of India, I tender to Their Majesties respectful greetings and our assurances of unswerving devotion and attachment.

## INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

The internal affairs of India are not before this Conference; but you will not expect that speaking for India to-day, I should pass them over in silence. For many years I have been closely concerned with public affairs in my own State and outside it; and during that long stretch of time I have always striven to watch events, and, what is more, to interpret them with detachment—to divine those unseen currents of ideas, emotions, aspirations, which ultimately determine the course of history. Nowhere do those currents flow more strongly than in India to-day. The great cities of India ferment with social and industrial vigour. But much more far-reaching is the fact that the traditional life of the peasant, the very foundation of India, is being touched, I will not say shaken, by many influences; it is awakening from a long quiescence. It is not too much to say that the whole of India pulsates with life. And this vast energy, which is now being released—to what goal is it to lead her many millions? I answer—politically, towards the attainment of her full stature

as an autonomous unit of the British Commonwealth of Nations; socially, towards the attainment of the ideal inseparably bound up with that Commonwealth—freedom perfected by order, order perfected by freedom.

In that attainment India will have no mean contribution of her own to make to the Commonwealth. No two nations, no two races, interpret and realize those words “order” and “freedom” in precisely the same way; but their realization may be none the less true and rich if they are transmuted by the genius of individual peoples. If India has received and will continue to receive much from the Commonwealth, she has equally much to give.

I should wish to conclude these few remarks by expressing our gratitude to you, Sir, for the welcome which you have just given to us in such cordial terms, and by offering to His Majesty's Government our sincere thanks for the abundant and gracious hospitality extended to us.

*Chairman:* I think the Conference would like the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and the Chief Minister of Burma to address them.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

*The Hon. G. M. Huggins:* Mr. Prime Minister, I would first like to express my thanks to the United Kingdom and to the Dominions for inviting delegates from Southern Rhodesia, as observers, to attend this Conference.

Some people, with mathematical minds, may experience a little difficulty in working out the exact spot along the passage between the Colonial Office and the Dominions Office at which they may expect to find Southern Rhodesia. It is perhaps of more practical importance that both offices are under the protection of the same good roof.

To us in Southern Rhodesia the significant point is that we are partners with other members of the British Empire.

A junior partner we may be, but none the less anxious for the safety and prosperity of the partnership as an entity. We desire to co-operate not only with those who have the dignity of Dominion status, but also with the vast and wealthy territories which are embraced by the general term “other possessions.”

I consider that, after his primary duties to the partnership, it is perhaps peculiarly incumbent upon a junior partner to keep an eye on his proper and particular interests.

Exact definition of our status is, at the moment, of less importance to us than the prosperity and integrity of the partnership.

Southern Rhodesia is to-day at much the same stage in her constitutional evolution as were the great Dominions at the opening of the first Imperial Conference.

We British people have, relative to most others, a high standard of living, and one of our major problems is to see that that standard, obtained after a long struggle, is not endangered by the fetish of cheapness during the period that must elapse whilst those other people are being raised to a like standard.

The whole of our problems bristle with difficulties, but our presence here to-day is to lend our aid, to the utmost of our modest ability, in solving the problems which are common to the Empire as a whole.

#### STATEMENT BY THE CHIEF MINISTER OF BURMA.

*Dr. Ba Maw:* Mr. Prime Minister, I wish to thank very sincerely the Governments of Great Britain and the Dominions for the recognition accorded to Burma by allowing her to be represented at this Conference. The significance for Burma of this recognition is great, for, as I see it, it is a symbolic acceptance of her true status, both political and economic, a status that has made her in their eyes worthy of the vital rights of free and equal partnership. It is, of course, true that Burma is here only as an observer. This arrangement is, in a way, good, for I think I shall be acting in accordance with the present political feeling in Burma if I merely attend, and observe, and take part only when such participation is necessary for the safeguarding of our essential interests. For this also, Sir, I am grateful to you.

### APPENDIX III.—CONCLUDING STATEMENTS.

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

*The Right Hon. N. Chamberlain:* Gentlemen, my first duty—and it is a very pleasant one—is on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation to express our very warm appreciation of the generous words which have been spoken this morning by various speakers who have addressed us in allusion to the hospitality and the welcome which they have received, they and their compatriots, from the Government and the people of this country. I am not using any conventional phrase when I say that visitors from the Empire overseas are always welcome in this country, first and foremost for their own sakes, but also because we are truly delighted to have an opportunity of returning in some small measure that abundant and warm-hearted hospitality which we of the Old Country always enjoy whenever we visit any part of His Majesty's realms oversea.

I would like to associate myself also with what has been said about the Conference and the efficiency of the work of our Secretariat. In this country we have long regarded Sir Maurice Hankey not as an official, but as an institution indispensable to the stability of the State. We are very glad that you should have an opportunity of gauging for yourselves the qualities which have given him such a unique position. To him and to Sir Harry Batterbee, the Deputy Secretary, and Sir Rupert Howorth, the Administrative Secretary of the Conference, and to their able and hard-working colleagues we are all greatly indebted for the smoothness and celerity with which our proceedings have been conducted.

When we look back to the day on which we first met in this room we shall all think that we began our labours under singularly happy auspices. When in future we look back again on the Conference of 1937 we shall all associate it with that magnificent ceremony of the Coronation and the memory of a youthful King newly faced with the responsibilities of his great task solemnly dedicating himself to the service of all his peoples, and that note of unanimity in co-operation under the King has been maintained throughout the whole of this momentous month during which we have sat together.

In estimating the results of our labours there is no need to look for spectacular decisions or for startling changes in policy. Our Imperial Conferences differ, as it seems to me, from most international Conferences in one important respect. They are not summoned to solve any particular problem or to achieve any specific result. They rather take the form of a series of family gatherings held at more or less regular intervals, at which the members of the family assemble together in order to exchange information, to examine the events of the past and the prospects of the future, and if in the course of their deliberations they can, by the personal contact of their minds, attain to a clearer understanding of one another's difficulties and problems and, in the end, establish a general harmony of aims and of policy, then the objects of the Conference have been achieved and its members can separate with a renewed sense of comradeship and a fresh confidence in their united ability to forward the objects they have at heart.

Now, listening to the speeches which have been delivered this morning, and bearing in mind the real object of such a Conference, no one, I think, can feel any doubt that this Conference has been an unqualified success. We have not been afraid to speak to one another with complete frankness or to assert our individual opinions where they differed from others, but the summary of proceedings, which sets forth our conclusions, demonstrates without a shadow of doubt that on all the big issues on which the welfare of mankind ultimately depends we think alike, and when you consider the nature of the countries whose representatives are gathered round this table, how they are inhabited by many different races, speaking many different languages, with different climates, religions, conditions of neighbourhood, and separated by vast distances of sea and land, surely this solidarity of opinion is profoundly impressive and cannot fail to exercise its influence far beyond the boundaries even of the British Empire. In recalling our discussions about foreign relations and events speakers this morning have commented with an unanimity which is very gratifying upon the value and the completeness of the information which has been laid before them by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and, in truth, gentlemen, we have had no secrets from you. We have felt that the fullest exposure of the facts was the completest justification for the actions which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have from time to time deemed it necessary to take. The key-note of our policy is the same as that which has been stressed over and over again as the first objective of every member of the Conference—namely, the maintenance of peace and the removal of the causes which have so long delayed the restoration of the confidence of the world. After this Conference we shall go forward to pursue our efforts to that end, fortified and encouraged by our contact with our fellow-delegates and by the knowledge that we shall have their full support and approval in anything that we can do to help forward that most vital interest of us all. In your outlook upon the world you have been gravely concerned to notice the deterioration in the international situation and the immense increase in armaments that has taken place since the beginning of this decade. This vast expenditure upon the weapons of destruction which can bring no return in human progress

or human happiness is laying a terrible burden upon this and upon succeeding generations which cannot be contemplated without grief and consternation. All of us are agreed that we must lose no opportunity of trying to remove those fears and anxieties that are at the root of the mischief. We are indeed happy that amongst ourselves no such fears exist. War between any of us is unthinkable, and if we had to consider only the countries of the British Commonwealth there would be no need of armaments for any of us; but, gentlemen, in the present condition of the world to undertake a unilateral disarmament would be to invite disaster, and in their determination to bring their defensive forces to a state of efficiency in which they can maintain their security and fulfil their international obligations, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have good reason to believe that they are making a contribution of the most important character to the cause of peace, and, in their turn, we welcome the efforts of other partners in the Empire made with similar objects and we are satisfied that in providing for their own security they are conducting also to the stability of the world because no one doubts the sincerity of any of us when we declare, as we do in the report of our proceedings, that never will our forces be used for aggression or for any purpose which is inconsistent with the Covenant of the League.

The revision of the Inter-Imperial Trade Agreements which were concluded at Ottawa has not formed any part of our agenda, because we came to the conclusion that those were matters best discussed by conversations between individual members of the Conference, but we have recognized and do all recognize the important part that may be played in international appeasement by economic adjustments, and that in our united declaration of our desire to co-operate with other nations in examining the obstacles which prevent the freer flow of trade through international channels and in promoting the improvement in the standard of living which might be expected to follow therefrom, we have shown that a selfish and exclusive economic nationalism forms no part of our common creed.

Now, in conclusion, gentlemen, may I very warmly thank those who have spoken so kindly about my own part in this Conference, and I should like to say how deeply I have valued the assistance that I have received from every member of the Conference in carrying out my duties as Chairman during the latter part of its proceedings. The courtesy and the consideration which have been shown to myself, and, I may say, by each member of the Conference to every other member, made it not only an honour but a pleasure to preside. I feel sure that the knowledge which we have each gained of one another's personalities, and our attitude towards the great issues which we have discussed, will greatly facilitate our co-operation in the future, and I trust that I am not alone in expressing the hope that no long period will elapse before the next family gathering takes place which brings us together once again.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA.

*The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King:* Prime Minister, the present Imperial Conference is unique in having had as Chairman two Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom. We have had an opportunity of expressing to Lord Baldwin, before he relinquished office, our appreciation of what his labours, through the years, have meant to the several Imperial Conferences over which he presided. That his spirit and outlook have come to be identified with that which underlies the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth is an observation which speaks for itself.

In my voice, I know, the feelings of the members when I venture to express to you, Mr. Chamberlain, something of the pleasure it has been to us all to have been so closely associated with you in the work of the Conference. I should like particularly to express our very warm appreciation of the perception, understanding, and judgment you have invariably disclosed in conducting its proceedings.

The Imperial Conference of 1937 will always have its association with the historic event which immediately preceded it. Their Majesties' Coronation vividly portrayed a vast Commonwealth, composed of autonomous nations, full-statured and free, united by many ties of sentiment and understanding, and by a common allegiance to the Crown. It has, as well, deepened our convictions in the soundness of our parliamentary institutions and in the unifying power of freedom.

The unity, of which the Crown is the symbol, and the assurance, has been reflected in the oneness of outlook and in the community of spirit which have pervaded this Conference. Our deliberations have emphasized once more the effectiveness of reason and co-operation as an alternative to force in the conduct of international relations. They have demonstrated anew how peoples, pursuing common ideals, but preserving the full measure of their independence, can find means of working together for the common good.

The task of an Imperial Conference has been well defined as that of considering whether the several Governments represented, while preserving their individual rights of decision and action, can co-ordinate their various policies in such a way as to assist one another, and help forward the cause of peace. Its function is not to formulate or declare policy. The value of this, as of other Imperial Conferences, lies mainly in the free exchange of information and opinion; in furnishing the representatives of the several Governments with more adequate knowledge of the problems, the difficulties, the aspirations, the attitudes

of other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and in giving that direct and immediate understanding of the national and personal factors in the situation which cannot well be obtained by correspondence or indirect communication. With this further knowledge in their possession, the representatives of each Government, in consultation with their colleagues and their respective Parliaments, are in the best of positions to formulate policies on questions where co-operation is required.

Doubt has often been expressed of the value of the conference method for dealing with international problems. It is true that to be of value there must be in the first place not only preliminary preparations, preliminary soundings, but an antecedent and substantial measure of readiness to work toward common ends. In conferences between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations these preliminary conditions of success are fortunately fulfilled. There is, in our case, so wide a measure of common background and common interest, of identity in political traditions, and in the conceptions of the basis of an enduring world order that a common approach is readily found.

There is a second requirement for the success of a Conference. It is equally essential that there should be frank and explicit expression of the special difficulties, the individual requirements, of each country represented. Without such straightforward expression of the position of each Government no real progress can be made in meeting its difficulties and finding a basis for common effort. In the case of the members of the British Commonwealth this is no less essential. Each Dominion has a distinct geographical position, with all the consequences in differences of neighbours, differences in the nature of the international problems each has to face, differences of emphasis and preoccupation, that follow. Each has its special economic structure, its special racial background, its special constitutional and political problem. These differences must receive full consideration in any responsible and realistic expression of their policies.

There has been in the present Conference increasing recognition of these facts, and of the desirability of full statement of the views of the Government of each member. In the Imperial Conference we have enjoyed and exercised the family privilege of free and frank speech. This has contributed not only to a better understanding of the tasks and problems of the other members, but to the attainment of a sound and workable basis of co-operation. Each delegation, I believe, realizes more adequately the viewpoint of the others, each will be better able to take this into account in framing policies, each has learned much from the discussions, each is more fully aware of the fundamental sympathies and common aspirations that bind us together.

We have met at a time when events from week to week, sometimes from day to day, have brought vividly home to us the tension of the European situation, the difficulties that beset those who are striving to bring stability out of unrest and confidence out of fear. Fortunately, also, we have seen how patient and unremitting are the efforts to repair the torn fabric of European unity, how widespread is the desire and the determination to ensure peace, how deep the reluctance to incur the incalculable hazards of war. This experience, as well as the help we have gained from our discussions among ourselves, will, I am certain, encourage and enable each of us to strive more effectively for the rebuilding of international friendship, and, beneath diversity, to seek unity not only in our relations with other members of the Commonwealth, but in our relations with every other country that will work toward the same ends. We are confident that the goodwill that has been marked in our discussions will find opportunity for expression in other fields as well.

At this time of grave international unrest and anxiety we have sought, throughout to avoid, in phrase or gesture, anything which might add to existing difficulties. Indeed, we have reason to hope that the principles which we have reaffirmed and the views to which we have given expression may contribute not a little to a better understanding among all nations, and to a more fruitful collaboration between them. While, naturally, we have given careful study to problems affecting members of the Commonwealth, we have examined them not in any narrow spirit, but in the light of world need. Above everything, our discussions have disclosed how inseparable is the welfare of each member, and of the Commonwealth as a whole, from the peace and well-being of mankind.

I should not like the Conference to come to its close without conveying, on behalf of the members of the Canadian delegation, a word of grateful appreciation to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of the hospitality so generously extended in the course of our visit, a hospitality which has been extended not only to members of the delegation, but to the many Canadians who have journeyed to Britain in this Coronation year. A frequent visitor to these Islands over many years, I have never known a friendlier or more spontaneous reception to those who have come from overseas.

I should like particularly to speak of the exceptional quality of the work performed by the Conference Secretariat. We are much indebted to Sir Maurice Hankey, Sir Harry Batterbee, Sir Rupert Howorth, and to their United Kingdom and Dominion associates, for the efficiency and expedition with which they have carried out their all-important duties. The Imperial Conference, as it has developed, would, like Government itself, be impossible without the skill, the knowledge, and the devotion of the officials who serve it so faithfully.

In conclusion, may I say how great a pleasure it has been to my colleagues and myself to have participated, day by day, for over a month, in the proceedings of the Conference, with members of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and with the representatives of His Majesty's Governments in Australia, New Zealand, and South



Africa, and of the Government of India, as well as the delegates of Southern Rhodesia and Burma. The stimulation which has come from the pursuit of our common interests, a study of each other's problems, and the friendships which we have formed here, are not the least among the fruits of our stay in London. At a time when dissension and disintegration are so destructively at work throughout the world it has been a wholesome experience to share, with men of goodwill, in the task of preserving unity and of furthering peace. As we return to our homes it will be a source of reassurance to know that there exists that identity of purpose and singleness of aim and aspiration which, in this Conference, we have been happy to find is our joint possession.

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE COMMONWEALTH  
OF AUSTRALIA.

*The Right Hon. J. A. Lyons:* Mr. Prime Minister and Gentlemen. First of all, let me say that what Mr. Mackenzie King has said in appreciation of the great services which Earl Baldwin and yourself have rendered to Great Britain and to the Empire, and the gratitude that he has expressed towards you both for your kindly, friendly helpfulness during our deliberations, express what is in the minds of all of us, and I desire to associate the Australian delegation with all that Mr. Mackenzie King has said. At the opening of the present Conference the speeches dwelt upon the great changes that have taken place during the past ten years in the status of the Dominions and in the constitutional relations of the different parts of the Empire.

They stressed the fact that in the progressive evolution that has occurred over that period a basis of free co-operation between a group of great self-governing States had been reached.

We went into the Conference realizing that the task which lay to our hand was to show that it was on this basis of free co-operation that the unity and solidarity of the British Empire could best be maintained.

We realized that in accomplishing this not only would we best serve our individual and collective interest, but we would also be setting an inspiring example to the world.

We approached our task with a deep sense of responsibility, realizing how great were the issues dependent upon our actions.

Reviewing the Conference in retrospect, I say, without hesitation, that we have merged triumphantly. In doing so we have shown that the forebodings of those who felt that the constitutional developments of the past few years might lead to the disruption of the British Empire were without foundation, and we have again demonstrated the common sense and genius for self-government of the British peoples.

The deliberations of this Conference have been most impressive to all of us who have been privileged to take part in them. There has been the freest expression of views by the representatives of all parts of the Empire assembled at the Conference. There has been no attempt to shirk difficulties or to avoid facing differences of opinion. The outstanding feature of the deliberations has been the good nature, tolerance, and understanding shown by all the delegations towards each other's difficulties.

This Conference has put the coping stone upon the work of the 1926 Imperial Conference. That Conference will go down to history as the one at which the problem of the constitutional relations between the self-governing parts of the British Empire was resolved. This Conference, I believe, will go down to history as the one at which the successful application of the principles for which the British Commonwealth of Nations stands was first clearly demonstrated.

The most important questions dealt with at the Conference were international affairs and defence. On these vital issues there was no divergence on fundamental principles. On the contrary, there was remarkable unanimity. As to the methods which should be adopted towards achieving the objectives with which we were all in accord, there were differences of opinion. These differences, however, led to healthy discussions. From the exchange of views which these entailed we have all, I am certain, derived great benefit and have been enabled to see in clearer perspective the problems that confront us. On no question was this truer than in regard to international relations. As a result of the personal and frank discussions which took place at the Conference the Dominions obtained a clearer understanding of the difficulties that have confronted Britain in her foreign policy during the past few years, and a clearer insight into the reasons and causes which have governed her actions. The very full, clear, and frank statements which were made to the Conference on behalf of the British Government brought home to all of us how unwearingly and unremittingly the United Kingdom Government has striven during the recent difficult years for peace and the ideals for which all the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations stand.

On the other hand, I am convinced that the United Kingdom Government have obtained a clearer picture of the points of view and attitude of mind of the different Dominions towards international affairs and the many complex problems associated with foreign policy.

I believe the representatives of the British Government would be the first to acknowledge the advantages they have themselves derived from discussing with us foreign policy and their international obligations as well as from hearing the frankly expressed views which have been placed before them during this Conference by the representatives of the Dominions.

At the opening meeting at St. James's Palace I indicated that it was the hope of the Australian delegates that after we had all fully exchanged our views a statement would issue from this Conference which would demonstrate to the rest of the world that the British countries were prepared to act together in support of the principles and ideals for which the British Commonwealth of Nations stands, and for the maintenance of international law and order.

It is now my great pleasure to note that we have been able to follow such a course.

We from Australia feel that the statement on foreign affairs which has been issued with the endorsement of the representatives of all parts of the Empire assembled at the Conference should have a beneficial effect upon the international situation and constitute a real contribution towards the cause of world peace.

Before leaving this subject I desire to state how grateful we of the Australian delegation are for the sympathetic way in which other delegations have received our proposal regarding a pact of non-aggression for the countries of the Pacific. The cordiality of that reception has been echoed by the press and, we feel confident, by public opinion generally.

As with foreign affairs, so in regard to defence, the frank exchange of views which has taken place has been most advantageous to all parts of the Empire. Co-operation and conciliation in place of recourse to force in the settlement of international differences form the basis of the policies of all parts of the Empire. We all recognized, however, that until this could be ensured, and progressive disarmament brought about, it was essential for the well-being of the British Commonwealth and for the peace of the world that we should be strong enough to provide for the defence of the Empire and its vital interests and to meet our international obligations.

These objectives can best be achieved by consultations and co-operation; and the fullest examination of the possibilities in these directions was undertaken by the Conference.

The very full and frank statements made on behalf of the United Kingdom Government brought home, I think, to all the Dominions how resolutely it is facing the tragic task of rearmament, and how grievous is the burden imposed upon the people of Great Britain by the necessity to provide adequate defence.

On behalf of Australia I express our deep appreciation of what Great Britain is doing and our recognition of how greatly her action is contributing to the safety and security of the Dominions and the peace of the world. In the past Australia has shown her appreciation of the obligation which rests upon her to provide to the maximum of her capacity for her own defence. That obligation, as a proud sovereign people we will continue to bear while recognizing that our ultimate safety depends upon our membership of the British Empire.

As in the case of the statement on foreign affairs, the Australian delegation feels that the statement on defence, which has issued with the endorsement of all the representatives of the Dominions assembled at this Conference, will contribute to the appeasement of the international situation and the cause of peace.

There is no need for me at this stage to refer in detail to the other matters discussed at the Conference. The results of our deliberations with regard to them are embodied in the summary of the proceedings of the Conference, which I understand will be issued immediately. Many subjects were dealt with in committees where a great deal of valuable work was done and a unique opportunity afforded for the exchange of views on questions affecting the well-being of the Empire. Invaluable assistance was rendered to these committees by sub-committees of experts. I should like to pay a tribute to the valuable work done by these committees. That these small groups of experts have been able to cover so much ground in so brief a period is, I think, a splendid achievement.

I should like also to thank the Secretary-General of the Conference, his associates of the Secretariat, and other officers of the Conference for the courteous and able manner in which they have performed their heavy duties. We owe a debt of gratitude to them for all they have done. Finally, I would like to express the sincere thanks of the Australian delegation to the British Government and the people of Great Britain for the cordiality and kindness of their welcome and for the hospitality so warmly extended to us everywhere during our visit to the Mother-country.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND.

*The Right Hon. M. J. Savage:* On behalf of the New Zealand delegation I have to thank the British Government, and the people whom we have been privileged to meet for their generous hospitality and courtesy during our stay in England. We are grateful to

you, Sir, as Chairman, and to your predecessor, Earl Baldwin, to Sir Maurice Hankey, as Secretary to the Conference, and to other officers for the valuable assistance rendered to delegates during our deliberations, and we warmly appreciate the goodwill that has been extended to us by the members of other delegations.

I came to this Conference firmly convinced that a united British Commonwealth could bring about such a readjustment of the economic causes of war as to make international conflict highly improbable, and after listening for some weeks to the members of the various delegations I am more convinced now than ever before of the great part that can be played by the British Commonwealth.

The old contest for the balance of power in foreign affairs must not be allowed again to find a place in the deliberations of mankind, and further attempts to expand trade and renew the struggle for foreign markets without recourse to improved standards of life for the people must be abandoned.

When I leave England, as I must in a few days, I will do so in the fervent hope that the British Commonwealth will do its utmost to give a lead to other nations before it is too late. We can if we will.

I leave this Conference, then, with the inspiring thought that the British Constitution and the self-governing powers of the Dominions are sufficiently wide to allow us to return to our respective countries with a determination to play our full part in shaping the future of the British Commonwealth and its relationship to the rest of the world, and at the same time to work out our own destiny.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

*General the Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog:* Mr. Prime Minister, I shall leave this Conference with a feeling of great hope and confidence in the ultimate results of what we have been able to achieve. The resolution taken on international affairs testifies to the importance attached by the British Commonwealth of Nations to peace and the maintenance of peace, as the great object which we have set ourselves to realize in co-operation with the rest of the world.

In the attainment of this high object of world appeasement, at this moment of great international tension, the mission of the Commonwealth stands clearly defined.

Having thus championed the cause of international world peace we have, Mr. Prime Minister, assumed the onerous burden of so conducting ourselves in all matters pertaining to our task that any action which may be taken by us shall at once bear the proof of being inspired by what is required of us as trustees in the interest of the world and of humanity. If, therefore, our endeavours in the fulfilment of our great task are to be successful, the impartiality of our conduct will have to be above suspicion and our disinterestedness scrupulously maintained. The guardians of international world peace can have no favourites amongst the nations.

In so far as we, as a Commonwealth, shall be able to prove ourselves true to this high conception of our duty and our mission, in a spirit of goodwill towards all nations, I have no doubt as to both our capacity and our competency for good during the years to come; nor as to the great and beneficent influence the British Commonwealth will be able to exercise in the maintenance of the peace of the world.

The *glory* that once was has departed from war, and as an instrument of power and of acquisition, war as a policy is to-day more than ever before proving its own futility and being discredited. The moment is fast approaching when only as a measure of self-defence in the hour of despair will war be resorted to. Already, as is well known, the opinion that this should be so is prevailing generally in civil life throughout the civilized communities of the world.

That at this moment in the history of the world the British Commonwealth of Nations should espouse the cause of world peace, and exercise its great influence and devote its energies on behalf of mankind, as it is doing, is something which may well inspire it with the feeling of a great and sacred mission.

Having the utmost confidence in the success of this great mission of peace and in the whole-hearted devotion and goodwill of all concerned in it on the part of the British Commonwealth, I shall, as I have already said, leave this Conference with a feeling of great hope and assurance as to the future.

Before concluding, I wish to express my great appreciation of the manner in which the work of the Conference has been managed and conducted, and of the thorough frankness with which discussions have taken place. At the opening meeting I expressed the hope that we shall each contribute his best so that we may achieve the best not only for our individual countries, but also for the Commonwealth and for the world at large. That our labours at this Conference were directed to that world-wide end more than at any previous Conference I have attended, can with truth be said; and I hope, Mr. Prime Minister, that the future will bear ample proof of the sincerity and good effect with which they have been so directed.

## STATEMENT BY SIR MUHAMMAD ZAFRULLAH KHAN ON BEHALF OF THE INDIAN DELEGATION.

*Mr. Prime Minister:* We have now been associated together for just over a month in the discussion of matters of vital importance to the peace and prosperity of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is, perhaps, too early to attempt an accurate estimate of the value of these discussions, but no one will be disposed to question that the results likely to flow therefrom must prove highly beneficial in securing the ends and promoting the objects which all of us have in view and which have been clearly and emphatically set forth in the reports of our proceedings. Apart from the direct results achieved at the Conference, the association together of the Prime Ministers and other representatives of the Empire in inter-changes of views on topics which affect so vitally the welfare of the Empire must influence many important decisions that may subsequently have to be taken in different parts of the Empire. I would venture to go further and state that certainly on this occasion the benefits of the Conference are not likely to be confined to the nations of the Commonwealth. I am sure that a profound impression must have been created outside the Empire by the solidarity of the Empire in support of its common ideals which has been so forcibly illustrated during the last five weeks. A Conference of this nature is unique in the sense that it is rendered possible only by the peculiar composition of the Commonwealth. To a troubled and harassed world nothing could furnish a more hopeful or reassuring augury for the maintenance and preservation of international peace than the spectacle of a united Empire co-operating towards securing this end. If there is one thing which has been made clear beyond doubt as the result of these deliberations it is that the dominant purpose of the Commonwealth is peace and that all our energies are bent towards securing and ensuring its permanence. That purpose animates every part of the Commonwealth; every Government represented here is willing and determined to co-operate with you, Prime Minister, in labouring to achieve it. One feels that even to-day the international situation is somewhat easier than it was before this Conference met. Is it too much to claim that the impression created abroad by the Conference has made some contribution towards that improvement?

Prime Minister, may I venture to digress here for one moment and refer more particularly to the position of India in the Conference? The two outstanding topics which have mainly occupied the attention of the Conference are defence and foreign affairs. Both these are subjects respecting which the Government of India is responsible, and even under the Federal Constitution will continue to be responsible, not to the people of India but to the United Kingdom Parliament; nevertheless Indian representatives have been glad to participate in the discussion of these subjects and to make their contribution with respect to them, as it is realized that the Conference affords valuable opportunities for arriving at a true appreciation of the problems within these spheres with which the Commonwealth is confronted and the efforts that are being made to solve them. There is also the knowledge that India's ultimate political goal is equality of status with the Dominions and that therefore it is meet that during the period of transition her representatives should be associated with the representatives of the rest of the Empire in the discussion of these all-important matters. India is anxious to participate in these deliberations on the same footing as the Dominions, and I have no doubt that she is now within measurable distance of the realization of that desire. She is confident that as she progresses towards this ideal some of the anomalies affecting the treatment of her nationals in other parts of the Empire will be gradually eliminated. In this connection, Prime Minister, I may be permitted to express my gratitude to the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the courtesy and sympathy with which they have received suggestions made to them by me on behalf of the Government of India concerning some of these matters.

I am sure, Sir, you will permit me to associate myself with the Prime Ministers of the Dominions in giving expression to our admiration of the great ability, skill, and tact with which you have conducted the proceedings of this Conference and of the unfailing courtesy which every one of us has received at your hands during our association with you. May I also add how greatly we value our association during the earlier sittings of the Conference with that great English statesman, Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, and how deeply we appreciate his great work for and service to the Empire.

Prime Minister, we are deeply grateful to your Government and to many of your countrymen and countrywomen for the generous and cordial hospitality that they have extended to us during our visit here on this historic occasion which has furnished us with so many pleasant memories which each one of us will, I am sure, love to cherish. We are also extremely grateful to Sir Maurice Hankey and his staff and those who have been associated with him from the Dominions and other offices for their great patience, courtesy, and helpfulness which have so greatly facilitated the work of the Conference and so largely contributed towards the quick disposal of its business.

May I be permitted to conclude with a renewed expression of our homage and deep loyalty to Their Majesties the King and Queen, whose solemn dedication to the service of the Empire we were privileged to witness just before the sittings of this Conference began and who have so rapidly endeared themselves to their subjects in all parts of the Empire.

## STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA.

*The Hon. G. M. Huggins:* At the session now concluding Southern Rhodesia has, for the first time, taken her seat at an Imperial Conference. The position of her representatives has been that of observers, but there is a cliché to the effect that "the observer sees most of the game."

For a month representatives of the States which comprise the British Empire have met and discussed subjects, of which several may fairly be called controversial. The delegates represent a variety of races and schools of political thought, yet the proceedings have been fruitful and harmonious.

May I here express my thanks to the hard-working members of the Secretariat of the Conference who have so ably guided and facilitated our labours.

The countries present here are as free, and as jealous of their freedom, as any in the world, and this Imperial Conference is a proof that, with goodwill and an honest desire for concord, the idea behind the League of Nations can be made to succeed.

The peoples of our great Commonwealth of Nations have shown the rest of the world that it is possible to differ over details and yet to agree in essentials. Provided motives are sufficiently magnanimous, and fair-play and peace the ideals before the parties, there is no reason why any one should "walk out."

The analogy is not perfect because our affection and loyalty to our King are an inspiration and common bond, and his existence is the guarantee of our liberties.

## STATEMENT BY THE CHIEF MINISTER OF BURMA.

*Dr. Ba Maw:* I wish to be associated with the tributes that have been paid to you and also to all those who have been responsible for the progress of this Conference. For me the present visit to this country has been a memorable experience. It has meant new and happy personal relationships, a closer view of things, a truer appreciation of the value of free and equal co-operation. I shall always remember these things with gratitude. I shall also remember in the same way the very great and continuous hospitality I have received everywhere during the visit.

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