

# THE INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE SAAR

BY

FRANK M. RUSSELL

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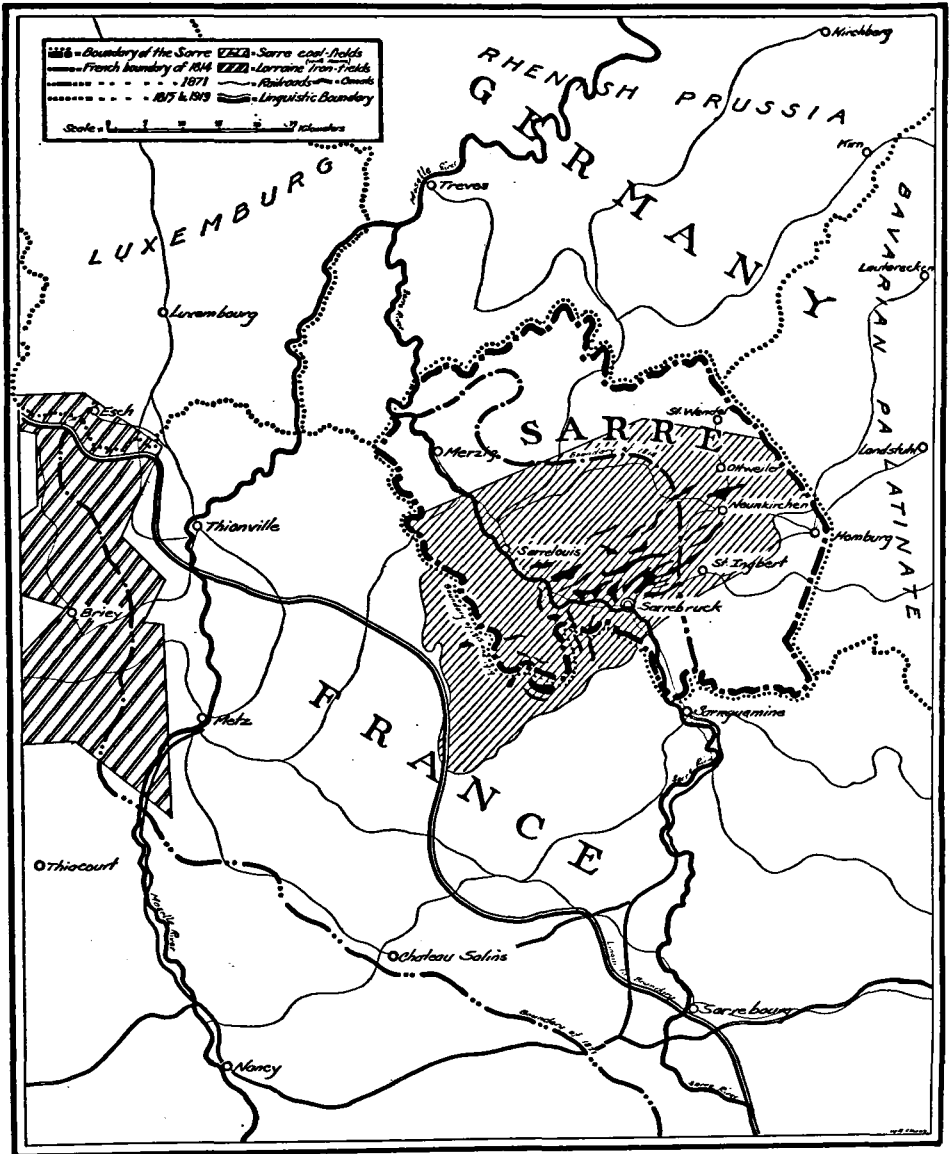
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Territory of the Saar and the Lorraine Iron Fields.

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OF THE SAAR**

**BY  
FRANK M. RUSSELL**

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## PREFACE

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles the League of Nations is required to shoulder a number of specific responsibilities in connection with certain of the territorial changes provided for in the Treaty. Already a considerable literature of indiscriminate praise from the League's friends and unqualified censure from its enemies, concerning the manner in which it has met these responsibilities, has appeared. On the other hand very few objective studies of the League and of the Treaty have been attempted. The field has been almost entirely surrendered to the pros and antis, doubtless because scholars have felt that their own entry would be premature and fruitless.

It may be conceded at once that it is too early to render anything approaching a final judgment on all of the political and economic arrangements made at Paris in 1919, but it would seem to be not only possible but desirable, before the actors vanish altogether from the political scene, to work out tentative assessments of those parts of the Treaty for which the necessary data may be gathered. The Saar arrangement falls within this category. Not only are the essential documents available for a study of the origin and working of the Saar régime under the League of Nations, but the authors of the scheme and those charged with the responsibility of carrying it out are accessible to the seeker of information.

The present study of the Saar is concerned primarily with the international political aspects of the Treaty provisions, and for that reason the admittedly important economic factors have been given space only as they have influenced or been affected by the political situation. It will appear, however, that they have played a powerful part.

The purely administrative tasks and achievements of the Saar Basin Governing Commission have already been treated more or less fully by Haskins, Priou, and others, and I have accordingly pruned my own discussion rather severely. It is becoming increasingly evident, too, that, while inefficient administration by the Governing Commission would aggravate the political discontent in the Territory, mere technical efficiency of the most marked sort is not likely to furnish any real solution for the Saar problem. The key to an understanding of the situation seems to lie in the field of politics rather than in the field of administration.

Many persons have aided me in one way or another in making this study, and whatever of merit it possesses is largely due to their cooperation and assistance. Among these I desire to make special acknowledgment to Dr. David P. Barrows of the University of California, President Ray Lyman Wilbur, and Chancellor David Starr Jordan of Stanford University, Dean Frank Probert of the College of Mining of the University of California, Professors Frank Golder, E. D. Adams, Ralph Lutz, V. J. West, and Graham Stuart of Stanford University, Miss Sarah Wambaugh of Cambridge, Massachusetts, Professor Manley Hudson of Harvard University, David Hunter Miller of New York, and Ray Stannard Baker.

It was my good fortune, also, to meet and talk with the three members of the committee charged by the Council of Four with the task of drawing up the Saar section of the Treaty—Dr. Charles H. Haskins of Harvard, Mr. Headlam-Morley of the British Foreign Office, and M. Tardieu, member of the French Chamber of Deputies. They were most generous in extending many courtesies and in giving me indispensable aid.

The five members of the Saar Basin Governing Commission—M. Rault (Chairman), Major Lambert, Count Moltke-Huitfeldt, Mr. Julius Land and Mr. Richard Waugh—were good enough to grant me personal interviews at Saarbrücken during the summer of 1923. Similar courtesies were extended by the officials of the French Mines Administration, and by various German political leaders and industrial magnates in the Saar.

Finally, I desire to express my appreciation for the helpfulness of individual members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and to Miss Florence Wilson, the efficient and courteous head of the library of the League, for many favors. My wife might have been mentioned first as well as last, for she contributed toward the advancement of the project at all stages.