

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3rd, 1928, AT 10.30 A.M.

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1. — OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

M. PROCOPÉ, delegate of Finland, Acting President of the Council, and afterwards M. ZAHLE (Denmark) took the Chair.

The Chairman :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — Last year you did my country the honour of electing it to a seat on the Council, and that is why, as President of the fifty-first session of that body, I am opening your Assembly to-day. The fact that, under the established procedure, this mantle should have fallen on my shoulders is, I think, really a tribute

to the Assembly itself, because it is one proof, among many, that the League's machinery is working satisfactorily, and that its great principles are being loyally applied. It also demonstrates the juridical equality of all countries Members of the League, and shows that, side by side with the Covenant, a very complete organisation has come into being and is functioning, if I may say so, as well as any national Parliament.

During the past year, the Council of the League held its fiftieth session. On that occasion, the President briefly but brilliantly reviewed the ground covered since the first meeting, the meeting presided over by one of the founders of the League, a great statesman no longer among us — that apostle of international solidarity and justice, Léon Bourgeois. I offer a tribute, to his memory from this platform, on which the Assembly itself has so often welcomed him with enthusiastic and respectful applause, when he, with other great statesmen like Lord Balfour and Viscount Ishii, who still occupy high positions in their countries and are universally respected, was fighting for the future of the League.

For the ninth time, the delegates of the Members of the League are now met together in ordinary Assembly for the common duty — freely undertaken — of maintaining peace, in virtue of the common obligations solemnly accepted by all. Like my predecessor last year, I welcome the Prime Ministers and Ministers for Foreign Affairs who, by their presence here, bear witness to their countries' devotion to the League and to its work. I feel sure that I am speaking for every one of you when I say that we hope for the speedy and complete recovery of Sir Austen Chamberlain and Dr. Stresemann, who have been unable to come this year.

All the countries you represent, all the Members of the League, have solemnly undertaken to observe certain rules guaranteeing the untrammelled development of the various peoples of the world, the progress of civilisation, and the maintenance of that essential factor of all progress — peace.

They have agreed to resort to arbitration or to lay their case before the Council, to endeavour to settle international disputes by pacific means, to respect and to protect against all aggression the integrity of every Member of the League, to come to one another's assistance if need be, and to inaugurate the new international relations founded on the publicity of treaties, the broadening of international law, and a common endeavour to solve the world's problems in the manner most advantageous for all.

After principles have been agreed upon, they must be applied. International co-operation and peace can only be ensured by a continuous effort and a long and sometimes toilsome struggle. In the international sphere there are many difficulties in the way of progress on any considerable scale. The principles of the Covenant are being applied, but only gradually, by the adoption of practical measures. Thus, you first of all entered into the solemn undertakings to which I have referred, and then, settling down to the practical work of securing peace and international co-operation, you began to render them perhaps an even greater service by establishing a wide network of organisations where a spirit is growing up which is destined one day to permeate the minds of all men.

Thus international co-operation has already developed to an extent that could not possibly have been foreseen before the League of Nations was created. Just as in each of our countries citizens take an interest in the national life, so Members of the League share — sometimes with most praiseworthy disinterestedness — the League's world responsibilities. In the Council, in its Committees, and in this Assembly, countries of all five continents are working together. European countries are helping to deal with problems peculiar to Asia or America; countries in those continents take part in the solution of disputes which seem, primarily at least, to concern Europe alone. All the Members of the League are pursuing the same ideal and are participating in the same work: the essential characteristic of all the League's efforts is universality.

The need for close international co-operation has long been felt. The desire of the nations to unite their efforts, the conviction that the individual interests of each State coincide with the general interests of mankind, each year grows stronger and stronger. The world war itself only set a temporary check to the growth of these sentiments, and forced the nations to thrust them for a while into the background; it did not destroy them. On the contrary, it only proved that their ultimate triumph was an imperative necessity. The marvellous progress made in our times has set these ideals on a basis of solid reality. We are living in a time when distance is gradually being annihilated, when a man's voice can be heard simultaneously in every quarter of the globe, when means of communication are becoming daily more numerous and more rapid; a time in which the material interests of the various peoples are bound to become knit ever closer together, regardless of the artificial boundaries of continents.

I know we are all convinced that, in view of this interdependence of material interests, international relations also should be better organised. May I venture to show you, by means of a few actual examples taken from last year's work, that the League spirit has made further progress and has obtained fresh successes, despite difficulties, which you yourselves will be called upon to discuss freely without sparing your criticism, since criticism bears its fruit?

In the first place, I rejoiced with you at the good news received some time ago that Spain had

decided not to withhold that valuable co-operation which she has afforded the League from the outset. The Government of Madrid is still nobly determined to help us fulfil the obligations to which I referred a moment ago — obligations which make every one of our countries a champion of arbitration, of the pacific settlement of disputes, and of mutual assistance, if the need for such assistance should ever arise.

Spain will, moreover, continue with us, in the atmosphere of confidence and friendship which surrounds the League, the daily work of international co-operation which is the duty of all Members of the League, and which constitutes beyond question the greatest service the League can render to the general cause of peace and the preparation of a better world.

Certain other countries, though Members of the League, are not at present represented in our midst. We can, however, refer to the loyal help given by the Argentine Republic in the League's work for security and the reduction of armaments; we can say how glad we should be to see that country's delegates here, and the delegates of Peru and Bolivia, for we know how devoted those countries are to that ideal of pacific co-operation which, with equal rights and equal duties, all Members of the League are seeking to attain by common effort. You are also aware that we have good reason to hope for the return of Costa Rica, and though we have had to note with regret that Brazil still refrains from resuming her place in the League, where she would certainly have received a unanimous ovation, we hope that her absence will not be prolonged.

Various non-Member countries have also, on several occasions, sent delegations to Geneva. This is true of that great Republic, the United States of America, both this year and in previous years; of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics also, whose delegations have taken part in the work for the reduction of armaments, and of Turkey, which is represented on the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and the Arbitration and Security Committee. I would point out also that, for the first time, the Mexican Government has decided to accept a League invitation, and is sending a delegation to the International Conference on Economic Statistics which will shortly meet, and that the Government of Ecuador, which had already been represented at various technical conferences held at Geneva, has acceded to certain international conventions concluded under the auspices of the League.

I would also draw your attention to the happy improvement which has taken place in the internal situation in China, that cradle of a civilisation universally recognised as one of the oldest and noblest civilisations in the world. The news has been welcomed by all of us with the hope and joy which such an occurrence is bound to engender in Members of a League bound together by a spirit of mutual aid and solidarity.

The results of the work which has been done in the twelve months following the last ordinary session of the Assembly are before you, set out with official succinctness, without persuasive commentaries or praise, in the report on the work of the Council and of that Secretariat whose admirable work is of such inestimable value to us and to the members of which, including its eminent head, I would like to express our sincere thanks. I venture to hope that you will be satisfied with all the details of this work. What particularly strikes me in this publication, as in the Council's agenda, is the great variety of international subjects which it includes. The multiplicity of the aspects of world life which

the League of Nations reflects is becoming increasingly clearer, and I think that if you merely consider the list of the problems with which your permanent organs are called upon to deal, and compare them with the problems of previous years, you will realise the progress the League is making. Governments are daily paying greater attention to the League; it is becoming, one might say, part of their very being.

In reviewing the work done during the past year under the auspices of the League and by its organs, our attention is drawn to two main groups of problems: first, the efforts that have been made in the economic sphere to establish cordial understanding and co-operation between nations; and secondly, the endeavour to create, by measures of an international political nature, that feeling of security without which the League's ideal cannot be attained.

In addition to these two main questions, we may note a number of other problems which constitute, so to speak, the daily task, the aim in every case being to ensure international harmony and establish peaceful relations throughout the world.

The work of the past twelve months is based essentially on the resolutions adopted at the last ordinary session of the Assembly: on the one hand, those which refer to the recommendations made by the Economic Conference of 1927, which the Assembly during its seventh ordinary session and on the proposal of France's distinguished representative, M. Loucheur, had decided to convene; on the other hand, the declaration condemning wars of aggression and the resolution concerning arbitration, the pacific settlement of international disputes, security, and the reduction of armaments. There can be no doubt that these problems at present form the pivot of the League's activity, and call for exceptional consideration and effort on our part, just as during the past year they have formed the primary object of our work. I think, then, I am justified in referring to them at some length in this brief survey of events. I should like first to draw your attention to the activity—the very considerable activity, I think—which has been displayed in the economic sphere, following on the resolutions of the World Economic Conference of 1927.

Last year, the Assembly unanimously congratulated that Conference on its work: it greeted with legitimate hope the programme of action proposed, the vital principles and the sound policy recommended to all Members of the League.

The task will be long and arduous; and here, as elsewhere, we must be neither over-hopeful nor too impatient. The economic problems now to the forefront in international life cannot be solved until certain concomitant, and by no means negligible, difficulties have also been overcome—this in itself being a lengthy process. We all know that full prosperity cannot be restored throughout the world by the wave of a magic wand; that health after sickness is only restored after a period of convalescence at which the unreflecting optimist naturally chafes. By resolutely eschewing hopes for the impossible we shall avoid such impatience, which is always, from the point of view of public opinion, the great and formidable enemy of all international endeavour.

From an economic point of view also, we are, at the moment, witnessing an entire renewal of the relations between States. I will not attempt to estimate in detail what has already been accomplished and what still remains to be done. Would it, however, be going too far to say that, just as the Brussels Financial Conference in 1920 paved the way for a change of financial policy throughout

the world, a new attitude is now becoming perceptible among the various countries with regard to their economic policy? Personally, I think we may say that this is so.

The Assembly during its eighth ordinary session decided to create a new organ, the Consultative Committee, consisting of a number of persons highly qualified in various economic questions. The task of this Committee is to follow the application of the recommendations of the 1927 World Conference. It met in May, and was able to note the first results obtained. Some fifty delegates, representing all the great commercial, industrial and agricultural interests, as well as labour and consumers, were present at this session.

In the course of the year, the Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions had already been held, and its results bear witness to the effort that was made to reduce existing restrictions to a minimum. As an outcome of this Conference, there was held this summer a Conference on the Trade in Hides, Skins and Bones; this was a first attempt—and it is herein that its importance lies—to establish a multilateral Convention on the adoption of common tariff clauses by a number of States. The Consultative Committee has also asked the League to begin an enquiry into two questions—those of coal and sugar—which are of importance to our principal industries and to the general body of consumers respectively, and with which other countries as well as those of Europe are anxiously concerned. The Committee has also specified the industrial questions calling for investigation, and has secured closer co-operation on the part of agriculturists in the economic work of the League.

Such endeavours promote international co-operation and unite the peoples in a common task which must inevitably encourage the growth of mutual comprehension and the prevention of conflicts.

This, to, is the purpose of the daily work of the League organisations and of the Secretariat. Unostentatiously performed, often without the knowledge of the general public, this work is undoubtedly of vital importance, if the great ideal of the Covenant of the League is to become a reality. I would take this opportunity of paying a tribute to all who are devoting themselves unsparingly to the task of putting into practice the principles of the League.

Consider the work of the technical committees, and you will find them active in the Far East, in America, in Europe and elsewhere. You will find that work taking deep root in every soil and adapting itself to very varied circumstances, national interests and local difficulties. Thus, the Financial Organisation has paved the way for the stabilisation of the Greek currency; the Health Organisation, with the assistance of the Governments concerned, has inaugurated new activities in South America and in India. I give you these examples, but, as you well know, many more could be drawn from the work of these Committees during the year.

The machinery set up at Geneva in the early years of the League under the name of technical organisations is daily being better adapted to its numerous objects. Based on the principle of direct communication between Government departments and aided by the opinions of experts from every country, the technical organisations provide regular and frequent personal contact between the delegates of responsible administrations, and aim at distributing the benefits of every advance achieved over the vast system represented by the League.

This same care for universal interests is marked also by the work of other important Committees

of the League : of the Mandates Commission, the activities of which concern immense territories in both hemispheres ; the Child Welfare Committee ; the Opium Committee, whose 1925 Convention, you will be glad to hear, has recently come into force ; the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which has gone forward with its work of organisation with a view to facilitating scientific work, and has also devoted special attention to the instruction of the young in international matters and to the dissemination of information regarding the League.

Here this practical work links up with what I have described as the central work, which aims at the strengthening of mutual confidence in political relations.

Although, during the past year, the League's attention has been directed more largely than in the past to economic and financial problems and the organisation of economic peace, the absolute condition of union in prosperity, yet its essential task has been to seek political and legal settlements which may create a feeling of security sufficiently strong eventually — and, we hope, in the not too distant future — to triumph.

The League of Nations cannot hope, with a stroke of the pen, to settle every dispute and destroy all possibility of war. Yet, with untiring pertinacity, it is seeking to prevent any repetition in the future of the errors of the past, striving to close every loophole through which war has ever entered and to build an insurmountable barrier around the precious treasure of peace.

We often hear it said that all hope of preventing war is vain — that war is as old as the human race, and will last as long. Our first answer might be that this world already contains privileged spots which, for a long time, have enjoyed the inestimable blessing of continuous peace. I know well that the dearest hope of every one of us here is that the happy state of these cases of peace, whose very existence proves the strength of the ideal in past times, may eventually be enjoyed by the entire world.

At the same time there is another fact which the sceptics overlook : no such attempt as that represented by the League of Nations has ever before been made. Local attempts alone are known to history. Taught by the cruel experience of recent years, our Governments, seeking all the same ideal, are now enlarging the scope of their ambitions and endeavouring to expand, into an international and universal rule, that law of peace which they enforce within their frontiers, and which already in some cases operates over vast areas, such as South America and the countries of Northern Europe, where arbitration conventions hold sway.

Last year you asked the Council of the League and its Advisory Committees to endeavour to make a great advance towards international security, the acceptance of arbitration, and the reduction of armaments. You know the results that have been reached, you know what remains to be done, what differences of opinion have come to light, and what promises the future holds out. From this platform, in the Committees of this Assembly, you will be able to give us the benefit of your valuable advice.

In this respect I think I may say that the prospects at the opening of the present Assembly are good. But before I tell you why I take this view, let me remind you of the important work that has been done this year by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. Faithfully adhering to the resolutions you adopted last year, the Committee has prepared a series of documents which, within the limits of the Covenant, may

afford most valuable assistance to nations desirous of defining the nature of their juridical relations and their duties as members of the community of peoples.

Work has been continued on the question of the summoning of the Council in emergencies ; information will be laid before you on which to base the important decision you will be called upon to take in regard to the League's communications at times of emergency, which must guarantee the safe and speedy transmission of messages between the Secretary-General, the Members of the Council, and the States or Parties concerned. Most important of all, the Committee is presenting to you model conventions which it has prepared on the pacific settlement of international disputes, non-aggression and mutual assistance, and the strengthening of the means available for preventing war, together with draft resolutions to operate in the event of their application, and reports on the execution of certain fundamental articles of the Covenant and on the scheme, which has for a long time been under consideration, for financial assistance.

Some years ago you initiated an admirable movement with the object of adding to the Covenant a universal treaty for the settlement of international legal relations as a whole, and of the question of armaments. As you know, this universal settlement never came into operation. But in the three directions of arbitration, security, and reduction of armaments both the League itself and — let us say it with gratitude — some of its most powerful Members have continued working and making progress. One of the earlier Assemblies welcomed the Locarno Agreements. This Assembly will be called upon to express its views on model arbitration, conciliation and security agreements which follow those great treaties as far as is practicable, and develop further the laws laid down by the Covenant of the League — that Covenant which is sacred in all our eyes, and which in itself already constitutes a general treaty for arbitration or for the settlement of disputes by the Council, and an undertaking on the part of Members of the League to aid and support one another in the maintenance of peace should it be threatened. This Assembly will also consider the important draft convention for the strengthening of the means of preventing war which, on Germany's initiative, has been prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

Unquestionably none of these schemes, conceived, all of them, in a single desire to promote peace and good understanding, would ever have seen the light but for the existence of the League and the spirit it has created. Without the League they would be lifeless. Every line of them bears witness to the prestige of the Assembly and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to the irreplaceable authority of the Council. Should a conflict be threatened, it is in you and in the Council of the League that the world would place its trust. It is due to the existence of the League that precautions could be taken to ward off the danger, and that the disputants would bow to these decisions.

Yet only a little while ago it was still feared that the Assembly, confronted once more with the problem of the reduction and limitation of armaments, would again encounter all the difficulties with which its predecessors, even down to last year, contended with all their skill and with all the force of their enthusiasm. The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference has not been able to complete the draft General Convention which it began to draw up ; but you are all aware both

of the reasons that prevented the success of that work and of the new hopes which are now held out.

In view of these prospects the Assembly has now before it the definite data it requires for its discussions. I was partly relying on this hope when I stated a moment ago that the Assembly was opening under happy auspices; but naturally I also have in mind the conclusion of the Pact for the Outlawry of War signed a few days ago in Paris. I may avail myself of this opportunity to send a cordial greeting to that great Republic, the United States of America, which, as you are aware, was chiefly responsible for preparing that Treaty. I feel sure that we must all regard this Pact as a lofty manifestation of the will to bring about an international understanding, an act in keeping with the principles of the Covenant of the League, arising out of the same desire for universality and for united action to maintain peace. Is there anywhere a more splendid proof of the progress of the peace-ideal? I feel sure that you will wish me to congratulate warmly the authors of this Pact, and above all those who primarily conceived it, Mr. Kellogg and M. Briand.

We greet the new Treaty as a triumph for the cause of peace, and for our faith in the future of the League. The Treaty is a great and precious help to us in our work, a new encouragement to press forward to success. Proof that the ideas upheld in this Assembly are everywhere approved is furnished by this unanimous desire to register a solemn declaration, the same desire which, last year, was boldly embodied in the resolution — adopted on the proposal of the Polish delegation — condemning wars of aggression. We must carry into effect all the logical, natural and indispensable consequences of this resolution. The forces in favour of peace are daily increasing in number and in strength. Thus we may hope to attain victory at last, and our Assembly may now proceed, enthusiastically and confidently, to grapple with the tasks that lie before it.

These tasks are all linked up with the work of the past years, and they show that continuity inherent in all great social and international policies. You are not merely formulating theories which, however, liberal, logical, and well-conceived, could never exert more than a moral influence. You are preparing a programme of action; you have a political duty and you possess political power. These are great responsibilities. People are sometimes inclined to wonder, in the interval between your sessions, why the League of Nations does not succeed in solving its problems with greater rapidity. I think, however, that if the same people would only try to remember the similar discussions which took place in the time — not so very remote, yet so vastly different — before the creation of the League, they would realise that not only is the League bringing a friendly and cordial spirit to bear on international relations: it is also giving the idea of peace time to develop.

It is for you now to give a fresh impetus to this creative effort. Looking back, we may see much work accomplished; before us there no longer stretches a vista of despair. We can indeed already perceive the dim outline of future success.

I declare open the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

2. — ELECTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE CREDENTIALS OF DELEGATES.

The Chairman :

Translation : Under Article 5 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the Committee to report

on the Credentials of Delegates must be elected by the Assembly and submit its report without delay.

The Committee should consist of eight members.

Does any delegation wish to submit to the Assembly proposals on the subject?

I call upon the delegate of Czechoslovakia, who desires to address the Assembly :

M. Beneš (Czechoslovakia) :

Translation : I propose that the Assembly adopt the following list of members to form the Committee on Credentials :

M. Aristides DE AGÜERO Y BETHANCOURT (Cuba),

M. Rudolf HOLSTI (Finland),

Captain H.H. Nawab Sir Tale Muhammed Khan
SHER MUHAMMED Khan, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.
(India),

M. Charles DUZMANS (Latvia),

Baron Rodolphe Auguste LEHMANN (Liberia),

M. Milan RAKITCI (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats
and Slovenes),

H.H. Prince VIPULYA (Siam),

M. Diógenes ESCALANTE (Venezuela).

The Chairman :

Translation : Are there any observations in regard to this proposal? Does any member wish to propose any other candidate?

If there is no opposition, I declare the proposal adopted.

The Committee to report on the Credentials of Delegates will therefore consist of the members proposed by the delegate of Czechoslovakia.

The list proposed by M. Beneš was adopted.

The Chairman :

Translation : The Committee on the Credentials of Delegates which has just been elected will meet at once in the President's room behind the platform.

Members of the Assembly who have not yet deposited their credentials with the Secretariat are requested to take them without delay to the room where the Committee on Credentials is to meet.

The plenary meeting of the Assembly will be adjourned during the meeting of the Committee on Credentials and will be resumed at 12 noon.

3. — APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS TO SERVE ON THE ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES: COMMUNICATION BY THE CHAIRMAN.

The Chairman :

Translation : Before adjourning the meeting I should like to ask the delegations to be good enough, if possible, to hand in to the Secretariat this morning, the lists of members who are to represent them on the six Committees so that the Secretariat may circulate a complete list of the members of each Committee at the beginning of this afternoon's meeting.

(The meeting was adjourned at 11.30 a.m. and resumed at 12.10 p.m.)

4. — CREDENTIALS OF DELEGATES: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The Chairman :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

I call upon His Excellency M. de Agüero y Bethancourt to read his report.

M. de Agüero y Bethancourt (Cuba), Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee on Credentials :

Translation : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen — The Committee appointed by the Assembly to report on the credentials of delegates met to-day at 11.30 a.m. in the office of the President of the Assembly. I was elected Chairman and was entrusted with the duty of drawing up the report.

The Committee examined the documents transmitted to it by the Secretary-General and found that the following States are represented by delegates who are in possession either of letters of credentials from heads of States or letters from Ministers for Foreign Affairs, or telegrams from the same source, or letters from permanent representatives accredited to the League of Nations :

Abyssinia, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, New Zealand, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Union of South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The Committee considers that the representatives of these States Members are duly accredited. The following States Members have not accredited delegates to this session of the Assembly :

Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Honduras and Peru.

Your Committee on Credentials trusts that the Assembly will approve its report.

The Chairman :

Translation : I beg to thank the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials for his report. Has anyone any observations to make on the conclusions of the report ?

The conclusions of the report were adopted.

5. — ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NINTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The Chairman :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the election of the President of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly.

In conformity with the Rules of Procedure voting will be by secret ballot.

May I call upon M. Hymans, delegate of Belgium, and M. Guani, delegate of Uruguay, as former Presidents of the Assembly, to be good enough to act as tellers ?

(The votes of the delegates were taken in turn by secret ballot.)

The Chairman :

Translation : May I first thank the tellers for their kind assistance ?

The results of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting	50
Absolute majority	26
M. Zahle (Denmark)	44

I have the honour, therefore, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, to announce that M. Zahle, delegate of Denmark, is elected President of the Assembly.

I am sure I am voicing the feelings of the whole Assembly in warmly congratulating the eminent representative of Denmark, a country whose zeal and devotion to the ideals of the League have always been assured. The zeal displayed by M. Zahle himself has never failed, while his long experience of the work of this great organisation has shown him to be admirably qualified for the important task and responsible duties which he has been called upon to assume. These qualities have already enabled him to occupy important positions in the League and are the soundest guarantee of the excellence of your choice.

I am glad to have this opportunity of offering my personal congratulations to M. Zahle, the representative of a nation which, like my own, belongs to the northern States of Europe.

I call upon M. Zahle to take the chair as President of the Assembly.

M. Zahle took the Presidential Chair.

6. — PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

M. Zahle (Denmark), President of the Assembly :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — I am deeply touched by the great honour you have just done me in appointing me to preside over the discussions of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Allow me to acknowledge first the tribute you have thus paid to my country, always a confident and faithful adherent of the high principles of international peace and justice which have throughout inspired the League.

At the same time, I cordially thank His Excellency M. Procopé, Acting President of the Council, for the very kind terms in which he has just referred to my country and myself.

The task which you have called upon me to fulfill is an important and responsible one. I need not recall the names of my distinguished predecessors who have conferred such prestige upon this office.

You may rest assured, ladies and gentlemen, that I shall endeavour to justify the confidence you have placed in me but now that I am about to place myself at your disposal and enter upon my duties, may I claim your kind indulgence and appeal to you for the valuable support which is so necessary for me ?

In conclusion, let me express the ardent hope that our labours may be fruitful and productive of benefit to mankind. (*Applause.*)

7. — ABSENCE OF SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN AND DR. STRESEMANN.

The President :

Translation : Before passing to our agenda, I feel sure I shall be voicing the feelings of my colleagues here present in associating myself, on behalf of the Assembly, with the deep regret so eloquently expressed by His Excellency M. Procopé, at the

absence on this occasion of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the German Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I venture to propose that I should be authorised to telegraph to Dr. Stresemann and to Sir Austen Chamberlain, conveying to them the Assembly's deep regret at their unavoidable absence and its sincerest wishes for the speedy and complete recovery of both these eminent statesmen.

If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal adopted.

The proposal was adopted.

8. — DEATH OF M. WEISS, JUDGE AT THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND OF M. BOKANOWSKI, MINISTER FOR COMMERCE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The President :

Translation : A few days ago we heard of the death of M. Weiss, Judge at the Permanent Court of International Justice. The loss of this eminent French jurist, whose great abilities and high moral qualities are universally recognised, filled us with profound grief.

I am sure I shall only be interpreting the unanimous feelings of the Assembly, if I request the French delegation to accept our deep sympathy and at the same time our expression of the horror with which, on the eve of this our first meeting, we received the news of a terrible catastrophe, a catastrophe which resulted in the loss of several lives and deprived France of one of the most eminent and sympathetic members of the French

Government in the person of M. Bokanowski, Minister of Commerce.

9. — QUESTIONS OF PROCEDURE.

The President :

Translation : As it is now very late, you will probably agree that I should postpone to this afternoon the adoption of the agenda for the present session of the Assembly. I propose, therefore, to adjourn the meeting.

Allow me first, however, to add a few words. The next meeting will begin at 4 o'clock this afternoon. It will be devoted to the adoption of the agenda of the Assembly and the constitution of the General Committee. The Assembly will also have to set up its Committees and to allocate to them the various questions on the agenda.

In order to facilitate the Assembly's decisions on these four points, I shall venture to circulate to the delegations a number of suggestions in regard to procedure. After adjourning the meeting for an hour and a-half to enable the Committees to appoint their Chairmen, I shall inform the Assembly of the results of the elections. I shall then propose that the Assembly proceed to elect the six honorary Vice-Presidents. In this way, the General Committee of the Assembly, consisting of the President, the Chairmen of the six Committees and the six honorary Vice-Presidents will be constituted to-day. If, as I assume, the Assembly desires to follow the usual practice, the Chairman of the Agenda Committee will also be a member of the General Committee.

The Assembly rose at 12.50 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3rd, 1928, AT 4 P.M.

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17. ELECTION OF THE SIX VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.
18. PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES :
Communication by the President.

President : M. ZAHLE.

10. — AGENDA : EXAMINATION AND ADOPTION.

The President :

Translation : I have circulated to all the delegations a note with the proposals which I should like to submit in regard to the various items on the agenda of the present session. My intention in circulating this note in advance was to simplify the procedure as far as possible and to expedite the preliminary work of the Assembly.

As members of the Assembly have the note before them I shall proceed with the first question on the list which has been circulated, namely, the adoption of the agenda for the present session.

Acting in accordance with precedent, and in order to save time — unless any delegation wishes for a vote — I propose that the Assembly adopt the agenda *en bloc*, that is, Items 1 to 21 of the document circulated to the Assembly, together with the supplementary list of items circulated in

accordance with Rule 4, paragraph 3, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly under numbers 22, 23 and 24 of the said document.

If there is no objection, I shall consider the agenda of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly adopted in accordance with my suggestion.

The agenda was adopted.

The President :

Translation : The Acting President of the Council has sent me the following letter dated September 1st :

“ I have the honour to inform you that, at its meetings on August 31st and September 1st, the Council of the League of Nations decided to refer the following questions to the Assembly :

“ 1. Proposal by the British Government relating to the supervision of the use of opium for smoking in the Far East.

“ 2. Private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

(Signed) PROCOPE,
President of the Council.”

The Council's proposal, then, is that the following items should be placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly :

1. The proposal of the British Government relating to the supervision of the use of opium for smoking in the Far East.

2. The question of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

I do not think the Assembly will have any objection to including these two questions in the agenda, this being wholly in accordance with the practice followed at previous sessions.

The proposal was adopted.

11. — CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES.

The President :

Translation : The second item on the agenda is the constitution of the Committees. Before the General Committee of the Assembly can be constituted, the Committees must have elected their Chairmen, as the latter together with the six Vice-Presidents form the General Committee.

The Assembly will probably wish to follow the procedure adopted at previous Assembly sessions and form six Committees — the first to deal with constitutional and legal questions, the second with the work of the technical organisations, the third with the reduction of armaments, the fourth with budgetary and financial questions, the fifth with social questions and the sixth with political questions.

In the light of the experience gained at previous Assembly sessions, I would suggest that the meetings of the Committees be arranged so as to alternate as follows : The First, Second and Sixth Committees to meet at the same time, and the Third, Fourth and Fifth Committees.

If there is no objection, I shall consider these proposals adopted.

The proposals were adopted.

The Secretariat has already distributed forms on which the delegations were asked to enter the names of their delegates and substitutes to sit on the various Committees. I would ask the delegations which have not already sent in these lists to do so as soon as possible.

The Committees will meet presently in this hall to elect their Chairmen.

12. — AGENDA COMMITTEE: APPOINTMENT.

The President :

Translation : In accordance with the practice followed by previous Assembly sessions, I suggest that a small Committee of eight members be appointed to examine the procedure to be followed with regard to the inclusion of new items on the agenda.

If the Assembly agrees and if no other names are put forward for this Committee, I would venture to propose the following list :

Count LAGARDE, duc d'ENTOTTO (Abyssinia).
Sir William MOORE (Australia).
Sir Cecil HURST (British Empire).
Dr. Ferdinand VEVERKA (Czechoslovakia).
Count BONIN-LONGARE (Italy).
Jonkheer VAN EYSINGA (Netherlands).
M. CABALLERO (Paraguay).
M. DE PALACIOS (Spain).

If no one has any objection, I shall consider the list adopted. (*Adopted.*)

13. — APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE AS A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

Translation : At its last two sessions the Assembly decided that the Chairman of the Agenda Committee should sit as a member of the General Committee of the Assembly, together with the Chairmen of the six Committees of the Assembly and the six Vice-Presidents elected by the Assembly.

Is the Assembly of opinion that the Chairman of the Agenda Committee should as on these previous occasions, sit as a member of the General Committee of the Assembly ?

If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal adopted. (*Adopted.*)

The Agenda Committee is asked to elect its Chairman as soon as possible, in order that he may attend the first meeting of the General Committee of the Assembly.

14. — AGENDA : DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS AMONG THE COMMITTEES.

The President :

Translation : As regards the distribution among the Committees of the various items on the agenda, the simplest procedure would be, I think, for the President, according to custom, to submit suggestions.

I do not think this question will give rise to differences of opinion, and the members of the Assembly will have seen from the note already circulated what suggestions I intend to place before them.

I propose that the various items be distributed as follows :

First Committee : Items 10 (a), (b) and (c).
Second Committee : Items 11, 12, 14, 15 and 16.
Third Committee : Items 22 and 23.
Fourth Committee : Items 13 and 20.
Fifth Committee : Items 17, 18 (a) and (b).
Sixth Committee : Items 8 and 19.

As you will have seen from my note, I suggest that, by way of exception, we should refer Item 19 of the agenda — "Report of the Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation" — to the Sixth Committee. As I mentioned, this suggestion is prompted simply by considerations of expediency. The Second Committee's programme is already very heavy, and we thought it advisable not to overburden it if this could be avoided, feeling sure that the members of the Sixth Committee would not decline the very important task of examining and reporting to the Assembly on the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

This decision will not constitute a precedent binding upon the Assembly in future years, but seems to me to be in keeping with the wish of all delegations to distribute the items among the various Committees in such a way as to ensure that they shall have the best possible conditions for their work.

If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly approves these arguments and accepts the suggestion that Item 19 be referred to the Sixth Committee.

If no delegation desires to make any observations on the distribution of the various items, I shall, consider that distribution approved.

Count Apponyi (Hungary) :

Translation : It seems to me, Mr. President, that the question of alcoholism, which it is suggested should be referred to the Second Committee, belongs rather to the agenda of the Fifth Committee, which has to deal particularly with health and social questions.

A further point is that all such questions without exception, should come before those of our colleagues who are particularly concerned with them.

I propose then that the question of alcoholism be referred not to the Second but to the Fifth Committee.

The President :

Translation : May I point out that this question was dealt with last year by the Second Committee

and that is why I thought it best to adopt the same course a gain.

M. Procopé (Finland) :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — I have no intention at present of going into the substance of the question of alcoholism or of explaining why I consider it necessary to examine it quite impartially.

I think the matter could be studied by the Second Committee just as well as by the Fifth. I see no difference. But I should like to point out that there are several aspects to the question.

It is in the first place, if I may say so, a question of commercial health. Do not laugh, gentlemen. All the representatives of the northern countries know that this matter is bound up with important economic interests. The chief problem is to suppress smuggling, which is detrimental to wine-growing and other countries alike.

Then, again, the question has a social aspect.

I think, therefore, that any one Committee might experience some difficulty in dealing with the problem as a whole. I would propose then that the Committee to which the question is referred should ask the advice of the other Committee in question ; for example, if the substance of the question is referred to the Second Committee, the latter would consult the Fifth Committee and vice versa.

M. Loucheur (France) :

Translation : Gentlemen — If I understand the matter aright, Count Apponyi proposes that we refer to the Fifth Committee the question of alcoholism, which was discussed last year by the Second Committee, while the President of the Assembly, quoting this precedent, suggests that it should again be placed on the Second Committee's agenda. M. Procopé has no objection to this suggestion.

I think then that we may agree as regards the first point, that is, that the question of alcoholism be retained on the agenda of the Second Committee.

As regards the question whether the Fifth Committee should be consulted, as M. Procopé suggests, we must surely leave the Second Committee to do this, if necessary. Probably during the discussion, if we approach the question from the point of view of health, we shall find it necessary to appeal for assistance to our colleagues on the Fifth Committee. But if, as is possible, the discussion is conducted on quite a different basis, a decision might be reached without it being necessary to consider the health aspect.

I propose therefore — on the understanding that we shall not thereby be prejudicing the discussion in any way — that the question be left on the agenda of the Second Committee, the latter being free to determine whether it should or should not consult the Fifth Committee. That is the course always adopted in regard to such matters.

The President :

Translation : The General Committee's interpretation of this proposal is the same as that given by M. Loucheur.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal) :

Translation : The question was raised last year, and we agreed that this subject should be examined first of all by the Second Committee. I therefore support M. Loucheur's proposal that the Second Committee should continue to deal with it. Moreover, every Committee has an inherent right to consult the Fifth or any other Committee.

I therefore formally propose that this subject be again examined by the Committee which dealt with it last year.

M. Procopé (Finland) :

Translation : I made no definite suggestion as regards any Committee ; there is thus no difference between my proposal and M. Loucheur's.

Count Apponyi (Hungary) :

Translation : I have no intention of asking for a vote on this question ; I will therefore not press the matter further.

The President :

Translation : I note, then, that the distribution I suggested is approved by the Assembly.

I have just received the following note from His Excellency M. Loudon, delegate of the Netherlands :

" I think it desirable, Mr. President, to inform you that, in connection with the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat, I shall propose that the chapters of the General and Supplementary Reports bearing upon the question of the reduction of armaments be referred to the Third Committee. "

M. Loudon will, I presume, duly lay a formal proposal before the General Committee in the course of the discussion on the General Report.

The Assembly has just decided, in accordance with the Council's request, to add two supplementary items to its agenda. I do not think the Assembly will have any objection to the reference of these two items to Committees forthwith. Accordingly, I suggest that that relating to the British Government's proposal concerning the control of the use of opium for smoking in the Far East should be referred to the Fifth Committee, while the question of the private manufacture and the publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war should be referred to the Third Committee.

If there is no objection, these proposals will be adopted and the two additional items will be referred to the two Committees indicated. (*Assent.*)

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — In the note which I decided to communicate in advance to the members of the Assembly I announced that I proposed to except three items of the agenda from those to be allocated forthwith to the six Committees, namely :

No. 9. — Construction of an Assembly Hall, of New Buildings for the Use of the Secretariat and of a Library: Report of the Committee of Five appointed to select a Plan.

No. 21. — Resignation from the Permanent Court of International Justice of Judge John Bassett Moore: Question of the Appointment of a Successor (Article 14 of the Statute of the Court).

No. 24. — Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council, of the Temporary Provisions (Article 4, paragraph 2) attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a Non-permanent Member of the Council.

All three items appear to require preliminary examination by the General Committee, which should be asked to submit suggestions to the Assembly as to the procedure to be followed, in accordance with Rule 8, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly.

This procedure will, I think, facilitate the subsequent work of the Assembly, and I therefore trust my proposal will meet with the approval of the delegations.

If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal adopted, and consequently Items Nos. 9, 21 and 24 will first of all be examined by the General Committee, which will be invited to submit as soon as possible, suggestions as to the procedure to be adopted. (*Adopted.*)

15. — PROCEDURE TO BE ADOPTED FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : In order to enable the Committees to proceed forthwith to the election of their respective Chairmen, I propose that the Assembly adjourn for an hour and a-half. (*Assent.*)

The members of the Committees are requested to meet in this hall at intervals of 15 minutes in the following order :

- First Committee at 5 p.m.
- Second Committee at 5.15 p.m.
- Third Committee at 5.30 p.m.
- Fourth Committee at 5.45 p.m.
- Fifth Committee at 6.0 p.m.
- Sixth Committee at 6.15 p.m.

The Agenda Committee is also requested to meet at 6.15 p.m. in the room behind this hall reserved for the General Committee of the Assembly, for the purpose of electing its Chairman.

The Assembly will resume its sitting at 6.25 p.m., when the names of the Chairmen elected by the six Committees and by the Agenda Committee will be communicated to the Assembly, which will then proceed to the election of its six Vice-Presidents.

The meeting will now adjourn.

(*The meeting was adjourned at 5 p.m. and was resumed at 6.25 p.m.*)

16. — ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.

The President :

Translation : I now have to inform the Assembly of the result of the voting by the Committees :

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Chairman</i>
First :	M. SCIALOJA (Italy),
Second :	M. MOTTA (Switzerland),
Third :	Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium),
Fourth :	M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal),
Fifth :	M. JOSÉ MATOS (Guatemala),
Sixth :	M. MARINKOVITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).
Agenda Committee : M. CABALLERO (Paraguay).	

17. — ELECTION OF THE SIX VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

Translation : Under Rule 7, paragraph 1, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the agenda includes the election of the six Vice-Presidents.

Under Rule 21, of the Rules of Procedure, this election takes place by secret ballot.

I call upon M. Motta, delegate of Switzerland, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Matos, delegate of Guatemala, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, to be good enough to act as tellers.

The votes of the delegations will be taken in turn by secret ballot.

I wish to remind delegates that voting papers should include only the names of six members, and that no country should be mentioned.

(*The votes of the delegations were taken in turn by secret ballot.*)

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of States voting	42
Voting papers valid	42
Majority required	22

The analysis of voting is as follows :

M. Adatci (Japan)	40	votes
M. Briand (France)	38	"
M. Müller (Germany)	38	"
Lord Cushendun (British Empire).	37	"
Mr. Mackenzie King (Canada)	33	"
Mgr. Seipel (Austria)	24	"

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure, therefore, I have the honour to declare the following delegates Vice-Presidents of the Assembly : M. ADATCI, M. BRIAND, M. MÜLLER, Lord CUSHENDUN, Mr. Mackenzie KING and Mgr. SEIPEL.

The General Committee of the Assembly is now constituted as follows :

The six Chairmen of Committees :

- M. SCIALOJA (Italy),
- M. MOTTA (Switzerland),
- Count CARTON DE WIART (Belgium),
- M. DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal),
- M. JOSÉ MATOS (Guatemala),
- M. MARINKOVITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes),

together with M. CABALLERO (Paraguay), Chairman of the Agenda Committee, and the six Vice-Presidents who have just been elected

- M. ADATCI (Japan),
- M. BRIAND (France),
- M. MÜLLER (Germany),
- Lord CUSHENDUN (British Empire),
- Mr. Mackenzie KING (Canada),
- Mgr. SEIPEL (Austria).

18. — PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : In order to avoid loss of time, I propose that the Committees meet to-morrow morning at the offices of the Secretariat, in the following order :

- The First, Second and Sixth Committees at 10 a.m. :
- The Third, Fourth and Fifth Committees at 11 a.m.

The Committees will thus be able to appoint their bureaux and study their agendas, so as to begin at their next meeting the discussion of the questions submitted to them.

Finally, I suggest that the General Committee of the Assembly should meet at noon to-morrow in the Secretary-General's Office.

I wish to call the attention of members of the Assembly to the following point : the agenda of the plenary meeting to-morrow afternoon includes the opening of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat. It is desirable that I should be informed as soon as possible of the names of members of the Assembly who intend to take part in the discussion, and I would therefore ask those who wish to speak to be good enough to send in their names to me as soon as possible.

As we have now concluded our agenda, I will close the meeting.

The Assembly rose at 7 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4th, 1928, AT 4 P.M.

CONTENTS :

19. INDISPOSITION OF PRINCE CHAROON.
20. RESIGNATION FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE OF JUDGE JOHN BASSETT MOORE : APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR.
Proposals of the General Committee of the Assembly.
21. REQUEST BY CHINA FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.
22. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT.

President : M. ZAHLE.

19. — INDISPOSITION OF PRINCE CHAROON.

The President :

Translation : Before beginning the agenda, I have to inform the Assembly that the General Committee has just received a communication from the Japanese delegation stating that His Highness Prince Charoon, first delegate of Siam, is at present seriously indisposed.

The Assembly will learn this news with deep regret, and will, I feel sure, desire to associate itself with the wishes already expressed by the General Committee for the speedy recovery of the distinguished delegate of Siam, who may be assured of the sympathy of everyone here. (*Assent.*)

20. — RESIGNATION FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE OF JUDGE JOHN BASSETT MOORE : APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly will remember that it decided, at its last meeting, to refer to the General

Committee, for preliminary examination, the question to be found under Item No. 21 of the agenda of the present session : "Resignation from the Permanent Court of International Justice of Judge John Bassett Moore : Question of the appointment of a successor".

At its meeting this morning, the General Committee discussed the procedure which the Assembly should be recommended to adopt in the matter.

The General Committee adopted a note which I will now read to the Assembly :

"The Assembly will undoubtedly be unanimous in regretting the departure of this eminent jurist, who has rendered such signal services in the exercise of his duties at the Permanent Court of International Justice. The General Committee presumes, however, that the Assembly, like the Council, will decide to accept his resignation and elect a successor to fill the vacancy which has occurred.

"The General Committee feels sure that the Assembly will wish to instruct the Secretary-General to express to Mr. Moore its appreciation of his eminent services and to convey to him its very cordial thanks.

"If the Assembly concurs in this view, the General Committee would propose that, concurrently with the Council it should proceed shortly to the election of Mr. Moore's successor. Under the terms of the Statute of the Court, the person thus appointed will remain in office until December 31st, 1930, the expiry of Mr. Moore's term of office.

"The Secretary-General has called for nominations, which must precede the election, in accordance with the Statute of the Court. The list of persons thus nominated has been submitted to the Assembly and the Council in document A.32.1928.V. Annex II of this document contains the provisions of the Statute of the Court governing the election. Annex III

contains the procedure adopted by the Assembly and Council at previous elections.

"The General Committee has no modification of these rules to propose, and suggests accordingly, that they should be followed on the present occasion.

"It proposes, further, that the Council and the Assembly should meet simultaneously on the afternoon of Saturday, September 8th, with a view to proceeding with the election."

The Assembly is therefore asked to signify its approval of the acceptance by the Council of Mr. John Bassett Moore's resignation. The Council has decided to accept his resignation, subject to the concurrence of the Assembly.

If no one has any observations to submit, I shall interpret the delegations' silence as signifying that the Assembly, concurrently with the Council, accepts Mr. John Bassett Moore's resignation.

Mr. John Bassett Moore's resignation was accepted.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly will, I am sure, desire to express its regret at Mr. Moore's decision to resign his office.

In appointing him a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Assembly and the Council well knew what signal proof of his great abilities this eminent lawyer would display in the new field they were opening to him.

This expectation has not been disappointed, and I think I am voicing the feelings of the whole Assembly when I say how very much all the delegations appreciate the great services he has rendered as a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I will ask the Secretary-General to transmit to Mr. John Bassett Moore, on behalf of the Assembly, an expression of its regret and also of its great appreciation and its deep gratitude. (*Approved.*)

The Assembly now has to fix a date upon which it will, simultaneously with the Council, elect a successor to Mr. Moore for the remainder of his term of office — that is, until December 31st, 1930.

You have all received document A.32, which contains a list of the candidates nominated by the national groups. Annex III of this document indicates the procedure adopted by the Assembly and the Council for the election of members of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

These elections must be held by the Council and the Assembly simultaneously. We have therefore to fix a date for the election of Mr. John Bassett Moore's successor. The General Committee has decided to propose to the Assembly the meeting on Saturday afternoon next, September 8th, 1928.

If no one has any remarks to offer, I shall consider the General Committee's proposal adopted, and this election will accordingly be held simultaneously by the Council and the Assembly on Saturday afternoon next, September 8th. (*Assent.*)

21. — REQUEST BY CHINA FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : Before proceeding with the agenda I wish to read to the Assembly the following letter, dated September 4th, 1928, which I have just received from the Chinese delegation :

"In pursuance of the terms of Articles 2 and 4 of the rules for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council adopted by the Assembly" on September 15th, 1926, I have the honour to request you to lay before the Assembly the request of the Government of the Chinese Republic that China be declared re-eligible.

"I have no doubt that the Assembly will be mindful of the fact that China fulfils all the conditions requisite for retaining the seat on the Council reserved for Asia, from the point of view alike of geographical situation, race type of civilisation, religion and economic wealth (recommendation adopted at the third ordinary session of the Assembly on September 29th, 1922).

"Endowed as she is with a new national and democratic regime, China is ardently desirous of co-operating more effectively in the work of peace, and she would be glad to record on the first pages of the history of her foreign relations that, on the morrow of her advent as a modern State, the Assembly of the League of Nations invited her, with a friendliness and confidence which she will be the first to appreciate, to keep her place on the Council.

(Signed) WAN-KING-KY.
First Delegate of China."

The text of this letter will be communicated to the delegations.

The Assembly has to consider a request for re-eligibility from a non-permanent Member of the Council. This request has been submitted in accordance with the rules laid down in the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office, and the conditions of re-eligibility.

Paragraph 3 of the resolution provides that the Assembly may not decide upon the re-eligibility of a Member except upon a request in writing made by the Member itself. The request must be handed to the President of the Assembly not later than the day before the date fixed for the election. It shall be submitted to the Assembly, which shall pronounce upon it without referring it to a Committee and without debate.

The Chinese Government's request having been submitted in proper form, the Assembly will vote upon it at an early meeting, without debate and without referring it to a Committee.

As regards the date when the vote might be taken, I may quote the rules adopted by the Assembly on September 8th, 1927, at the suggestion of the General Committee. The Assembly will therefore be invited to pronounce upon the requests for re-eligibility now before it on the day fixed for the election of the non-Permanent Members of the Council.

22. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the general discussion of the Report to the Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat, on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly, and on the Supplementary Reports.

I have ventured more than once to ask the members of the delegations now present to send in their names if they wish to take part in the general

discussion, but, so far, my request has met with no response ; I have not yet received any names.

My intention was, if no one asked to speak at the present meeting, to propose that the next meeting of the Assembly should take place to-morrow at 10.30 a.m. If, however, I do not receive, by this evening, any request to speak, I propose that no meeting be held to-morrow morning.

You will be informed in to-morrow morning's Assembly *Journal* whether the Assembly will meet at 10.30 a.m. or not.

I would ask the members of the General Committee to meet at 6 o'clock this evening in the Secretary-General's room.

Mr. Dandurand (Canada) :

Translation : Should there be no Assembly meeting to-morrow morning, could it not be announced in the *Journal* that the Committees will begin work immediately ?

The President :

Translation : I will lay Mr. Dandurand's suggestion before this afternoon's meeting of the General Committee. If by this evening no one has asked to speak, you will find in the Assembly *Journal* a notice stating which Committees will meet on Wednesday morning.

The Assembly rose at 4.50 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5TH, 1928, AT 10.30 A.M.

CONTENTS :

23. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT.

Continuation of the discussion.

Speeches by M. Wang-King-Ky (China), Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland (The Netherlands), M. Undén (Sweden).

President : M. ZAHLE

23. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly (Annex 2, Document A.6. 1928).

M. Wang-King-Ky, first delegate of China, will address the Assembly.

M. Wang-King-Ky (China) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is not my intention to weary you with a long speech. Other speakers, more able than myself, will discourse upon the activities of the League.

We are only too ready to acknowledge the importance of the work already accomplished by the League. If it did no more than render possible this periodical contact between the delegates of all the nations in an atmosphere of conciliation and cordiality, it would still deserve the world's gratitude.

This contact will bring about harmony in international relations and thus prompt the nations of the world to draw closer to one another

— for are we not all one in this Assembly? — and unite them in a common love of peace, the supreme aim of the League, which does but faithfully reflect the ever-growing desire of all nations.

But the League has done more than this. His Excellency M. Procopé, our distinguished President, reminded us in his inaugural speech of the masterly work of the International Economic Conference, which met last year and referred to the League's extended activities in the economic sphere in 1928 in pursuance of the resolutions adopted by that Conference.

He drew a striking picture of the work of the technical committees, whose activities extend to the Far East, to America, to Europe and to every part of the world; and he touched also upon the work of the other important committees of the League — the Mandates Commission, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and others.

He gave us a glimpse of new tendencies in the economic policies of States, which are coming to realise more and more that the individual interests of each nation and the general interests of humanity are one.

Again, he emphasised the fact that while the League of Nations cannot hope with a stroke of the pen to settle every dispute and destroy all possibility of war, the exclusively national spirit is gradually being replaced by an international spirit, which is bringing us nearer to the ideal of our dreams.

We welcome this promise of better things, for this international spirit must lead inevitably to moral disarmament.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation will play its part in this work, but let us not forget that before moral disarmament can be made possible, every nation must be secure in the conviction that in the exercise of its inviolable sovereign rights it will be safe from outside attack or interference.

It would be rash indeed to say that nothing had yet been done in this direction: two hundred treaties containing arbitration clauses, the Locarno

agreements which impose upon seven Powers obligations exceeding those of the Covenant, the Briand-Kellogg pact, the first instrument for the outlawry of war, which was signed immediately by fifteen States and to which a large number of accessions is still being received—these treaties, all concluded, if not under the direct inspiration, at all events in the spirit of the League, bear witness to what has already been attempted and successfully achieved.

Lastly, the return to Geneva of that noble country, Spain, and the likelihood of other nations returning, justify us in the hope that the League is making further progress towards universality.

Modern China, the direct heir of that older State, "the cradle of a civilisation universally recognised as one of the oldest and noblest civilisations in the world"—let me take this opportunity of publicly thanking our President for his graceful reference last Monday—is emerging victorious from the crisis which is to complete her unification and modernisation, and will welcome with profound joy the echoes which reach her of the League's work.

These joyous echoes will produce a deep impression on the shores of the Pacific. They will silence critics, convince sceptics and rally the intellectual classes of China in support of the League, whose strength and vitality are becoming more apparent every year.

When the League has definitely attained this character of universality to which I have just referred and which indeed constitutes its essential purpose, and has won universal recognition of its beneficent influence, the great institution of Geneva will have no more fervent supporter than China, a nation of husbandmen and artisans—pacifists by nature and by tradition.

I bring you the assurance here and now that my Government has no more earnest desire than to collaborate with you yet more closely in the work of peace and concord which the League is pursuing with such zeal and tenacity, a work in which our learned Confucius may rightly be considered a pioneer.

Some readjustments in our economic relations with certain foreign Powers have still to be made but, given sincerity and goodwill—and the atmosphere of friendly cordiality which we feel around us here is a sure guarantee that neither will be lacking—these difficulties will easily be overcome.

Then, when the antiquated barriers which have hitherto prevented closer co-operation between China and the outside world have disappeared, China will welcome the technical and financial assistance of the West.

There is a big opening for such assistance in our country and the work of international co-operation which is the very essence of the League can be pursued in the Far East, once more exemplifying the rule of interdependence between nations from which in future no country can remain exempt.

I am still an optimist, and am convinced that if the Far East and the Western world are to meet on common ground—for these two types of civilisation are designed to supplement and not to rival one other—the League must be their intermediary.

When the League, as an impartial body outside and above the private interests of a narrow group, has removed the moral barrier which has too long separated China from Europe and has assisted in curing the grievous ills from which our country has been suffering since its first contact with the outside world, when, by its deeds, the League

has brought calm and serenity to a nation of 436 million anxious and perturbed people, knowing not where to turn in search of help and sympathy when it has successfully accomplished that task, the great and noble task of mediator which awaits it, then indeed it will once again deserve well of mankind.

The President :

Translation : Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland, first delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland (Netherlands) :

Translation : The circumstances attending the opening of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations would seem more favourable for the reduction of armaments than those at the beginning of last year's session when a feeling of anxiety and a mood of scepticism was predominant in the public mind. At our last session, I ventured to draw the Assembly's attention to the growing current of opinion, particularly in overseas countries, in favour of the outlawry of war. As a result of the action taken by the French Government, which met with a ready response from the Government of the United States of America, we now have the profound satisfaction of being able to welcome the conclusion of a general pact by which war is repudiated as an instrument of national policy.

As M. Briand very truly said on the day the pact was signed, such a war is now finally divested of its most dangerous feature—its legality.

I do not think I need indulge in any lengthy eulogy of this pact: I need only say that, as a result of the invitation addressed to it by the United States Government, the Netherlands Government has taken the necessary steps to secure the approval of the States-General to its accession to this pact.

There is another event which has taken place outside Geneva and which augurs well for the work of disarmament. I refer to a recent announcement by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (whose absence we all very sincerely regret), concerning a compromise reached between his Government and the French Government on the limitation of naval armaments.

On more than one occasion M. Loudon, the President of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, drew your attention to the fact that it was urgently necessary for those Governments whose views were most divergent to reach a preliminary agreement in order to enable real progress to be made in the work for the Disarmament Conference.

Whilst paying a sincere tribute to the British and French Governments for the step they have thus taken, I venture to express the hope that their agreement will help to expedite the work of the Disarmament Commission.

If we now survey the work which has been accomplished in this field by the organs of the League themselves, since our last session, we turn first to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. This Committee has communicated to us, as a result of the three sessions it has held, an extremely interesting document. This document, which contains a large number of model conventions for arbitration and conciliation, treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance, and proposals concerning various articles of the Covenant, will of course be closely studied by the competent Committees of this Assembly.

These Committees will be called upon, *inter alia*, to consider to what extent the clauses relating to

non-aggression will be affected by the pact against war. For the moment, I merely desire to pay a tribute to the successful efforts of the members of the Committee and to express the hope that their work will do much to promote the reduction of armaments.

As regards the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the Assembly during its last ordinary session reaffirmed the importance of establishing a convention which would enable non-producing and producing countries to be placed on an equal footing. It requested the Council to invite the Special Committee to expedite its work in order to agree upon a single text which would enable the Council to convene an international Conference as speedily as possible. The Assembly on that occasion expressed its conviction that the establishment of a convention for the supervision of private manufacture was of the highest importance for the putting into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War.

The Netherlands Government desires to emphasise the interdependence that exists between these two Conventions. It considers itself specially entitled to do so because it did not itself await the conclusion of a convention on the manufacture of arms before requesting and obtaining from the Netherlands Parliament the necessary authorisation to ratify the Convention on the International Trade in Arms.

I need not emphasise again how much the coming into force of this latter Convention will help the work of disarmament.

During its June session the Council, when dealing with a question of which I need not remind you, took occasion to emphasise once again how important is it, in the interests of mutual confidence between States and consequently for the consolidation of peace, to put into effect as rapidly as possible this Convention on the Supervision of the Trade in Arms.

The Special Committee set up by the Council to elaborate a draft Convention on the Supervision of the Manufacture of Arms met recently at Geneva. I am afraid the result of its work cannot be regarded as satisfactory since the Committee was unable to reach agreement on matters which are of fundamental importance.

The Netherlands delegation trusts that the discussions held during the present session of the Assembly will help to reconcile differences of opinion which still exist in this sphere. Once the obligations in regard to publicity for armaments laid down in Article 8, paragraph 6, of the Covenant have been fully recognised, this should not be difficult.

When we are reviewing the different factors which govern the problem of disarmament, our attention is naturally drawn to a question which we have been accustomed to call economic disarmament. In that respect we have every reason to rejoice at the declarations concerning the improvement of economic conditions, and the application of the resolutions of the Economic Conference, held in 1927, put on record by the Consultative Committee at its first session.

In this connection I will merely mention the conclusion of a Convention relating to import and export prohibitions, and the two Protocols concerning the export of hides, skins and bones, which constitute a first step towards the concerted reduction of Customs tariffs and, consequently, an improvement in international trade.

The Committee was also glad to note that during the past year a large number of commercial treaties have been concluded, which have not only had the effect of lowering the tariff rates between

the contracting parties but have also extended the benefit of these reductions to third parties by the application of the most-favoured-nation clause.

The Consultative Committee believes it is in a position to state that the results of the Economic Conference have already checked the upward tendency of tariffs which was so marked a feature in May 1927. This reassuring news must not, however, blind us to the fact that certain tariffs are actually higher than they were a year ago, and that constant and concerted action will be necessary if a move is to be made in the opposite direction.

The task of the Economic Committee is to give effect to the policy recommended by the International Conference. The work done by that Committee during the past year, which is deserving of our gratitude and our highest praise, affords the best possible assurance as regards the execution of its future tasks. Apprehension has been shown in certain quarters as to the magnitude of the programme of investigation which the Consultative Committee would like to see undertaken by the Economic Committee. I shall, I am sure, allay this apprehension if I remind you that the Consultative Committee itself said that we must trust the Economic Committee to determine the best order of priority for its future work, and I think myself that our confidence is fully justified.

Before concluding, I venture to refer to one question which, we are all agreed, is of the highest importance for the consolidation of European peace — I refer to the protection of minorities.

This problem is so vast, so complex and so delicate that I think it would be not only undesirable but impossible to discuss it in its entirety, and I shall merely offer a few remarks suggested to me by my personal experience as a member of Minorities Committees and also by the discussions of the Twelfth Assembly of the International Union of League of Nations Societies, which met at The Hague in July last. In a resolution adopted by that body it was suggested, *inter alia*, that the League of Nations should set up a permanent committee for minorities. The idea is by no means new. It was proposed to the Assembly during its second ordinary session by Professor Gilbert Murray, and was the subject of a resolution adopted in 1923 by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Professor Gilbert Murray withdrew his proposal on seeing the resolution of October 25th, 1920, by which the Council instituted what we usually term the "Minorities Committee" or "Committee of Three", consisting of the Acting President and two other members of the Council appointed by him to examine petitions from minorities.

This first resolution of the Council was supplemented in subsequent years by a large number of other resolutions, so that we now have a complete system of procedure.

The Minorities Committee is now a recognised organ, I might almost say a tradition, of the League. This institution has in its time been the target of numerous criticisms, coming, for the most part, from outside the League.

These criticisms were largely unfounded, or greatly overstated, but this need be no cause for surprise when we consider the prominent part which political feeling plays in questions of this nature. If, therefore, I venture to submit for your consideration some remarks concerning the working of these Committees of Three, it is in no spirit of criticism, which would indeed be most unfitting on my part, but simply to point out certain difficulties which I think I have observed and for which we might endeavour to find a solution.

The Committees meet during the sessions of the Council, that is to say, at a time when the

members of the Council are all overwhelmed with work. The result is that very often representatives on the Council are compelled at the last moment to appoint another member of their delegation to represent them on the Committee of Three.

In view of the responsibility of the Committee of Three towards the Council, this state of affairs cannot be fully satisfactory. Moreover, it is often difficult for a member of the Council to form an exact idea as to how far the petition is or is not justified, even when he can consult the clear and useful memoranda which are supplied in good time by the Minorities Section of the Secretariat. In these memoranda the Minorities Section is only able to give a summary of the petition and of any observations which the Government concerned may have made, together with any texts of laws or other documents which the Committee may require.

The Secretariat cannot and ought not to draw any conclusions or offer any suggestions as to what action might be taken with respect to any petition, and we cannot but admire and respect the scrupulous care taken by the members of the Section to avoid any departure from that practice.

The question as to how far the difficulties I have pointed out could be removed without going beyond the terms of existing treaties is a very delicate and difficult one. Care must be taken, on the one hand, to safeguard all the rights of the Council in the matter of minorities, and on the other to prevent malicious persons from taking the opportunity to convert the minority system into an instrument of political agitation, a result which would be directly contrary to the aim for which it was instituted. These considerations clearly suggest the desirability of instituting a permanent committee for minorities.

Doubtless the creation of such an organisation would not be without risks. Nevertheless, if we consider how the Permanent Mandates Commission has interpreted its duties in respect of petitions, I am led to wonder whether it would not be possible to create a similar organ and provide it with all the necessary guarantees to which I referred just now.

I do not wish at the moment to submit any proposal to the Assembly regarding this matter. There may be other methods of attaining the desired object. I will merely ask my colleagues to think over these questions and inform us of the result of their reflections.

I am fully aware that the remarks I have just submitted for the consideration of my colleagues are far from covering the whole field of the League's activities.

I have merely touched upon certain questions which appear to me to merit special attention. Other speakers will, I am sure, give us their views on the problems we are asked to solve. Such an exchange of views is, I think, essential to enable us to prepare the field in which we are asked to take action. May I express the hope that, in our sincere desire for co-operation, we shall find means to reconcile our different views, and travel another stage towards that lofty ideal which must be the final goal of all our endeavours?

The President :

Translation : M. Undén, delegate of Sweden, will address the Assembly.

M. Undén (Sweden) :

Translation : The report under discussion affords us striking proof of the variety and importance

of the work now being undertaken by the League of Nations. Year by year the League is extending its activities to fresh fields, in which there is a compelling need for international co-operation. In view of this steady development of the League's sphere of activity and of the strenuous work carried out by its different organisations, it must be recognised that the League has gradually consolidated its position as an instrument of international co-operation, which has now become quite indispensable.

Important as the various branches of its technical and administrative work undoubtedly are, we must never forget that our main concern should be to consolidate the League as an organisation set up for the maintenance of peace. Accordingly my Government received with keen satisfaction the drafts prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security with a view to widening the sphere of arbitration and conciliation. The programme drawn up by the Committee in this field includes the conclusion of a collective convention on arbitration and conciliation. By adopting it, the Assembly would in a large measure be helping to carry on the work already done in the past — so far mainly by means of bilateral treaties — to secure the pacific conciliation of international disputes.

In this connection, allow me to express the hope that the Council will lend its powerful support to the idea of arbitration — indirectly, but none the less effectively — by applying to the Permanent Court of International Justice for advisory opinions on any disputes of a legal character that may arise. Can it be that the hesitation which the Council appears to have felt in applying to the Court is due to the prevailing uncertainty as to whether a unanimous decision is required before this course can be adopted? If so, it is difficult to understand why the Council has not left the Court to decide for itself whether it had been seized in due form. The Court alone would appear to be qualified for the purpose, especially when the point to be settled is whether a ruling given by an arbitral tribunal shall be annulled on the plea of *ultra vires*.

To Sweden, which is a party to a large number of arbitration treaties, the question of the competence and powers vested in arbitral tribunals is of vital importance, and my Government, necessarily views with the greatest anxiety any tendency to apply the doctrine of *ultra vires*, unless we have the strongest possible guarantees to preclude abuse.

The Swedish Government has considered with the greatest interest the model treaty drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security with a view to strengthening the means of preventing war, and hopes that this draft may lead to positive results. I should also like to take this opportunity of expressing my Government's keen satisfaction at the action so nobly taken by the President of the United States and the French Minister for Foreign Affairs which led to the conclusion of a universal treaty of non-aggression. If, as I hope, all States, both Members and non-members of the League, accede to this pact, it will serve as an expression of the growing spirit of solidarity among nations and of their collective will to consolidate peace. Even to Members of the League who have, in various connections, assumed still wider undertakings to prevent war and to resort to peaceful methods for the settlement of international disputes, the new pact represents an additional safeguard, and one entirely in keeping with the spirit of the Covenant.

I am sorry to say that there is one part of the report now before us with which we are profoundly disappointed — I refer to the part dealing with the reduction of armaments. The discussions

of the Preparatory Commission have not brought about any progress in disarmament since the Assembly's session last year, and have had to be adjourned on account of the sharply divergent views which were put forward in regard to certain preliminary questions.

It almost seems as if every year fresh hindrances occur to bar the way to disarmament—that more and more obstacles are arising to prevent the fulfillment of the promises solemnly given by the Members of the League under Article 8 of the Covenant. In the years immediately following the creation of the League, all its Members alike proclaimed the necessity of establishing without delay a convention on the reduction of armaments.

The Assembly, at its session of 1920, unanimously expressed its conviction that "the maintenance of peace demands the reduction of armaments, in accordance with the principles set forth in Article 8 of the Covenant and in the preamble of Part V of the Treaties of Peace, which declare that the disarmament of certain Powers signatory to those Treaties be provided for 'in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations'."

The Assembly, at its session of 1921, requested the Temporary Mixed Commission to draw up, before the meeting of the Assembly in the following year, a detailed draft treaty on disarmament. But as yet the work for the establishment of this draft has not advanced sufficiently to enable a date to be fixed for the summoning of any general conference which could usefully discuss how far armaments might be reduced.

Everyone, however, admits the danger of delay. If the work of the Preparatory Commission does not very soon produce definite results, public opinion will begin to conclude that mutual mistrust

and rivalry still exist between the Governments despite the Covenant of the League, despite the Treaties of Locarno, despite the Kellogg pact. If all these solemn undertakings to renounce war, to resort to arbitration for the settlement of all disputes which may arise between States, to take joint action in applying sanctions against an aggressor—if all these promises are sincere, how can we convince the world, impatient as it is to see some definite result after so many efforts, that a mere feeling of security is not enough to carry us past even the first stage on the road to disarmament?

On the other hand, if this work does not progress, how can we help arousing a dangerous suspicion that the Governments of the Great Powers attach no real importance to all their solemn promises?

We learned recently that the negotiations initiated between certain Powers to facilitate the continuance of the work of disarmament have resulted in an agreement. It is to be hoped that this agreement will help us to swing past the dead centre at which the preparatory work for disarmament has already stopped too long, and that it will prove a real advance towards the achievement of the aim laid down in the Covenant of our League.

The President :

Translation : No more speakers have sent in their names for to-day's meeting.

I therefore propose to adjourn the discussion on the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat until the plenary meeting to-morrow morning at 10.30.

The Assembly rose at 12.10 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6th, 1928, AT 10.30 A.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE

24. — APPOINTMENT OF SUBSTITUTE DELEGATES TO THE FINNISH AND VENEZUELAN DELEGATIONS AND OF A FULL DELEGATE TO THE URUGUAYAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : I have received several communications concerning the appointment of substitute delegates for certain delegations.

In conformity with the first paragraph of Rule 6 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the Finnish delegation has appointed as substitute delegates :

Baron Aarno YRJÖ-KOSKINEN, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ; and

M. Hugo VALVANNE, Secretary of Legation.

The Venezuelan delegation has also notified me of the appointment of Dr. J. M. HURTADO-MACHADO, chargé d'affaires at Berne, as substitute delegate.

Lastly, the delegation of Uruguay has informed me that its Government has appointed Dr. A. DE CASTRO, formerly a substitute delegate, as full delegate.

25. — MESSAGE OF THANKS FROM DR. STRESEMANN.

The President :

Translation : I should like to communicate to the Assembly the kind message just received by Sir Eric Drummond from Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, in reply to the telegram addressed to him at the beginning of our session, on behalf of the whole Assembly, conveying our best wishes for his speedy recovery.

Dr. Stresemann's message is as follows :

"The good wishes you sent me on behalf of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the occasion of its ninth session have given me great pleasure, and I beg you to convey my most sincere thanks to the President and members of the Assembly. Although, under my doctor's orders, I am unable myself to be at Geneva, you may rest assured that I am following the proceedings of the Assembly with keen interest, and that my best wishes accompany the progress of the session.

(Signed) STRESEMANN."

The Assembly will be as pleased as I am to find in the cordial terms of this message a fresh proof of Dr. Stresemann's attachment to the League, and of the interest with which he is following, even though far away, the work of this Assembly.

26. — MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE ASSEMBLY : PROPOSAL BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

Translation : At its last meeting the General Committee of the Assembly decided to submit to the delegations for approval the following arrangements concerning the framing of the Minutes of Committees. In making this proposal, which is based on similar proposals adopted by the Assembly at previous sessions, the General Committee thought it advisable to put its suggestion in the form of a principle, which might be regarded to some extent as a rule to be followed by future sessions of the Assembly, until such time as the Assembly might decide otherwise.

The following is the text of the General Committee's proposal :

"While the accounts of the plenary meetings of the Assemblies are verbatim records, the Minutes of the Committees consist only of a summary of the principal points of the discussions. Delegates should not, therefore, expect to find in these Minutes a verbatim record of the observations which they have made, but a summary to which they may request that the necessary corrections be made.

"The provisional Minutes of each meeting will be distributed, as far as possible, before the following meeting. The corrections which the delegates may desire to make should be forwarded to the Secretariat before the meeting which immediately follows that during which the Minutes were distributed. The Chairman may, if he thinks it useful, submit the corrections to the Committee, and it will be for the Committee to decide on the final text of the Minutes and to authorise their publication.

"As a rule, no Minutes are taken of meetings of Sub-Committees."

You will understand the spirit in which this proposal is made : its purpose is to convert into a rule what has so far been the regular practice followed by this Assembly, so that the General Committee need not have to make the same suggestion every year.

If no one has any remarks to offer, I shall take it that the Assembly approves these arrangements in the sense in which I have just interpreted them. (*Adopted*).

M. Hambro (Norway) :

- Mr. President, I have no objection to the general principle, but I would ask the Secretary-General to provide for better Minutes than we have had in the Committees. All the other reports have been very good, but it has often been remarked among the members that the Minutes of several of the Committees were prepared in a way of which no journalist could approve. There is no objection to the principle proposed by the General Committee but we must be careful that the summary prepared by the stenographers is edited by a member of the Secretariat of the Committee concerned.

The President :

Translation : I note the observations made by the delegate of Norway, and will request the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to carry out M. Hambro's suggestion.

27. — ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL : PROPOSALS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY REGARDING ITEM 24 OF THE AGENDA OF THE SESSION.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly will remember that at its meeting on the afternoon of Monday, September 3rd, it decided to refer to the General Committee, for examination, item No. 24 of the agenda of the present session.

This item is as follows :

"Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council, of the Temporary Provisions (Article IV, paragraph 2) attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a non-Permanent Member of the Council."

The General Committee, having studied the proposal made by the British, French and German Governments, came to the conclusion that it could not do better than adopt the proposal unanimously.

It has therefore invited me as President to submit to the Assembly, in the name of the General Committee, a communication accompanied by a draft resolution.

The following is the text of the General Committee's proposal :

"The General Committee, having considered the temporary provisions of Article IV, paragraph 2, contained in the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council and the exceptional circumstances under which they were adopted, unanimously recommends the Assembly to apply without reference to a Committee the same temporary provisions for the 1928 election as an exceptional measure required by the recurrence of circumstances analogous to those of 1926.

"The General Committee therefore submits to the Assembly the following resolution :

"The Assembly :

"Having in mind the discussions which took place at the session of 1926 resulting in the unanimous adoption of Rules of Procedure for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council :

"Decides, in virtue of the powers conferred on it by Article IV, paragraph 2 *bis* of the Covenant, that the temporary provisions for the election of 1926 contained in Article IV, paragraph 2, of the resolution of the Assembly of September 15th, 1926, shall also apply to the election of 1928.

"By the application of Article IV, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, this resolution is adopted without reference to a Committee."

The text which I have just read will be printed and circulated to the delegations.

If there is no objection, I intend to open the discussion on the General Committee's proposal at the beginning of to-morrow morning's meeting. The Assembly will then be invited to take a decision with reference to the adoption of this proposal, in conformity with the Rules of Procedure.

The proposal of the President was adopted.

28. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND ON THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT: CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the Report on the Work of the Council, the Work of the Secretariat and the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly.

Mr. McLachlan, first delegate of Australia, will address the Assembly.

Mr. McLachlan (Australia) :

I speak as the representative of Australia, one of those countries favoured by fortune in that it has never been the scene of war. But we took our part in the great war and paid the price in the lives of our young men, and we are most earnestly determined to do all that lies in our power "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security".

I believe that the necessary prelude to disarmament and the surest way to ensure peace is to give the nations a reasonable promise of security and to offer them some substitute for war as a means of settling disputes. I have come here from Paris, where I have just had the privilege of signing, on behalf of Australia, the pact for the renunciation of war. If, however, nations renounce war as the mode for settling their disputes, some other means must be provided. Arbitration is a suitable method for disputes of a juridical nature, and some form of conciliation is necessary for disputes which do not lend themselves to settlement by arbitration or by the decision of the Permanent Court.

I welcome the report on the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, because I believe that its work in preparing model treaties will serve as a useful stimulant and a constant reminder to States of how such treaties, providing for arbitration and conciliation, can contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security by increasing co-operation between States. We yield to none in our belief in the value of arbitration treaties, although we prefer the bilateral type to the general.

It is because I believe that the League's principal aim should always be to increase international co-operation as a means of safeguarding the peace of the world that I am prompted to speak to-day and to point out how its great work might be endangered. Every country desires to be master of its own internal policy, and this fact should be kept constantly and clearly in view. All the States Members have bound themselves by the Covenant to submit to the authority of the League except as regards matters of domestic jurisdiction in those cases covered by Article 15, paragraph 8. This submission applies to problems which are more or less critical and likely to disturb the peace of nations. But there are many other matters of general interest in which international co-operation is desirable, but regarding which a League decision is not binding on its Members, and in connection with which too great activity is to be deprecated. This is especially the case in the economic field.

Up to 1927 very little of the work done at Geneva in that field could be said to have intimately concerned Australia. In that year, however, the World Economic Conference gave a new impetus and a new direction to the economic work of the League. The position now is that, in common with all other countries, Australia is forced to study the activities which the Financial and Economic

Organisation has already undertaken, or is about to undertake, or, indeed, which certain enthusiasts are urging should be undertaken. These activities can be grouped under three heads, namely: European reconstruction, commercial policy, and intelligence work.

The work of European reconstruction has been carried out mainly by the Financial Committee. This is work of which Australia recognises the great value and importance, but to which, faced as she is with her own immense developmental problems, she cannot make any valuable contribution. At the same time, she realises its world-wide significance and also that, in common with all other countries, she may expect to reap such general benefit as will arise from the return to prosperity of the assisted European nations.

Interest in the many problems which have been included under the term commercial policy has been greatly stimulated by the World Economic Conference. A sharp line divides activities of this group into two distinct types. On the one hand, efforts have been made to improve the facilities for international trade, and, on the other, attention has been drawn to the very complex problem of Customs tariffs.

Where attempts have been made to improve the facilities for international trade, the work has been straightforward and is proving successful. The object has been to clear away the obstacles which hinder trade, and to prepare the ground for international agreements.

Countries have developed, in some respects, in isolation from one another. The result has been that regulations and ordinances directly affecting their commercial relationships have been framed on divergent lines, and for this reason trade has been greatly hampered. The Economic Organisation has brought together a great deal of information on this subject, and is taking appropriate action in regard to such matters as the divergencies of national law on bills of exchange, anomalous Customs formalities, differences in the drawing up of tariff nomenclature, differences in methods whereby arbitration may be brought to bear on commercial disputes. All these constitute a legitimate and safe field for international action, because its purpose is simply to ensure the smooth working of the machinery which enables international commerce to be carried on.

In passing from this work to the question of Customs tariffs, we are facing an entirely different problem. It is a long step from activities designed to improve the machinery of trade to those which, in proposing to deal with Customs tariffs, strike deep into the heart of national policies.

There are many reasons why it is a dangerous, even a hazardous, undertaking for the League to concern itself actively with the question of Customs tariffs. So essentially are Customs tariffs regarded by the constituent nations of which the League of Nations is composed as part of national policy, that it is inconceivable that the League should make any direct representation to nations on the subject of the level or nature of their tariffs.

The method of direct approach having been ruled out, there remains the possibility of international conferences called by the League to consider either the general question of the level and incidence of tariffs or the particular question of the effect of tariffs on some given commodities, or groups of commodities. I should like for a moment to point out the dangers of such conferences. It is only necessary for me to remind you of the essentially different stages of development which the States Members of the League have reached, and to emphasise that, in connection with any given commodity, some

ctates are interested as producers, others as Consumers, and some merely as traders or carriers, in order to make it clear that international conferences definitely called to consider the effect of tariffs on certain commodities might easily cause irritation rather than promote amity.

Having regard to these considerations, the utmost that I can say in regard to the League's economic activities concerning tariffs is that I am unfeignedly glad to have noticed the cautious way in which the Economic Organisation has approached this problem. This very cautious attitude shows that the Economic Organisation realises that Customs tariffs are essentially national problems. Whatever may occur in the future, the time has not yet arrived when the League can safely enter into this field.

Let me emphasise again the purpose for which the League was created — "to seek peace and ensure it"; and let us realise that, for the League to exercise to the highest possible degree its great function, it must carefully guard its prestige, and so be doubly, nay trebly, careful before it embarks on some economic adventure which, however desirable it may appear to some nations, may prove not merely a stumbling-block but even a cause of offence to others.

Up to this point my remarks have been mainly of a critical, perhaps negative nature, and might suggest that my country did not desire to encourage the work of the Economic Organisation. This, however, is far from being the case, for I have now reached the third group of the League's economic activities, namely, its work on behalf of the whole world, with a view to obtaining clearer information and better knowledge of the progress of commerce, industry and agriculture.

We cannot emphasise too much our vigorous approval of this side of the League's work, and the great importance of a really effective Intelligence Service on economic affairs. The great necessity is for the preparation and presentation, in readable and intelligible form, of information and statistics by the League Economic Organisation itself, and this over and above the work which it is necessary to carry out to persuade countries to adopt comparable methods of preparing statistical information. A nation such as Australia, engaged with the vast problem of developing its resources, needs to be able to gauge its progress by reliable data regarding the conditions in other countries. In order that one nation may develop along lines most profitable to the world as a whole, the fullest possible information on production and industry throughout the world must be available.

I am glad to say that the League has already done some excellent work along these lines. By the publication of memoranda covering a wide range of subjects, such as Currency and Banking and International Trade, very valuable information has been made available. This is work for which the League, as an international body, is peculiarly suited, and work which Australia hopes will be continued in the future. If this work can be carried out, it will enable the leaders of thought, in commerce, in industry and in agriculture in all countries to assess their progress and to discover what is, after all, from an international point of view, the most important thing — how they can best contribute to the material welfare of the world.

It is because of my desire to see the League prosper that I have sounded this note of warning. Let every effort be made to collect and disseminate information, so that each State Member may be in a position to understand the results of its tariff policy, but let us be very cautious how we approach

the problem of securing a general reduction of tariffs, lest in our efforts to encourage economic welfare we antagonise some States Members and weaken the power of the League to achieve international peace and security.

The President :

Translation : M. Mowinkel, first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

M. Mowinkel (Norway) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — No country places greater hopes in the League of Nations than the one I have the honour to represent. None realises more fully that the peace of the world depends upon the authority which the League acquires. To replace might by right in human relations, and consequently in relations between States, is in our view the most imperative duty of our time. Norway, wishing to emphasise this conception, has signed a series of arbitration treaties without restriction or reserve. She has thereby sought to obtain further guarantees that, in accordance with the true spirit of the League Covenant, legal methods shall be followed in her relations with other States.

Our country and our Government have followed with the greatest interest the efforts made to bind as many States as possible by similar treaties providing for judicial settlement and arbitration in all international disputes. In this connection I will only mention the draft collective arbitration treaty submitted by the Norwegian delegation to the last ordinary session of the Assembly, and the Norwegian Government's memorandum submitted to the Secretary-General of the League on December 30th, 1927. The Norwegian Government therefore cordially welcomed the first results of the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security set up by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. We earnestly hope that a whole system of treaties providing for judicial settlement and arbitration will be brought into being as a result of these efforts, so that confidence and trust in the maintenance of peace between the nations may thereby be enhanced, for it is upon confidence and trust that all our efforts for peace must ultimately rest.

We must confess, however, that the League's position as the inspirer of this confidence is not as strong as we could have desired. This fact is of decisive importance. We must therefore conscientiously enquire into the reasons for this; we must point out, and as far as possible remedy, any defects that may exist. The first and most important condition necessary to enable the League to safeguard peace and to create an atmosphere of confidence in peace is undoubtedly that its authority should be scrupulously and firmly respected by all its Members. Members must feel very sure that the League's action is based on justice and equity and that the League is determined to enforce its decisions. Nothing could be more injurious to the world-wide prestige which is vital to the League than weakness in carrying out its noble task as a mediator between nations. All Members must feel that the League is above party, that it stands above divergences of view and the clash of political interests.

The Council, which, as it were, permanently directs the League's work, has an important part to play and heavy responsibilities to bear. It is by the action of the Council that the world largely gauges the authority of the League and its power to enforce that authority. The composition of the Council ought therefore to reflect, as faithfully and

as fully as possible, the composition of the League itself.

This condition is essential if the Council's decisions are to command universal respect. I say this because in recent years an impression has sometimes been felt that the Council is inclined to rest content with temporary expedients instead of endeavouring to find permanent solutions for the serious political problems submitted to the League.

In view of the importance I attach to the Council's duties, the Norwegian Government is naturally opposed to the suggestion to reduce the number of the annual sessions of the Council. We are also somewhat averse to proposals or requests for re-eligibility. In so doing we are mindful both of the Council's position, as representing the varied interests of States, and of its authority. We have already expressed these views at previous Assemblies. We are convinced that, if our suggestion were followed, the interests of all States without a permanent seat on the Council would ultimately be better safeguarded.

The continuity of the Council's actions for the settlement of major international disputes should be further safeguarded by the more frequent use of the procedure, already employed on several occasions, whereby one or more members of the Council are instructed to follow the development of a dispute during the interval between the sessions of the Council, so that the latter may be kept informed of the position.

I am also of opinion that the League's authority as an instrument for peace would be increased by a speedy settlement of the question whether the Council is entitled to ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on legal matters by a majority vote, or whether unanimity is required, with or without the votes of the parties to the dispute. This question should be decided by the Permanent Court. On this point I am entirely in agreement with my learned colleague, M. Undén.

I have now to say a few words with regard to the administration of the League. It must be made quite clear that the Secretariat should be an impartial body and that it and its officials must serve the League and no one else. There has latterly been an impression that the various States tend to regard those members of the Secretariat who are their nationals as, to some extent, representing their special interests and their political aims.

This is a disturbing development. Naturally, when a man enters the service of the League of Nations; he cannot be expected to forget his own nationality; but he must always bear in mind that he is in the service of an institution which represents all its Members equally. He must never forget that the mission of that institution is to act as an impartial adviser and arbiter between nations. The heads of the Secretariat should bear this in mind, in their own interest as well as in that of the League, and for the same reason States should refrain from calling on their nationals in the League's service to promote their special interests.

It is unfortunately clear that the general situation, the general feeling, in regard to peace is not as favourable to-day as might be desired. It is ten years now since hostilities ended, and we all remember how we tried to formulate the lesson of the war in the words: "Lest we forget". Yet to-day many facts have taught us that men are slow to learn and that they forget only too quickly. We had hoped for great things from that disarmament expressly mentioned in the Peace Treaty. Where do we stand now? Military budgets are swelling; deadlier engines of destruction are being devised for use on land and sea and in the air.

There is no comparison between the submarines which struck terror into men's hearts during the world war and the monster submarines now being built.

The aircraft which at that time spread death and destruction were harmless in comparison with the new birds of prey, which are capable of destroying the capitals of the civilised world in a few hours. We learn from England that, in the recent air manoeuvres, the aircraft which attacked London could have dropped twenty-three tons of high-power explosives on that city in less than 24 hours. The gases which during the war brought suffering and death upon hundreds of thousands of soldiers were innocuous compared with the clouds of invisible gas which could now annihilate the civilian population of a large city in a few hours. Even in peace time we have occasional warnings: a gasometer may explode and may in a few seconds endanger the lives of men miles away. An army division may be engaged in manoeuvres with tear gas; suddenly the wind changes, and in a few moments the innocent inhabitants of some village are made to suffer torments. — "Lest we forget!"

The newspapers refer to war manoeuvres, on land, on sea and in the air; armoured tanks advance, bearing down all obstacles; the sky is darkened by hundreds of bombing aircraft; clouds of poison-gas cover the countryside; submarines and torpedo-boats combine to make sea-routes impracticable. — "Lest we forget!"

Why is the international atmosphere still so overcast? Why do the nations, despite all that has come and gone, still appear to regard war as the *ultima ratio*? The explanation lies, I think, in the tragic fact that we have unfortunately not yet succeeded in making the League of Nations great and powerful enough to allay the fear and mistrust with which the nations still regard each other.

In place of these feelings there should be a firm conviction that legal methods will be followed and that by these methods alone can security be obtained for all countries. The world must place its hopes in the authority of the League, in the League's firm resolve to eradicate the malady of war. Every proof of the existence of this resolve is received with joy and confidence. Public opinion has followed, with the greatest satisfaction and hope, the great and promising work of the League in the humanitarian, social and economic fields.

As regards the economic field, I should like to add that the Norwegian Government has renounced the reservations it made on signing the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions.

Public opinion, however, is primarily interested in political questions. The 1924 Protocol marked out the road to be followed, and the efforts made to promote arbitration, security and disarmament are watched with eagerness and with high hope. Every step taken to lessen tension and remove sources of conflict between nations is joyfully welcomed on all sides as heralding the dawn of a new day.

Locarno was the Bethlehem of the new gospel of peace, and M. Briand's noble plea that arms must be replaced by conciliation has found an echo in all our hearts. For these reasons we were overjoyed to hear of M. Herriot's visit to Cologne and of his cordial speech there, and also of Dr. Stresemann's visit to Paris and his warm reception in that city.

We hope and believe that the greetings exchanged on these occasions will do much to advance the cause of peace and will strengthen international

understanding and co-operation. True peace can only be attained through confidence and frankness.

We therefore regard the initiative of M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg in the matter of the Peace Pact — to which my country, like so many others, has acceded — as the presage of a brighter future, when popular conviction and the authority of the League shall cause war to be regarded as a crime as heinous as murder.

But in order to achieve this object we must no longer live under the old dictum : "*Si vis pacem para bellum*". We must replace these words by those engraved on the pen presented by the city of Havre to Mr. Kellogg for the signature of the Pact against war : "*Si vis pacem para pacem*".

The President :

Translation : M. Hymans, first delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.

M. Hymans :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — To-day, on my return to this platform I see before me many familiar faces. But to my profound grief one figure is missing, one whom we shall never see again, the figure of a much loved and honoured statesman, a man of singular charm, who was one of the builders of the League and whose name will always be associated with what is among the greatest international achievements of our age — the Red Cross. I wish to pay a last tribute to the memory of M. Gustave Ador, here at Geneva, where he lived.

Ladies and gentlemen, I desire to place before you the impressions of one who, despite two years' absence, has never ceased to follow your work and efforts from afar, who has perhaps been able to view them more objectively than if he had been living in the special atmosphere and climate of Geneva, which swiftly make themselves felt by every visitor to this city.

I should like to express my country's views on the work and progress of the League and the part it has played. In Belgium, as elsewhere, we have our extremists. There are the mystics of peace, who believe that the League of Nations can accomplish anything and everything, as has sometimes been said about Parliaments ; and there are the sceptics, whose scepticism amounts almost to hostility. Since, given bad faith, any pact can be violated, they regard the most solemn treaties as idle and worthless. Theirs is the religion of force. They have developed a philosophy of mistrust and have adopted it as their political creed.

But what I want to convey is the average opinion of my country, the opinion of those competent to observe and reason without prejudice, the opinion of a small country, which, if it is to live, develop and fulfil its destiny, wants peace. My country must have peace and security. It has nothing to gain by war — and everything to lose. Its heart is set on peace. It hears from afar the echoes of the great debates of the Assembly. It may doubtless be tempted to view our oratorical efforts as part of a spectacular display or consecrated rite. But these very speeches proclaim and familiarise us with the idea of peace and serve to demonstrate the striking unity of purpose of those whose task it is to shape world politics.

Again, public opinion is becoming better informed in regard to the steady conciliation and co-ordination of interests effected by the technical Committees and special Conferences held at Geneva and at the Secretariat, which has become a real international ministry.

Belgium, though no longer a Member of the Council, has taken no less an active share in the

work of the League, and it is gratifying to note the part played in it by a number of eminent Belgians.

Sir Eric Drummond, who visited the Belgian Government last spring, accompanied by M. Sugimura, could judge, by his cordial reception, of the growing sympathy felt for the League in my country, especially among young people, to whom the cause of peace offers an ideal in these days of doubt and hesitation.

Personally, far from Geneva, and surrounded as I have been by this opinion of the country at large which I wish to convey to you — though at the same time not without some experience — I feel that, despite a certain amount of hesitation and abortive effort, even the past two years have, taken as a whole, been marked by an appreciable degree of progress. The League has given proof of its vitality, it has extended its radius of action — particularly in the economic sphere — it has grown apace, it has effectively pursued its task, which is, in the terms of the Covenant, to promote international co-operation and thus achieve international order and peace.

Many times in the course of these last three years I have heard talk of a crisis, or a number of crises in the League.

The League has never known a crisis. Difficult and delicate problems have sometimes come before the Council, which could not be solved simply by a word or by a stroke of the pen. What could be more natural ? The people who announce these crises in the League are the same people who imagine that it has power to reconcile the most divergent interests in virtue of immediate and absolute decisions. They know nothing of world conditions or the condition of the individual States. There are many questions which can only be touched with a light hand, which must be treated with the greatest care because they arouse the most delicate susceptibilities. More radical treatment might serve to aggravate the evil ; premature resolutions might provoke dangerous developments. Prudence, diplomacy, aided by time and psychological factors, often prove more successful than hasty and peremptory methods. An eminent diplomat has very truly said of the League : " Its contribution to the cause of peace will be to give nations time, at certain moments, to stop and think ".

The League's permanent service in the cause of peace is to draw the peoples together by teaching them to know one another better, to realise the solidarity of their political, economic, intellectual and social interests, and to organise those common interests.

Two great events, from this point of view, stand out in recent times, — the Locarno Treaties and the Economic Conference.

The treaty of mutual guarantee signed at Locarno and known as the Rhine pact, constitutes a solid and stable foundation for peace. It was conceived in accordance with the principles laid down by the League, and it is to the League and the spirit of the League that it owes its being.

In the economic sphere, considerable progress has been made, sufficient to justify the highest hopes.

I do not propose to recall the work of co-operation and reconstruction, which belongs to the early days of the League ; the Brussels Financial Conference, the financial reconstruction of Austria and Hungary, and many other social undertakings in Eastern Europe.

But stress should be laid upon the recent effort, so happily brought to fruition, to regularise, consolidate and modernise international commercial relations.

Until the world Economic Conference of 1927, the idea of which was due to M. Loucheur, who

suggested it three years ago to the Assembly, nobody had dared to meddle with Customs policies, which were regarded as the exclusive concern of the individual States, in virtue of their sovereign powers. The Conference advanced boldly within this hitherto prohibited domain.

The Conference, be it noted, was composed not of Government delegates bound by ties of official reticence, but of persons selected from the ranks of the most competent technical experts. I venture to remind you that it was one of my compatriots and friends, M. Theunis, who presided over those discussions.

The conclusions arrived at by the Conference were couched in bold and unambiguous terms. It declared that "tariffs, though within the sovereign jurisdiction of the separate States, are not a matter of purely domestic interest but greatly influence the trade of the world."

Having enunciated this principle, it proceeded to state the corollaries, foremost among which was the necessity of arresting further tariff increases and gradually effecting reductions. It then outlined a plan for international action.

Many Governments followed the movement — my Government, I am proud to say, was one of the first — and gave their adherence to the recommendation of the Conference, whose spirit and work have now devolved upon the Consultative Economic Committee. This body of technical experts and representatives of vast interests, presided over by M. Theunis, constitutes as it were a tribunal of public opinion. Every year the commercial policy of the States will be passed in review and considered in the light of the resolutions of the Conference. It would be a mistake to regard this examination as a purely theoretical sanction.

Another successful venture, for which we have to thank Italy, has produced very definite and noteworthy results: I refer to the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions.

With patience and method which were bound to inspire confidence, the League prepared a programme, and this was duly submitted to the Governments.

An International Conference met at Geneva on October 17th last. It was confronted by difficulties which appeared insurmountable, but these were vanquished by common sense and systematic endeavour. The Conference recognised certain *de facto* situations and admitted a number of provisional exceptions. The first general Convention was signed by some twenty States on November 7th, 1927. A second Conference met on July 3rd, 1928, and in a Supplementary Agreement laid down the procedure to be followed for reservations made, and defined the conditions for putting the Convention into force, while special Protocols for the abrogation of prohibitions concerning certain groups of States were drawn up at separate conferences. To me, the most interesting point is that this was the first collective commercial treaty ever concluded.

Thus, owing to the sure methods employed and to the authority and capacity of M. Colijn, the President, the first attempt to conclude a collective commercial treaty proved eminently successful.

I particularly desired to throw into relief the League's activities in the economic and commercial sphere, for the League is a definite factor in the material progress and pacification of the world.

It serves the cause of peace by eliminating causes of rivalry and, conversely, by strengthening the foundations of peace, it weakens the protectionist tendencies of States.

The League's economic work is rich in promise: Belgium believes in it and sees in it precious guarantees of peace and prosperity.

One grave problem is still outstanding, and that is what is commonly called the problem of disarmament. This description which, though incorrect, is the one generally employed, inspires excessive hopes in some and inordinate anxiety in others. According to the terms of the Covenant, the purpose in view is the limitation of armaments, or, to be more precise, the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.

Everybody realises the terrible danger which would result from a competition in armaments. Lord Grey, in his Memoirs, has shown how vast armaments, bred of a concern for security, end, on the contrary, by jeopardising and compromising that very purpose, for they produce in some as it were an intoxication of power and provoke in others suspicion and a spirit of competition.

In questions which concern national defence, the League must necessarily proceed slowly and with caution. But the ultimate aim is still kept in view. Some progress was made last year, when the League created the Committee on Arbitration and Security and the latter achieved still further progress by preparing different model draft treaties of conciliation and arbitration, a draft treaty of mutual guarantee and, lastly, a most important draft treaty, designed to strengthen the authority and means at the disposal of the Council in the prevention of war.

The adoption of such measures by States would be an appreciable factor in security. For security is what we are all chiefly concerned about. My compatriot, M. de Brouckère, speaking here last year expressed himself as follows:

"My country, my little, hard-working, peaceful country, is dominated by a passionate love of freedom and a passionate love of peace. Its freedom it is resolved to safeguard and defend so long as it is exposed to any risk whatever, and I need not say that, like all of us, I regard the problem of disarmament as a function of the problem of security."

I can only confirm what he said, and looking around me and afar, at the countries of Europe and the whole world, I venture to repeat the words used just now by the delegate of Norway in his stirring speech: only confidence, that is, a feeling of security, of guaranteed, stable and lasting security, can lead the nations on along the road to disarmament, which is the end and aim of our endeavours. There are many who, in their impatience, would fain spring to the conclusion at one bound.

But we need only look at the problem as it presents itself to realise that no other will ever prove more difficult to solve. It is the biggest, the most complex problem conceivable, for, according to the Covenant itself, account must be taken of the political and economic circumstances of every State; to quote the expressive term used by M. Paul-Boncour, the war-potential of every State has to be estimated, the dangers attaching to its geographical position must be gauged, the budget and effectives of each country must be fixed, and lastly, a general system of supervision has to be organised.

An immense undertaking of this kind obviously required minute and patient study and enquiry — technical, legal and political; where the ground to be covered is so rough it is clear that progress can only be gradual.

Yet perseverance is essential. It would be a great mistake, however, to represent disarmament

as the cardinal problem on which the League should concentrate and to which it should devote its chief attention. Some people think that, because it has not solved the problem in a few months, the League is faced with failure. They forget the realities of life; they forget the passions that the world reveals, the interests, the rivalries, the ill-will, all the factors that give rise to discord and engender hostility.

The League's mission is to conciliate, to calm, to assuage, to retard, to accustom Governments and the public to resort to discussion and deliberation in lieu of violence, to organise international life, linking together the interests of the nations in the fields of politics, business, trade, industry and science.

It is thus paving the way for security and peace. The work of peace, however, calls not merely for lengthy diplomatic negotiations and legal transactions, but for a whole code of procedure which has rightly been termed the "technique of peace".

It requires, too, spiritual preparation, a transformation, an adaptation of national mentality. Peace, as Mr. Coolidge has said, is a great spiritual conquest. It is the League of Nations that guides the public mind towards ideals of solidarity and justice. It has created, and it is fostering an international conscience. What Government, indeed, would nowadays dare to brave the League's opinion — the world's opinion, which the League reflects — by venturing upon wars of conquest, on what have been termed wars of aggrandisement? To what hazards would a nation's policy be exposed if, scorning all right and principle, it were not, in M. Jules Cambon's phrase, endowed with a moral purpose?

The League of Nations, then, educates the minds of men against war, and instils into them slowly — the process requires time — the practical necessity and the duty of maintaining peace.

The pact against war which we have just signed at Paris at the instance of the United States, following upon the noble proposal put forward by M. Briand, is of inestimable value in that it brings together politics and morality, it introduces into the code of international diplomacy a moral law, the principle that war shall henceforth be condemned, and with it the unjustified use of force. It is a categorical imperative, a moral obligation, the positive value of which lies in the international public opinion which it will create, regarding the consequences to which those who might violate it would be exposed.

Briefly, when we look back upon the stages safely passed during the last two or three years, we find evidence of stabilisation, we find an affirmation of the spirit of peace, we find an ever-growing resolve to save future generations from the horrors of war and its disastrous aftermath, — anarchy, revolution, ruin and the exhaustion of an age-long civilisation.

No careful watcher can fail to see the causes of disquiet and unrest which still exist in the world. On the other hand, it is only fair to recognise that the forces of peace — moral forces, economic forces, spiritual forces — are gaining in strength.

Belgium welcomes these hopeful signs and, within her modest means, will co-operate loyally in all the undertakings of the League of Nations, to which she reaffirms her unswerving allegiance.

29. — MANDATES : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : The Portuguese delegation desires to submit a draft resolution to the Assembly. Count de Penha Garcia, delegate of Portugal, will therefore address the Assembly.

Count de Penha Garcia (Portugal) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour, in accordance with the procedure of the Assembly, to submit the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly :

"Following the precedent already established in previous years :

"Decides to refer to the Sixth Committee the Annual Reports of the mandatory Powers, the reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission and all other documents dealing with the mandates question which have been distributed to the Members of the League since the last session of the Assembly."

The President :

Translation : This draft resolution will be printed and communicated to the delegations through the *Assembly Journal*. I propose, at a later meeting, to submit to the Assembly suggestions as to the disposal of this draft resolution.

30. — REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : Jonkheer Loudon, delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) :

Translation : Mr. President — I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution, which is similar to the one that I proposed last year :

"That that part of the report and of the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat which deals with the question of the reduction of armaments be referred to the Third Committee."

The President :

Translation : The draft resolution will be printed and communicated to the delegations through the *Assembly Journal*.

I propose at a later meeting to submit to the Assembly suggestions as to the disposal of this draft resolution.

The Assembly rose at 12.50 p.m.

· VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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President : M. ZAHLÉ.

31. — APPOINTMENT OF SUBSTITUTE DELEGATES TO THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : Before proceeding with the agenda of to-day's meeting I have to bring the following communication to the notice of the Assembly :
The first delegate of the Netherlands informs me that the following have been appointed substitute delegates :

M. W. G. VAN WETJUL, Government Adviser for International Opium Questions.
Mme. C. A. KLUYVER, Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

32. — MANDATES : REFERENCE TO THE SIXTH COMMITTEE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : You will remember that at yesterday morning's meeting I said that I might have suggestions to put forward as to the action to be taken with regard to the draft resolution submitted by the Portuguese delegation.
The text, which is as follows, has been printed and circulated to the delegations :

" The Assembly :

" Following the precedent already established in previous years ;

" Decides to refer to the Sixth Committee the annual reports of the mandatory Powers, the reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission and all other documents dealing with the mandates question which have been distributed to the Members of the League since the last session of the Assembly. "

In accordance with the procedure adopted at the last ordinary session of the Assembly, I propose that the Assembly should adopt this resolution and should accordingly refer to the Sixth Committee the various documents dealing with the mandated territories.

If no objections are raised, this procedure will be adopted. (Adopted.)

33. — REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS :
REFERENCE TO THE THIRD COMMITTEE
OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED
BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly will remember further, that, at its meeting yesterday morning, a draft resolution was submitted by the Netherlands delegation.

In this case also I said that I might have suggestions to submit to the Assembly as to the steps to be taken with regard to the draft resolution.

The text, which is as follows, has been printed and circulated to the delegations :

"That that part of the Report and of the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat which deals with the question of the reduction of armaments be referred to the Third Committee."

In order to expedite the procedure, and in conformity with the course approved at former sessions, I propose that the Assembly adopt this draft resolution and refer to the Third Committee those parts of the report and of the supplementary report on the work of the Council which relate to the reduction of armaments.

If there are no objections, I shall regard this proposal as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

34. — ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT
MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL : PROPOSALS
OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE
ASSEMBLY REGARDING ITEM 24 OF THE
AGENDA OF THE SESSION : CONTINUATION
OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda refers to proposals of the General Committee regarding Item No. 24 of the agenda of the present session :

"Maintenance in force, as an exceptional measure, for the 1928 Elections to the Council of the Temporary Provisions (Article 4, paragraph 2) attached to the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the Election of a Non-permanent Member of the Council."

At its meeting yesterday morning the Assembly approved the suggestion which I had ventured to put forward, and agreed to examine, at the beginning of this morning's meeting, the General Committee's proposal, which I will now read again :

"The General Committee of the Assembly, having considered the temporary provisions (Article 4, paragraph 2) contained in the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926, for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, and the exceptional circumstances under which they were adopted, unanimously recommends to the Assembly to apply without reference to a Committee the same temporary provisions for the 1928 elections, as an exceptional measure required by the recurrence of circumstances analogous to those of 1926.

"The General Committee therefore submits to the Assembly the following resolution :

"The Assembly, having in mind the discussions which took place at the session of 1926 resulting in the unanimous adoption of the rules of procedure for the election

of non-permanent Members of the Council, decides, in virtue of its powers under Article 4, paragraph 2*bis*, of the Covenant, that the temporary provisions for the elections of 1926, contained in Article 4, paragraph 2, of the resolution of the Assembly of September 15th, 1926, shall also apply to the elections of 1928.

"In application of Article 14, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, this resolution is adopted without reference to a Commission."

The Assembly will notice that this draft resolution involves a twofold decision :

First, a decision on a question placed on its agenda at a plenary meeting, without previous reference to a Committee, in application of Rule 4, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, and, secondly, a decision to adopt, in virtue of Article 4, paragraph 2*bis* of the Covenant, temporary provisions concerning the conditions of re-eligibility of non-permanent Members of the Council.

Both these decisions must be taken by a two-thirds majority.

The Assembly could, by a single vote, decide on the proposal as a whole. If, however, any member applied for a separate vote, the Assembly could decide on the two points successively, priority being given, of course, to the point bearing on Rule 4, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure.

The Assembly has, then, to consider a draft resolution submitted by the General Committee which I have just explained. The discussion is now open and I call upon the first member who has asked to speak. M. Undén, delegate of Sweden, will address the Assembly.

M. Undén (Sweden) :

Translation : Mr. President — According to the statement which you made yesterday, the General Committee did not simply decide a question of procedure, which was the only point submitted to it the other day by the Assembly but thought fit to lay before us a proposal affecting the substance of the matter.

As regards the procedure involved, I cannot agree with the General Committee, whose proposal deals with a draft amendment affecting one of the League's constitutional principles, which, according to the Covenant, can only be modified by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast.

This fact seems to me to show clearly that changes ought not to be made hastily, but only after mature reflection. In these circumstances, I am of opinion that the ordinary procedure should have been followed.

As regards the question of substance, I should like to say that the regulation concerning elections to the Council was adopted in 1926 after lengthy and arduous discussion, and only after mutual concessions had been made by States holding widely divergent views on the matter.

I have no intention of opening a discussion on the substance of the question. I merely venture to remind you that during the discussion which took place in 1926 the representative of Sweden said he could not accept the proposed compromise unless it were clearly understood to constitute a final and complete settlement of the whole problem.

If we allowed fresh exceptions to be made, we should be setting up a precedent which would certainly be cited before long.

In view of the above considerations, and of the principles which my Government has always advocated, the Swedish delegation cannot see its way to support the proposal submitted by the British, French and German Governments.

The President :

Translation : M. Mowinkel, first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

M. Mowinkel (Norway) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I wish to refer to what I said in my speech yesterday concerning the Norwegian Government's opinion regarding the re-eligibility of the non-permanent Members of the Council — an opinion which Norway has already taken occasion to express — and I have asked to speak in order to give my support from this platform to the view which M. Undén has just put forward. I need not say that our attitude is not animated by ill-will towards any country. We take no sides in the matter. Our attitude is based on principle ; it is dictated solely by a conviction to which we feel we must steadfastly adhere.

Only for the most urgent reasons should the Assembly depart from the rules of election which it laid down two years ago after mature reflection and exhaustive discussion. We do not agree that such reasons exist. The rules at present in force enable the widest possible consideration to be given to the desires of individual States without there being any need to resort to exceptional measures.

I would add that any deviation from these rules might easily be cited in the future as a precedent, and would thus endanger the stability and consistency indispensable to maintain the authority of our institution.

The President :

Translation : M. Villegas, first delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

M. Villegas (Chile) :

Translation : The Chilean delegation welcomed the rules which were adopted in 1926 after lengthy discussion by the Special Committee, for we thought they would provide a settlement for certain political problems to which we attached great importance. A similar problem has arisen to-day in exactly the same form, and I see no reason why we should not apply now the measures which were regarded as wise and equitable in 1926.

In the life of the League, as in the history of nations, two years are but a moment's space, and what we have temporarily discontinued we are now resuming after a very short interval.

I therefore strongly support the proposal that, as an exceptional measure, we should apply to the 1928 elections the temporary provisions of 1926, without referring this proposal to a Committee.

The President :

Translation : Does anyone else wish to speak ? The discussion is closed.

As no application has been received for the vote to be taken separately on each question, the Assembly will now decide by a single vote on the entire proposal submitted by the General Committee. The decision, which must be taken by a two-thirds majority, will have the twofold result of indicating whether the Assembly desires to take a decision, without previous reference to a Committee, on the draft resolution submitted to it; or whether, in virtue of Article 4, paragraph 2bis, of the Covenant, the Assembly intends to adopt the draft resolution itself.

The vote will now be taken. Unless a request is made for it to be taken by members rising in their seats, it will be taken by roll-call.

In conformity with Article 20, paragraph (a), of the Rules of Procedure, the name of each delegation will be called. Members of the Assembly who are in favour of the resolution will reply "Yes", those who are opposed to it will reply "No" and those who desire to abstain will reply "Not voting".

The result of the vote will be recorded and announced to the Assembly.

The vote was taken by roll-call.

The President :

Translation : The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting	49
Abstained	1
Two-thirds majority required	32
Votes in favour	44
Votes against	4

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure and with Article 4, paragraph 2bis of the Covenant, I declare that the Assembly has decided in the affirmative, and by the required majority, on the entire proposal of the General Committee as I have defined it.

I therefore announce that the temporary provisions governing the 1926 elections and contained in Article 4, paragraph 2, of the Assembly resolution dated September 15th, 1926, shall likewise apply to the 1928 elections.

(Adopted.)

35. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur, delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

H.H. the Nawab of Palanpur (India) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is with feelings of diffidence and respect that I, a stranger, come before this great gathering of international statesmen and I earnestly trust that I may count upon your indulgence in the discharge of the responsibility which devolves upon me on this occasion as a member of the Indian delegation, within which I represent more particularly the ruling Princes of India.

India, with her ancient civilisation and culture, and her well-known assimilation of noble ideas, is genuinely interested in the aims and objects of the League of Nations, and is most anxious to promote, as far as lies in her power, the growth of the ideals and activities of the League. This growth has continued during the past twelve months.

Ever since the foundation of the League, attempts have been made in various parts of India to bring into existence societies to develop interest and knowledge of League matters. Such societies did useful work, but they lacked initiative and guidance. Now a central branch of the League of Nations Union has been organised in Delhi, which will co-ordinate and federate the work of the smaller organisations in the various provincial centres, and give the movement the stimulus which it requires.

The social welfare and public health activities of the League have always commanded India's admiration, sympathy and support, and I may be permitted to tender my tribute of praise and gratitude to all workers on behalf of the League in these directions. The interchange of Public Health Officers which was conducted under the auspices of the League and terminated in India in February last was greatly welcomed by public health workers in India, as affording them an opportunity of profiting by contact with workers on similar problems in other countries. Similar beneficial results are anticipated from the acceptance of the invitation of the Government of India by the League Malaria Commission to visit India in the near future.

The inclusion of rural hygiene in the programme of the Health Committee is also of special interest to India. The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India has just reported on this subject, and I feel sure that any material which the more extensive investigations of the League Organisation may be able to place at the disposal of the Indian authorities will be of the utmost value and importance to them.

Similar remarks apply to questions connected with infant mortality, which is also receiving the attention of the Health Committee. As infant mortality is, unfortunately, high in India, any practical suggestions which may result in the lowering of such mortality will be received with the greatest degree of relief and interest by my countrymen.

With regard to the child welfare activities of the League, my two distinguished predecessors, H.H. The Maharajah of Patiala and H.H. the Maharajah of Kapurthala expressed apprehension in the Assembly regarding the danger which might attend international action in these matters owing to vast differences which exist between different communities and nations, differences which are deeply rooted in religion, national customs and conventions. In spite of these difficulties and drawbacks it would be of interest to the Assembly to learn that the Government of India have recently appointed a strong Committee of non-officials to undertake a comprehensive survey of the question of raising the age of consent. I may also mention in passing that Infant-Marriage Prevention Laws have been adopted already in some Indian States.

With regard to opium, India has for a very long time pursued an altruistic policy, and imposed upon herself obligations conceived in a spirit of the highest humanitarian ideals, even when she could least afford to bear the heavy financial burden involved in such a policy. Now that the Opium Convention has received the necessary number of ratifications, and the Central Board is also to be set up, India has every reason to hope that she will receive the support and co-operation of the States Members of the League in suppressing the illicit traffic in cocaine in India, which is stated to be as much as forty times the legitimate imports, and which, on account of the large gains of such a traffic, flourishes in spite of vigorous administrative efforts to suppress it. We consider it to be of the utmost importance that the personnel of the Central Board should be as strong and independent as possible.

I trust that what I have stated will go to show that India is taking an ever-increasing interest in the activities of the League, and it would be a matter of genuine concern if that growth of interest were checked by irritation at continued increase in the annual contribution of India to the funds of the League — a contribution which is actually heavier than that of any State which does not occupy permanently a seat on the Council.

Public opinion in India also looks forward to the time when some of my fellow-countrymen will rise to high office in the League, worthy of the great country of our birth. We are particularly gratified that within the last twelve months India has acquired a seat on the Economic Committee and has been honoured by the appointment of one of her most distinguished countrymen as Vice-President of the Economic Consultative Committee. I have no doubt that further progress on these lines would accelerate the pace of Indian co-operation in the League, and the spread of interest in India in League politics.

You are no doubt aware that, in certain quarters in the East, there is a suspicion that the League is intended for use as an instrument for perpetuating the hegemony of the races which are of European origin over the other races. I do not believe that this view can be honestly entertained by anybody who studies the facts deeply and without prejudice. But the suspicion exists, and suspicions, even when unfounded, may produce mischief if not dispelled by the solid evidence of facts.

We are indebted to the Committee on Arbitration and Security for its valuable studies of the forces which produce insecurity, and of the means of counteracting them. It has naturally concerned itself with the practical problems which immediately confront the Western world. But there is, so it appears to me, a possible cause of insecurity lying even deeper, and capable of producing results even more disastrous than those which we now hope so earnestly to avert. I refer particularly to those sentiments of racial inequality which may, unless appeased, again divide the world into hostile camps.

The League itself is based on the conception of universal equality, and I think that the words in the message just addressed by the Council to the Government of Costa Rica, "equal obligations and equal rights", should be welcomed and appreciated in other continents besides that of America. Great possibilities for the continuance of the beneficent work of the League will, I am sure, come into view as soon as a general conviction exists in the Orient, that the League is, in the fullest sense, an association of equal peoples, with equal obligations and equal rights, affording equal opportunities to all its Members, irrespective of racial origin, to work harmoniously together for the great humane objects laid down in the Covenant.

The President :

Translation : His Excellency, M. Adatei, first delegate of Japan, will address the Assembly.

M. Adatei (Japan) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Among the various fruitful activities of the League during the past year, the work of the technical organisations undoubtedly occupies a most important place, while the efforts devoted to economic problems are deserving of special consideration.

The Conferences for the abolition of import and export prohibitions, held in October 1927, and July 1928, resulted in the conclusion of an international convention and of a supplementary agreement. These instruments constitute the first step in the abolition of the economic measures taken since the great war; thanks to them the most formidable of the obstacles to freedom of commerce can at last be removed. I note with

satisfaction that this return to freedom of trade exchanges has been effected under League auspices.

At its last ordinary session, the Assembly, by a happy inspiration, set up a body to supervise the application of the resolutions adopted by the Economic Conference in 1927. The body in question, which held its first meeting last May, is composed of distinguished economic and financial experts, and the resolutions passed by this Committee are thus of the greatest importance.

The Economic Committee has also pursued its efforts with a view to carrying into effect the resolutions in regard to commercial matters adopted by the Economic Conference. Thanks to the Committee's initiative the thorny problem of Customs tariffs is now being investigated with the object of bringing about a general reduction in Customs duties by means of concerted international action.

This, I am well aware, is an extremely delicate matter; until now, indeed, no one has ever ventured to approach the problem, except through bilateral negotiations. Now, for the first time, an attempt has been made to solve part at least of this Customs question by means of concerted action between States. I note with particular satisfaction that the League has embarked upon this vast work, which plays so important a part in world economic life.

The very nature of the problem calls for patience and caution on the part of those who have ventured to approach it. We cannot expect immediate or all-embracing results, but any achievement, however modest, in this sphere, must I am sure, be a big step in the direction of freedom of trade.

The Japanese delegation has repeatedly affirmed the necessity of tariff reduction, and it is our earnest hope that the efforts of the League's Economic Organisation will prove completely successful.

As to the way in which the League deals with economic questions, may I venture to submit a few observations, with the object of shedding some light on the immense task which we hope the Economic Organisation may be able to undertake. Before the world cataclysm, European prosperity was based to a large extent on export to countries overseas. Since the war, the economic and financial conditions of those countries have changed considerably. We cannot look for a return to former conditions, but at the same time Europe would undoubtedly benefit by a greater demand from overseas markets.

Any increase in the purchasing power of these consumers must depend upon a corresponding increase in the prosperity and economic development of the countries in question. Hence, it is essential that the technical organisations of the League, when examining these problems, should take careful note of the conditions and needs of non-European countries and should not devote themselves exclusively to relations between European countries.

May I take this opportunity of drawing your attention to the most important resolution adopted by the Consultative Committee, recommending an enquiry into economic principles and tendencies which might help to create conditions favourable to peace.

Any investigation into economic questions should, in our view, have a twofold object: it should be designed, in the first place, to increase the prosperity and material welfare of the nations, and, should, in the second, contribute to the establishment of material conditions favourable to the maintenance and consolidation of peace all over the world. The part played by economic factors in the maintenance of world peace

undoubtedly constitutes a most important and most intricate problem. The League, whose chief mission is to assist in maintaining peace, will be discharging one of its most important duties if it investigates this problem, and pursues its researches into the economic conditions which influence the preservation of peaceful relations between its various Members. This is the real meaning of the Consultative Committee's resolution.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that the League's technical organisation should take up the matter without delay and devote constant study to it. By assiduous effort we should be able to demonstrate to the world what economic obstacles stand in the way of international co-operation, and thus enable the Members of the League to view the whole question and take the proper measures to promote this friendly co-operation between nations.

The material conditions of existence, important though they are, constitute only one side of life. If friendly co-operation between all nations is to become a reality, and peace is to be established on a solid foundation, some improvement in the moral sphere is necessary.

During the past year the League has been extremely active in this direction. In virtue of a resolution adopted a year ago, a Security Committee was set up, which, after lengthy and detailed discussions, framed a number of model draft bilateral and multilateral treaties, designed to promote the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Arbitration, conciliation, non-aggression, and guarantees, and the conservatory measures to be taken in times of crisis, were exhaustively considered. All these questions have been placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly.

The discussions upon which we are about to embark may suggest certain improvements, but without overrating the scope of the Security Committee's recommendations, the results of these investigations, as they stand, can surely be regarded as a valuable contribution towards the organisation of peace. If these proposals were intelligently and voluntarily applied, there would be a big improvement in the political situation in certain parts of the world where the need is felt of special guarantees of security. I say they must be intelligently and voluntarily applied, because it will be necessary to vary the methods in deference to the requirements of peace organisation in different parts of the world.

Take the case of an arbitration treaty: there are countries such as mine which like to act on bilateral lines, whilst others prefer multilateral arrangements. The recommendations of the Security Committee must, therefore, be carried out intelligently and adjusted to the needs of the different countries and their peculiar circumstances and moral aspirations. Freedom of choice must be respected in a question such as this, in which the spontaneity of the act enhances its value.

We have to realise that the security of any country or any nation is as much a psychological as a material question, the psychological element being perhaps the more important of the two. Moral pacification creates in a nation a corresponding feeling of security to the extent that these two factors are harmonised. The setting-up of machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes is a valuable guarantee of security between nations which are desirous of living at peace with one another, and is thus calculated to strengthen the moral basis of international relations.

To take the region of the Pacific alone, there is a Washington treaty which lays down that

certain territories belonging to the Contracting Parties in those vast latitudes shall be respected and safeguarded. The treaty also provides for joint consultation between the High Contracting Parties if the necessity should arise. Up to the present, there has fortunately been no occasion for this, no doubt because the mere conclusion of such a treaty has produced a wholesome psychological effect upon the peoples concerned.

For these various reasons, the Assembly would be acting both wisely and efficaciously if it approves the results of the work of the Security Committee, and advocates measures designed to facilitate the execution of those recommendations on the lines that I have ventured to suggest.

The League would thereby achieve a marked advance in its endeavour to increase among its Members that feeling of serenity which constitutes the real basis of peace.

While speaking of peace, I cannot pass over in silence the general pact for the renunciation of war which has just been signed in Paris. Although this solemn agreement was not negotiated under the auspices of the League, we hasten to applaud the determination and generous spirit with which the great North American Republic has striven for the conclusion of this important instrument of international peace. By this great act, the United States have shown their firm intention of contributing to world peace. I should also like to take this opportunity of paying a special tribute to the genius of our distinguished French colleague, M. Briand, who first took the initiative of proposing this world peace pact to the United States.

Nor must we overlook the fact that, at the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Polish delegation made a similar proposal, which led to a resolution in the form of a solemn declaration condemning all wars of aggression.

During the past year, the League has worked zealously to promote friendly co-operation between nations in the sphere of material interests and to bring about moral disarmament in the political life of the various States. We can only hope that these efforts will be carried still further, and will assist us in reaching an agreement for the reduction of armaments, the need for armaments diminishing as pacific action extends its scope.

As you are aware, the League's work in the matter of disarmament has been carried out on the lines laid down by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. A preparatory stage in the work had been reached which necessitated direct negotiations between the countries concerned, more particularly with regard to naval problems.

We have now heard that an agreement has been reached regarding this matter between the two countries which previously held very divergent views.

Any agreement of this kind, we think, is calculated to facilitate the work of the Preparatory Commission. Accordingly we welcome the conclusion of a Franco-British agreement and trust that it may contribute to the success of the Preparatory Commission's work.

These are some of the main features of the League's work which have specially attracted our attention since the last Assembly. Are they not such as to encourage us? Do they not entitle the League to the gratitude of mankind, which is seeking with eager but uncertain steps the path to peace?

The Japanese delegation, confident in the future of the League, and firmly attached to the ideal of peace, is determined to spare no effort to ensure the success of the present session, which has opened under such favourable auspices. We shall be only too happy to collaborate in the great work of

international co-operation and understanding between States.

The President :

Translation : M. Mendez Pereira, delegate of Panama, will address the Assembly.

M. Mendez Pereira (Panama) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Panama, as a result of her position at the great cross-roads of the world, is as deeply interested as any other State — perhaps even more interested — in this work of international concord and fellowship which is being carried out by the League of Nations.

Bolívar, the great American liberator and prophet of our destiny, once said that if the world had to choose a capital, its choice would inevitably fall upon the Isthmus of Panama.

At Panama, all lines of communication cross, all the races of the world meet, all human interests unite and mingle, and it was at Panama that the most notable achievement of the genius of two great peoples, France and the United States, was carried out by the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

In connection with the admirable work of intellectual co-operation which is being pursued under the League's auspices, I desire to draw your attention to the privileged position of Panama in this respect, and to the fact that that Republic is at present endeavouring to establish a modern international university which will provide an intellectual centre for all the movements and ideals of the American continent, a platform for new doctrines and a means of diffusing culture and intellectual and moral co-operation throughout the New World.

My country is also endeavouring to set up alongside, and as an adjunct to this university, a large organisation for the publication, translation and circulation of books, with the object of promoting a better understanding between nations. Through such knowledge alone can we hope to bring about that understanding and sympathy which are the sole bases of social harmony and peace among men.

If we can obtain the moral support of the League, for which I desire to appeal from this platform, with the request that it will assist us to obtain universal free postage for books of an educational and scientific nature, as well as for books exchanged between libraries, we shall be able to develop this work to the full. I am sure that such an institution will be regarded by the League as a means of supplementing its work and of encouraging the American nations to take a more active interest in its achievements.

Our Republics have many problems — economic, social and other — which differ in some respects from those which the League has hitherto solved; but all problems of an intellectual character, the solution of which is undertaken at Geneva, are of real interest to those American nations, which can never forget that Europe is their intellectual birthplace and the continent to which they always turn in search of culture.

If the League gives its moral support to this enterprise, which has been inaugurated by Panama in her desire to obtain the effective co-operation of Latin-American Republics in the work of the League, it will not only have performed a graceful act in the intellectual field, but, through the medium of the problems of intellectual co-operation, it will have taken a step which will be regarded by all as of great political importance and will have the effect of bringing the Governments and public opinion of all the Latin-American countries

into fresh contact with the work of the League in general.

The President :

Translation : M. Politis, delegate of Greece, will address the Assembly.

M. Politis (Greece) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It has already been observed from this platform, that the work of the Assembly has begun this year in a very different atmosphere from that of last year.

The difference is, indeed, most striking; last year's disappointment has given place to hope, and doubt has become confidence. Thanks to these changes, the examination of the report on the work of the Council and the work of the Secretariat has been pursued without a trace of acrimony. A general feeling of satisfaction appears to me to pervade this Assembly.

What are the reasons for this? Speaking generally I think that everyone is glad to find that the League organisation, whose activities seemed last year to have fallen off a little, has resumed its normal course, and with most excellent results.

Not one of the three organs we created last year has fallen short of our expectations.

The work done by the Economic Committee is truly remarkable, and has been most justly praised by several speakers who have preceded me on this platform.

The Preparatory Committee for the first Codification Conference resumed its work with a diligence, zeal and ability deserving of the highest praise, and we can now rest assured, I think, that the programme for the Conference will, before long, be completed. I most earnestly hope that the Assembly will confirm its resolution of last year urging that the first Codification Conference should meet some time in 1929.

Lastly, the Committee on Arbitration and Security has held three sessions, in the course of which, after having attempted, as it were, to establish the assets and liabilities of security on the basis of the guarantees furnished by the League Covenant and by individual undertakings, it framed a series of model treaties, the value of which you will have an opportunity of appreciating. Personally, I feel convinced that if these models meet with your approval, they will serve to increase the guarantees of security and will lend a vigorous impulse to the progress of compulsory arbitration.

But over and above these reasons for satisfaction, there is another, a much more important reason, which explains and justifies our content. I refer to the conclusion at Paris, only a few days ago, of the treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

Fifteen Powers have already signed this pact, thirty-five States have acceded to it, and other accessions will follow, so that it will become a powerful instrument of world policy.

We have, I think, a double reason for rejoicing; first, we can claim with legitimate pride that the Paris treaty is both the product of our own work here and the natural corollary of that work.

For five years, on three separate occasions, and in different forms, we have proclaimed as a principle of international law that a war of aggression shall be regarded as a crime. Last year, on the proposal of the Polish delegation, the Assembly expressed this principle in a unanimous resolution, the terms of which were taken from the Declaration of Paris of 1856 providing for the abolition of privateering. No

one last year could have imagined that less than a year later, again at Paris, our resolution would be found in the form of a solemn undertaking, which was to constitute a general world law.

We have a second reason for gratification at the conclusion of the Paris treaty, and this reason is, in my view, the more important of the two: the treaty serves to strengthen the League, and opens up immense possibilities for the extension of its authority. This point I regard as deserving of our fullest attention, and I will, therefore, with your permission, dwell upon it in some detail.

The great merit of the Paris treaty as compared with the League Covenant, is that it fills the chief gap in the last-named instrument: it fills in the notorious "fissure" in Article 15, paragraph 6, of our Covenant. It realises a reform which for the last five years we have sought in vain. It lays down as a rule of positive law the essential principle, the fundamental principle, of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which had hitherto come into force only as between certain States and in virtue of special agreements. The principle of which I speak is the prohibition of what we have always called here wars of aggression.

This great result, be it noted, has been achieved without any sacrifice of our guarantees under the League Covenant: the right of legitimate defence remains intact, the system of sanctions and obligations in regard to assistance and guarantees laid down in special agreements remains absolutely untouched. True, the prohibition of wars of aggression is not accompanied by the supplementary guarantees which must be required if the Paris treaty is to be regarded as a complete system for the organisation of peace: it does not make arbitration compulsory, it does not provide for any system of sanctions, or any obligations in regard to mutual assistance; there is no guarantee of a definitive decision in the event of serious disputes between the Contracting States, and in extreme cases there is a risk that the undertaking not to resort to war may for that reason prove very uncertain of fulfilment. Lastly, the individual Contracting States can in the main only count for their defence on their own forces, so that they cannot at once agree to reduce those forces as they might have done had they received a promise of assistance in case of aggression. But as it stands, and despite its gaps and imperfections, the Paris treaty constitutes a great international instrument, the scope and significance of which are of the highest importance.

For the first time in the history of mankind States have agreed to renounce war. They have agreed to renounce all resort to arms as a means of enforcing their claims. For the first time sovereign States have agreed to abandon what had hitherto been regarded as the essential prerogative attaching to sovereignty.

This, I may surely say, represents something more than a great innovation in international relations; it represents a veritable revolution, a revolution the untold consequences and manifold repercussions of which of the life of the nations cannot yet be estimated. Certain consequences, however, already claim our attention, because they will, I think, follow immediately. Certain consequences are all-compelling, and, as such, call for notice now.

Countries no longer have the right to resort to force as a means of imposing their will, and accordingly will not in future be able openly to employ — as they once did without restriction, and as they could still do to some extent, despite the League — countries, I say, will in future be unable openly to employ their superior forces as a means of imposing their will on weaker States.

The old idea of safeguarding national interests regardless of law, with the possibility of recourse to pressure and violence constantly in the background — that idea, is past and gone. Henceforth, the safeguarding of national interests may only be attempted within the framework of the international organisation, with the resources provided by the League, by means of conciliation and agreement, by a truer comprehension of the interests and aspirations of the opposing parties.

An entirely new international policy is emerging and countries will be all the more inclined to follow it when they find that it holds a vital interest for them in that it safeguards their right of self-defence. Let me explain what I mean.

It has been said that now, thanks to the pact signed at Paris, private obligations in regard to assistance and guarantees will operate more slowly and less easily, because in actual fact resort to force will not be possible, even in self-defence, without what may be termed the moral consent of the other contracting States. That view is exaggerated and fundamentally wrong; but it contains this much truth, in that the States signatories to the Paris pact will now find it to their best interest not only to live peacefully, but — most important of all — to make their pacific attitude manifest, so that if they are attacked and obliged to resort to arms, the whole world will realise at once that they are merely utilising their right of legitimate defence.

That is the first consequence of this great change. Pessimists and sceptics may say: "The value of the Paris pact is bound to be purely moral; its real efficacy appears doubtful". In my view, they are very much mistaken, because they fail to allow for the growing power of public opinion as a force set on peace. Henceforth, if a State is attacked and is obliged to resort to arms in self-defence, it will as I say, be forced to make its innocence quite clear and to show that its attitude is really pacific.

You will see how this strengthens the procedure laid down in Article 11. That procedure, one of the most important, if not the most important, in the whole Covenant, is well designed to bring out the respective attitudes of the parties to a dispute, and, thanks to the new spirit which is to govern the world, it will in future be easier, when employing that procedure, to show the world beforehand who is the real aggressor.

But there is more than this. Any State foolish enough to fly in the face of its own interests and criminal enough to break its plighted word and be the first to resort to arms would assuredly have to face the wrath and execration of world opinion. Even apart from the possible hostility of the other contracting parties, any country which in future resorts to arms will have to reckon with this force of public opinion, which will certainly be such as to give it pause. This very hesitation must constitute one of the surest guarantees for the preservation of peace, because it will give public opinion time to bring pressure to bear on the Governments to find a settlement for the dispute.

The effect of the delay prescribed in Article 12 of the Covenant is thus immensely strengthened, since, according to that article, after the expiration of the prescribed period, war becomes legitimate, whereas under the terms of the Paris pact, whatever the period allowed, a war of aggression will in any case be illicit and prohibited.

There is, I repeat, a tendency to undervalue the influence of public opinion which, we must all admit, is growing in force. The essential strength of the Covenant itself, I would point out, lies in the fact that the publicity of the discussions in the Council and Assembly renders world opinion the supreme judge in international disputes.

Under the Paris pact the influence of public opinion in times of emergency will be far greater. Under the Covenant, public opinion can only condemn a disputant State which has been shown by pacific procedure to be in the wrong. It cannot condemn a country if its claims have been shown by such procedure to be legitimate. According to the Covenant, such a country has the right, after the expiry of a certain period, to declare war. How can you arouse world opinion against a war that has been declared legitimate?

But with the Paris pact the situation is quite different. Whatever the facts, world opinion would invariably be aroused against whichever country first resorted to arms: that country would stand condemned, since it could not possibly claim to be exercising a right of any kind.

This is a fundamentally different situation, which must be carefully noted. The Paris pact itself is evidence of the force of public opinion. I need not recall in what circumstances it was negotiated and concluded. Suffice it to say that it is the outcome of a shrewd interpretation of the world desire for peace, and that its conclusion was the result of pressure brought to bear by public opinion. I may say in all sincerity and with deep conviction that the Paris pact will remain a reality so long as the world preserves its will to peace.

This shows us how vital it is to shield that will to peace against every turn of fortune, how important it is to intensify it so that it becomes not merely a considered opinion but an acquired and ineradicable habit of the nations.

A great and noble task lies before the League in this education of public opinion. It is the League's duty to further the instruction of the youth of all countries in its aims by encouraging and promoting the work undertaken in this field by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. It is the League's duty, too, to provide the Press, whose lofty mission it is to enlighten and guide public opinion, with all means of information necessary to enable it to accomplish this mission in a truly international spirit. It can, and, in my opinion, it should, carry on the work already begun by the International Conference of Press Experts, by offering facilities to the diplomatic correspondents of the principal newspapers of the world to visit Geneva and ascertain and judge on the spot the inestimable value of the work done by the Secretariat and by the League.

As public opinion sees more clearly what immense possibilities are offered by the League for the fulfilment of its will to peace, it will better realise the need to develop this International Organisation, and it will feel impelled to bring pressure to bear on all Governments until the progressive evolution of the League is an accomplished fact.

Public opinion will be at once the guide of the Nations and the arbiter of their disputes. As we press forward with the work of organising peace, we shall find therein, more and more, I firmly believe, a confirmation of that eternal truth proclaimed by a great Roman orator, that all laws are vain unless they be in full accord with morality.

President Coolidge expressed the same idea in his inaugural speech a little more than three years ago, when, seeking for a peace formula, he said: "Parchment will fail, the sword will fail. It is only the spiritual nature of man that can be triumphant."

The Assembly rose at 12.40 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7th, 1928, AT 4 P.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

36. — QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION IN THE NAME OF TWENTY DELEGATIONS TO THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

Translation : Before we resume the general discussion on the report to the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly, I wish to inform you that M. René Cassin, a member of the French delegation, this morning submitted a draft resolution to the General Committee of the Assembly, on behalf of the following twenty delegations : Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, Roumania, Salvador, Spain, Switzerland.

* The draft resolution is as follows :

"Experience seems to show that, whether by reason of the ever-growing number of matters

referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or by reason of certain defects revealed by eight years of work, it would be an advantage, before renewing the terms of office of the members of the Court in 1930, to examine the present terms of the Statute for the purpose of introducing any amendments which may be considered advisable.

"Under Article 14 of the Covenant it is for the Council to draw up the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and to submit it to the Assembly for approval.

"It therefore seems to be for the Council to carry out the task contemplated above.

"Nevertheless, the value of the proposals made by the Council in this connection might be greatly enhanced if the Assembly took the initiative in drawing the Council's attention to this question.

"Accordingly, the undersigned have the honour, on behalf of their respective delegations, to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution :

"The Assembly :

"Considering the ever-growing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

"Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary ;

"In view of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the Council is responsible for preparing the Statute of the Court with a view to its submission to the Assembly for approval,

"Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the

Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

(Signed) for the:

French delegation	.....	Ar. BRIAND.
Italian	.....	Vittorio SCIALOJA.
German	.....	MÜLLER.
Greek	.....	N. POLITIS.
Japanese	.....	M. ADACHI.
Roumanian	.....	N. P. COMINÈNE.
Belgian	.....	P. HYMANS.
Netherlands	.....	BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND.
Swiss	.....	G. MOTTA.
Norwegian	.....	Joh. Ludwig MOWINCKEL.
Finnish	.....	Rafael ERICH.
Czechoslovak	.....	Dr. E. BENES.
Spanish	.....	QUINONES DE LEÓN
Chilian	.....	E. VILLEGAS.
Colombian	.....	Francisco José URRUTIA.
Serb-Croat-Slovene delegation	.....	RAKITCH.
Polish	.....	Auguste ZALESKI.
Paraguayan	.....	R. V. CABALLERO.
Canadian	.....	R. DANDURAND.
Salvador	.....	Gustavo GUERRERO."

In accordance with the usual procedure, the text of this resolution will be printed and circulated to the delegations.

In order to expedite matters, however, I propose that the Assembly refer the draft resolution immediately to the Agenda Committee, which will as soon as possible submit suggestions as to its disposal.

If there are no objections, I shall regard the proposal as adopted.

The proposal was adopted.

37. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the Report on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly.

Herr Hermann Müller, first delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Herr Müller :

Translation : May I begin with an observation of a personal nature ? I desire most particularly to express my profound regret that my honoured colleague, Dr. Stresemann, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Reich, who two years ago inaugurated in this hall the participation of Germany in the work of the League, and who has since officiated as first delegate of Germany at the meetings of the Council and of the Assembly, is on this occasion prevented from acting as spokesman for Germany.

In his telegram, in reply to the expressions of sympathy conveyed to him by the Assembly, he has told you of the deep interest with which he follows your discussions and of the regret he feels at his inability to be with you at Geneva, taking an active

share in the work of the League, which he has so deeply at heart.

Allow me to say at once that if this year I am undertaking to interpret the views of the German people, I am inspired by the same desire and resolve to work within the organisation of the League in frank and sincere co-operation with other nations for the maintenance of world peace, and that I desire to recognise one law only as governing international relations — the law of conciliation and peaceful understanding.

The discussions have already clearly shown which questions at present occupy the foremost place in the League's programme. These questions are of vital importance, and it is for that reason that I am to-day anxious to state in a few words the attitude Germany is adopting in regard to them.

With that object in view, I take as my starting-point the great international event which we have just witnessed at Paris, and which is so intimately associated with the aims we are seeking to pursue at Geneva. Several of the delegates who have spoken before me have already emphasised the importance of this pact for the outlawry of war which has just been signed in the French capital. I can only express my heartfelt and entire agreement with all they have said.

In all countries the great mass of the people desire the outlawry of war, nor should the Governments responsible feel a moment's doubt of the importance in practical politics of this act by which the nations have subscribed to a solemn and binding contract renouncing war for all time as an instrument of national policy, thereby eliminating it as a legitimate means of shaping international relations. The far-seeing statesmen to whose initiative the conclusion of this pact is due are entitled to our deep gratitude, and I am in no way detracting from that gratitude in pointing out that the best guarantee for the efficacy of the pact resides in the fact that in the last analysis its roots are struck, not in arbitrary decisions of Cabinets, but in those sentiments which to-day inspire the whole of mankind. To-day, more than at any other period of history, political acts of fundamental importance such as this are dictated by those great living forces which animate the peoples of the world.

The world is seeking to-day for new forms of international life, for it realises with increasing clearness that the factors determining the general evolution of the world are largely new. It sees that we can no longer be content with the methods which were formerly preferred as instruments of policy.

In the light of these considerations, the rôle of the modern statesman is merely to ensure that the living forces which govern the activities of the nations should be free to assert themselves at the right time and in the right form. His task, however, thereby loses none of its importance nor of its difficulty. He must keep in close touch with international sentiment, must read the signs of the times and work for the removal of the obstacles which obstruct the free course of evolution, and must above all avoid himself setting up obstacles in its path.

The pact for the outlawry of war has thus created new tasks for the statesman as well as for others. That is not a proof of imperfection in the pact ; rather is it proof of its fecundity. We are led to assume these new tasks by the simple force of logic. If any further proof were necessary that the Paris pact was begotten of the vital needs of our age or that it constitutes an organic element in evolution to-day, that proof must be found in the fact that the new tasks arising for us out of that pact are entirely in harmony with the very subjects which are given the greatest prominence in the agenda of this Assembly.

If we are genuinely resolved to renounce force as a means of solving international-differences, we shall be compelled to devote ourselves more intently to the search for means of achieving the pacific settlement of such disputes. If we are genuinely resolved to renounce war, that resolve cannot fail to exercise a decisive influence on our conception of armaments.

We fully appreciate all the hard work that has been done in pursuance of the resolution of the last ordinary session of the Assembly by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. That Committee has carefully explored the wide field assigned to it, and has revealed to the nations a variety of ways by which they may provide new guarantees of peace. Germany is glad to be able to assert that by the Locarno agreements, by the system of her arbitration treaties, and by the signing of the Optional Clause of the Hague Statute she for her part has carried out in advance the recommendations of that Committee. Nevertheless, Germany participated with the greatest zeal in the work of the Committee and endeavoured to introduce a new element into the discussion by submitting suggestions based upon an idea which in my view is fundamental, namely, that, in order to prevent war, it is not so important to organise war against war as to prevent any outbreak of hostilities.

Though we may hope that the dangers to which both the German suggestions and the proposals of the Committee based on those suggestions refer have become far more remote since the signing of the Paris pact, nevertheless this part of the Committee's work still appears deserving of the Assembly's attention. The League of Nations has been actively considering this aspect of the peace problem during the past year, but the same cannot be said of the other aspect of the problem, namely, the abolition of armaments.

I say frankly that I view the present situation of the disarmament question with serious concern. We have to face the incontestable fact that the prolonged discussions that have taken place so far at Geneva have not produced any positive results. For nearly three years the Preparatory Commission has been holding one session after another; but it has not seriously attacked, far less completed, the work assigned to it. In view of the important resolutions adopted at our session last year, we were justified in expecting that those resolutions would at last enable practical and immediate results to be achieved.

The much-discussed problem of the relations between security and disarmament had found a solution in the form of a compromise between the two opposing schools of thought, and so appeared to offer an assurance of practical results.

Our expectations have once more been disappointed. The President of the Council informed us in his opening speech that we were justified in entertaining fresh hopes, and one of the previous speakers has mentioned, as grounds for those hopes, the Paris pact and the agreement which has been concluded between the French and British Governments.

As regards the significance of the Paris pact, as far as disarmament is concerned, I have already agreed with that view. As regards the compromise to which I referred just now, I shall be glad if it too proves to be a suitable means of helping to solve the disarmament problem. However, the Assembly cannot be content to-day simply to say that there is still ground for hope. In my view, its most urgent duty is to adopt resolutions which can transform those hopes into realities.

Yesterday we heard, consecutively, two important speeches which revealed markedly divergent

conceptions of the question of disarmament. It is one of the objects — and one of the main advantages — of our discussions to provide opportunities for us to learn each other's views, and it is far better to state frankly such of our differences as may still exist than to endeavour by one means or another to conceal them. But I confess I was greatly struck at hearing one speaker describe in impressive terms, which gave a remarkably true picture of the reality, the symptoms and the dangers of an unfettered armaments policy; whereas the other speaker, if I rightly understood him, maintained that undue importance was often attached to the problem of disarmament; that this problem was really of a secondary nature; that it was too early to expect immediate results, and that such results could only be looked for when individual countries were fully reassured as to their security, an assurance which as yet they did not feel.

I venture to hope that the latter view will not commend itself to the League of Nations; such an attitude would be the negation of all the resolutions adopted by the Assemblies of previous years. In any case, as the representative of Germany, I feel I am entitled and indeed bound in all frankness to maintain a directly contrary opinion.

Obviously a country like Germany, which has been completely disarmed, must feel keenly the failure of the disarmament discussions. I ask you to realise the effect on a people which, having by a mighty effort effected completed disarmament, still finds itself constantly subjected to the gravest insinuations and reproaches from certain quarters in foreign countries and is even accused of being a menace to the peace of the world, while it sees other countries steadily increasing their own armaments without blame or objection.

The disarmament of Germany cannot possibly continue to be a unilateral act the outcome solely of the power wielded by the victors in the world war. The promise that Germany's disarmament would be followed by general disarmament must be fulfilled, and, finally, the article of the Covenant which incorporates that promise as a basic principle of the League of Nations must be carried into effect.

Whether this process is described as a reduction of armaments or simply as disarmament is, in my view, of little material consequence, since we all know perfectly well what is meant. Can there be any doubt that the failure of the League to solve this disarmament question is bound to produce the most serious consequences?

I am reluctant, as no doubt we all are, to consider any such consequences as even a remote contingency. The League must not fail in that task. The nations must not be disappointed in their hope that a time will come when their destinies will no longer be decided by guns and bayonets. The great advance which the world made in creating the League of Nations must not be changed to a retreat, with the certain result of a fall in the standard of international life; for it would be all but impossible to rekindle a second time the confidence thus destroyed.

Nor can I agree that so vast and difficult a problem is incapable of solution in a relatively short time. I will not remind you that immediate disarmament was not considered impossible for those who were vanquished in the world war; but I must emphasise the fact that Germany has never attempted to make any impossible demands.

From the outset she agreed that this problem should be solved step by step, and the resolution of 1926, as well as the confirmatory resolution of last year, clearly and definitely declared that

the conditions necessary for accomplishing the first stage do in fact exist. The only point of importance is that we should realise effectively the resolutions of the last years.

That first stage can and must include an appreciable reduction of the present standards of armament, a reduction which would extend to armaments of all classes—military, naval and air—and would also provide for full and complete publicity in regard to all categories of armaments. I would therefore urge the Assembly to adopt a definite decision with regard to the convening of a first disarmament conference, and to take steps to bring to an end immediately and without further delay the technical work of the Preparatory Commission.

I listened with the greatest interest to the observations of one of my colleagues the day before yesterday on the protection of minorities. The suggestions then made on the procedure to be adopted in regard to petitions from minorities are in my view deserving of careful attention, and I hope to see them receive further consideration. Indeed, I consider the protection of minorities, which the existing treaties have entrusted to the League of Nations, as a duty of the very highest importance, and the League may devote itself the more wholeheartedly to that duty because it is so entirely in accord with its general aim—the maintenance of peace. If all the parties concerned applied the law on minorities in the spirit in which that law was instituted, they would thereby create a bond between the different countries and would promote mutual understanding between the nations.

Allow me now to add a few words in regard to economic questions, to which reference has been made on various occasions in this discussion. A great advance has been made along the path marked out by the World Economic Conference of 1927, thanks to the energetic and effective efforts of the Economic Committee and the Consultative Committee.

The movement for the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions on exports and imports, which hamper the liberty of international trade, and for a general and systematic reduction of Customs tariffs, has already produced tangible results. The collective conventions which a large number of nations signed at Geneva in July last show that agreements can be reached by means of international conferences of experts even in a field as difficult as that of Customs tariffs, and can be reached by this means more easily perhaps than by bilateral negotiations.

It seems easier at the moment to reach agreement in economic matters than in the other fields in which the League of Nations is engaged, and accordingly a venture which holds particular promise of success for the League would be to explore as rapidly and completely as may be these possibilities of agreements.

The German Government notes with great satisfaction the results already achieved, and will at all times do its utmost to second the League's efforts in this sphere. It has already taken steps to ratify the conventions to which I referred, and it expresses the earnest hope that not only will these conventions be ratified by a sufficiently large number of countries, but that considerable progress will also be made in the coming years by means of international agreements.

Not until countries learn in economic affairs to work not one against another but to co-operate shall we succeed in removing one by one the great obstacles which still hamper trade in so many fields, and in avoiding fresh economic conflicts and disasters.

If we survey the whole field of the League's activities, and consider what hope we can really draw from such a survey, we are always led back to the same point—the necessity of mutual trust. We must not, however, regard such trust merely as our ultimate aim; it is rather the first and the most important prerequisite for success. The League of Nations is an institution in which the individual Governments can voice their views. More than any other human institution it draws its strength from the confidence of the peoples themselves.

The peoples who follow our discussions with such hope and solicitude observe, first and foremost, the attitude which the Governments, as Governments, adopt towards the League. How can the great masses of the people, on whom all ultimately depends, feel confidence in the League of Nations, and in the other great peace pacts which have been concluded in the spirit of the League, if they see that the Governments themselves have no confidence in the efficacy of these international efforts?

How can we counteract the scepticism so often expressed by the public if the Governments themselves, in the pursuit of their policies, act as if all these guarantees of peace were non-existent or as if they were at any rate devoid of any practical value?

The man in the street argues simply, and therefore soundly. He reads on the one hand that the Governments solemnly undertake to maintain peace. He sees on the other hand that the same Governments remain entrenched in their old positions and are even seeking to conquer new ones. He reads that in international negotiations the principle of mutual trust between States is proclaimed in eloquent terms, and that the idea of understanding between peoples is constantly exalted. He sees on the other hand that in practice matters go on as before, and that it has not even been possible to abolish entirely the barriers raised as a result of the world war. We must not be surprised if he comes to the conclusion that international policy is double-faced.

Indeed, it is impossible to take both roads. The Governments must choose one or the other, and there can be no doubt whatever as to which they must choose if they wish to further the progress of humanity and civilisation. That is not empty idealism; it is practical politics in the truest sense of the term.

The President :

Translation : Mr. Mackenzie King, first delegate of Canada, will address the Assembly.

The Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King (Canada) :

In the addresses which have been delivered before the Assembly, reference has been made by most of the speakers to the Treaty for the renunciation of war which was signed at Paris on August 27th as an instrument of national policy. This was to have been expected, for whatever hopes or fears may be entertained with respect to the efficacy of its provisions, there can be no two views as to the solemnity of the engagement into which the signatories of the Treaty have entered, and the far-reaching significance of the Treaty itself.

His Majesty's Government in Great Britain has brought the Treaty formally to the attention of the Members of the League by communicating to the Secretary-General copies of the correspondence conveying its acceptance of the Treaty. His Majesty's Government has indicated its belief that acceptance of the Treaty would

not conflict in any way with the obligations of the Covenant of the League.

So completely are the principles of the Treaty in harmony with the main objects for which the League was founded that I feel sure it is the hope and conviction of this Assembly that the Treaty will prove an historic and enduring contribution to the development of mutual confidence among nations, which the Assembly has ever regarded as the sure foundation of permanent peace.

The Pact of Paris, as it has been called, is essentially an endeavour to develop and focus world opinion against war. The nations which accept it renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and agree that the settlement of all disputes of whatever nature or origin which may arise among them will never be sought except by peaceful means. That is all, but it is the very brevity and simplicity of that solemn renunciation which give the pact its unique force and value. Its purpose is to rally the imagination and conscience of mankind to the recognition of the fact that war is an obsolete and futile means of settling international disputes and to proclaim a new guarantee of world peace. In seeking to form a world opinion, simplicity is essential, and in the drafting of the Treaty care has been taken to avoid complicating the issue with obscuring detail.

There is no royal road to peace, but there are many paths which lead in that direction. Along each some progress may be made towards the common goal. It has been the object of this Assembly to explore many of these paths. The League's contributions to peace to-day are manifold. By bringing every year representatives of fifty nations to take counsel together, it is breaking down prejudice and building up confidence. In a variety of ways, it is enforcing publicity in world affairs. It is creating machinery for the adjustment of differences. It is seeking to remove one of the causes of war by promoting more rational economic relations. It is making progress, slow but real, towards disarmament.

Its efforts often may seem vain, but never is a good act wholly lost. By a process of experiment and trial, the most feasible lines of advance are eventually found. The Treaties of Mutual Guarantee, the Protocol of Geneva of 1924, may appear to have failed: in reality, they served to develop thoughts and ideas which found expression in the Treaties of Locarno, in the Treaties of Arbitration and Conciliation and in the Pacts of Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance which are to receive the attention of this Assembly.

These paths are all in the right direction: all, perhaps, are essential. They are the expression in one form or another of a growing world opinion, which they themselves have helped to form, against war as a means of settling international differences. The Treaty signed at Paris on August 27th is a parallel expression of this growing sentiment against the recurrence of war.

If I venture to stress somewhat the significance of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, it is because of the immediate association of the Treaty in its inception more particularly with France and the United States, and the relationship which Canada bears to each of these countries: also because of the experience of Canada under an agreement entered into over a century ago, which agreement was essentially in the nature of a renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Canada, was a son of France. For a century and a-half Canada was a French dominion. In the more

than a century and a-half during which Canada has been a British dominion, the descendants of the two races who fought on the Plains of Abraham have lived side by side, enjoying a like measure of freedom in their personal and social life, and in the development of their political institutions — forgetful of the enmities of the past and rejoicing in the vastness of their common inheritance. The only monument commemorating the event which occasioned the great transition is the simple shaft erected at Quebec and dedicated to the memory alike of Wolfe and Montcalm, the two Generals who led the opposing forces. Our country is a land of reconciliation. In achieving racial concord within our borders, we have for more than a century successfully exemplified the fulfilment of at least one fundamental principle of the League.

In another particular, namely, in achieving international peace with our great neighbour, we have fulfilled for more than a century another fundamental principle of the League. If we are united to old France by past association and the many ties to which it has given rise, equally are we linked by long association and kindred ties with the great country which is our neighbour to the south, and with which we divide so large a portion of the continent of North America.

For a distance of over three thousand miles, stretching from the waters of the Atlantic Ocean on the east to those of the Pacific Ocean on the west, the frontier of Canada is divided from that of the United States by a boundary which is undefended from coast to coast. This undefended frontier is a symbol as remarkable in its way as the shaft erected at Quebec to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. It is a joint possession not made with hands, but the creation and expression of the minds and hearts of the peoples of the respective countries.

Of that undefended frontier of more than three thousand miles, I should like to say just a word, for it is intimately related to the subject-matter of the Treaty recently signed at Paris. It symbolises the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Let me describe its character, and how it came into being more than a century ago.

Shortly after the war of 1812-14, during which there had been considerable fighting on the great lakes and the St. Lawrence River, which separates the eastern portion of Canada from the United States, there threatened the beginnings of a policy of competitive arming between the United States and Canada, as the North American portion of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions.

Fortunately, there were in Great Britain and in the United States men wise enough and with vision enough to foresee where that policy of competitive arming was likely to lead if permitted to continue. They met together and entered into an agreement. It was not termed a treaty, it was not named a convention, it was merely called "an arrangement", and an arrangement which might be terminated on six months' notice on the part of either of the parties.

That arrangement was to the effect that the naval force to be maintained upon the Great Lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States should be confined, on the part of each, to four vessels in all, distributed over the several lakes, each not to exceed one hundred tons burden, and each to be armed with but one 18-pounder cannon. All other vessels on the lakes were to be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war were to be built or armed there.

That arrangement, known as the Rush-Bagot agreement, like the Treaty recently signed at Paris, is the very embodiment of brevity and simplicity. It was formally proclaimed in the

year 1818. It has remained in existence ever since, and for more than a century it has provided a means of escape from competitive arming for the two countries, not only on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, but across the entire stretch of three thousand more miles of frontier which defines the boundary between them.

So far, therefore, as Canada and the United States are concerned in their relations with each other, the signing in Paris of the Treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy was but the placing of the seals of their approval upon a policy which has been theirs in practice for more than a century, and the fruits and blessings of which have been known and enjoyed over that period of time.

It is not to be assumed that in that period of more than a century no differences have arisen between the two countries. There have been differences, some of them might conceivably have led to war, had not war been renounced as an instrument of national policy, and with it the instruments of war. Ceasing to rely upon force, we have looked to reason as the method of solving our differences, and reason has supplied us from time to time with conference, conciliation or arbitration in a form all sufficient to settle our various differences as they have arisen.

To conference and conciliation as a means of adjusting international differences we have given permanent expression in what is known as the International Joint Commission, established in 1911 in accordance with a treaty negotiated in 1909, a tribunal upon which both the United States and Canada are represented and to which is referred for settlement by enquiry and report all differences, particularly as to boundary waters, and by special agreement all differences of any kind between the two countries which prove to be difficult of adjustment by direct negotiation.

The Commission has all the powers of a court of law; its recommendations are submitted to the two Governments for their acceptance; it meets twice a year, or more often if necessary. In the twenty-three cases in which differences have been referred to this tribunal in the seventeen years of its existence, the Commission has been unanimous in its recommendations in every case but two, and every award has been accepted.

I think I may say that, so far as our two countries are concerned, it would be difficult to imagine any situation arising which could not be amicably settled by this method of adjustment which has come to be an accepted practice between us.

May I say one further word which bears in a practical way upon the fruits of this policy?

Much is heard in the old world of the prosperity of the new. There are doubtless economic causes which account in no inconsiderable measure for that prosperity. There are, however, other causes scarcely less important. Of these, I am inclined to put first and foremost the elimination of all fear of aggression, which has been brought about in the manner I have described.

Canada is a country vast in territory but, as yet, small relatively in population. We have not yet a population of ten millions. The United States have a population of over a hundred and ten millions. Have our fears been increased or have they diminished in virtue of the policies to which I have been referring? That is the question which, in all its significance, I should like this Assembly to consider. We have no armaments of any character, on water or land, along that three thousand and more miles of frontier which divides us; no armed vessels, no fortresses or forts of any kind. Do we live in greater fear of our neighbour on that account, or have we less fear

because we have put our faith in the appeal to reason rather than in the appeal to force? All I can say, speaking for the Government of my country, is that the element of fear never enters into any of our calculations. The Minister of Finance, in presenting his budget to the Cabinet and to Parliament, does not so much as suggest the expenditure of a single dollar through fear of American aggression. The public monies which, but for the policies I have mentioned, would have had to be voted annually for the constitution and maintenance of naval and land forces along the international frontier, are saved and utilised for the purposes of productive industry. There, I believe, is the key to our prosperity. That is why we believe as we do in disarmament, not only as a means of preventing war and maintaining peace, but as an essential of prosperity. It is the reason why we are proud to be numbered among those nations which belong to the League of Nations which aims at providing effective guarantees for the peace of the world; and why we welcome, from any and every source, any and every instrument which gives promise of eliminating fear and establishing confidence in the relations of nations with each other.

It would ill become me, with my limited knowledge of world affairs, to attempt to tell the nations represented here what, for them, may or may not be good policy. I can only speak of the experience of my own country and of its attitude born of its experience. When I say that Canada is behind the League of Nations in its efforts to further and maintain international peace, I speak for no party or class or section, I speak for the whole of Canada. I speak equally for the whole of Canada when I say that our experience leads us to favour, in so far as Canadian questions are concerned, the reference to arbitration of all international disputes of a judicial or legal nature and the settlement by methods of conciliation or arbitration of all other differences that may arise between Canada and any other nation.

I might add that our experience in the international settlement of industrial and international differences alike has led us to put our faith very strongly in compulsory investigation as the most satisfactory of all methods of adjustment. Compulsory investigation might be defined as the reliance upon an informed public opinion. Public investigation is the best of methods for getting at the truth, and truth and justice are allied. To compel the parties to a dispute, whether it be an industrial or an international dispute, to meet together, and to provide the machinery for getting at the truth when they are together are the all-important steps.

It must never be forgotten that there are some evils which publicity is better able to remedy than penalty, and evils which affect the interests of third parties belong to this category, whether as in an industrial dispute, the third party being the community, or as in an international dispute, other countries. Once the truth is known, the third party may be expected to exert its influence in the direction of justice, for "Justice", as Edmund Burke has said, "is the common concern of mankind". Never were those words more pregnant with meaning than they are in their application to the affairs of nations to-day.

The President:

Translation: His Excellency M. Guerrero, delegate of Salvador, will address the Assembly.

M. Guerrero (Salvador):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It has become quite a tradition for me to

address you each year on the supervision of the manufacture of arms, and yet every year I imagine that I am speaking about it for the last time, since the resolutions adopted by the Assembly are always so emphatic as regards the convening of the Conference that is to draft an international convention on this question.

At an earlier meeting we heard His Excellency the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs express his regret at the result of the deliberations of the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft Convention on the supervision of private manufacture and the publicity of State manufacture. I do not doubt that, in associating myself with his regret, I am voicing the opinion of the whole Assembly.

It is essential that we should persist in the efforts which were begun so long ago and should endeavour to come to an agreement on this vital question, so that the aims of the League may be realised — aims, moreover, for which it was created.

May I mention a few of the reasons which make it imperative that this Convention on supervision should be framed? They are as follows:

- (1) Producing and non-producing States must be placed on an equal footing;
- (2) The obligation laid down in Article 8 of the Covenant must be fulfilled;
- (3) Real progress must be made in the limitation of armaments;
- (4) The proposed convention would facilitate the entry into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War.

As regards this last point, we must not lose sight of the fact that the Convention just mentioned was drawn up in 1925, and has been ratified so far only by four States; the others have abstained from ratifying it pending the holding of a new Conference to extend the scope of supervision to the manufacture of arms. Far from regarding this as a sign that it may be difficult to arrive at an agreement, we must, on the contrary, trust that the States which have shown their readiness to accept the abolition of war in theory will be quite as prepared to adopt practical measures to preclude the possibility of war.

With this hope in view, I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution for reference to the Third Committee:

“The Assembly:

“Having taken note of the report and preliminary draft Convention drawn up by the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war, as also of the resolution adopted by the Council on this subject on August 30th, 1928;

“Observes with regret that, owing to fundamental differences of opinion which still exist, the Commission has not found it possible to submit a single final text as desired by the Assembly;

“Being convinced of the urgent necessity of drawing up a Convention which, while placing non-producing and producing countries on an equal footing, would facilitate the ratification of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva on June 17th, 1925;

“Refers to its successive resolutions passed at each of its previous ordinary sessions, beginning with the first session in 1920, in which

resolutions it has constantly urged the importance of the problem of the manufacture of arms and the necessity of convening a conference as speedily as possible, and refers also to the numerous resolutions adopted by the Council on the same question; and,

“Requests the Council to exert its influence with the States Members of the League of Nations in order to overcome the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the holding of such a conference, and thus make it possible to convene a conference in the spring of 1929.”

The President:

Translation: The Assembly has to consider a draft resolution submitted by the delegate of Salvador; this will be printed and circulated to the delegations.

I shall make suggestions at a future meeting as to its disposal.

M. Mehdi Frasherî, first delegate of Albania, will address the Assembly.

M. Mehdi Frasherî (Albania):

Translation: Ladies and gentlemen — Before the creation of the League of Nations the smaller States were excluded from membership of major political conferences. If the necessity arose, they could attend as suppliants, as spectators or, at the very most, in a consultative capacity.

Now, thanks to the League, these smaller States have been accorded the right of free speech; they have been placed on an equal footing with the great world Powers. This is a great step in the direction of international justice, for which we are most deeply grateful.

Should we become the victims of aggression or any other form of injustice, we now have at least the right to bring a plaint freely and openly against our oppressor. This constitutes a guarantee of great significance as regards our development — our very existence. It represents most welcome progress in the evolution of human justice.

Many eminent statesmen have taken the opportunity afforded by the report on the work of the League, which was submitted to the Assembly by the Acting President of the Council, to deal with the great problems with which the Assembly is chiefly concerned.

Of these problems, the foremost in the eyes of the whole world is the question of disarmament, or rather the limitation of armaments with a view to the future maintenance of peace.

The horrors of the world war are still a vivid memory to those who suffered from them, and the consequences of that war press heavily and will perhaps continue to press heavily for we know not how long, upon all the peoples of the earth. Thus peace and the possibility of assuring it in the future are the subjects that come most readily to the lips of all, no matter where.

The smaller States are eager for peace, and the very smallness of their population means that they are disarmed. Those which are disarmed would like to see others in a similar condition, but their desires and present realities lie far apart.

From time immemorial the question of universal peace has haunted the minds of the great thinkers and the founders of religions, such as Jesus Christ and Mahomet. Christ sought to establish universal peace by proclaiming the Kingdom of Heaven: Mahomet would fain have brought peace to the world by the conquest of the whole earth. Their purpose was one; their methods diametrically opposed.

What has been the result of their doctrines from the point of view of peace? The disciples of the

Great Pacifist, mankind's Sublime Victim, invented and are still inventing the most formidable engines of war. It was they who taught those other faithful followers the art of modern warfare. The followers of Christ, the Pacifist, have conquered the world, while the servants of Mahomet, the Conqueror, have for the most part become their conquered vassals. So great is the difference between creed and practice!

You will forgive me if I speak frankly, here on this platform, where frankness is a duty. If we talk too much of disarmament, I am afraid the result we may produce may be the very opposite. Nations must be under no illusion in the matter, for sooner or later disillusionment is bound to follow with all its disastrous consequences.

Remember that Communism, which is out to destroy justice and social order, is on the watch for any signs of disillusionment, waiting eagerly to take advantage of it.

I wish to pay my tribute to the noble sentiments of previous speakers, who have so ably defended the cause of peace and disarmament. They were moved by nobility of purpose and are therefore entitled to our respect; but in my humble opinion the cause of peace would be better served and there would be more hope of carrying out the League's ideals if post-war problems could be dealt with from a practical, common-sense standpoint, instead of in an atmosphere of poetic illusion. Armaments are a means of war, not its chief factor or its purpose. As long as the factors that make for war exist, and the purpose it has in view, the means of waging war will not be hard to find. War began when men simply threw stones at one another. The story of Cain and Abel proves this.

To cure a sick person, we first have to diagnose the case and then endeavour to remove the causes of the disease. Otherwise there is the risk of killing the patient, especially if he is suffering from a chronic disease. A cure should be slow, methodical and gradual. There is an Italian proverb which runs: "Chi va piano va sano; chi va sano va lontano".

The great problems of humanity can only be solved by studying human nature, both in its individual and in its collective aspects as revealed

in the pages of history. Man's natural instinct led him to the discovery of arms, first as means of self-defence and then in order to attack his fellow creatures.

Our first step, then, must be to eliminate those factors which are the outcome partly of human nature, partly of faulty education.

We none of us know who invented needles, with the help of which we have learned to clothe ourselves, but every elementary school child learns the names of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon.

In the matter of disarmament, the League should, I think, consider the following points:

(1) As regards the right to arm, or the limitation of that right, all nations should be placed on a footing of perfect equality. Either they must all be allowed to arm or they must all be required to disarm.

(2) The League Covenant guarantees the independence and integrity of every Member State. If this principle were properly respected, in such a way as to inspire confidence among the nations, that confidence alone would assist enormously in the limitation of armaments.

(3) Armed conflicts are generally the result of encroachment upon the rights of the weak by the strong. In order to avoid this the main cause of conflict, recourse to arbitration and to international justice should be compulsory for all States Members of the League.

(4) The League's organisation for intellectual co-operation should exercise some sort of supervision over the teaching of civics and history in the countries Members of the League.

I feel sure that if these four principles were loyally carried out they would do much to promote peace and hence the voluntary limitation of armaments. Let us not forget the inevitable law of progress, and here, where truth and justice must reign supreme, let me repeat the immortal words of Danton: "De l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!"

The Assembly rose at 6.40 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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38. — APPOINTMENT OF DR. CHODZKO, SUBSTITUTE DELEGATE OF POLAND, AS MEMBER OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH QUESTIONS OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION: LETTER FROM THE POLISH DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : I have received the following letter from the Polish delegation :

"I have the honour to inform you that M. Witold Chodzko, substitute delegate to

the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations has been designated to represent Poland on the Sixth Committee on questions of Intellectual Co-operation.

(Signed) Auguste ZALESKI."

39. — APPOINTMENT OF A SUBSTITUTE DELEGATE TO THE DANISH DELEGATION: LETTER FROM THE DANISH DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : I have received a letter from the Danish delegation, as follows :

"The Danish delegation has the honour to inform you that in virtue of Article 6, paragraph 1, of the Rules of Procedure M. Otto Wadsted, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has been appointed as substitute delegate."

40. — CANDIDATURE OF PERSIA FOR ELECTION AS A NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL : COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : I have received from the Persian delegation accredited to the League of Nations a letter formally submitting the candidature of Persia for election to a non-permanent seat on the League Council. This letter will be translated, printed and circulated to the delegations as soon as possible.

41. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

M. Motta, first delegate of Switzerland, will address the Assembly.

M. Motta (Switzerland) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like in the first place to express my profound gratitude to M. Paul Hymans, first delegate of Belgium, for his moving reference to the noble figure of Gustave Ador, a former President of the Swiss Confederation and at one time a member of the Swiss delegation to the League of Nations.

I am one of those — there are fewer of us every year — whose privilege it has been to be present at every session of the Assembly since the foundation of the League. The special characteristics of each of those sessions are vividly before me.

I am therefore very glad to note the calm and tranquil atmosphere which pervades this year's Assembly. I need only mention one most striking fact : we have among us seven acting and seven former Prime Ministers and eighteen acting and seven former Ministers for Foreign Affairs. This proves conclusively that the importance of the Assembly, far from diminishing, tends to increase every year. It is no exaggeration to say that the League is to-day one of the organic factors in international affairs.

Spain's return to our midst was therefore a cause of general rejoicing and also the fact that the Argentine Republic has sent an observer — a prelude, I hope, to the definite return of that country.

Nor do we despair of obtaining the renewed participation of Brazil in our work. We have all read with interest the Council's recent letter explaining the interpretation placed by the League on the Monroe doctrine and the scope given to that doctrine in Article 21 of the Covenant.

I was delighted yesterday evening to read that the Republic of Costa Rica had sent a favourable reply to the Council's new invitation.

In 1926, when the rules for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council were drawn up, an assurance was given to the Latin-American States that three non-permanent seats on the Council would be reserved for them. May I suggest that this assurance, which has been faithfully carried out, is in our view an additional reason why those South American countries which are Members of the League but have not been sending delegates for the last few years should be told how much we should appreciate their active co-operation ?

The League of Nations and the Pan-American Union are undoubtedly the two most important international institutions of the age. The majority of Latin-American countries are fortunately members of both organisations and form a link between them, preventing any rivalry or dangerous antagonism.

The Paris pact for the outlawry of war has caused us the greatest satisfaction. The Swiss Federation and its Government readily declared that the Federal Assembly would accede to the pact, and this for two reasons :

The first is this : the very fact of Switzerland's permanent neutrality means that she condemns war and has renounced it forever as an instrument of national policy.

The second reason is that no State could have less difficulty in accepting the principle that all disputes between States shall be settled by pacific means. This is borne out by the whole trend of the policy of arbitration which we are endeavouring to apply in international life.

At the same time, while we agree that the Paris pact contains not merely moral undertakings but solemn political and legal undertakings as well, we would add that to proclaim the desire for peace is not enough : this desire must be fostered and peace must be properly organised. Our acceptance of all draft collective treaties relating to conciliation, judicial settlement and international arbitration is assured in advance.

The League, by preparing, fostering and organising the world's will for peace has become a supremely important institution, and the significance, efficacy and merit of its efforts in the campaign against war are, indeed, unrivalled.

If we peruse the mass of documents submitted to us by the Secretariat, wherein we find a record of the work of the Council, the work of the Secretariat and the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly, we cannot but feel the greatest admiration and gratitude for all that has been done.

Economic, financial, and currency problems, political and legal problems — they are legion, and each is more formidable than the last. Sometimes, perhaps, we may have the impression that the work is somewhat heterogeneous and diffuse, but none of us can help feeling that we have here a new world, slowly evolving, destined to fulfil all the hopes of humanity. It is, I believe, still too early to pass a final judgment upon the results of the reorganisation of the Council, yet I think I may venture to say that certain fears which were quite legitimately expressed in 1926 have proved unfounded.

I might perhaps suggest that, whenever occasion arises, the Council should remember that Article 4 of the Covenant affords an excellent opportunity of summoning before the Council, on an equal footing with the other Members, any State whose interests are specially affected by the question under consideration. A liberal and generous application of this provision would facilitate the solution of many of the problems which arise every year in connection with the elections to the Council.

I would venture also to emphasise the importance of more frequent, more confident, and more courageous recourse — what I am saying does not imply the very slightest criticism of the Council — to the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice. We all know the obstacle that lies in the way. It involves a question of prime importance to the League that has not yet been properly cleared up : Can the Council apply to the Permanent Court for an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant except by a unanimous decision ? The view appears already to be fairly generally held that the votes of the States parties to the dispute should not be counted in any such decision. I think that the Covenant could easily be interpreted so as to support the principle which is both wise and sound and ensures considerable progress in international jurisprudence — that the Council should be able by a majority vote to apply to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion.

I wish to submit to the Assembly a resolution which has already been drafted, and which I will

ask the President to read at the close of my speech, recommending the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court, for an advisory opinion, the question whether a simple majority vote is sufficient when applying for an advisory opinion.

The Court's opinion on this point would be conclusive. I leave all considerations of expediency entirely to the discretion of the Council, but I was anxious, the Swiss delegation was anxious, to raise this question which will facilitate access to the Permanent Court and develop the possibility of finding legal solutions for political problems and inter-state disputes.

Questions concerning the reduction of armaments occupy an important place in the report on the work of the Council. For reasons that are known to all, Switzerland has not hitherto played a very active part in the investigation of this weighty problem. Switzerland's military system is on the lines of a militia and is essentially defensive in character. I note, and you will all understand my satisfaction, a tendency in other States to model their armies on the Swiss pattern, and perhaps when the ideal we have already attained has become a universal fact, the question of the reduction of armaments and purely defensive armies will have been solved for all mankind.

I am not one of those who maintain that the very existence of the League depends on its future success in this vast problem of disarmament. Many say, and I understand their point of view, that the League will find itself paralysed if it cannot discover an equitable solution for this problem. I would not go so far as that, but I agree that the matter is one of capital importance, that the nations will be bitterly disappointed if the League proves powerless, and that their disappointment would shatter the very foundations of world confidence.

The Federal Council had this in mind when it laid before you a proposal for the establishment at Geneva of a wireless station. I do not intend to discuss the matter to-day, but I wish to emphasise the fact that in proposing to the Assembly that she should herself establish a station, subject to certain guarantees, for the use of the League — particularly at times of crisis — Switzerland desired to demonstrate her readiness to co-operate and her friendship for the League.

A few words more and I have finished. I wish to mention the minorities question. The first delegate of the Netherlands, speaking with the authority attaching to his name and to that of the country he represents, said he would support any action of the League for the better protection of minorities. He even suggested the appointment of a Minorities Commission on the lines of the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Swiss delegation would view with sympathy any movement in this direction.

Public opinion in Switzerland is keenly alive to the minorities question, and follows it with profound interest. We are not deaf to the complaints that are sometimes heard in certain parts of Europe and in other regions of the world. We know that various provisions of the treaties of peace have to be carried out by the League. Switzerland had some difficulty in accustoming herself to the idea that, as a Member of the League, she was jointly responsible, up to a point, for their execution: but she is happy to find in the peace treaties themselves guarantees for minorities which make for conciliation and protection.

That is the spirit in which we propose to study these problems. Freedom is an inherent and ineradicable need of human nature. Through freedom all citizens of the world are partakers

of the spirit. Respect for religious convictions, respect for differences of language and customs — these are sacred. It is the duty of minorities to display prudence and moderation, and still more is it the duty of majorities to give proof of equity and justice.

Myself, a citizen of a country where majority and minority fraternise and co-operate on a footing of perfect equality and mutual understanding, a member of the Italian minority in Switzerland, and thus a representative of one of the most ancient and glorious civilisations of the world, I am perhaps entitled to declare here on this platform that the impartial application of treaties relating to the rights and guarantees of minorities is and must always be one of the chief preoccupations of all who have at heart the realisation of the League's ideals.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly has before it a proposal by the Swiss delegation concerning advisory opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The text of the proposal submitted by M. Motta on behalf of his delegation is as follows :

“ The Assembly,

Recommends the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice, for an advisory opinion, the question whether the Council or the Assembly can, by a simple majority, request an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.”

I will arrange for the proposal to be printed and circulated to the delegations as soon as possible, and in order to expedite matters I propose that the Assembly refer it direct to the Agenda Committee.

His Excellency Monsignor Seipel, first delegate of Austria, will address the Assembly.

Mgr. Seipel (Austria) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The General Report which summarises the activities of the League of Nations since the last ordinary session of the Assembly reveals to our eyes a rich and varied picture. We are glad to see that the assiduous co-operation of the Members of the League, and the active and devoted work of the Secretariat, have achieved striking and valuable results in many important directions. These results form a strong testimony in favour of the League. But for the League, but for the constant co-operation of the nations and their rulers, for which we are indebted to the League, the numerous and varied questions arising after the war, or revived by it, could not be attacked with any prospect of success.

The political and economic life of the world is becoming more and more complex. It calls for periodical contact between leading statesmen, such as is provided by the League, and this contact constitutes progress of inestimable value from the point of view of the technique of international politics.

There are probably few countries in which the League's activities are more carefully followed than in Austria. Since her reconstruction, happily carried out under the League's auspices, Austria's relations with the League have been of a very special character. It is true that this work of reconstruction brought benefits to all the parties concerned; to the League itself, because the successful solution of so important a task clearly redounded to its credit; to Austria, because, after

balancing her budget, she was able to reconstitute her economic and social life on a sound basis; last but not least, to those who, by lending us their money, are obtaining a liberal return, while enjoying the best security ever offered by a loan. Yet it would be a mistake to regard this as entirely a business transaction. This was the first time since the devastation of the war that the spirit of fraternal solidarity and mutual assistance showed itself among the peoples gathered under the aegis of the League. The reconstruction of Austria by the League is an exemplary and historic instance of the success of international co-operation, a model which has since been adopted in dealing with other countries.

But even this is not the most important aspect of the case. We can only understand the full significance of Austria's reconstruction by the League when we remember that Austria — after the war one of the very weakest States from the economic standpoint — had to be saved by international aid — to be saved from a financial, political and social collapse which might have disturbed the peace of Europe, since it would inevitably have raised questions which the world was then incapable of solving or even of discussing. The reconstruction of Austria was therefore not an act of secondary importance to the League; it was part of its main task — that of keeping the peace, since the peace of the world is the very life-blood of the League. The League will stand or fall by what it does or fails to do to guarantee world peace.

I have already said that among us in Austria the League's work is followed with particular interest. I must add, however, to be quite truthful, that this is not due only to gratitude and to the happy experience we have had of the League in the case of which I have just spoken. The principal reason for our interest is that we attach particular importance to the establishment and organisation of lasting peace.

Austria, situated as she is in the centre of Europe, and accustomed by her history and her economic conditions to maintain the closest relations with her neighbours, is painfully sensitive to the repercussions of every disturbance, conflict or commotion which may occur in any part of Europe. Hence, in the present report on the work of the Council, nothing interests me so much as the parts which concern all that has or has not been done for the direct purpose of consolidating peace.

Happily there are already definite facts to be noted. Last year's Assembly solemnly proscribed wars of aggression. Since then a pact has been concluded, not directly by the League, but on the joint initiative of one of its most eminent protagonists, M. Briand, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and of Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States. This pact is open to accession by every country, and all who sign it or accede to it renounce war as an instrument of national policy. These are results for which we would not have dared to hope twenty years ago. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that despite all these favourable symptoms, much hard work will still have to be done to banish the feeling of disquiet and insecurity which is harassing the whole world, and particularly Europe — a feeling which is evidenced particularly by the increase in armaments.

The noble task of gradually allaying this feeling of insecurity, in so far as it can be done by juridical methods, falls to the Security Committee, which has met under the efficient guidance of Dr. Beneš, the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, and which has submitted to us a most valuable report

drawn up with the latter's personal and energetic assistance.

Austria is ready to co-operate in any action likely to consolidate peace. She is also prepared to conclude with any and every State treaties of arbitration, security and conciliation. The Austrian Government acceded to the Kellogg pact on August 30th last, only three days after being invited to do so. Austria was one of the first countries to sign and ratify the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and thus to recognise the general and compulsory jurisdiction of that Court. Austria warmly congratulates Germany on having been the first great Power to take a similar step, which gives her a special place in the history of the development of the International Court.

We are very glad to learn that the League's work in preparation for the first International Conference on the Codification of International Law is so far advanced that that Conference will be able to meet next year.

This is all I wish to say as regards the formal guarantee of peace.

A question of much greater importance, however, is that of the work to be done to establish the material basis necessary to lasting peace. In this direction also the League has achieved valuable results.

The security afforded by peace in the political field can be effectively strengthened by peace in the economic field: as long as economic peace is not assured there can be no lasting peace. The Financial Conference convened by the League of Nations at Brussels in 1920 helped greatly to restore those monetary systems the stability of which had been destroyed after the war. On the French delegation's proposal, and thanks to the personal initiative of its distinguished member, M. Loucheur, the first world Economic Conference took place last year. Although hardly a year has elapsed since then, this Conference has already produced results which could hardly have been hoped for before it met. All that we have to do now is to await further developments.

The one Conference which the world has for years been awaiting in eager expectation, a Conference dealing with a group of questions of the highest importance, the Conference for the reduction of armaments, has not yet taken place, despite numerous resolutions on the subject, passed by the Assembly of the League at previous sessions. We have been disappointed with the manner in which the League has so far dealt with the problem of disarmament, or rather — not to be unfair — we should say how much we regret that it has revealed to us the slender means at the League's disposal for dealing with the disarmament question. I do not intend to go once more over ground familiar to us all, namely, that the Treaties of Peace explicitly promise general disarmament to all the States which were compelled to disarm immediately; that owing to the huge development in the technical means of warfare since the world war, the general level of armaments is now far higher than in pre-war years; that, although the desire for peace has become intensified in most countries in the past ten years, armaments yet continue to be a permanent danger and an ever-growing menace to peace.

All nations want disarmament. The divergencies of opinion existing in regard to questions of detail ought not to blind us to the main and ultimate aim. I appeal to this Assembly not be satisfied with dilatory resolutions on this question, but to take a decisive step forward. The whole world is waiting for this, and the League's prestige is essentially dependent upon it.

The feeling of political insecurity which pervades the world is due to many causes. One of the most important and the most dangerous of these, in my opinion, is the intolerance caused by the inflammation of the nationalist spirit, in all that that term implies, whether the word "nation" be taken to mean all the citizens of any one country or all persons of common race and language. During the last decades we have seen throughout the world a vehement expansion of national sentiment in both senses of this term. Such an expansion was indeed inevitable, not only among the peoples in a majority within a national State but also in the minorities scattered among such States.

Obviously this sentiment is strongest among those who in the past belonged to nations forming majorities within a State, and who, in virtue of a new frontier line, suddenly find themselves national minorities, and this without any corresponding evolution from within.

Owing to the Treaties of Peace themselves, the minorities question has become an international question, like many others the inclusion of which in the Treaties has since made itself disagreeably felt. For it is by the Treaties of Peace that the formal right of minorities has been introduced into the sphere of international law, although in a somewhat elementary and therefore wholly inadequate form.

It is vital that the right held by minorities — held indeed by all peoples without exception — the right to retain their mother-tongue, the manners and customs of their forefathers and all the sources of their special civilisation, as well as the right to declare openly and freely their membership of their race, whether these rights be laid down in treaties or not — it is vital, I repeat, that these rights should be definitively acknowledged by the conscience of the world and recognised by the fundamental stipulations of international law.

As early as the second session of the Assembly of the League, in 1921, Professor Gilbert Murray declared from this platform "that the welfare, the contentment, of these minorities is one of the common interests of Europe". A year later, the Rapporteur on the question of minorities, our distinguished colleague and friend, M. Motta, declared "that the League should become as it were the guardian of minorities throughout the world". At its third session the Assembly of the League adopted the resolution with which you are all familiar, a resolution which expresses the hope "that the States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the Council".

In the light of the existing treaties, and while appreciating the efforts I have just mentioned on the part of the League, I cannot help wondering why the treatment of the minorities question should, in spite of all, still be in such an unsatisfactory position, and I suddenly see the real cause of the trouble from which we are all suffering: *We unfortunate mortals do not understand each other.* I address you in German, owing to my inadequate knowledge of French or English: but the difficulty of comprehension is easily overcome, thanks to our excellent interpreters. But unfortunately we often fail to understand each other even when language is not the cause of the difficulty.

If we consider Europe alone, we see that it may be divided into different regions, according to the standpoint adopted. We may speak of

south and north, or east and west. We may speak of a Latin zone, a Germanic zone, a Slav zone, and since 1918, if it is insisted upon, we may divide it into victors and vanquished.

Europe is, however, also divided by a line which separates two entirely different conceptions of the idea of the "nation". On one side of that line are the peoples for whom the State is everything, and who understand national sentiment as a great enthusiasm for the State to which they, of their own free will or otherwise, belong. On the other side of that line of demarcation, the sentiment of civilisation, of a common tongue and a common origin preponderates, nor does this sentiment affect in the slightest the loyalty felt to the State. For the first, the protection of minorities is but a transitory measure born of a humanitarian idea, and intended to render less painful the assimilation of racial and linguistic minorities to the people of the State on which they depend, owing to the fact of their having settled there, or to some other historical event. For the others, it is a natural right, a sacred and inalienable right, a right they could not give up even if they wished to do so.

Confronted with this state of affairs, what attitude do we adopt, we who meet here at the League of Nations? Either we avoid speaking of these matters for fear of offending each other or those in our own countries who read our speeches, or else — and this is still worse, as it borders on the ridiculous — we speak of them and pretend that we understand one another. We use words which we can translate superficially and vaguely with the help of our linguistic knowledge or of dictionaries, but we do not know, or do not wish to know, that the same words mean different things to each one of us.

Let us not imagine that we have made great progress towards the pacification of the world so long as we fail to understand the very elements of the "science of peace". In the minorities question, at any rate, we have not yet understood these elements. Convinced as I am of this, I do not wish to make any concrete proposal to-day, but I should like to advise each one of you to weigh in your own mind the different conceptions of the expressions "nation", "minority" and "rights of minorities". Once we have done this, we can meet again and tell each other frankly, and with all the authority at our command, how the minorities question really stands. But we must reflect and state our views quickly, lest anything happen meanwhile to prejudice the great ideal of peace.

The President :

Translation : M. Zaleski, first delegate of Poland, will address the Assembly.

M. Zaleski (Poland) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In addressing you to-day I should like to add my country's name to those on whose behalf tribute has been or will be paid here to the work done by the League of Nations during the past year.

I shall not attempt any detailed analysis of the Secretary-General's report, but I am glad to see from it that great progress has been made during the year, in the course of which the League's influence and activities in the various spheres of international life have been extended still further.

I think that the year 1927-28 may rightly be included among those in which the most highly important work has been carried out by the League, work which will doubtless prove of very great

assistance in consolidating and strengthening peace, and will accordingly help us to attain the object we all have at heart.

I say unhesitatingly that future generations will regard the past year, during which war has twice been outlawed, as one of the greatest years in the history of the peace movement and that it will inaugurate a new era in international relations — an era I hope of rapidly increasing confidence, mutual understanding and international collaboration.

The Polish Government and its people attach the very greatest importance to the pact condemning war, which was signed a few days ago in Paris. In substance, this pact is identical with the solemn declaration made last year by all the Members of the League. We realise, of course, that it does not absolutely guarantee peace, since it provides no sanctions against the crime of violating peace. Nevertheless, we welcome it with joy and with profound satisfaction, for we feel that it may form the moral foundation on which we can build the noble edifice of peace.

The Kellogg pact, although negotiated outside the League, and without any formal connection with it, marks I think, a logical and necessary stage in the League's development, and the latter should, as it were, adopt it — though that does not mean, of course, that we dispute the undeniable rights of the great American democracy to its paternity.

When I said that the pact for the outlawry of war might serve as a basis for our future work for the promotion of peace, I was referring to work in connection with security and disarmament: this has already been begun and considerable progress has been made. The accession of Members of the League to the pact for non-aggression will be of the greatest assistance to us in our efforts to organise security and general disarmament.

Many speakers have already made special reference to the scope of the work undertaken by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and I fully concur in what they have so eloquently said.

I would specially draw your attention, however, to the proposed regional conventions for mutual assistance, to which my Government attaches special importance. In 1925, when the attempts to conclude a general convention of this kind failed, we were of opinion that the best way out of the difficulty would be to conclude regional conventions.

We are glad to see that this idea is gaining fresh supporters among the Members of the League, and we hope that it will soon become a concrete fact. We are convinced that the conclusion of regional agreements for mutual assistance will really enable an important reduction to be made in national armaments.

This does not mean, however, that the preparatory work for disarmament cannot go forward until such regional agreements have been concluded. On the contrary, we consider this work to be highly desirable and appreciate the value of that already done by the Preparatory Commission, and which must not be underrated.

The work of this Commission has thrown light on the problem of disarmament in all its aspects. It has cleared up misunderstandings, which have often proved only apparent, and has helped forward the agreements which are a necessary preliminary to the summoning of the Disarmament Conference — which will, I trust, be held shortly.

We should apply to the work of the Preparatory Commission that wise Italian proverb: "*Chi va piano va sano*".

That is why I for one cannot share the feeling of disappointment at the League's work in the field of disarmament expressed by the delegates of

Sweden, Norway, Germany and Austria in their bold and interesting speeches.

Nor do I agree with the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics that all that is needed to guarantee world peace is that the nations should immediately meet together at Geneva for a few days or a few weeks and there and then decree universal and complete disarmament.

Life does not permit of these autocratic methods. We cannot bring about disarmament merely by saying: "Let there be disarmament"!

Any reform, if it is to be permanent and lasting, must be carefully and gradually prepared. The disarmament we desire is not a matter of hasty propaganda; it is a problem which we are approaching in all seriousness and with a real intention of solving. We must not abandon, therefore, the methods hitherto followed, which consist simply in patient and steady effort. This, in my view, is the only effective and practical means.

Let us not forget that any unconsidered action might hinder rather than help disarmament.

May I take this opportunity to refer to two questions already mentioned by previous speakers, namely, national minorities and economic problems?

The former problem was dealt with in the very interesting speech of the Netherlands representative. I fully agree with M. Beelaerts van Blokland that we should make it impossible for the minorities system to be used by ill-intentioned persons as an instrument for political agitation. The necessity of eliminating the political element from minority questions and of preventing them from becoming the subject of inter-State disputes has more than once been urged by the Council, and was specially referred to in a report by the Secretary-General adopted by the Assembly in 1925.

I am sorry, however, that I cannot agree with the Netherlands Foreign Minister, whose views are supported by the German Chancellor and M. Motta. M. Beelaerts van Blokland put forward, in the interest of minorities, a suggestion, the application of which would not only be most dangerous at the present time — as he himself admitted — but which also is not based on any clause in the minorities treaty. May I remind you that the Committees of Three were set up for the express purpose of ensuring that petitions from minorities would be carefully considered? The Governments which signed the treaties have acquiesced in the practice of referring petitions to Committees, although, from a strictly legal standpoint, this practice might be open to question. But surely you can hardly ask them to go further and accept a Permanent Minorities Commission.

There is no analogy whatever between the mandates question and the minorities question, as regards the proposal to appoint a permanent organ of enquiry and control. The Permanent Mandates Commission was set up under Article 22 of the League Covenant, whereas the appointment of a Permanent Minorities Commission would not be based on any international undertaking. If our colleagues wish us to consider their suggestion, let us do so by all means, but in that case we must also consider another proposal which has already been made several times in the Assembly and was also mentioned in the resolutions passed by the twelfth Assembly of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at The Hague. I refer to the suggestion that the principle of the protection of minorities should be made general. If all States Members of the League are prepared to adhere to a general convention to that effect I am sure there will be no objection to a Permanent Minorities Commission.

But if, in the desire to improve the present system for the protection of minorities, you attempt too much, you may achieve a diametrically opposite result and destroy the system altogether.

I should now like, in conclusion, to say a few words with regard to the economic work of the League.

Our political mission will have scant hope of success unless it is accompanied by an improvement in the economic situation. Despite all the obstacles and difficulties it has encountered, the League's Economic Organisation is courageously pursuing its task of economic reconciliation.

The Polish Government desires to pay a tribute to the remarkable results that have been achieved in this field, and is ready to give its full support and goodwill to the promotion of better international economic relations. It has given ample proof of this during the past year. I need not dwell upon our favourable attitude towards the work of economic reconstruction, but we feel that care must be taken not to make matters too difficult for countries which are still in process of evolution and whose situation thus differs from that of the great industrial Powers.

In its commercial policy, my country has had and will continue to have due regard for the interests of what we have agreed to call the international economy: but, at the same time, it expects the powerful entities which determine international activity to respect the vital needs of others. Mutual sacrifices must be made. We must be fair to all. We must encourage in the economic sphere the growth of that conciliatory spirit the first signs of which are beginning to appear in international political life.

Mutual understanding in economic affairs, equality of benefits, mutual sacrifice—these are the three pillars that uphold the economic work of the League.

The President :

Translation : M. Voldemaras, delegate of Lithuania, will address the Assembly.

M. Voldemaras (Lithuania) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen— It is only after a review of the past and consideration of the future that the work of the League of Nations can be fully understood.

In considering the past, there is ground for satisfaction, for the work of the Council and of the technical organs of the League has covered a wide field and produced very beneficial results. I will not repeat what has already been said with justice, and in great detail, concerning the work accomplished in the past, and specially during last year.

Progress cannot be arrested, however; and if the League does not wish to be out-distanced by events, it must constantly look to the future: and, from this standpoint, I must say frankly that I see clouds looming on the horizon.

The breath of life is already beginning to leave the League. What is the main purpose for which this organisation was set up? That purpose is set forth in the Preamble and above all in Article 11 of the Covenant. The League is bound to do its utmost to make war impossible. Can it do so however, under its present Covenant?

The Covenant allows the possibility of war. I do not blame its authors. Conditions at the time were such that the States could not possibly advance further than the stage represented by the Covenant. The League itself has desired to go further, and on two occasions this desire has been translated into action. In the first place, the

so-called Geneva Protocol was drafted as a further step towards abolishing war. We all know what was the fate of the Protocol.

Last year the Polish delegation submitted a resolution condemning wars of aggression, which was unanimously adopted.

In communicating this resolution the Council pointed out that the States Members of the League were under an obligation to accept the two principles underlying the Polish proposals. What were those obligations? Were they of a legal nature? By no means. And they were not so because the Covenant has not been changed. Any change in the Covenant must be ratified by the States Members, as laid down in the text of the Covenant itself, and as this resolution has not become an article of the Covenant, the obligation is merely a moral one. Its significance is doubtless very wide, since it shows that the public opinion of the world condemns all wars, and is satisfied, for the time being at least, with preventing wars of aggression.

As I have said, precedents have not been lacking in the history of the League itself when the Assembly has clearly expressed its opinion on this vital matter of war. But the world situation made it impossible to go further.

Conditions are changed now. What objections are there to-day to modifying the pact in this direction? Formerly, such objections would have been quite intelligible, for the League was not world-wide; there were great Powers—there are still—outside it, and from a military point of view these Powers represent a formidable force. In those circumstances nobody would risk adopting a rule of positive international law forbidding war, still less reducing armaments.

But the situation is now entirely changed. It was at the bold initiative of M. Briand that Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States of America, proposed a treaty which, after much negotiation and many amendments, was signed at Paris.

This pact contains a provision formally outlawing war. Is this a moral obligation? Surely no; it is a legal one. I know there are pessimists who believe that the Briand-Kellogg pact has only a moral value, but I venture to point out, that the same could be said of any international treaty.

Of course, from the point of view of the internal law of States, this pact lacks sanctions. In this respect it is what the old Roman jurists used to call a *lex imperfecta*. But, as I have just observed this imperfection is inherent in every international treaty. When Plato, the greatest philosopher of antiquity, was evolving his bold conception of the ideal republic, what problem did he set himself to solve in order to ensure that his creation should endure? "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*" Either the League or some other international organ is set up to safeguard international peace. Very good: but Plato's problem still remains: "*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*" The question will be asked till the end of time. It is impossible to form any international organisation to include, besides the States composing it, an institution to supervise the execution of its decisions.

This supreme "*custos*" will be found in faith alone. For since the day when the human race was first divided into different States, ever since the organisation of civilised life, in fact, this question has existed, and international treaties have been placed under divine sanction. The sanction must always be a moral one.

Those, therefore, who allege that this pact is merely a moral obligation thereby admit that it is in every way similar to any and every other international treaty. Few modern international

treaties acknowledge in fact that an infraction renders the contravening party liable to sanctions. The majority, the overwhelming majority, of all these treaties, are and will ever remain *leges imperfectae*. That is a fact inherent in the very essence of things.

This being so, what must be done to secure the recognition of this obligation as an entirely legal one? A purely formal step — ratification. Nothing is substantially changed. When the ratifications have been exchanged, the Briand-Kellogg Pact will become a positive international law.

In that case a supreme duty devolves upon the Members of the League: the Covenant must not be allowed to fall behind these new developments. It must be adapted to the present state of positive international law. Formerly, it was legally impossible to proscribe war; the Paris pact has now made this possible.

That should be the League's chief preoccupation. If it undertakes this task, if it succeeds in solving this problem, it will have justified the hope which the world places in it.

Much has been said concerning the Paris pact, but it has been spoken of as something lying outside the League and having, so to speak, no juridical connection with it. There is moral sympathy if you like, but the pact has not been looked at from the purely legal standpoint. The Lithuanian delegation thinks the time for this has now come, and accordingly, has the honour to submit a draft resolution to that effect, which I will read and afterwards explain:—

“The Assembly:

“Learning with deep emotion that the United States of America and several States Members of the League of Nations signed a Pact for the renunciation of war on August 27th, 1928, in Paris;

“Noting that several other States Members or non-members of the League of Nations have already acceded to the said Pact:

“Recognising that the acceptance of the Pact for the renunciation of war by the Members of the League of Nations goes further than their obligations in this respect contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations and supplements them, thus necessitating changes in the fundamental provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations;

“Recalling the Assembly resolution of September 24th, 1927, condemning wars of aggression;

“Requests the Council to initiate an enquiry into the amendments which should be introduced into the Covenant of the League of Nations on the above-mentioned lines, and to submit these amendments to the Assembly at its next session.”

The only possible objection to this resolution may be summarised as follows: The Paris pact has been signed, it is true, and a number of States have acceded to it. But it has not yet been ratified and therefore has not yet become a legal fact. It will only be possible to deal with it effectively when the ratifications have been deposited at Washington.

This objection is a purely formal one. It need not modify in the slightest the Assembly's attitude, for either the pact will become an international treaty or it will not. In the former case, the League will have gained time by keeping abreast of events. In the second case, the Assembly will always be able to say that it has done its best to help the pact to become an international treaty, and should the pact fail

to do so it will have been through no fault of the League. In either case the League's moral prestige is bound to be increased.

I believe, nevertheless, that the whole civilised world is certain that this pact really will become an international treaty; for not only are the signatory States Members of the League, but other Great Powers have already given their adherence, such as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. There can be no doubt that the ratifications will be forthcoming.

I do not know how many Members of the League have already adhered to the pact, but I am sure every Member will adhere, more especially when I remember that the Polish draft Resolution condemning wars of aggression was unanimously adopted here last year.

There can therefore be no doubt that all the Members of the League will sign the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and once this has been done the situation will be radically changed. What is the business of the Council of the League and of the various Committees appointed by the different Assemblies, if not the preservation of peace? If we go through all their reports, what do we find to be the main preoccupation? A constant anxiety to avoid a crisis.

We are talking — the subject has been mentioned from this platform to-day — of installing a wireless station at Geneva: is not this intended to enable Members of the League to be summoned without delay in times of emergency?

Such anxiety was quite legitimate so long as war was a recognised instrument of international policy. Henceforth, this preoccupation will be superfluous, nay harmful, for if we show ourselves unduly anxious as to the possibility of summoning meetings rapidly should an emergency occur, we imply that we place little faith in the pact we have signed. But if our faith is firm, why spend our time on contingencies that might have arisen in the past but will be impossible in the future? That fact alone will modify the work of the various Commissions, and the consequences will be far-reaching.

Much has been said concerning the reduction of armaments. Of course, before the signature of the Paris pact the problem appeared almost insoluble. It was as if we were an equation with many unknown quantities.

But what could be simpler now? If all the countries in the world agree by treaty not to resort to war, armies, those national guardians of peace, become obsolete. Once this has been brought about, disarmament will come of itself. Nations do not lightly assume heavy financial burdens; they submit to them only because they believe themselves to be threatened. Once confidence in peace has been restored, disarmament will follow as an economic necessity.

Does this confidence exist? That is the serious problem. It is a purely moral one. There are many arguments in favour of confidence; either you have confidence or you have not, but nobody can prove you wrong if you do not possess it.

We are surrounded everywhere by armed police, and when we walk past them we have no fear of their turning their arms against us. Quite the contrary indeed: if, being disarmed, we feel ourselves threatened, we call upon them for help. To possess arms is not in itself incompatible with confidence. If, taking other matters into consideration, that confidence is great, if it is unlimited, then there is no harm in armaments. The evil only becomes a pregnant menace for the future if there is no confidence.

Here we reach a point where all further argument is useless. I would merely like to give examples of

that sturdy faith examples, which invite us all to follow the same path.

If post-war France, after so many trials and triumphs, has voluntarily renounced war as an instrument of policy, if she has taken the initiative of enlarging the field wherein war will henceforth become impossible, by concluding the Locarno Treaties, in which war was excluded in respect of a more limited region, and later by suggesting to the greatest Power in the world, the United States of America, the conclusion of a treaty for the outlawry of war, then I truly believe that the policy of peace is a possibility, since there is real faith in peace. If this much has been accomplished it has been through a mystic faith in the possibility of settling international disputes by peaceful means. Events to-day have justified this faith, and I think the future will justify it even more fully. Why then cannot we too follow this example and effect an immediate change in our positive law by amending the Covenant? These are the main questions at issue.

I should like, however, to mention another problem which I consider vital to peace and to the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

What is the usual cause of war? Why is war considered the sole instrument of national policy? It is because the economic point of view is not appreciated at its just value. Nations strive to ensure their prosperity, obtain outlets for their products and win new markets. And what are the means they employ? Force of arms.

This idea was quite logical in olden times. The Power that had the strongest army and the best military equipment could really conquer the world. But that is no longer true at the present stage

of human development. It is quite evident that those nations which devote themselves wholly to economic development, to the exploitation of their wealth, are far more powerful than the others, even from a military point of view. It is unfortunate that even now some countries have failed to realise what are their true national interests in this respect. When they do realise it, many causes of dispute will disappear and military power will be relegated to the background. Such a state of affairs has already quite clearly come to pass in many countries, though it is not so evident in others; but the general trend of the world to-day is in this direction.

That explains why the League is truly working for peace when it takes up economic problems.

Those are my views of the future. All the Members of the League should face the future with unshaken faith, and now that world conditions permit, we must pass from words to deeds.

The President:

Translation: The Assembly has before it a proposal submitted by the first delegate of Lithuania, which will be printed and distributed to the delegations.

In order to expedite the procedure, I venture to suggest to the Assembly that M. Voldemaras' proposal should be referred direct to the Agenda Committee.

If there is no objection, I shall regard this proposal as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

The Assembly rose at 1.15 p.m

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

NINTH PLENARY MEETING

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th, 1928, AT 4.30 P.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

42. — ELECTION OF A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE TO SUCCEED MR. JOHN BASSETT MOORE (RESIGNED).

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the election of a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice to succeed Mr. John Bassett Moore, who has resigned.

At its meeting on Tuesday, September 4th, the Assembly agreed to the General Committee's proposal concerning the procedure for the election

and the question of the duration of the appointment of the judge to be elected, in conformity with the Statute of the Court.

The Assembly has before it document A.32.1928, containing the list of candidates nominated by the national groups and also, in Annex III, page 5, the procedure adopted by the Assembly and Council at previous elections of members of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Assembly has noted the letter from M. Negulesco, who is one of the nominees, intimating his desire that his candidature should be withdrawn.

The Assembly has also received a letter, dated September 3rd, 1928 (document A.42.1928), from the Canadian delegation, concerning the candidature of Mr. Duff and Mr. Lafleur.

The rules laid down for this election are familiar to the delegations, and I do not think I need read them again.

While the Assembly is taking the vote, the Council also will proceed with the election. The result of the Council's vote will be communicated to me immediately, and I will then announce it to the Assembly.

May I ask M. Motta, first delegate of Switzerland, and M. Guani, first delegate of Uruguay, to be good enough to act as tellers ?

(M. Motta and M. Guani came to the platform.)

I would remind delegates that only one name should appear on their voting papers.

The candidate who obtains an absolute majority of the votes cast in both the Assembly and the Council will be declared elected.

The vote will be taken by roll-call.

One member of each delegation, as the name of his delegation is called, will come to the platform and deposit his voting paper in the ballot-box.

The voting will now begin.

(The vote was taken by roll-call.)

The President :

Translation : Before announcing the result of the ballot, may I first thank the tellers for their kind assistance ?

The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting	48
Absolute Majority required	25

The analysis of the voting is as follows :

Mr. Charles Evans HUGHES	41
M. Walther SIMONS	5
Justice Sir Johannes Wilhemus WESSELS	1
Sir Abdur RAHIM	1

I therefore declare elected by the Assembly Mr. Charles Evans HUGHES, former Secretary of State of the United States of America and former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

I have received the following letter, bearing today's date, from the Acting President of the Council, informing me of the result of the election by the Council :

"I have the honour to inform you that the Council, in conformity with Article 8 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, has proceeded to elect a successor to Mr. John Bassett Moore.

"Mr. Charles Evans Hughes was elected unanimously.

(Signed) PROCOPE."

Accordingly, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, former Secretary of State of the United States of America and former Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, having been elected both by the Assembly and the Council with the necessary majority, I proclaim Mr. HUGHES elected as member of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

43. — QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE FRENCH DELEGATION IN THE NAME OF TWENTY-FOUR DELEGATIONS: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE: REFERENCE TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : You will remember that, at yesterday morning's meeting, the Assembly decided to refer to the Agenda Committee, for preliminary examination, the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by M. René Cassin, delegate of France, on behalf of twenty delegations.

Since then four other delegations, namely, those of Panama, Guatemala, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic, have associated themselves with the originators of this proposal.

The Agenda Committee has acted promptly in the matter. It met this morning and has already submitted its report, which I will now read to the Assembly. The text is as follows :

"The Agenda Committee met on September 8th, 1928, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ramon V. Caballero.

"It considered the draft resolution submitted by M. René Cassin in the name of twenty delegations, relating to the examination by the Council of the possible amendment of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"This draft resolution was referred to it in conformity with a decision of the Assembly dated September 7th.

"As a result of its preliminary examination, the Committee unanimously decided to propose to the Assembly that the following draft resolution should be placed on the agenda of the present session and should be referred to the First Committee and, if necessary, to the Fourth Committee :

"The Assembly :

"Considering the ever-growing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

"Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary ;

"In view of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the Council is responsible for preparing the Statute of the Court with a view to its submission to the Assembly for approval,

"Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly."

The Agenda Committee proposes first, that the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly be included in the agenda of the present session, and, secondly, that it be referred to the First Committee for examination, and later, perhaps, to the Fourth Committee.

If no one has any observation to offer, I shall consider the Agenda Committee's proposal adopted. (Adopted.)

44. — QUESTION OF THE PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE COUNCIL OR THE ASSEMBLY IN REQUESTING ADVISORY OPINIONS FROM THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE SWISS DELEGATION: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE: REFERENCE TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : At its meeting this morning, the Assembly also referred to the Agenda Committee, for preliminary examination, a draft resolution submitted by M. Motta on behalf of the Swiss delegation. The Agenda Committee examined this draft resolution after the plenary meeting this morning. I have already received its report, which I will now read. It is as follows :

"The Agenda Committee met on September 8th, 1928, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ramon V. Caballero.

"It considered the draft resolution submitted by M. Motta in the name of the Swiss delegation at the morning meeting of the Assembly on September 8th.

"As a result of its preliminary examination, the Committee unanimously decided to propose to the Assembly that the following draft resolution should be placed on the agenda of the present session and should be referred to the First Committee :

"The Assembly, recommends the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice, for an advisory opinion, the question whether the Council or the Assembly can, by a simple majority, request

an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

The Agenda Committee proposes first, that we include this draft resolution in the agenda of the present session of the Assembly, and, secondly, that it be referred to the First Committee for preliminary examination.

If no one has any observations to offer, I shall regard the Agenda Committee's proposal as adopted. (*Adopted*).

The Assembly rose at 5.10 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

TENTH PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE

45. — MODIFICATIONS IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : A telegram has just been received by the Secretary-General from the Cuban Ministry for Foreign Affairs announcing that M. Guillermo de Blanck, substitute delegate of Cuba to the Assembly, has been appointed delegate, pending the arrival at Geneva of Dr. Manuel Cortina.

A communication has also been received from the first delegate of the Cuban delegation to the Assembly, stating that M. J. A. Izquierdo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has been appointed a substitute delegate.

46. — VOTE ON THE REQUEST BY CHINA FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is he vote on China's request for re-eligibility.

You will remember that at the meeting on the afternoon of Tuesday, September 4th, I informed the Assembly that I had received a letter of the same date from the Chinese delegation submitting a request for re-eligibility. There is no need for me to read the letter again as the text has been circulated to all the delegations in document A.41.

I found that China's request for re-eligibility was submitted in proper form and within the time-limits laid down in the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926.

The Assembly will therefore have to vote upon this request in accordance with the provisions of the above-mentioned resolution of September 15th, 1926, laying down the rules for the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

It may be well to recall the rules applicable in the present case. The text of Article II, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the resolution, is as follows :

" A retiring Member may not be re-elected during the period between the expiration of its term of office and the third election in ordinary session held thereafter unless the Assembly, either on the expiration of the Member's term of office or in the course of the said period of three years, shall, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast, previously have decided that such Member is re-eligible.

" The Assembly shall pronounce separately, by secret ballot, upon each request for re-eligibility. The number of votes cast shall be determined by the total number of voting tickets deposited, deducting blank or spoilt votes."

The Assembly will therefore vote by secret ballot. As the name of each delegation is called, a representative of that delegation will come forward and deposit his voting-paper in the ballot-box.

May I ask M. Müller, first delegate of Germany, and M. Scialoja, first delegate of Italy, to be good enough to come to the platform and act as tellers?

Those members of the Assembly who are in favour of the request for re-eligibility will write "Yes" on their voting-paper: those who are against the proposal will write "No".

(M. Müller and M. Scialoja took their places on the platform as tellers.)

The President :

Translation : We will now proceed to a ballot by roll-call.

(The ballot was taken.)

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast.....	50
Voting papers valid in counting the votes required	50
Number of votes required for acceptance	34
Number of votes in favour.....	27

The majority required for re-eligibility has therefore not been obtained.

I wish to thank M. Müller and M. Scialoja for their kind assistance in acting as tellers.

47. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly.

His Excellency M. Procopé, first delegate of Finland, will address the Assembly.

M. Procopé (Finland) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Before making a few brief remarks arising out of the annual report on the work done during the past year under the League's auspices, may I say, speaking on behalf of the Finnish delegation, how satisfactory this report appears to us to be? Remarkable results have been achieved in several branches of the League's activities; in others, valuable preparatory work has been done. In one particular sphere, however — the preparatory work for the limitation of armaments — no tangible results have been achieved as yet. This is a fact, a regrettable fact, which has to be admitted.

On the other hand, we must remember that in the life of nations one year, several years, count as very little, and we must hope that, even in those spheres in which we cannot yet point to tangible results, the League's persistent and untiring efforts will eventually lead to practical solutions and thus promote and foster good international relations.

Unless I am much mistaken, one of the chief questions likely to occupy the Assembly is this very point, the limitation of armaments and the establishment of peace on a permanent basis.

As regards this second issue, one result, a moral result, calls for immediate mention here and now, although no practical consequences have yet ensued from it. This result is apparent to me in

the fact that the nations are coming to realise more and more that success in our great work must be based, can only be based, on the threefold principle of disarmament, security and arbitration. This conviction, representing as it does public opinion all over the world, is, in my view, of the utmost importance.

The past year has been devoted primarily to a consideration of the question of security. The report of the Security Committee lies before us, and we all know what that Committee has done. The Finnish Government submitted various memoranda containing observations concerning the model draft conventions drawn up by the Committee.

I will not take up your time now by repeating these observations; but I recommend them to your careful consideration, especially the one relating to the wide scope of the reservations admitted by the draft conventions.

The Finnish delegation [quite realises the difficulties with which the Committee was faced when framing these models; but I feel it my duty to point out that the more concessions and reservations we allow, the more we tend to limit the field of international jurisdiction and the more difficult we shall find it to achieve our purpose.

The work of the Security Committee during the past year, and these carefully framed models, refer more particularly to three main groups of questions: non-aggression, mutual assistance and the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Finnish Government fully appreciates the importance of these three factors of the Committee's work, both in themselves and as a means of facilitating the reduction of armaments. While demonstrating the interdependence of these three factors, however, I wish to consider their relative merits from the standpoint of international organisation and its future progress.

First, as regards non-aggression, I recognise the great value of such an undertaking, subject to certain conditions. True, it may perhaps be claimed that in itself this undertaking implies primarily a negative obligation — an agreement not to fight — and that its scope is thereby limited. This is perfectly sound reasoning up to a point, but it does not go far enough. Non-aggression also implies far-reaching consequences in certain cases, particularly in view of its corollary that excessive armaments and provocative or threatening military preparations are incompatible with such an undertaking.

But, viewed as a means for the comprehensive settlement of international relations, no undertaking in regard to non-aggression is sufficient in itself. Non-aggression is intimately bound up with the question of mutual assistance. It represents to a certain extent an obligation provided for under Article 10 of the Covenant, namely, to respect the territorial status and political independence of a State.

Mutual assistance represents a second obligation, under the same article, namely, that of causing the political and territorial integrity of a State to be respected. Mutual assistance represents the positive aspect of international interdependence and is an expression of international solidarity.

Article 10, however, implies a further obligation. We may, indeed we must, infer from it that Members of the League cannot recognise as final or admissible a situation resulting from an act of aggression or from any other act incompatible with the provisions of the article itself. The Finnish delegation raised this point before the Security Committee, which, I am glad to say, confirmed the correctness of this view.

Nevertheless, we have to admit that, even in their widest application, non-aggression and mutual assistance are not sufficient guarantees for a system based on justice, equity and the observance of international undertakings. The only adequate solution lies in the pacific settlement of international disputes, reinforced by non-aggression and international solidarity. Any results obtained must be supplemented by recourse to an international court, and only by agreeing to settle international disputes by pacific means will it be possible to ensure real and general disarmament, organised on a permanent basis.

The scheme drawn up by the Security Committee is based in the main on the pacific settlement of disputes, which eventually implies a wide application of the principle of arbitration and judicial settlement. Certain countries, those of Northern Europe, for example, my own among them, have already adopted or are prepared unreservedly to adopt this principle as paramount in the conduct of their international relations.

At the same time, I do not deny the force of the arguments against the extension of compulsory arbitration on the grounds that the existing rules are still inadequate. But surely this very fact is also a powerful argument in favour of continuing with one very important question already included in the League's programme, namely, the progressive codification of international law.

The great work of codification has been approached on sound lines. A good beginning has been made, but this is only the first step. If, in spite of divergent views and other obstacles, we can manage to establish by means of codification certain rules of general practical value, dealing with such questions as nationality, territorial waters and the responsibilities of States, this will be conclusive proof of goodwill on the part of the States, and should be a happy augury of future progress in the matter of codification, which undoubtedly has a most important, even if an indirect, bearing on the problem of security.

In this connection there is another point I should like to emphasise: codification must aim at the establishment of universal rules. If it is to fulfil its purpose, any conventions drawn up and agreed to must constitute an integral part of universal international law; otherwise, international customary law will still persist, instead of *ius scriptum*, and there will always be the dualism arising out of special treaty provisions and real international customary law.

Another question deserving of attention, while on the subject of arbitration, might, I think, be studied in conjunction with the development of compulsory arbitration.

International arbitration implies essentially that judgments and arbitral awards shall be executory and shall be carried out in good faith. In the case of Members of the League, it is the duty of the Council, under the terms of the Covenant, to see that decisions are properly carried out.

Experience has shown, however — we have just had a recent instance of this — that one or other of the parties may sometimes be unwilling to recognise an award as final and binding, on the grounds of some alleged flaw in the proceedings. But it cannot be left to the subjective judgment of the party concerned to decide whether such an allegation is correct. Accordingly, with the development of compulsory arbitration, it is becoming increasingly important to determine whether it may not be necessary to consider the possibility of an appeal, in order that States may have the best possible guarantees as regards the powers of the court. In this connection,

various methods of procedure exist. In any case, we have the Permanent Court of International Justice as the highest international tribunal. Even now an arbitration convention might be drafted so as to provide that, subject to certain conditions — for instance, if the arbitrators fail to agree, or one of the parties puts forward a plea of *ultra vires* — any party may appeal to the Court.

The right in question might, of course, be confined to disputes in regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights, but this would not preclude an agreement providing that any legal point connected with the substance of the question or the procedure might be submitted to the Court.

I said just now that, in the matter of disarmament, efforts had been mainly devoted during the past year to the problem of security, and I referred to the model draft conventions of non-aggression, mutual assistance and arbitration framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

In this connection, there are two further proposals which I regard as deserving of special attention. There is, first, the model treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war, framed by the Committee in accordance with the German delegation's suggestions, the underlying idea, a perfectly sound idea, being that it is essential in the interests of peace that practical use should be made of the principles laid down in Article 11 of the Covenant. The model treaty in question contains a series of undertakings which, if they only obtain the approval of States — the Finnish Government is strongly in favour of them — will, I feel sure, mark a considerable advance in our efforts to deliver mankind from the scourge of war.

The second proposal I have in mind has the same object in view. It deals with financial assistance to States victims of aggression. I am convinced that, if it were put into effect, it would furnish an additional and most effective means of preventing war, and would increase the feeling of security. I am glad to note the attention devoted to this proposal during the past year, and I trust it may lead to practical results.

Without being unduly optimistic, I think we may claim that the past year has produced much that is encouraging. The most significant event is, in my view, the signing of the Briand-Kellogg pact for the outlawry of war, and the number of States that have acceded to it in the last few days. I agree with those who regard this pact as an encouraging manifestation of the general desire for peace, and am happy to say that my Government has already adhered to it in principle. This it did wholeheartedly, being convinced that the pact will prove of invaluable assistance in the cause of peace, and satisfied that it will in no way affect the rights or obligations of States Members of the League.

Before concluding, I should like to deal with certain aspects of the economic and financial activities of the League. I shall not attempt to go into them in detail; I simply wish to direct your attention to certain facts to which I attach particular importance.

First, I would refer to the investigations during the past year into the questions of coal and sugar, and also the purchasing power of gold, a matter of fundamental importance from the world economic standpoint. These are tremendous undertakings, and my country, I am sure, would welcome similar investigations into other important economic questions. Timber and the products of the timber industry constitute a case in point.

They play a big part in various other industries and in economic life in general. Such an investigation, carried out in a spirit of conciliation, would, I am sure, smooth over many difficulties which weigh upon seller and buyer alike.

The League's practical efforts, on these lines, to improve conditions in the different countries will tend to promote international understanding and establish cordial relations.

Again, there is the valuable work carried out through the League's financial organs: I have in mind the measures taken to facilitate the floating of State loans, to reorganise State finances, or to stabilise currency; measures to provide for the economic needs of populations transported from one country to another, and other such undertakings. It has been my privilege at recent meetings of the Council to submit reports upon financial questions, and I desire to pay a sincere tribute to the work done by the Financial Committee and by the Financial Section of the Secretariat, under the most able direction of Sir Arthur Salter.

While speaking of practical questions, I should like to touch upon one matter which has been placed on the agenda and is even dealt with in the annual report, the question of alcoholism. In the annual report, for instance, we find it mentioned in connection with the work of the Mandates Commission.

The Minutes of that Commission and of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children show clearly, to my mind, that the question comes within the purview of the League.

The Finnish, Polish and Swedish Governments have submitted a proposal with which the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Denmark have also associated themselves.

Allow me first to define the exact nature of this proposal. It is not intended in any way as propaganda — let me emphasise that point. One of the signatories of the proposal, Finland, is certainly a "dry" country, but there is no question here of prohibition. In point of fact, the signatories include countries which have adopted quite a different policy in regard to the question of alcohol — there are even wine-producing countries amongst them.

We thus have no intention of engaging in prohibition propaganda nor are we asking the League to take up the question.

Secondly, I want to make it quite clear that this proposal concerns alcoholism, not the consumption of alcoholic liquors in general. To define alcoholism, I cannot do better than refer you to the definition given in the proposal submitted by the signatories last year, which reads as follows:

"By alcoholism is understood, for the purposes of this proposal, the abuse of alcoholic beverages and the harmful effects on the individual and society resulting therefrom."

In view of this definition, I trust that this time the proposal will be examined thoroughly from a practical point of view. To facilitate examination I would point out that the question falls into two parts.

The first has to do with the prevention of the smuggling of alcoholic liquors. This, in my view, concerns the wine-producing countries just as much as the receiving countries, for contraband imports consist not of their first-class alcohols, but of worthless, harmful products.

Smuggling is international in character, and it is difficult to avoid it without recourse to measures of an international order. I should like to give a few examples of this.

With a view to the suppression of the contraband traffic, the States on the Baltic littoral and Norway concluded a convention giving any one of the contracting parties the right to search vessels engaged in such traffic outside territorial waters, within twelve nautical miles of the coast. This, of course, does not affect all alcoholic liquors, but only those with an alcoholic content of more than 22 per cent. The treaty expressly limits the right to small vessels under one hundred tons and cannot, therefore, interfere with the big international shipping lines. This convention, which is applicable to the merchant vessels of the contracting States, has given satisfactory results. In order to avoid being searched, however, smugglers — still using the old vessels — now fly the flag of a State which is not signatory to the convention and whose vessels rarely, if ever, put in at Baltic ports. They sometimes even fly the flag of a State which has no mercantile marine.

Such a condition of affairs is inconsistent with good inter-State relations and calls for international investigation.

The second aspect of this question concerns social matters and matters of health. The proposal obviously does not aim at placing alcoholic liquors in the same category as harmful drugs, but it is equally clear that alcoholism, the results of alcoholic excess, can become a real scourge — both for private individuals and for entire populations. Alcoholism calls for investigation by the League just like any other social scourge or disease.

Last year, I was glad to note, the representative of France stated in the Second Committee that "the French delegation, however, would agree to the problems arising out of the abuse of alcohol being referred to the Health Committee."

In view of all these considerations, I venture to hope that the proposal concerning alcoholism may meet with the sympathetic consideration of this august Assembly and its organs, and will result in some positive, practical solution being found satisfactory to all parties.

I repeat, it is not a piece of propaganda in favour of any particular system: it is a measure designed in the interest of health, commercial and social health.

The President:

Translation: Mr. Blythe, first delegate of the Irish Free State, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Blythe (Irish Free State):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I do not intend to take up the time of the Assembly with an attempt to survey the excellent work that is being done in many directions by the League and its various organisations. The main matters to which I wish to refer are the policy in relation to tariffs that emerged from the Economic Conference and the steps that are being taken for the prevention of war. Before dealing with these topics, however, I should like to call attention to certain aspects of what might be called the internal politics of the League.

The action which it was necessary to take last week in regard to the re-eligibility of the elected Members of the Council shows that a satisfactory method of filling the non-permanent seats has not yet been found. Only one conclusion can be drawn from the decisive vote of the Assembly on Friday, and that is that the present rules are unsuitable, for it is useless to close our eyes to the probability that fresh demands for suspending the ordinary regulations will be made in coming years. No cogent reason can be adduced for limiting exceptional measures to the present session. The continuation of a state of affairs in which the normal

procedure is likely in one way or another to be set aside year after year can result only in causing general dissatisfaction.

In the opinion of my Government, the difficulties which have been encountered, or are likely to be encountered, would be overcome if elections to the Council were conducted in accordance with the system of proportional representation known as that of the single transferable vote; it would then be unnecessary to have any provisions even against the election of a country for two successive terms. Due representation of geographical and other groups would be secured without even an informal allocation of seats, and no nation could have a grievance if it failed to secure election.

The objections usually urged against the system of election by proportional representation do not apply to its use in an Assembly like this, where little more than fifty votes have to be cast. If the League is not prepared to adopt proportional representation, there is grave danger that the action taken last week on the recommendation of the Bureau of the Assembly will lead ultimately to our being thrown back into the position of having a Council on which all seats are, in practice, permanent.

So far as the administration of the League is concerned, I should like to express agreement with the views advanced by the delegate of Norway. In my opinion, great care should be taken by the Secretary-General and the Council to see that nothing is done to lend colour to the view that certain States have prescriptive rights to particular posts in the Secretariat. It is to be hoped that a time will come when officers of the League will be appointed and promoted solely on their personal merits and qualifications without reference to any question of nationality.

At present, however, we must recognise that such a thing is not possible; national jealousies and suspicions are still too strong.

I think, however, the time has arrived when precautions should be deliberately taken to ensure that the international character and outlook of the civil service of the League and its undivided loyalty to this great international organisation will be permanently maintained.

I venture to suggest one method which, though it may be open to some objection, would at least be an improvement on what appears to be the present practice. I think it should be a rule that when a higher official of the League leaves its service, he should always be replaced by a citizen of some other country. Such a procedure would not prevent any country from having approximately the same number of its nationals on the Secretariat as at present, but it would prevent any member of the staff from thinking, or prevent it being thought, that the office which he held was in the gift of his Government. It would also tend to increase the efficiency of the Secretariat by causing a greater number of candidates to be considered on the occurrence of a vacancy than may be the case at present, and it would ensure that the discretion of the Secretary-General was not hampered by the growth of a tradition which gave a preponderating importance to national claims.

I do not agree with the speaker who on Thursday last suggested it was improper and perhaps dangerous for the League to deal in any way with the complex problem of Customs tariffs. It is obviously not enough that the League should strive to bring about the reduction of armaments and to prevent war when disputes have arisen which involve the danger of war; the League must endeavour to dissuade nations from the adoption of policies which are likely to produce

exasperation or a sense of injury among their neighbours.

It seems to my Government, therefore, that the work which has been taken up by the Economic Conference and the Economic Committee of the League is work which ought to be welcomed and which should receive the assistance of all countries, so long as it is not carried to unreasonable lengths and so long as it is clear that it is not intended to operate to prevent the development of countries which historical circumstances have left economically backward.

It is unfortunate that the recommendation of the Economic Conference in regard to tariffs should have been so worded as to call on countries which have low tariffs, equally with countries which have excessively high tariffs, to move in the direction of a reduction. Such a recommendation is unacceptable to my country as well as, I believe, to many others, and seems to indicate that the Conference did not sufficiently bear in mind the difference between the needs of countries which have reached a high stage of development and the needs of countries which are at the beginning of their industrial growth.

In the opinion of my Government, the attention of the League of Nations, and of the Economic Committee which it has created, ought to be directed towards the reduction of any tariffs the object of which is not solely the economic development of the countries by which they are imposed; that is to say, the League ought to try to persuade the countries concerned to abandon what are called bargaining tariffs as well as retaliatory tariffs and tariffs which have a political object; but when a country imposes tariffs with the sole purpose of building up industries which it believes itself well adapted to carry on, the League of Nations ought not to run the risk of creating, in that country, the opinion that it desires the present geographical distribution of industry to become stereotyped.

We cannot accept the view which, although not set out in the report, appears to have animated many of the speakers in the Economic Conference, namely, that tariffs should be no higher than revenue requirements demand, and that by a process of rationalisation the manufacturing industries of the world should be forced to concentrate in a few favoured countries, and that other countries should be left dependent on the basic industry of agriculture, the depression of which has been deplored without any serious suggestion of a remedy.

The Irish Free State has a low tariff and admits many important classes of manufactured goods free of tax, but it does not regard itself as an indifferent Member of the League of Nations because it is likely not to reduce but to increase its tariff.

In connection with the problem of world peace there are two factors which are calculated to give us comfort. In the first place, the feeling in this Assembly is, as has already been pointed out, more optimistic than in a number of its predecessors; and, in the second place, it seems likely that the Paris pact will be accepted by practically all the countries of the world.

This pact is of signal importance in relation to the primary task of the League, namely, the preservation of international peace and the establishment of a rule of order and justice among nations. If it had been proposed at a juncture when pessimism was in the ascendant, the prospect of its success would have been far less favourable. Skill and wisdom have been shown in choosing the right moment for action.

With the signature of the Kellogg pact and its general ratification it becomes the law of civilised

society that resort to war is an outrage ; that a State has no more right than a private individual to attack and kill its neighbours. Members of the Assembly will not attempt to minimise the importance of the pact because it was formulated by the Government of a great country which has declined to enter the League. I am sure that we all welcome this great and impressive effort to save humanity from a possible renewal of the horrors of war.

While in Ireland, Mr. Kellogg pointed out that a few statesmen could not ensure the peace of the world, but that, if the people were determined to have peace, they would have it. I believe that the pact, if its influence is given free play, will have an incalculable effect in producing all over the earth a deeper realisation of the essential criminality of war, and in changing the widespread desire of people for peace into a firm resolve to have peace.

My country is bound by close ties to the people of the United States, and as one of the original signatories of the pact, which it accepted unreservedly, my Government is anxious to avail itself of the opportunity to express its high appreciation of the work of the United States Government in the cause of universal peace.

The delegate of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, on Friday last recalled to us, that his country had many years ago agreed with the United States that any disputes that might arise between them should be settled by arbitration, and that in fact many disputes had been so settled. He added, to the gratification of the Assembly, that experience led the people of Canada to favour, in so far as Canadian questions were concerned, the reference to arbitration of all international disputes of a judicial or legal nature, and the settlement by methods of conciliation or arbitration of all other differences which might arise between Canada and any other nation.

I do not hesitate to say that the Irish Free State is no less strongly in favour of arbitration than Canada. It is the duty of all the Governments which have signed the Kellogg pact to endeavour to bring about the conditions under which it can most surely achieve its object. They must work for the establishment of goodwill and the removal of mistrust among nations. The new agreement demands of the Members of the League which accept it that the work of all peace organisations shall be intensified. It is a new summons to the nations to bestir themselves in solving their gravest problems.

The answer of the League should be plain. The general Disarmament Conference has been too long postponed. The League cannot expect the peoples of the world to believe in the seriousness of the efforts made to guarantee peace unless the Governments give concrete proof that peace — not self-aggrandisement — through new methods is the object they have before them.

There can be no approach to the certainty of peace until a serious beginning has been made with general disarmament. In almost every country the great social evils of poverty and unemployment are creating new elements of disturbance. The vast war organisations are diverting the resources of the nations into wasteful channels. A definite limit in time should be set to the work of the Preparatory Commission, and the Council should be requested to call the Disarmament Conference before the next ordinary session of the Assembly. It is better, for the object in view, that the full publicity of a Conference should be given to the difficulties which may continue to exist after the work of the Preparatory Commission has been terminated. Only through such publicity will it be possible for the

public opinion of the world to exercise its proper and decisive influence on their solution.

The President :

Translation : M. Briand, first delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Briand (France) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like to put before you as briefly as possible the views of the French delegation. I propose to deal with the two subjects with which, I think, the Assembly is most seriously concerned, and on which, accordingly, various speakers have expressed their views with particular emphasis. I refer to the problem of minorities and the problem of disarmament — or, to be more precise, the problem of the limitation of armaments.

But I must first of all affirm my ardent and unswerving faith and my unshaken trust in the League. I regard it as the sole refuge in the world to shield the nations against war : and of this I am sure, that every nation regards the slightest attack upon their trust in it as an attack upon our work for peace.

In all circumstances, then, above all at a critical hour, and even though moved by a feeling of impatience which may perhaps be very reasonable and very intelligible, I shall carefully avoid saying anything that might detract from the value of the League's work, or — most important of all — anything that might misrepresent it.

When I look back upon all that the League has done since it first came into existence, when I think back to the hour of its creation — and this is an intellectual pilgrimage which I invite everyone to make, and often — when I remember the condition of the world, and of Europe, at that time ; when I recall those disquieting phantoms that wandered through the land, when I think of all the seeds of discontent, of resentment, of wrath, that were like to be sown then ; when I think of all the possible causes of anxiety for the future of peace, I see that, had the League never been created, had it not given the peoples of the world the chance to meet and discuss together their ideas of peace and to toil unremittingly to carry them into effect, more than one conflict would inevitably have arisen. Several have already been prevented by the League ; it has even stayed some that had already begun.

In all frankness I ask you this, those of you who are animated by the League spirit : At what time in the history of the world has any institution ever before been able to play such a part ?

But for the League, the Chancellor of the Reich and the French Minister for Foreign Affairs would not be here together in the same Assembly, examining the questions which concern their respective countries. But for the League and the spirit it has created, there would never have been a Locarno. More recently still, there would never have been a Paris pact. The problems we are studying would never have gone a step forward towards solution.

I can understand the impatience some of you must feel ; I admit that some countries may justifiably feel more impatience than others, and I can make great allowance for the manner in which they have given expression to it. But it would be disastrous indeed if in our discussions we started misunderstandings which, re-echoed by the countries we represent, aroused public opinion in those countries to the pitch of irreconcilable antagonism.

We who are gathered here are no party men, though we may be party men at home. This is not an "Internationale" of parties; it is an "Internationale" of peoples, of men who represent their countries, responsible men who are required to act. They cannot work to purely theoretical doctrines, which would allow of easy and simple proposals such as are necessary even for propaganda purposes. They must reckon with every contingency, every difficulty. They are pursuing a definite aim. The one essential is to have a common goal, and, once a path has been discovered, there must be no wandering along others. I would point out to the Chancellor of the Reich that we must all follow one road, and above all there must be a common goal. And when we have found the right road — and I feel that the League is on that road — we must not be surprised if we find that it is not perfectly smooth and easy, if there are ruts, if obstacles bar our way, and if a League such as this, a League of fifty nations, has to make its way through this maze of difficulties with slow and wary steps.

In our eagerness to serve the League we should by all means hasten its progress — we are doing so in our discussions — but we must use fatherly care, and we must take heed lest, by urging it forward too fast, we bring about a fall fatal to it. For its sake and in its interest we should keep watch for obstacles and difficulties, and once they are sighted we must all do our best to remove them. I feel that my country has gone forward as boldly as it could in this direction, and has contributed a personal share to the cause of peace that it would be unfair to deny.

Peace speeches are easy to make: there are plenty of men in the world who can make fine speeches. Upon occasion, I believe, I have indulged in them myself, for what they were worth; indeed, my political enemies have often told me that I find talking easier than acting.

I will not say that much of the speech we heard from the Chancellor of the Reich; it was measured in tone and was inspired by a desire for cordial negotiation to which I gladly pay tribute. Yet — perhaps because I am a little sensitive — I thought there were certain rather direct references to my alleged facility of speech and disinclination for action.

That is a reproach I do not deserve. Locarno was no mere speech: it was an act. The Paris pact, in which I co-operated to the best of my ability and power, was no mere speech: it was an act. These are important steps forward towards our common goal. Are they enough? Should we pause to talk over the advantages we have gained? No: we must not overestimate what these instruments can do. As Mr. Kellogg himself and others after him have said, these instruments are worth precisely what the nations choose to make of them. But if the nations are to make them decisive as instruments of peace, we must not begin by shaking the nations' faith in them. We must tell them, and above all we must tell the more impatient: "But see, the ideas you favour are coming to fruition in the League".

When speaking of disarmament it is easy enough to say: "What prevents us from disarming?" We have set our faces towards peace: we became reconciled at Locarno, we have just made friends at Paris. Why should these events not lead to an immediate manifestation whereby the peoples of the world would cast away their weapons? If only it were so! But what statesman, I ask, what delegate in this Assembly, conscious of his responsibilities, would desire — would hope, rather — for such a dramatic demonstration? It could be done in words; great proclamations could be

made, and I can readily imagine the enthusiasm such an outburst would arouse throughout the whole world.

But once the purely emotional side of the question were settled, there would still be the practical realities — painful, difficult realities — which would ruthlessly cast the dreamer from his pinnacle down into the abyss.

Whatever may have been said from this platform — and this much has been said — it is not true at the present time that armaments have increased since the war, or since the League was formed. I have carefully examined the question, and I say that it is not true.

There is perhaps one country in Europe — one that is not yet a Member of the League — where this is the case; a country which flaunts its increase in armaments, its armies and its war material. That is the country which is ready to make an impressive dramatic gesture in favour of the disarmament of others, and wants that disarmament to be unreserved, complete, absolute. That country has just signed the Paris pact. It renounces war. What war? Does it simply mean the war which has stained almost every page of history with blood? Or the war which, as the handmaid of national ambition, leads one nation to attack another? That kind of war is outlawed. But there is another kind of war which, I think, does not thus stand condemned. That country, believing itself a prophet bearing the true gospel to all nations, sees it as a kind of holy war to enforce this truth upon the world.

Is that kind of war any nobler than the others? Perhaps. But the results it brings upon countries which resist or try to resist are no less terrible and no less sanguinary.

I say that if the delegates in this Assembly, faced by the problem of disarmament, ignored this mental attitude and this situation, it would really be because they had failed to visualise the full scope of their duty and their mission. But I am sure they will not.

I do not say that to place obstacles in the path we are to follow, but merely to show that we are right in feeling certain apprehensions.

The Chancellor of the Reich says: "Look! We have signed these instruments, and now mistrust among the nations is gone." That is true enough, and none is more pleased than myself. And none is more stoutly resolved than I to improve the moral aspect of the situation.

To do this, however, each must contribute his share. We must set aside, and we must try to persuade the Press to set aside, all that is likely to cause resentment or bring the nations into mutual antagonism.

We necessarily work under the watchful eye of the public, and, in consequence, the work we do is sometimes liable to become, as it were, warped. Loud voices come to our ears from without, insisting that, after all, our freedom of decision and of action is limited; and, if we let them, they would affirm that it is they who should say how far we are independent and what the limits of our work should be. I cannot agree. We must place ourselves beyond their influence and must at all costs prevent such opinions, which in no way represent the desires of the nations or of the Governments, from setting up a spirit of irreconcilable enmity between our peoples, for that would hardly conduce to peace.

The Chancellor of the Reich has said: "Disarmament? Look at Germany!" This must be examined. We are asked why, now that Germany is completely disarmed, the other nations do not disarm, too, and especially the French nation.

I say that, even though the problem may be stated precisely in these terms, such a position has not existed long. Barely two years ago the position was different, and if the work of disarmament, which is necessarily bound up with considerations of security, has been checked and retarded for several years, it has been because certain countries have not carried out certain obligations with all the good grace the situation demanded. There are men on the benches of the German delegation who have themselves felt bound to utter a public protest against the obstacles encountered in carrying out certain reductions in armaments.

Results have been obtained. I note this ; but it has taken time and has needed effort. The Governments worked with a will, but, alas ! Governments, whom the peoples fondly believe to be vested with invincible authority, who they imagine can implement their wishes to the full, are hedged round with stronger forces, age-long traditions, prejudices; and these will not always do what the Governments desire. These are forces to be reckoned with. At one moment, I know, vigorous action was necessary to reach the desired result. But it has been reached, Germany is disarmed, though not wholly disarmed, if we must speak frankly. No country, particularly a country such as Germany, can be wholly disarmed. She has an army of 100,000 men, but it is a very special kind of army. It is composed of officers and non-commissioned officers ; it is what is called an army of cadres. And since there are, besides, immense resources of splendid, courageous men who proved their heroism during the war and who will still be able to serve for the next eight or ten years, we cannot say that Germany's disarmament is complete. The Chancellor himself would certainly not say so if he viewed the matter otherwise than from the standpoint of propaganda.

But there is something more. Germany has ceased to resist. She took some time to do so, but that, after all, is quite natural — the resistance encountered would probably have arisen in my own country or in any other. The military material she possessed during the war has been much reduced. Who would care to maintain that a great country, so powerfully equipped for peace — that is to say, for industrial development — would be at a loss to supply an army with war material ? Germany has just shown the world a magnificent example of what she can do. Her mercantile marine was reduced to nil. Within a few years, making the utmost use of her productive powers, her constructive ability and the admirable skill of her people, she recreated it, and now the German merchant service is among the first in the world.

We know that Germany is resolved upon peace ; we do not doubt the genuineness of her sentiments, or the sentiments of the men who govern her. Yet we cannot help wondering whether this special talent, these resources, this genius for construction, really would vanish into thin air if they had to be applied to the work of armaments. I cannot think they would. And, unhappily, the same machines that manufacture the instruments of peace can rapidly be turned to the production of war material. That remark, of course, applies equally to Germany or to any other country. What really matters is that the nations should loyally resolve not to use industrial equipment for that purpose.

The dominating factor in this debate is, frankly, what I will call the spirit of peace, which has already enabled us to do so much and will yet enable us to do more. For, despite all, I remain an optimist.

We must consider this spirit of peace as a fair but fragile flower of the world, which must never be allowed to come to harm. It withers soon. It can be killed easily — too easily. So little is needed. As you know, the peoples — and we must forgive them for it — are too often betrayed into mystic beliefs. They trust wholeheartedly, immeasurably, utterly. Those who lead them can plunge them into disappointment and despair and turn their faces away from a goal which but yesterday they passionately desired, simply by persuading them they would never reach it.

That we must not do. On the contrary, we must say to them : " This is what we have done, this is what we are trying to do ; but these are the difficulties which confront us.

We must, in our common work for peace, feel ourselves fortified by the trust of the peoples. We must say nothing that may dishearten them and turn them from us. Otherwise we shall have anarchy ; for our work here is work not merely for peace, but for social peace.

If the peoples lose their confidence in peace, if the " Internationale " of nations which is met together here — and which unfortunately cannot follow any counsel of perfection, but must rest content with the second best — if this international Assembly fails with the failure of the nations' hopes, then we shall have to give place to others ; and dire disasters may be awaited in Europe and throughout the world, disasters that will destroy all mankind's past achievements, all that makes up the glorious civilisation of to-day. It is our imperative duty to win over the people of all nations to our cause, and to bid them be confident. You may say that this is not enough, that these are mere words. Very well ! Here is an act which two countries, Great Britain and France, have just accomplished. We held different, irreconcilable views on the limitation of armaments. As you know, technical advisers, once they have entrenched themselves, are always very loath to abandon their position. If they happen to be military advisers, they are particularly hard to dislodge from behind their barbed wire. We, their Governments, were supporting them, urging them to go out and meet each other half-way, to humanise their views, to acquire the League spirit. Otherwise, the Disarmament Commission would have little prospect of success, and there would be no possible chance of convening a Disarmament Conference by any given date. In our desire to assist the League in its work, we got together and made mutual concessions. After all, that is what men must always do if they are really bent on reaching an agreement. We obtained, not a treaty, not an arrangement, I cannot even call it an agreement in the international sense, but a *rapprochement*, which we had no intention of insisting upon at all costs, but which enabled us to meet the Commission and to do useful work.

There was an act that helped forward the work of disarmament ! But we had no luck ! What an outcry about it there was next day ! There must be something underhand about it, people said, that Great Britain and France should meet each other on such delicate ground ! The bare announcement at once evoked the question : " Against whom is it all directed ? " They did not ask : " For whom ? " That was not thought of until much later, when bright sunshine had dispersed all the clouds. The first instinct was towards suspicion. There was talk of secret clauses, of a secret agreement, of some scheme that looked far from innocuous. But it was really a much simpler matter than that. As will be seen, we were actually trying to assist the Preparatory Commission in its work.

Like yourselves, we desire, we are resolved upon, a limitation of armaments. Article 8 of the Covenant requires it of us. Our respect for treaties is such that we should feel for ever dishonoured were we false to our treaty obligations. We stand by what is in the Covenant, not by what people would like to read into it. That in itself counts for much. The Covenant says that countries shall reduce their armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.

We, there are important factors making for security. We must try to add to them, and we can go forward in the certainty of achieving definite results, provided we see clearly what can reasonably be done.

What gave particular cause for apprehension to the peoples of the world both from the financial standpoint and from the standpoint of war risks was the frenzied competition in arms between the great Powers. That disgraceful state of affairs no longer exists, thanks to the League and to the resistance which, through the League's influence, has arisen in the different countries. So strong is this resistance to-day that there is not a Parliament, not a Government in Europe which could — as in former times — propose, amid the acclamations of the people, enormous increases in the military or naval strength of the country.

Parliamentary records and Government publications show us that since the League has been in existence efforts have everywhere been made to reduce armaments.

Take France herself. The period of military service there has been reduced by two-thirds, the number of effectives has been cut down very considerably. I cannot recall the exact figures at the moment, but I have often quoted them; they are there and can be consulted. And no one would dare propose any considerable increase in credits.

I had the honour to be at the head of the Government when a voice was heard from across the Atlantic inviting the nations to a Conference for the reduction of naval armaments. I was the first Minister to respond to that call, and I went to the Conference myself. You all know what was done. France made the sacrifices necessary. Nay, more; she did not even carry out the programme she had stipulated for herself. So that we must not look upon the worst side of things; we should rather welcome the progress already made. It is to your honour, gentlemen, that you have year after year disseminated new ideas. These ideas have spread, have become rooted in men's minds and have at length won their ardent support.

When I attempted to carry out at home the undertaking I have mentioned, I was met with strong opposition. Opposition still exists, but it is concerned with matters of home politics. At that time the very thought of peace was said to be out of the question. I was told that all the ex-service men, all those who had fought and been disabled in the war, would cry out against me as a traitor. Soon afterwards, however, ex-service men from all over the country, and foremost among them those who had been mutilated on the battlefields, unexpectedly announced with one accord that their sufferings and their sacrifices must not be allowed to be in vain, but must enable others to escape all that they themselves had undergone. After the voice of these men — who admittedly have every right to talk of peace — had been heard, those who had railed against me had to change their tone and mute their instruments. The sentiments of the ex-service men and disabled soldiers spread to the whole population. When recently I had the honour

to preside at a Conference in my own country, I was happy to see beside me a brave man, a Minister for Foreign Affairs, whom I am very sorry not to see here to-day and who, faithfully and well, carried out a formidable task at a very difficult moment. I am sure you will all share my regret at his absence. The pact for the signature of which the Conference was convened was signed, it is true, before a small group of onlookers, but the streets were full of people. You should have seen the enthusiasm it evoked; and the radiant faces, not only of women — that was to be understood — but of strong men, men who, if called upon, would once again prove their valour on the battlefield.

The peace movement is growing in strength among the peoples. Competition in armaments is no longer possible. To-day the race has certainly been stopped. To-morrow there will equally certainly be a limitation commensurate with the degree of security attained. If we must not disturb this atmosphere of peace, the more delicate problems should not be discussed at once.

There is one question which concerns all the members of this Assembly: I refer to the minorities question, which appeals to the elementary humanity that lies in us all. We have only to read the account of our work in the Council or the Assembly to see that this question has always been present in our minds and that we have had to settle many cases of this kind. We shall continue to do so, for we have no right to turn aside from our sacred duty in this matter.

This was a problem which did not exist before the war. Before the war there were minorities too, of course; there were a hundred million such people, and their lot was certainly not always an easy one. Their cries of anguish, their appeals for help, remained unheard and unheeded, for there was no League of Nations to listen to their pleas.

To-day there are in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe only twenty millions belonging to minorities; but it can hardly be said that they are no concern of the League. The League is always ready to do its best to improve their position.

But we must go warily, for this is a delicate problem. The minorities question must not be made a lever to undermine the position of the Governments or to disturb peace. It must not become an ever-present menace to our work, but must be settled carefully and impartially, after a scrupulous examination of the facts submitted to us, so that, when once we see the true position, we may remedy any abuses.

Nor must this question be allowed to become an instrument of war. No movement must be allowed to persist which, under cover of unexceptionable sentiments, would lead to widespread unrest in the world or breed fresh insecurity.

However worthy of respect certain doctrines and propaganda may be, one thing stands before them all — peace. No special circumstances, no individual aspirations, however justifiable, can be allowed to transcend the interests of peace. Peace must prevail, must come before all. If any act of justice were proposed which would disturb world peace and renew the terrible disasters of yesterday, I should be the first to call upon those promoting it to stop, to abandon it in the supreme interest of peace.

I must apologise for addressing you at such length. What I have put before you are the views of the French delegation. We are prepared to collaborate with you forthwith in the Committee

dealing with the question of disarmament, and you will find us resolved to bring about a Conference to settle all that can be settled as yet. A great step forward can be made in this direction : and if, as I have just said, we continue our work in the League spirit, we shall be able to show our peoples what immense progress has been made.

No longer need they fear competition in arma-

ments. They can be assured that the military burden will be lightened, provided always that the atmosphere of peace now so happily created continues to exist in every country and that nothing rash is done to imperil the feeling of security.

The Assembly rose at 1 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ELEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th, 1928, AT 4 P.M.

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48. — MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL : COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : Before proceeding with the agenda, I should like to bring one matter to the Assembly's attention. I have noticed during the last few meetings that the rules adopted by the Assembly for the maintenance of order in the hall have not been satisfactorily observed, possibly because they have not been quite understood.

I have noticed that during the speeches persons take up their position in between the seats reserved for the delegations and thus prevent delegates from properly seeing and hearing the speakers. It is quite contrary to the rules we have adopted that any persons should enter and stand during meetings, either in between the seats reserved for delegations

or in the gangways. Members of the delegations should have free access to their seats and should be able, when there, to see and hear the speakers. In view of the remarks on this subject which several delegations have made to me, I have asked the Secretary-General to give strict instructions to the huissiers entrusted with the maintenance of order in the hall that no person should be allowed to stand in the gangways or in between the seats reserved for the delegations.

I rely upon the goodwill of everyone present to assist in the enforcement of the rules, and I trust that those who have infringed them in the past will kindly conform in future to the requests addressed to them by the huissiers.

49. — ELECTION OF THREE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the election of three non-permanent Members of the Council.

In the first place, I would remind you of the provisions of the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926, defining the rules for the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

Article 1, paragraph 1, runs as follows :

“ The Assembly shall each year, in the course of its ordinary session, elect three non-permanent Members of the Council. They shall be elected for a term commencing immediately on their election and ending on the day of the elections held three years later by the Assembly. ”

Before opening the ballot, I would again remind you of the provisions of Article 22 (a) of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, which apply in this case.

This article reads as follows :

" 1. The Members whose representatives are to sit on the Council as non-permanent Members of that body shall be selected by the Assembly by secret ballot.

" 2. Where several seats are to be filled, the election shall be made by voting a list of names. Any ballot-paper containing more names than there are seats to be filled shall be null and void.

" 3. No Members shall be elected at the first or at the second ballot unless it has obtained at least the absolute majority of the votes. If, after two ballots, there still remain seats to be filled, a third ballot shall be held upon a list consisting of the candidates which obtained most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double that of the seats still to be filled, and those Members shall be elected which obtain the greatest number of votes.

" 4. If two or more Members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall be held between them ; if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots."

In computing the absolute majority prescribed for the first and second ballots, I think the Assembly will agree that we should here, by analogy, apply the rule contained in the Assembly resolution of September 15th, 1926, concerning "the rules dealing with the election of the nine non-permanent Members of the Council, their terms of office and the conditions of re-eligibility".

This resolution lays down that the Assembly shall pronounce separately, by secret ballot, upon each request for re-eligibility. The number of votes cast shall be determined by the total number of voting tickets deposited, deducting blank or spoilt votes.

It would appear that, in electing the non-permanent Members of the Council, blank or spoilt voting-papers must not be counted when the number of votes is reckoned ; the absolute majority should be calculated on the basis of the total voting-papers valid.

If no one has any remarks to make, I shall consider that the Assembly shares my views on this subject. (*Assent.*)

These explanations should, I think, remove any misunderstanding. I would add that, to be valid, voting-papers must bear the names of States and not the names of representatives of States. Further, any voting-paper containing more than three names will be void.

I will ask M. Adatei, first delegate of Japan, and M. van Eysinga, delegate of the Netherlands, to be good enough to act as tellers.

(*M. Adatei and M. van Eysinga took their places on the platform.*)

The President :

Translation : We will now proceed to a ballot by roll-call.

(*The ballot was taken.*)

The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast	50
Absolute majority	26

The votes obtained by the States are as follows :

	Votes
Spain	46
Persia	40
Venezuela	35
Norway	11
Siam	6
Denmark	3
Paraguay	2
Uruguay	2
Greece	2
Austria	1
Switzerland	1
Portugal	1

The following States have obtained the absolute majority required and are therefore elected non-permanent Members of the Council for a period of three years : Spain, Persia and Venezuela. I have pleasure in offering my congratulations to those States.

I propose that the meeting be adjourned for ten minutes. If there is no objection, I shall consider this proposal adopted by the Assembly.

(*The meeting was adjourned from 4.50 p.m. until 5 p.m.*)

50. — REQUEST BY SPAIN FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen, — As President of the Assembly, I have just received a request for re-eligibility from Spain, that country having been elected a non-permanent Member of the Council.

The request is submitted in virtue of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on the proposal of the General Committee at its meeting on the morning of Friday, September 7th, 1928. The resolution is as follows :

" The Assembly, having in mind the discussions which took place at the session of 1926 resulting in the unanimous adoption of the rules of procedure for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council, decides, in virtue of its powers under Article 4, paragraph 2 *bis*, of the Covenant, that the temporary provisions for the elections of 1926, contained in Article 4, paragraph 2, of the resolution of the Assembly of September 15th, 1926, shall also apply to the elections of 1928. "

Article 4, paragraph 2, of the resolution of September 15th, 1926, to which this resolution of the Assembly expressly refers, reads as follows :

" 2. Of the nine Members thus elected in 1926, a maximum of three may be immediately declared re-eligible by a decision of the Assembly taken by a special vote by secret ballot, a separate ballot being held for each Member, and adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast.

" Immediately after the announcement of the results of the election, the Assembly shall decide upon the requests for re-eligibility which have been presented.

" Should the Assembly have before it more than three requests for re-eligibility, the three candidates having received the largest number of votes, in excess of two-thirds of the votes cast, shall alone be declared re-eligible. "

These provisions, then, are applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the 1928 elections. I will therefore

read the Spanish delegation's letter of to-day's date, submitting Spain's request for re-eligibility :

"The League of Nations has just done my country the very great honour of electing it a non-permanent Member of the Council. In virtue of the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its meeting on September 7th, 1928, I have the honour to request you to submit to the Assembly my Government's request that Spain may be declared to be a State re-eligible for election in accordance with the conditions contained in the above resolution.

(Signed) QUIÑONES DE LEÓN."

A special vote will be taken by secret ballot. In order that a State may be declared re-eligible, a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast is required.

The vote will be taken by roll-call. Each State will be called by name and a representative of the delegation will come up and place his voting paper in the ballot-box.

Members of the Assembly in favour of the request for re-eligibility submitted by the Member of the Council in question should write "Yes" on their voting-papers, and those against it should write "No".

I will ask His Excellency M. Urrutia, first delegate of Colombia, and Mr. Dandurand, a former President of the Assembly, delegate of Canada, to be good enough to act as tellers.

(M. Urrutia and Mr. Dandurand took their places on the platform as tellers.)

The President :

Translation : We will now proceed to a ballot by roll-call.

(The ballot was taken.)

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast	47
Number of votes valid	47
Majority required for acceptance .	32
Votes in favour of granting the request	37

The request for re-eligibility having been approved by the requisite majority of two-thirds, Spain, which is already a member of the Council, will be re-eligible on the expiry of the present term of office.

I desire to thank M. Urrutia and Mr. Dandurand for their kind assistance in acting as tellers.

Dr. Tulio Franco Franco, first delegate of the Dominican Republic, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Franco Franco (Dominican Republic) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, — On behalf of the delegations of the Republics of Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Salvador, Uruguay and Venezuela and of the Dominican Republic, which enjoys the distinction of having been the first colony established in the New World — and speaking too, I have no doubt, in the name of the sister nations which, for various reasons, are absent from the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly — may I express our profound gratification that Spain should have resumed the honourable place previously occupied by that great nation in our international organisation here at Geneva? Our satisfaction is still further enhanced by the fact that the return to our midst of the ancient Iberian

people — whose youth and whose noble qualities are perennial — has been followed by a vote in this Assembly declaring Spain re-eligible for election to the Council.

Many reasons could be found, if that were necessary, to explain our pleasure and satisfaction. This pronouncement by the Assembly in favour of Spain's re-eligibility follows quite naturally, in virtue of the resolutions adopted in 1926 for the reorganisation of the Council. Accordingly, our present attitude is in no way inconsistent with the views we maintained at the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly ; for Spain's case, as I have shown, is now governed by resolutions that were formally adopted and met with the full approval of all the Latin-American delegations.

There is a further reason for our present satisfaction, and that is Spain's valuable contribution towards the establishment and development of international law and her sincere encouragement of every work tending to peace and conciliation.

With her generosity and her fertile genius, this great Latin nation has always seized on every opportunity of co-operating vigorously in the work of promoting international brotherhood ; and Spain has at all times given proof of that loyalty which is essential if justice and concord are to prevail ; for without it we can never hope to establish a real international society in which mankind shall find prosperity and happiness.

The work of famous Spanish jurists during the last four centuries has most undoubtedly been a powerful factor in creating an international spirit but for which the human race would be condemned to experience to the end of its days the bitter irony summed up by Pascal in the words :

"Thus we cannot give power to justice, because power has arraigned justice, saying that justice is unjust, and she herself truly just."

The writings of Suarez and Vitoria, of the famous Salamanca school — particularly their ideas on "just wars" — like the works of many internationalists of Spanish origin or nationality, or speaking the Spanish tongue, have proved most powerful and valuable factors in the formation and development of international law.

Other very important reasons might be cited to explain our gratification, such as the position which Spain has won in international politics, by virtue of her invincible will and age-long enterprise, which changed the face of the world ; her untiring and incomparable constructive energy, to which eighteen nations, now autonomous, owe their most valuable qualities of courage and idealism ; and, lastly, the tremendous moral force which emanates from her history and race, her religion and language, her art and scientific achievements.

Now, when Spain is resuming her place as a Member of the League and of the Council, we desire to convey to her distinguished representatives our profound gratification and genuine pleasure at this most happy event.

The President :

Translation : M. Quiñones de León, first delegate of Spain, desires to make a statement.

M. Quiñones de León (Spain) :

Translation : It was not my intention to speak to-day ; but, after so moving a demonstration of sympathy and confidence towards my country, I feel that I must express my deep gratitude for the great honour which the Assembly has just shown us.

The Assembly may rest assured that this demonstration will be very much appreciated in Spain, and will find an echo in a nation which is always ready to respond to generous impulses such as this.

On behalf of Spain and of the Spanish delegation, I thank Dr. Franco Franco for the friendly and eloquent terms in which he conveyed the feelings of his own country and of the other Spanish-American Republics. His words were eagerly welcomed by the Spanish delegation, testifying as they did to the bond that exists between those nations and the mother country which feels such pride in them.

Again allow me to thank the Assembly and to convey Spain's cordial appreciation of this signal mark of esteem.

51. — TELEGRAM OF THANKS FROM MR. HUGHES ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS A MEMBER OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The President :

Translation : Before resuming the general discussion on the report on the work of the Council, I have to inform the Assembly that the Secretary-General has just received the following telegram from Mr. Hughes :

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your telegram informing me of my election as Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the unexpired term of John Bassett Moore resigned. It gives me the greatest pleasure to accept.

(Signed) Charles Evans HUGHES."

52. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion of the Report on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly.

M. Belloni, delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly.

M. Belloni (Italy) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Except for a few speeches, the most striking of which was that of Mr. McLachlan, the Australian delegate, the extremely interesting discussion on the report of the Council which has occupied the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly during the past week has dealt, as was to be expected, with the political activities of the League

In an essentially political organisation such activities naturally come before any others, and, moreover, these questions of peace, arbitration and disarmament and territorial problems, besides forming the chief preoccupation of every Government, are uppermost in the minds of the peoples who look on the League, in a sense the outcome of the world war, as a guarantee of peace for future generations.

Let me say at once that I think it superfluous for me to touch upon certain political questions after M. Briand's masterly speech this morning on behalf of the French delegation. You will understand my

diffidence in speaking after M. Briand : it is hard for a modest speaker like myself to follow immediately after one of the greatest orators France has ever known.

But if, as is now admitted, the economic requirements of nations constitute the most powerful factor in any situation that might disturb the political balance of the world, and if, as M. Scialoja once said, war is a disease the hidden causes of which must be sought before a permanent cure can be found, then it would seem advisable, before the close of this discussion, to survey the League's economic and financial activities during the past year.

This seems to me particularly necessary, because the work of the League's economic and financial organs in 1927-28 was unprecedented in scope and extent, a fact which is most striking when we remember that any decision taken in connection with such delicate and complex problems may have quite unforeseen effects upon interests apparently remote.

M. Scialoja stated at the meeting of the Council on June 9th last that, in the Italian Government's opinion, the work done by the League in connection with the study of these problems, which are engaging the attention of all countries, was not only highly beneficial but even strictly necessary. After such a statement by the head of our delegation there is, of course, no further need for me to emphasise the point.

The economic work of the League in 1927-28 was in the hands of three Committees — the Economic Committee, the Financial Committee and the Consultative Committee. The Assembly requires no reassurance from me as to the capacity and experience of those whom the Council invited to become members of the two permanent economic organs of the League. They are deserving of our very grateful thanks.

The Economic Committee, the composition and duties of which have been revised, included this year in its programme an examination of the recommendations passed by the International Economic Conference. The report of the Council shows how it has executed that difficult task.

The Financial Committee, which has a tradition of sound work and successful results, has dealt with a number of questions, foremost among them being the Greek stabilisation scheme and the settlement of Greek refugees, which is nearly completed.

The Consultative Committee was appointed as the result of a proposal by the Economic Conference held in May 1927, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session, which was put into effect by a decision of the Council dated December 9th, 1927. This Committee, whose duty it is to follow the application of the resolutions of the International Economic Conference, without discussing the principles laid down by that Conference, submitted a report to the Council on the various points examined, together with a number of recommendations. These the Council adopted, requesting the Economic Committee to base its activities on the recommendations and on the suggestions put forward in the said report.

It was my privilege at the 1928 Assembly to act as Rapporteur for M. Loucheur's proposal regarding the necessity for an International Economic Conference, and as a member both of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference and of the Consultative Committee, it is of course difficult for me to dwell on the merit of the work done at those meetings of experts and industrialists, or the importance of their discussions and resolutions. I cannot refrain, however, from pointing out to the Assembly that what appeared

impossible in 1926 — that is, a systematic, constructive effort to improve the world economic position — is now an accomplished fact. The jungle which faced us in 1926 has been cleared; the tangle of economic phenomena has been unravelled, and I regard it as of the highest importance that we should have been able to agree unanimously on the classification of the problems to be studied, which has already made it possible, and will in the future make it still more possible, to undertake a methodical and rational survey of the various world economic problems.

Much remains to be done, and there are, still many delicate problems to be solved. There is one in particular to which the attention of the Council and of the Consultative Committee has again been drawn, namely, What are the limits within which the League's activities could and should be exercised in the economic field? This fundamental problem was raised by Lord Cecil in 1926, and it must be solved if we are to avoid dissipating our efforts in the difficult task which lies before us and if we are to obtain tangible results.

The Australian delegate, Mr. McLachlan, speaking in this Assembly, deprecated excessive interference by the League in economic questions, and drew attention to the great anxiety caused in his country by the League's intervention in the Customs tariffs question.

I do not desire now to discuss the arguments he advanced, but to my mind they are of great importance, because they raise once again the question of the limit which should be set to the economic activities of the League.

I, in my turn, should like to put forward the Italian point of view, which contains nothing new, since it is a logical consequence of the attitude adopted by my Government and by the Italian members of the different Committees during the past few years.

We hold that the League should concentrate its attention in the economic field upon an investigation of general principles and problems of economic policy, but that it should refrain from intervening in any questions which have only a partial or contingent effect upon world economies.

This point of view is applicable more particularly to certain industrial problems in which the Governments themselves cannot intervene effectively or decisively. It appears to us dangerous to cling to the illusion that the high moral authority attaching to the recommendations made by the League's Economic Organisation will invariably be sufficient to ensure success in a field where, as stated on page 58 of the report on the work of the Council, "the resolutions on industrial questions must, in the main, be given effect to by private bodies or individuals."

It has been said that the effect of this theory would be purely negative as far as the work of the League Economic Organisation is concerned.

I maintain that, on the contrary, it is essential, in order to arrive at a proper co-ordination of the numerous problems which must be investigated by our Economic Committee. I would add, further, that this theory is essential in order to achieve the practical progress desired by all who have placed their trust in and are helping forward the economic work of the League.

When the Council, in Dr. von Schubert's carefully framed report, stated its opinion that it was advisable to leave it to the Economic Committee itself to decide in what order each branch of the work should be taken, "it placed these problems in their order of importance as regards their general or special effect.

When the Consultative Committee, after examining a number of industrial questions, decided that the most important was that relating to the conditions governing the production of coal, it selected a problem which was of very real importance to the whole world, and which certainly stands first and foremost among the problems connected with the production of power and heat in all countries which need them.

Here again, whether it was done deliberately or not, the theory I have advanced has been followed in the work of the experts, and with conspicuous success. I am quite sure, too, that this will always be so in the future.

In connection with the subject of coal, I have to state, on behalf of the Italian delegation, that, although we represent a non-producing country, we shall be happy to co-operate in the enquiries recommended by the Consultative Committee with a view to submitting to the Council the necessary data to enable it to judge whether concerted international action could further the solution of this very difficult problem.

We shall gladly co-operate in these enquiries, although, of course, we are one of those coal-consuming countries which take advantage of a period of over-production to buy on favourable terms. We consider that a general market equilibrium would constitute one of the greatest benefits to the industry and commerce of the world. That, however, is only another reason for urging that a period of under-production, resulting in an increase in selling prices, should also be regarded as a coal crisis.

Any international agreement is feasible that does not mean an immediate rise in prices. When producing and consuming countries meet to investigate this problem, they must remember that, as in all general economic problems, the normal state of equilibrium can only be determined if the rights and obligations of all the countries concerned, producers and consumers alike, are duly considered.

I cannot conclude this brief retrospect of one of the League's most important tasks during the past year without reminding you that these successes would never have been achieved but for the untiring activity displayed by the staff of the Secretariat. Year by year, the standard of efficiency of the staff has improved, its members have gained under experience, they have come into closer and more frequent contact with the administrations of the various countries, and in this way the Secretariat has been able to transform the somewhat unsubstantial ideals of early days into practical realities.

Lastly, I should like to pay a tribute to the discernment and perspicacity of Sir Eric Drummond, who directs the work of the staff, and to the devotion of those who collaborate with him.

I am sure that, in the years to come, the men appointed by the League to deal with economic problems will continue to work with the same loyalty and the same desire to solve those problems in the common interest of producers and consumers alike. I am convinced that by this work the League is materially promoting the peace of the world.

The President :

Translation : M. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, will address the Assembly.

M. Caballero (Paraguay) :

Translation : In the course of the very interesting discussion to which we have listened, more than one speaker has referred to the progress of the peace movement, the desire to abolish war and the means of bringing about its abolition.

It is evident that the whole world to-day is set on peace. This session of the Assembly is animated by the spirit created by that will, and the highest hopes of humanity depend on its existence.

I touch on this subject, not from any desire to indulge in comments which might well be thought superfluous after all that has been said from this platform with reference to the Briand-Kellogg pact condemning war as an instrument of national policy: I merely desire to draw your attention to certain international acts which illustrate the progress now being made by the peace movement in Latin America.

What outward signs are there in that part of the world indicating that a profound change is now taking place in the mind of the public?

First, in the interval between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, there was the ratification of the Gondra Pact by Mexico and Bolivia, bringing the total number of countries in the New World which have now acceded to it up to ten out of twenty-one. Brazil, Cuba, Chile, the United States of America, Guatemala, Haiti, Paraguay and Venezuela had already ratified it.

This pact—named after a former President of Paraguay—is designed to secure the pacific settlement of disputes between American countries by means of enquiry and conciliation. It was the crowning act of the Fifth Pan-American Conference, held at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, and it was left open at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in that city for ratification and accession by the States concerned.

Secondly, as the outcome of conferences held at Buenos Ayres under the auspices of the Argentine Government, Bolivia and Paraguay solemnly undertook, in July last, to settle their frontier dispute solely by pacific means and to refrain from resort to force. That is an instance of a synallagmatic or bilateral agreement outlawing war and having reference to a specific case.

The effect of this undertaking is that the solution of the dispute must now be sought within the framework of international organisation; that is to say, through diplomatic channels, by investigation, conciliation and arbitration, or by the resources which the League of Nations, of which both these Latin-American States are Members, places at their disposal.

These are, I think, very gratifying facts, because the conventions in question represent the embodiment, in rules of law, of the spirit and the will to peace which animates all American countries.

I am convinced that my non-American colleagues in the League will share the satisfaction we feel at such a development. It is, indeed, most gratifying and highly encouraging to us all to see a great force, a purely moral force, thus imposing peace on mankind solely through the respect which nations feel for their pledged word.

Are we, then, on the eve of a great moral regeneration?

Let us at least realise, from the ideals of peace and justice that are being set up as the highest aspirations of the human soul—let us realise that the hour has struck for the abolition of war between nation and nation, and that henceforth there will be only one kind of legitimate warfare—war against war.

Before I conclude I must express the deep and heartfelt joy which my country feels as a Member of the League, and as a people sprung from the Latin stock, at witnessing the return of Spain, who comes back to us here in this Assembly to resume her part in the organisation of world peace.

The President :

Translation : M. Balodis, first delegate of Latvia, will address the Assembly.

M. Balodis (Latvia) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—The annual report and the numerous accompanying documents have brought home to us all the importance and the scope of the work done during the past year by the various organisations of the League. This work is deserving of the highest praise.

To mention but a few of the League's activities, I should like to say, in the first place, that my country attaches great importance to the League's economic and financial work and to that of the Organisation for Communications and Transit. I may add that Latvia is represented on the Permanent Committee attached to that Organisation.

Latvia is a transit country placed at a cross-road on the international trade routes between East and West. Conscious of her duties in this connection, she has made every effort to repair the railways, bridges, ports and harbour works damaged or destroyed during the war and the revolution. This work is now practically completed, and goods in transit can cross Latvian territory without hindrance and also pay specially reduced tariff rates. In view of the importance of the work carried out in connection with railway reorganisation, Latvia is anxious that the transit traffic in all directions should be free and unhampered.

My country was therefore glad to note that its proposal to the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, recommending the competent organs of the League to do their utmost to remove obstacles to the freedom of commerce and transit, wherever such obstacles are still to be met, was approved by the Assembly last year.

Latvia's economic life and international trade generally are alike hampered by the suspension of international communications on certain railways crossing Poland and Lithuania and terminating at Latvian ports. Unfortunately, traffic on these railways has been stopped ever since the war. I sincerely trust that the efforts of the Council and of the competent organs of the League may result in the opening to traffic of certain important transit routes between the above-mentioned countries, without prejudice to their real interests and legitimate rights. Latvia's earnest hope is that she will not be disappointed in this matter.

My country notes with great satisfaction the important work carried out by the League in the international economic sphere, and has accordingly adhered unreservedly to two conventions on freedom of commerce; but, as a delegate of a country which is primarily an agricultural country, I am sorry to see that the recommendations of the International Economic Conference concerning agricultural co-operation have not yet produced any tangible results. At its May session, the Economic Consultative Committee could do no more than repeat a hope for better things in the future. I am still convinced that the League's efforts to assist, organise and co-ordinate agricultural production must gradually be intensified in course of time.

I now come to the problem of disarmament, and should like to congratulate the Committee on Security and Arbitration on the noteworthy progress it has made in framing nine draft conventions and preparing the report on financial assistance.

Nevertheless, a certain amount of scepticism undoubtedly exists as to the practical efficacy of this work. It is not the lack of model

conventions dealing with non-aggression, mutual assistance and arbitration that has hitherto prevented the conclusion of such treaties. The essential need is that the League, the Council and the competent organs of the League should, each and all of them, urge the adoption of conventions that are vital to the establishment of international peace, and that they should, at the same time, provide ways and means for their fulfilment. With no driving force behind them, these drafts will become a dead letter. Neither the Locarno treaties nor the recent Kellogg Pact would have come into being had they not had powerful political forces behind them.

Since the last ordinary session of the Assembly, considerable progress has been made in the examination of the Finnish proposal concerning financial assistance to States victims of aggression. A satisfactory solution of this problem would appreciably increase the security of many countries. The mere fact that a State threatened by aggression can obtain financial assistance against the aggressor will act as a deterrent. Would-be aggressors will hesitate to embark upon such a hazardous undertaking. Financial assistance can thus be of great value in preventing war and helping forward the cause of disarmament.

Nevertheless, if this measure is to produce its full effect and is not to lose all value in the eyes of an intending aggressor, the Council must have power to decide definitively that financial assistance shall be granted by the League without further formalities as soon as the designs or threats of aggression have been proved. It also seems to me that, even though the Council be invested with such authority independently of the individual Governments, its possibility of acting will depend upon chance circumstance unless an exception to the rule of unanimity is allowed in this particular case. The Council's decision should be recognised as valid even if it is only secured by the vote of a qualified majority, the parties to the dispute being barred from voting.

Instead of following out, in the matter of security and disarmament, the bold principles outlined

in the Geneva Protocol of 1924, we are advancing towards the application of the great principles enunciated in that Protocol by slow and cautious — sometimes over-cautious — methods. It is the Protocol that provides the most effective solution of the problem. Its provisions are much more suitable for the establishment and maintenance of international peace than the general formulas contained in the Covenant, which are responsible for the slow progress made in regard to the reduction of armaments and the increase of security. For this reason, I am convinced that, as we carry out this important task, we shall, step by step, be brought back to the principles of the Protocol of 1924. That is the logical, practical and inevitable sequel.

Before concluding these brief observations, in which, as a true friend of peace, I have expressed my views frankly, I feel it my duty to point out to the Assembly once again what great hopes the peoples of the world place in the League as the guardian of international peace. If it is to prevent a dangerous feeling of disappointment from springing up in the public mind regarding the value of its work, the League and its organs must show greater firmness and greater effectiveness in carrying out the important and difficult tasks entrusted to them; otherwise I am afraid the public may lose all interest in the greatest endeavour ever made by man to establish international peace.

Despite this criticism, I share the hopes expressed by earlier speakers, whose noble words have given encouragement to this Assembly. It is difficult nowadays to conceive of a world without a League of Nations. The close community, the ever-growing interdependence of human interests, are bringing the nations together as members of one great family, in which the rivalries born of national egotism tend to lose their harshness.

Latvia's co-operation in the work of the League, of which it is a devoted Member, is inspired by this ideal of unity and by her consciousness of the rights and obligations laid down in the Covenant.

The Assembly rose at 6.45 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

TWELFTH PLENARY MEETING

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

53. — MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL : COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : I know you will not take it amiss if I ask that the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, should be strictly observed. It is not my intention to restrict the freedom of delegations, but in the interests of all I would remind you that, according to the Rules of Procedure, any speech delivered in

French has to be translated into English, and *vice versa*. It makes the interpreter's task very difficult if, during the translation of speeches, persons are passing to and fro in the hall or are engaged in private conversations. Moreover, many of us, both delegates and others, can only follow the discussions by means of the translation. It is for their sake that I appeal to the customary courtesy of the Assembly, to which the President has never yet appealed in vain.

54.—REQUEST BY SPAIN FOR RE-ELIGIBILITY FOR ELECTION TO THE COUNCIL : COMMUNICATIONS BY THE DELEGATIONS OF GUATEMALA AND HAITI.

The President :

Translation : Before proceeding with the agenda I should like to read you the following communication which I have just received from His Excellency M. Matos, delegate of the Republic of Guatemala :

" As I was unfortunately absent from the Assembly when the vote was taken on the request by Spain for re-eligibility as a non-permanent Member of the Council, I desire to express my great regret at my inability to respond to the appeal addressed to me as representative of the Republic of Guatemala on that occasion, and to state that I am in favour of the re-eligibility of Spain.

" I cannot ask for the result of the ballot to be changed, but I should be grateful if you would read this letter at the beginning of the plenary meeting to-morrow morning and would have it inserted *in extenso* in the records of that meeting. I am anxious that this should be done in order to show Spain what our intentions were and that we would have voted in favour of her request,

had I not been prevented by unforeseen circumstances from being present at the time when a vote was taken.

(Signed) José MATOS,
Delegate of the Republic of Guatemala.

I have also received the following letter from the delegation of the Republic of Haiti :

"As I was absent from the Assembly during the discussion on the re-eligibility of Spain as a Member of the Council, I should like to express my great regret at my inability to record my vote in favour of this application by Spain, for whose election as a non-permanent Member I had previously voted.

"I should therefore be glad if you would be good enough to read this letter at the beginning of the plenary meeting to-morrow morning, and also have it inserted in the records of that meeting.

"I particularly desire to say that, had I been present, I should have voted in favour of Spain's re-eligibility, not only on account of the special bond of sympathy that unites my country with the noble Spanish nation but because we can never forget that the first spot at which Christopher Columbus landed in the island of Haiti, long known as Hispaniola and originally a Spanish colony, was the Môle Saint Nicolas, now in the Republic that I have the honour to represent here.

(Signed) Alfred NEMOURS."

I would ask the Assembly to note these two statements. In accordance with the request of the signatories, and if there are no objections, the full text of these letters will be inserted in the records of the present meeting. (*Agreed.*)

55. — QUESTION OF THE AMENDMENT OF THE COVENANT IN VIEW OF THE ACCEPTANCE BY STATES MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF THE PACT FOR THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR, SIGNED ON AUGUST 27th, 1928 : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE LITHUANIAN DELEGATION : REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : You will remember that, at its meeting on September 8th, the Assembly decided to refer to the Agenda Committee for preliminary examination a draft resolution submitted by Professor Voldemaras, first delegate of Lithuania.

This draft resolution reads as follows :

"The Assembly :

"Learning with deep emotion that the United States of America and several States Members of the League of Nations signed a Pact for the renunciation of war on August 27th, 1928, in Paris ;

"Noting that several other States Members or non-members of the League of Nations have already acceded to the said Pact ;

"Recognising that the acceptance of the Pact for the renunciation of war by the Members of the League of Nations goes further than their obligations in this respect contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations and supplements them, thus necessitating changes in the fundamental provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations ;

"Recalling the Assembly resolution of September 24th, 1927, condemning wars of aggression ;
"Requests the Council to initiate an enquiry into the amendments which should be introduced into the Covenant of the League of Nations on the above-mentioned lines, and to submit these amendments to the Assembly at its next session."

The Agenda Committee has just sent in its report, which I will now read to the Assembly :

"The Agenda Committee met on September 10th, 1928, under the chairmanship of Dr. Ramon Caballero.

"It examined the draft resolution submitted by M. Voldemaras at the plenary meeting on the morning of Saturday, September 8th, 1928, concerning an enquiry into the question of the amendment of the League Covenant in view of the acceptance by the Members of the League of the pact for the renunciation of war, signed on August 27th, 1928.

"As the result of its preliminary enquiry, the Committee doubts whether it would be feasible to discuss this question during the present session of the Assembly. Apart from the fact that the pact signed on August 27th, 1928, has not come into force, the fundamental importance and the scope of the problems raised by M. Voldemaras' draft resolution would necessitate a thorough investigation of the subject, which could hardly be undertaken by the Government delegates who are members of the Assembly Committees unless they had time to apply for and receive instructions from their Governments.

"For these reasons the Agenda Committee cannot recommend that the draft resolution of the Lithuanian delegation be included in the agenda of the present session of the Assembly. That delegation should, if it so desires, take in due course the necessary steps to have its proposal placed on the agenda of the next ordinary session of the Assembly."

The Agenda Committee, therefore, cannot recommend the inclusion of the Lithuanian delegation's draft resolution in the agenda of the present session of the Assembly. The Lithuanian Government can of course take steps to have this proposal placed on the agenda of the next session of the Assembly.

M. Sidzikauskas (Lithuania) :

Translation : The Lithuanian delegation does not oppose the suggestion of the Agenda Committee.

The President :

Translation : If there are no objections I shall regard the Agenda Committee's suggestion as adopted by the Assembly. (*Adopted.*)

56. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the general discussion on the report on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly. M. Osuský, delegate of Czechoslovakia, will address the Assembly.

M. Osuský (Czechoslovakia) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is seven years almost to a day since I had the honour of explaining to the second ordinary session of the Assembly, at the request of Lord Cecil, then delegate of South Africa, both the constitutional and legislative measures taken by Czechoslovakia for the protection of minorities and the manner in which they were applied and the practical results achieved.

We have travelled far since then. As regards the question of the protection of minorities, those seven years have been rich in experience, and have brought a wealth of practical results.

It is not of that, however, which I wish to speak to-day. Last week several speakers dealt with the protection of minorities, both making statements and submitting suggestions, and I should now like to offer a few remarks concerning those statements. We must discriminate in this matter, and the preliminary question that arises is this : By virtue of what international instrument and by what right does the League of Nations deal with the protection of minorities ? If we take the treaties concluded since the war, we see that some were concluded between certain Powers, which were then generally known as Powers of limited interest, and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. Article 14 of one of these treaties states that the provisions of that Treaty are placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

What is this guarantee ? According to Article 14, paragraph 2, it lies in the fact that a Member of the Council of the League has the right to draw the attention of the Council to an infraction or attempt at infraction of any of the obligations contained in the treaty.

We see from this provision of the Minorities Treaty that the League deals with minorities by virtue not of the Covenant but of private treaties concluded between certain Powers, called " Powers of limited interest ", and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The nature of the Council's rights is defined in the treaty : the Council can neither modify nor amend any of the provisions without the consent of the Parties concerned and it is its duty to see that the obligations contained in the treaty are properly carried out ; it cannot do this if it becomes itself guilty of illegality.

The Czechoslovak delegation therefore listened with the deepest interest to the statements made by the various speakers from this platform last week. The Netherlands delegate suggested the appointment of a Permanent Minorities Committee similar to the Mandates Commission. In view of the many considerations to which it gives rise, this proposal merits special attention.

Whence did the League derive the right to appoint a Permanent Mandates Commission ? If we consult the Covenant we find a whole article — Article 22 — by which the mandates system itself is set up. Paragraph 9 of this Article reads as follows :

" A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates."

On reading Article 22 of the Covenant we find therefore : (1) that the Permanent Mandates Commission was created by the Covenant itself ; (2) that the creation of the Permanent Mandates Commission was formally imposed upon the League by Article 22, paragraph 9.

When therefore the League created the Permanent Mandates Commission, it was simply carrying

out a definite duty which it had agreed to perform. No such duty exists in the matter of minorities ; yet, the proposal to create a Permanent Minorities Committee has been put forward in this Assembly.

But, you will ask, do I object to our entertaining this idea at all ? By no means. I merely wish to state the exact juridical and political position in the matter. At the same time there can be no doubt that the provisions of the treaties concluded between the Powers known as Powers of limited interest and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers involve neither the right nor the obligation to establish a Permanent Minorities Committee. If we wish to do so, to consider the question, we must look for the necessary authority elsewhere than in the Minorities Treaties. We must look to the Covenant itself.

I agree that Article 3, paragraph 3, and Article 4, paragraph 4, of the Covenant lay down that the Council and Assembly have the right to deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world ; and there is also Article 11, which states that the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

If we want to consider this question and to create a Permanent Minorities Committee, we must first see whether the articles I have mentioned, or any other articles of the Covenant, give legal authorisation for the creation of such a committee.

The practical utility of establishing a Minorities Committee must also be considered, and, finally, we should have to see whether its creation would really be expedient. Only yesterday we heard that great apostle of peace, M. Briand, whose greatness has been enhanced since he has shown how he can transform words to deeds.

He solemnly declared the rights of minorities to be free from all oppression and entolled the benefits that follow from that right, comparing the condition of minorities to-day with their position before the war. Yet he did not hesitate to say that such an instrument, forged for the work of peace, might easily become a means of creating unrest and a menace to peace in the hands of the foes of good order.

In view of these considerations the question of creating a Permanent Minorities Committee must be investigated very carefully before any decision is taken in the matter.

However that may be, there seems to me no doubt that the League cannot legislate solely for some of its Members. It has no right, and I am sure it has no intention, of dividing, on its own initiative and of its own will, the Members of the League into two categories, one consisting of free Members and the other of Members administered by a committee.

As the statements made last week from this platform were not quite clear, I think that before all else we must learn the full intention of those who are suggesting the creation of a Permanent Minorities Committee and I say this with particular reference to the statement made by the delegate of the Netherlands. Speaking of the minorities question, he pointed out that the twelfth Assembly of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies suggested the creation of a Permanent Minorities Committee similar to that which deals with mandates.

I quite understand that there may be some doubt as to the scope of the Netherlands delegate's proposal as his statement was very brief. But we may reasonably ask whether he was thinking that such a Committee would deal with minorities in general in all countries.

If I remember aright, the discussion which took place last July at the twelfth Assembly

at The Hague dealt with this question as a whole, and before we can examine such a proposal we must know if the Netherlands delegate had in mind the complete proposal as advanced by the Hague Assembly.

In dealing with these questions we must not forget that the Covenant is based upon two great principles — the principle of equality and the principle of universality. I wish to say that the Czecho-slovak delegation is always ready to examine any suggestion promoting liberty, justice, equity, and humanity; but it cannot forget that the Covenant is based upon the principles of equality and universality, which have been preached and defended from this platform since the very beginning of the League.

The President :

Translation : Mr. Smit, first delegate of South Africa, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Smit (South Africa) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — After the very remarkable speeches, which have been delivered from this platform, and to which I have listened with the greatest pleasure, it is with a certain feeling of diffidence that I, as representative of the Union of South Africa, ask for the privilege of addressing you.

I am not going to touch on the many weighty matters which have been brought to your notice so ably by the previous speakers for my country is not, on account of its distance, happy situation and friendly relations with its neighbours, drawn day after day actively and directly into the matters and problems which occupy your attention, though they are followed very closely by us, and receive our sympathetic consideration, with the sole object of rendering such assistance as we are able to offer.

We cannot but admire the road taken, and the milestones which have been passed in striving to achieve objects which it is hoped will lead to universal improvement.

Our attention has been focussed for some time now on the strenuous and magnificent efforts made for disarmament, and South Africa has not only noticed with satisfaction, but was proud to take part in, that important step forward just consummated at Paris, on the initiative of that great country across the Atlantic, willingly assisted and supported by France.

We have gladly participated in that act, not only because we believe in the genuineness of the feelings which have animated the people of the United States of America, but also because we recognise that, step by step, we shall ultimately reach the goal, which to many may in the past have appeared extremely problematical.

To us the Kellogg Treaty is not a goal, it is only another milestone on the road which started at Locarno. We feel that once the mentality of civilisation has definitely been set on disarmament, and on the enforcement of peace as a policy, as a line of action, many difficulties still in the way may disappear. We realise that there are many problems still to face, and I venture to mention one which in my country is considered to be a grave one, namely, the prevention of arming those who have no use for and no knowledge of modern armaments and military requirements.

We are looking forward to a meeting of the Powers who have worked in the past, are working in the present and, let us hope, will continue to work in the future, for universal improvement, and that those Powers will at any rate agree that the races, whether subject to them or not,

who have not yet been trained in modern warfare, who have as yet no knowledge of our weapons of offence, our methods of destruction, shall not receive such training from them and shall not be equipped with such weapons. South Africa will heartily welcome such a conference and will actively co-operate therein.

The native races of Africa under the tutelage of civilised Powers know nothing as yet of European or civilised methods of warfare and armaments other than what we have taught them. Is it not for us to say that they shall not know more, that they, at any rate, shall be spared the horrors and evils of modern warfare and the burdens of peace armaments? It is still in our power to see that they at least shall have the full benefit of that disarmament which we so devoutly wish for ourselves.

We in South Africa hope that this can be achieved; we believe it to be an immediate reality. We have had wars in South Africa between civilised peoples but, thank God, the savage hordes of Africa have never been dragged into those wars nor trained and armed in accordance with modern military ideas, with the result that, in spite of the presence of millions of natives, war between two European races has been carried on not once, but several times, without any isolated and undefended European families having ever been molested by natives.

The savage races have settled down as peaceful citizens, with no wish for the knowledge which some think so necessary for the civilised man, and they are the happier for it. We believe we have given them protection from raids by others, that we have placed at their disposal the benefits of good administration. They are grateful for this, and they have shown their gratitude by refraining from taking any part in any war between Europeans, and from molesting the families of those who were called away for the purposes of warfare.

I have mentioned Africa and its races merely as an example; it is not the only case. Every continent, with the possible exception of Europe, has the same problem, though perhaps in a lesser degree.

Is it too much to hope that under the guidance of the League we shall, in the near future, meet in order to agree among ourselves that those races which are not yet able to stand by themselves, and whose well-being and development form a sacred trust of civilisation, shall not be used to strengthen military forces which are already deemed by many to be excessive for the purposes of peace and goodwill in the world? Public opinion (and we heartily endorse it) has practically agreed that there shall be no increase in armaments, and it would therefore seem that the necessity to train and equip races which to-day are happy in their ignorance of modern war requirements no longer exists. Our grave concern is the well-being of these uncivilised races, and it is in that spirit that I am expressing these views.

We agree that the matter should not be rushed, but should be studied carefully, and whatever may be necessary should be prepared in good time, for, rather than that our hopes should be wrecked by over-hastiness, we would wait patiently for further results like Locarno and Paris. There is a tendency to mar the excellent work of the League by over-hastiness, by impatience. We in South Africa have found that important matters have been discussed and recommendations framed by conferences and committees called together under the aegis of the League. The conferences and committees have sometimes fixed limits within which the various States Members of the League had to return their

observations on these recommendations. We believe that, in fixing these limits the exigencies of postal administrations and Governments have not always been realised, nor has it always been kept in mind that countries like South Africa, being a member of the British Commonwealth of nations, may desire to consult her co-members before framing her observations, and that therefore sufficient time for a reply should be allowed.

It has happened that in this respect we have refrained from doing our share in the task which lies before us all. The impression may therefore have been created, in some instances at any rate, that our failure to reply betrays indifference to the importance of the matters discussed under the auspices of the League, whereas, in fact, no reply worthy of the country which I am proud to represent or as carefully studied as it deserved to be, could have been sent within the allotted time.

I believe that I am voicing not only the wishes of South Africa but also those of other States Members when I ask League conferences and committees to bear in mind the interests of those not situated within easy postal reach of Geneva.

After all, participation in the League work by all States Members is of great importance and should in all circumstances be our aim. We share this ideal and shall be happy to assist in its achievement.

The President :

Translation : M. de Vasconcellos, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal) :

Translation : I should not think of adding my modest quota to the series of eloquent speeches we have heard here, did I not feel impelled to do so by a sense of duty. We all owe to the League and to the world in general, which sits in judgment on our actions, a report on our share in the work of peace, the main task of this institution, in which from the very beginning we have all placed our hopes and our trust.

Our country, as you are of course aware, possesses a great historical tradition, and as an important colonial Power is greatly concerned in the solution of all the big international problems. These often affect us more closely than is generally believed, and for that reason Portugal follows the League's work with special interest and is always prepared loyally to take her share in it.

The report we are discussing includes a remarkable collection of studies and proposals relative to arbitration, security and the pacific settlement of international disputes. We duly appreciate the importance of the work done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, which has given us particular satisfaction, since we have for a long time been striving to extend the system of arbitration treaties.

It is perhaps not known that we are pioneers in the matter of arbitration. You will of course remember that in the distant past a certain Pope made an arbitration award dividing between Spain and Portugal the lands and oceans still to be discovered. More recently, at the Hague Conference of 1907, a Portuguese proposal led to the memorable discussions out of which arose the principles now governing compulsory arbitration. The Utopia of those days is the reality of to-day, and, as often happens, the pioneer, the Utopian, has been allowed to sink into oblivion. Side by side with Léon Bourgeois we championed the good cause, and we gratefully pay a tribute to the memory of that great apostle of peace.

We were among the first to sign the optional clause in Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent

Court of International Justice, and we have ratified our signature. We concluded with various countries arbitration treaties of the limited type then in vogue. More recently, we concluded with Spain, France, the United States and Belgium, treaties of the more comprehensive type recommended by the League.

"Treaties, nothing but treaties!" I hear the detractors and critics of the League exclaim. But how can peace be organised on a juridical basis but by treaties, which in their turn become rules of law? Did not the great Powers go to war for the sake of treaties, because treaties had been violated, in those days when the principles of arbitration and international solidarity were not yet strongly enough established to prevent wars?

Let us therefore continue our beneficent task of uniting the peoples of the world one with another by both legal and moral ties, and so fulfil the aim we set ourselves at the dawn of this new age. That is the spirit in which Portugal has co-operated in the work of codifying international law, which is now being carried out.

Portugal has acceded to the Paris Pact without reservations of any kind. We believe, as the Greek representative, M. Politis, so eloquently expressed it in his luminous exposition the other day, that this Treaty fills the biggest gap in the Covenant, and that it will prove a most powerful contribution to the cause of peace through the high authority and the number of its signatories. Here I must pay a heartfelt tribute of homage and respect to M. Briand, who first launched the idea, and to Mr. Kellogg, who expanded and developed it.

We have made and are still making strenuous efforts to reform our financial and economic situation. In 1914, when the war broke out, we were in the midst of reconstructing our political and financial position, after the disturbances that inevitably follow upon a change in the political system of a country. Faithful to our obligations and our traditions, and impelled by the exigencies of our political and colonial situation, we were obliged to enter this War, as in the past we have had to enter all the great European wars; and we emerged among the victors, though without territorial or material gain. We suffered very seriously from the consequences — particularly the economic consequences — of the War, yet in face of the greatest difficulties we succeeded more than two years ago in stabilising our currency, which was on the verge of collapse and — by adopting drastic measures — in avoiding economic and financial disaster.

We therefore thought that, in order to speed up our economic recovery, the time had come to appeal to that international solidarity which had already proved so effectual, through the instrumentality of the League, in bringing about the reconstruction of other countries that had laboured under similar and even worse difficulties.

We shall always be extremely grateful to the League for the earnest endeavours it made, through the Financial Committee, to help us. Experts of marked ability examined our financial and economic situation, drew up a complete balance-sheet of our assets and liabilities, and reached the gratifying conclusion that we had every chance of achieving financial and economic restoration without undue difficulty. The unencumbered assets for the service of the projected loan were more than double the amount required.

We should have effected the requisite credit operation had not the League's methods, involving relatively strict supervision of our finances, been inconsistent with our traditional principles, which

preclude any outside interference, however slight, in the administration of our domestic affairs.

We therefore thanked the League for the admirable service it had rendered in submitting a scheme for the complete restoration of our finances — in point of fact, the League's scheme was not dissimilar to that previously prepared by our own experts — and we decided to rely, for the time being, upon our own resources.

The League experts, with their wide experience and their complete impartiality, advised us to arrange to balance our budget by stages covering a period of three years: the Minister for Finance introduced, as the first stage of the operation which he proposed to effect, a series of measures designed to accelerate matters and to obtain the desired result. In less than six months, — thanks to the courageous co-operation of all classes of the community — he was able to bring this first step to a successful conclusion.

Our budget for 1928-29 is already balanced. We may therefore justifiably hope that the remainder of the scheme will be carried through with the same energy and success; and we feel that, despite certain pessimistic forecasts, we shall soon contribute our own financial and economic reforms as a valuable factor in the economic restoration of Europe.

In order to improve the exploitation of our national wealth and increase production — the only effectual way of obtaining social peace — we have concluded with our great neighbour in the Peninsula very important agreements relating to the harnessing of the Douro waterfalls in the adjacent zone, the great potential capacity of which will compensate for our lack of coal. More recently a conference of experts of both countries examined a number of economic problems of mutual concern which have long remained unsolved. This work has been inspired by the spirit of goodwill and the mutual regard for our respective interests that have prevailed on all previous occasions.

We have lately ratified the two most important conventions prepared by the International Labour Office, — the Convention limiting the hours of work to eight in the day and the Convention concerning the application of the weekly rest in industrial undertakings. Here, too, our desire has been to associate ourselves as closely as possible with the work of social legislation now being carried out at Geneva.

As you have no doubt learned from the newspapers, all these grave crises, — changes of Government, our participation in the War, our economic collapse — have brought unrest upon our country. It would be surprising, indeed, if, at so disturbed a period in world history, a country of the South, left to its own resources, had not experienced the same shocks that rent the social structure of far more powerful countries. But we are proud to say that we have passed through these troublous times — the seriousness of which has been greatly exaggerated — without failing in any of our obligations, without imposing on foreigners who had trusted us any of those sacrifices which integrity bade us place on the shoulders of our own people.

Our co-operation in the Conference for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions led us to modify our fiscal laws, thereby avoiding the numerous reservations which had been considered advisable when the question was first considered.

In the economic field, too, we cannot pass by the proposal with regard to alcoholism, submitted to the Assembly by Finland, Poland and Sweden, and supported by Belgium, Denmark and Czechoslovakia. We are prepared to support a proposal to hold an enquiry into the extent of the evil effects

of alcoholism due to the consumption of alcohol having a strength of over 25 degrees; and we were glad to find that M. Procopé, in his speech yesterday, rejected any idea of an attempt to introduce prohibition.

We have done our duty by the League in the political and economic fields. But our co-operation has not stopped there.

In the colonial sphere we were among the first to ratify the Slavery Convention, which we are applying with great strictness. Our native labour legislation embodies the principles so stoutly and brilliantly defended in this Assembly by Lord Cecil, that eminent statesman whose services to the League will never be forgotten by its supporters.

We have settled all outstanding frontier disputes with our energetic and loyal neighbour in Africa, Belgium, and with the Union of South Africa, and we have concluded economic agreements of importance to both parties for the development of the regions concerned. The conventions signed with Belgium were preceded by an arbitration treaty embodying Article 10 of the Covenant, relating to the mutual recognition of our territorial integrity.

The account I have given, though incomplete, shows that we have fulfilled our duties in our task of furthering civilisation and bringing peace. We have great opportunities of extending and intensifying our co-operation because both we ourselves and our colonies have widespread interests throughout the world, and, as the glorious pages of our history show, we have never missed an opportunity of furthering those interests either by our own efforts or by agreements with our allies, friends and neighbours.

For centuries we have adhered to a stable and consistent foreign policy which has remained unaffected by changed political systems or by war. We have everywhere added friendships to our traditional alliance. Spain and Portugal are neighbours who mutually esteem and respect each other, and they can hold up their example to the League as an example which it might well offer to the rest of the world. We welcome Spain's return to her place on the Council, which she had ennobled by such eminent services — we welcome her return with every expression of sincere and fraternal friendship. We trust, too, that another great nation to which we are attached by the close bond of a parenthood that will ever be our pride, will ere long resume the place to which it is entitled by its co-operation with the League, by the inexhaustible wealth of its territory and by its immense and growing influence and development. A colony of over a million Portuguese in Brazil, replenished by constant immigration, keeps alive and vigorous the alliance both of sentiment and of interest that binds us to that great South American nation. I would add, too, that we shall always cherish the good relations we have maintained in the past with the other South American and Central American republics.

The first representative of a European nation to hold the rank of ambassador in America was the representative of Portugal, and that example was soon followed by others. We have a deep and sincere friendship for these flourishing countries which contribute so much to the work of the League.

Lastly, as regards Asia, we desire to mention an agreement recently concluded with the Holy See concerning our traditional jurisdiction in religious matters in the East and we would also speak of China, with whom we have maintained century-long relations. China is at present passing through a stage in her development which we are following with friendly interest. There, too, our

attitude is dictated by our sympathetic goodwill towards our neighbours.

This, then, is the vast field of our activities, which, in our great and honoured past, we have applied to further the noble work of discovery and of civilisation. To-day, we place those activities at the service of the great cause of peace, social progress and world economic development, which constitute the aims and ideals of the League.

The President :

Translation : Lord Cushendun, first delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

Lord Cushendun (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — the debates in this Assembly have covered a wide field of interest and have surveyed a great number of matters of importance in international activity. I have observed that no topic touched upon has aroused more interest, or has been deemed of greater importance, than that of international disarmament. It is a subject the importance of which can hardly be over-stated, and although it has already been very fully discussed, I would ask permission to add some observations regarding it.

As a member of the Preparatory Commission I can understand and I can sympathise with the disappointment which was expressed by the German Chancellor on the slowness of the progress which has been made. I share his disappointment, and I believe that all members of the Preparatory Commission also share it, but I would like respectfully to suggest that His Excellency has not perhaps fully appreciated the kind of difficulties with which the Preparatory Commission has to contend. The German Chancellor used these words, that the most urgent task of the Assembly was to adopt resolutions which would transform its hopes of disarmament into realities.

Ladies and gentlemen — I respectfully suggest that that is a proposition which cannot be sustained. I would like to point out that no resolutions of the Assembly, or of any other body, could possibly have that effect. After all, the only thing that a resolution of the Assembly could assert would be its desire for the completion of the work of disarmament, and possibly its disappointment that that work has not been completed sooner. That would add nothing to our knowledge. We all know that the Assembly desires the completion of the work, and the Preparatory Commission desires it equally strongly. No, it is not a question of resolutions : it is a question of work on practical details ; and I think it is important to clear the ground by remembering always exactly the nature of the obligations which we have all undertaken as Members of the League, and the restricted nature of those obligations.

The words of Article 8 of the Covenant are these :

“ The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. ”

You will observe, therefore, that it is left as a matter for the judgment of each State, and each State has the duty of forming an opinion, as to the precise level at which its armaments are sufficient, and no more than sufficient, for national safety. Now, in forming that judgment it is impossible to apply any precise criterion of measurement, which makes it, of course, a matter of peculiar difficulty to exercise that judgment.

Then there is another very formidable difficulty with which we are confronted and that is that it is impossible to find a common denominator for relating to one another the reduction effected by one State with the reduction effected by another, in order to arrive at that common action which is required by Article 8. In other words we cannot express in terms of military value the power respectively of troops, of ships and of aircraft, and the same sort of difficulty applies also as regards minor details. This, of course, would not be a suitable opportunity for elaborating such points, or showing in detail how these difficulties should be tackled and dealt with. I only mention them as an illustration of the type of practical detail with which the Preparatory Commission is bound to deal and to submit to you that, if they are thoroughly understood, they supply a very cogent explanation of a great deal of the delay that has occurred.

But there are also difficulties of another kind. A great number of States, let us remember, have to come to an agreement, first of all, on questions of principle underlying the practical work of disarmament. Each of those States has, naturally enough, its own ideas which spring from its special interests, from particular conditions, from historical traditions, from constitutional developments and from geographical position, and therefore it would indeed be miraculous if, in discussing the principles to be applied, we did not find at the outset wide divergences of views between such different States.

When these divergences manifest themselves it is necessary to try to reconcile the differences. This means that one State differing from another tries, by the exercise of a conciliatory spirit, to bring the divergent views into accord with one another. That involves, of course, correspondence, and consultations with experts ; and when this work has to be carried on by men representing different States divided one from the other geographically and by men of affairs who cannot give their time exclusively to this one matter, surely it becomes very easy to understand how delay occurs.

It may be that this process of reconciling views brings about an agreement, but it sometimes happens that the compromise so obtained proves to be unacceptable to other States which are also concerned, therefore making it necessary to adjust, modify, or amend the proposals made, or possibly to make a fresh start in arriving at the common action which we all desire. Not only, therefore, do these difficulties make delay inevitable, but they prove that, in order to accomplish the work, much perseverance and patience is required.

I do not think that anyone who has taken part in the work of the Preparatory Commission will really doubt the sincerity of the desire of that Commission and of all its members to accomplish the work entrusted to them. I entirely agree with what the German Chancellor said as to the regrettable delay — the disappointing slowness of the progress — but there is another aspect of the matter which must not be left out of account. Although it is quite true that the completion of the work has been held up by disagreement on one or two important points, nevertheless, let us remember that a very considerable measure of agreement has been reached, and it would be the greatest mistake in the world to assume that no progress has been made or that it is necessary to despair of a satisfactory result.

There is yet another aspect of this question of disarmament which I think also deserves some consideration. I can, of course, only speak for the

country that I represent, but similar claims might perhaps be made by other countries. Although the actual convention which we hope to sign dealing with disarmament has not yet been finally drafted and signed, a large measure of actual disarmament has taken place, and that is really the most important factor in the whole situation, because it is clear that if it were possible to arrive at a complete measure of international disarmament, each State acting upon its own authority and without common action, the main result at any rate, would be achieved.

I would like to be allowed, in support of this proposition, to give the Assembly one or two figures in illustration of my contention. Take, for example, the question of personnel in the British navy; let us compare January of the present year, not with the conclusion of the late War, but with July 1914, before the war broke out — which I think is a fairer comparison. We find that the reduction of personnel in the British navy in that period amounts to no less than 43,703 men.

When I remind you that, at this latter date, the total personnel of the Navy amounted to only about 102,000, you will see that a reduction of between 43,000 and 44,000 is a very considerable one.

The same proof is shown if I turn from personnel to tonnage. Here again I compare January of the present year with July 1914. I find that the number of British warships which have been scrapped amounts to 239, and the reduction of warship tonnage to 847,118 tons. Of course, if I were to compare to-day with the period immediately following the conclusion of peace, the reduction would appear very much larger. I should then be able to show that we have put on the scrap heap 1538 warships, and reduced the tonnage by no less than 2,139,516 tons.

I turn now to another aspect, and a very important one from the point of view of national armament. Since the war we have reduced the number of dockyard workers by more than 10,000 men. As regards the dockyard arsenals themselves, two have been closed altogether, and two others have been reduced from full commission to the mere status of care and maintenance.

I could show, if the occasion required it, by detailed figures, that there has been in Great Britain a large reduction not merely in the navy but in the other two fighting services, the army and the air service. I do not assert or pretend, of course, that what has been done in the way of reduction in all three services, drastic as it has been, fully satisfies the obligations under Article 8 of the Covenant, but I do most confidently claim that it goes a long way in that direction. What has been done shows how incorrect it would be to form the opinion or to promulgate the opinion that since the signing of the Covenant there has not been on the part of Great Britain, whatever may be the case elsewhere, a large, far-reaching reduction of armaments in the spirit of the League of Nations and the Covenant.

There is another aspect of disarmament on which, in passing, I should like to say a word. New conditions have been introduced by the new arms with which war has in recent times been fought and with which it would be fought again if the world were so unfortunate as to see another war. We are told by experts that the most terrible destruction and suffering that the world would undergo in any future war would arise from warfare in the air and from what is called chemical warfare. That fact imposes a very great and a new difficulty in the way of disarmament.

When weapons of war consisted of heavy artillery, of battleships, or submarines, or rifles, or whatever

it might be, you always knew where you were with them. These were weapons which everyone knew were meant for war and could be used for nothing else. But these new weapons, aircraft and lethal gases, are articles not merely used for war but for purposes of peaceful commerce and trade. Therefore we have this problem; with the old-fashioned weapons, it would not have been very difficult, if the world desired it, to restrict their production, and to insist upon full publicity with regard to them. We cannot, however, do that with the new weapons since, in view of their commercial use, far from being anxious to discourage their production, we are anxious to encourage it to the greatest possible extent. Everyone knows that the future commerce and transport of the world looks for the largest possible development by means of aircraft: and it must be the object of all progressive nations to encourage the production of those machines, although unfortunately they could be easily transformed, in time of war, into lethal weapons for fighting.

I have thought it right to touch upon these difficulties partly in justification of the Preparatory Commission and partly to reassure, if I may, those who were perhaps becoming discouraged by the absence of complete results from our work. Although that work is not complete, I can give the fullest possible assurance that it is the sincere desire of the British Government to carry out, in the letter and in the spirit, the obligations imposed by Article 8 of the Covenant. It is our earnest endeavour to find the ground for that common action which the article in question enjoins and it is for no other reason that we have earnestly striven for many months to reconcile our views with those of the French Government in regard to the principle underlying naval disarmament. After much patient effort and by the exercise of mutual concessions we have arrived at that compromise to which M. Briand made humorous reference yesterday. It must not be forgotten that when you are negotiating for agreement among a number of different States, as I have already pointed out, the only way to arrive at common action is by eliminating differences one by one. But, of course, we realise, as I have already indicated, that agreement between two among a number of partners can only, by the nature of things, have a provisional character; if that agreement should be so unfortunate as not to be accepted by others equally entitled to make their views known, it will of course be necessary to see whether that difference in turn can be reconciled by some modification or amendment of the compromise previously reached. If that should prove impossible, it will be necessary to start in search of a fresh basis of common action.

I feel confident, however, that agreement can be reached if only we could all show a little less distrust of each other, and if critics were less ready than they sometimes are to attribute to us hidden designs and ulterior motives of which we are entirely innocent and which never had any existence outside the imagination of the critics themselves.

In the great and eloquent oration delivered here yesterday by M. Briand there was no passage which I admired so much as that in which he spoke of the spirit of peace as the flower of the world which must not be allowed to wither or fade. But if that flower is to be kept fresh we must water it with our confidence — confidence, not merely in the ideals that we profess, but in the sincerity with which each of us is striving to attain them. What the world chiefly needs to-day, in my judgment, is to cast aside suspicion and distrust as between nation and nation, and not

merely to feel greater confidence in each other, but to display it; and I believe that this will be one of the results to be achieved by the great venture of faith which was entered upon in Paris a fortnight ago. I have very little doubt that this Treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy will thus give a very wholesome stimulus to the process of international disarmament.

But do not let us be discouraged or disappointed if we find that the full effect turns out to be neither immediate nor spectacular. It will not necessarily be of less value on that account, for rapid demonstrative action, if due to emotional impulse, often brings about reaction. There is an element in the British character which makes us shrink from expressing in exuberant language the ideals which nevertheless supply the motive power of our action, either as individuals or as a nation. I do not hesitate to say that I look upon the Paris Pact as an instrument that proclaims a new era and creates a new outlook. We may not be able immediately to observe this; human beings have to adjust themselves to a new environment, but the up-growing generation, assimilating the new *Zeitgeist*, will be nurtured on the idea that war, except in *bona fide* self-defence, is not a gallant adventure, but a national dishonour.

Armaments beyond what are requisite for national safety as prescribed by the Covenant will be recognised as a costly and discreditable anachronism. If this hope should be even partially realised, then assuredly this year, 1928, will be remembered as a notable land-mark in human history, for it will be the fulfilment of the dream of the most ancient visionaries of our race, who imagined an almost incredible golden age, when weapons of war would be beaten into implements of peace and war itself should cease among men. Throughout the long intervening ages never till today has man made any concerted and determined effort to translate into action the vision of the ancient seer. We are making it now. The Paris Pact, in complete harmony with the work of the League of Nations, is at once our proclamation of purpose and our testament to posterity. It is the faith of to-day and the hope of to-morrow.

Hitherto, it has been on conquerors and the great masters of the art of war that history has bestowed her most glittering decorations. Hereafter, a fresh scale of values will be called for. When this new page is turned we may be sure that we shall find the names of those who initiated the Paris Pact inscribed among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

The President :

Translation : His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi, first delegate of Persia, will address the Assembly.

His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (Persia) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I had not intended to take part this year in the discussion on the report on the work of the Council and the work of the Secretariat, as I had no special criticism to offer. Even if the year's work seems slight by comparison with the ideal we have in view, we have reason to be satisfied with the results obtained and to feel justified in our hopes for the future.

Previous speakers have very rightly pointed out that if we are over-critical, people will begin to lose heart. I was equally reluctant to indulge in extravagant praise of the work of the Council and

the Secretariat, whose whole aim it is to carry out their important duties without ever expecting congratulations. My intention not to speak has been changed, however, by your striking demonstration of friendship towards my country, this being in itself the outcome of the League's own spirit of equity and justice.

I desire to express the Persian delegation's appreciation of this signal mark of esteem, and to assure you that the confidence thus displayed by the Assembly will undoubtedly serve to confirm Persia and the adjoining countries in their faith in the League, encouraging them at the same time to co-operate even more closely in the work of peace and concord in which it is engaged.

But, even before this highly complimentary and encouraging mark of appreciation, Persia had already, in pursuing her own reforms, given ample proof of her intention to adhere to the principles laid down by the League. I shall return to this point in a few minutes, but first let me assure you that Persia is well aware that participation in the League's work, especially as a Member of the Council, must be regarded not only as an honour and a privilege, but also as imposing certain duties and responsibilities. My country is determined to carry out those duties conscientiously and to the very best of its ability, in the interests of humanity and in the pursuit of the League's ideals.

I desire now to state briefly my Government's views on some of the more important aspects of the League's activities. I need not enter into details; these can be reserved for the discussions in the Committees or in the Assembly.

Public opinion in Persia attaches the greatest importance to the League's work in the field of intellectual co-operation, and I feel sure that the Persian Government will continue to take growing interest in this question. For many years to come, we shall probably derive from the Committee and the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation benefits far greater than any we are able to confer. I hope, however, in view of the keen interest now taken in archaeology in our country, that with the resumption of excavations greater efforts will be made to discover, preserve and exhibit to the public the numerous remains of our ancient civilisation, which are of immense importance alike from the historical and from the artistic point of view.

We are convinced that the speedy and systematic codification of public international law will do much towards the maintenance of peace, by facilitating the pacific settlement of disputes. We therefore attach great importance to this branch of the League's work.

In the matter of disarmament, Persia warmly supports the efforts of the various organs of the League, for, with her present resources, she has no prospect of maintaining armed forces even remotely comparable with those of her neighbours or of other countries.

Any reduction in armaments would thus greatly lighten our task and would be hailed with joy. Moreover, convinced as we are that no reduction will be possible until the nations' feeling of security is such as to make large armies unnecessary, we welcome any attempt to increase this feeling of security.

The signature of the Paris Pact by a large number of States has created an excellent impression in Persia. We have every reason to believe that our Government will accede to it, although it will have to explain its views on certain reservations which were formulated in the correspondence exchanged prior to signature, and which might tend to diminish the efficacy of the Pact.

The League attaches great importance to the question of communications and freedom of transit

and I am glad to be able to inform you that my Government is engaged in the improvement of roads and the building of railways, and is sparing no effort to connect Persia with the various countries of Europe. A great deal has already been done in this direction. In the matter of transit, we have been able to obtain certain facilities from countries which had hitherto raised difficulties, and we hope to secure additional transit facilities, more particularly in Iraq and Syria.

I need hardly add that Persia's economic policy will continue to be based on the principle of freedom of transit, to which she has always adhered.

I am happy to inform you, further, that, since the last session of the Assembly, the Persian Government has made great progress in the solution of one of the humanitarian questions dealt with by the League, namely, the opium problem.

Despite the serious obstacles to which we referred last year a law establishing State monopoly of the opium trade has been passed by Parliament. The Persian Government will thus be able to exercise a much more effective control over cultivation and the traffic in opium. My colleagues will no doubt have an opportunity of giving you fuller details in the Fifth Committee.

My Government is particularly glad to report success this year in its efforts to improve its relations with other countries, so that Persia can now take her place in international life without prejudice to her position as an independent State. We have also been able to remove the obstacles in the way of tariff autonomy and have drawn up a Customs tariff based on the principles recommended by the League with a view to avoiding the imposition of prohibitive duties or discrimination between the various countries. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing my country's gratitude to the Powers which have shown their goodwill in facilitating this task.

Further, the Persian Government has abrogated the treaties conferring legal privileges on foreigners in Persia, which not only encroached upon the independence of the judicial system, but placed Persians in a position of inferiority in their own country. My Government's action was fully justified in view of Persia's sovereign rights, and was at the same time in the interests of the foreigners themselves, since this inequality of treatment had made them unpopular in Persia. Our action was, moreover, based on Article 19 of the League Covenant, which advises the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable.

In conclusion, I would add that Persia, when concluding new treaties, will bear in mind the League's recommendation that disputes between States should be settled by arbitration, and will insert a provision to this effect.

We have already concluded with our neighbours, in a spirit of peace and concord, treaties which will permit of our unrestricted economic development. These treaties, when ratified by the Persian Parliament, will be communicated to the League Secretariat for registration.

I must apologise for having taken up the Assembly's time, but I was anxious that you should realise my country's desire to apply the great principles of the League, and to co-operate wholeheartedly in all its activities.

The President :

Translation : His Excellency M. Villegas, first delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

M. Villegas (Chile) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should not venture to address you at this

late hour were it not that I desire to bring to your notice certain facts relating to the American continent which are, I think, deserving of your attention.

This year's discussion on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat has been marked by a sense of the realities of the situation and a spirit of frankness, and by the sobriety of the praise and the constructive nature of the criticism heard in connection with the League's activities. These have been pursued in the letter and the spirit of the Covenant, without undue precipitancy, but at the same time without undue delay.

If we compare the position of affairs as set forth in M. Procopé's inaugural speech and in the weighty report now under discussion with the situation as I described it in my opening address to the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly last year, it is clear that the League's work for peace, though slow, denotes steady progress, while many of the hopes I expressed on that occasion have now been realised.

I would mention first the return of Spain to the League. I rejoice to see this country once again a Member of the Council, with the right of re-eligibility, which the Assembly has just conferred upon her by a big majority. We also welcome the presence among us of a distinguished observer from the Argentine Republic, that great and friendly nation which has co-operated with us on so many occasions and whose co-operation may, we hope, become closer still.

The return of Costa Rica, which her Government's reply leads us to hope may not be long delayed, would also cause us the greatest satisfaction and this for two reasons — she is one of our sister Republics of the American continent, and her return would be the outcome of the Council's declaration in regard to certain points that affect the co-operation of Latin-American States with the League.

I was happy to hear the other day the authoritative statement of M. Motta, who emphasised the importance of Latin-American collaboration in the Assembly and Council and expressed the hope that those States which have not yet joined the League might be brought to take an active part in our work. I have much pleasure in endorsing M. Motta's words, for my country, which is a faithful supporter of the League and is on cordial terms with all the American States without exception, desires nothing better than to join forces with them in the interests of peace and international co-operation.

In this connection, I have great satisfaction in announcing to the Assembly that the Governments of Chile and Peru have renewed diplomatic relations, after an interval of eighteen years. The two nations are linked together by so many common ties and sacrifices that mutual understanding and co-operation must follow from the resumption of normal relations between them, and a final settlement of their old dispute will doubtless be found. I desire, as is only right, to pay a tribute to the President of the United States and to Mr. Kellogg, his Secretary of State, for their good offices in bringing about this happy state of affairs. The ground had been prepared in advance by the Governments and by public opinion in both countries, which had already given evidence of a firm desire for peace and a conciliatory spirit such as we look to find in all Members of the League.

As M. Motta said, the Latin-American States which are Members of the League belong, like all the American Republics, to the Pan-American Union, and I personally do not think that there

can ever be any antagonism between the two institutions.

It must not be forgotten that the Pan-American Union has no political functions or powers, and I doubt whether it ever will have any. Its sphere of action, as defined at the last Conference, does not extend beyond the promotion of economic, social and cultural relations between the American States, whose moral union rests, as stated in the words of the preamble to the Convention adopted at Havana "on the juridical equality of the republics of the Continent and on the mutual respect of the rights inherent in their complete independence".

This in no wise diminishes the value of these periodical conferences between the American States, which, among other important international instruments, have drawn up the Gondra Pact, so often quoted in this Assembly, conventions on intellectual property, on trade marks, and more recently, on the principles of private international law, commercial aviation, maritime neutrality and other matters. The point I wish to emphasise is that, in our view, there can be no question of antagonism or rivalry between the Pan-American Union and this great international association of which we are also members. On the contrary, the Conference's efforts in the interests of American solidarity are calculated very materially to assist the League in its work of peace and systematic international co-operation.

It is too late for me to review in detail the separate branches of the League's work, in which my country has taken a very close interest during the last few years, but I should like to mention the highly satisfactory results achieved in two of them: I refer to the work done in the political and in the economic spheres.

Chile has always co-operated closely in the study of the problem of the limitation of armaments, a problem intimately connected with that of security, and we are gratified to note the results obtained by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. As the Chilean representative on that Committee pointed out, the model draft treaties, by their very

diversity, make allowance for the varying conceptions of this problem and for particular situations which have to be taken into account in different parts of the world. Emphasis was laid on conciliation procedure, a point specially recommended by our delegate when the treaties were being framed. I sincerely trust that the examination of these proposals by the Assembly Committee will result in some practical means being found for their successful application.

I attach great importance to the League's achievements in the economic sphere, and would mention in particular the two Conferences for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions. The undertakings entered into at those Conferences mark the first stage in the removal of barriers to world trade and will ensure a more equitable distribution of raw materials and commodities.

The Chilean Government, in a declaration made at the moment of signing the Convention, stated its views as to the interpretation of certain articles of the Convention in the light of the general principles underlying this important international instrument.

The League, after the first spell of exaltation following on the post-war wave of despair, after its first uncertain wanderings on the path where dreams and realities meet, has now undoubtedly entered upon the broad road of progress and is advancing towards the practical realisation of its founders' hopes, spurred on by the faith of its Members. Chile will follow faithfully where it leads.

The President :

Translation : As no one else has asked to speak, the general discussion on the report to the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the work of the Council, on the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly, is now closed.

The Assembly rose at 1.30 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THIRTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

57. — PLAN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN THE REPUBLIC OF ERIVAN : COMMUNICATION FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : Gentlemen — Before beginning to-day's agenda, I have a communication to make to the Assembly.

I have received from the Secretary-General of the League the following letter, dated September 17th, 1928 :

"The Council of the League of Nations has instructed me to inform you that it decided at its meeting to-day to refer to the Assembly the question of the settlement of Armenian Refugees in the Republic of Erivan.

"In accordance with the Council's instructions, the Minutes of the discussion on this question will be communicated to the Assembly as soon as possible.

(Signed) ERIC DRUMMOND."

The Council proposes that the Assembly should include the question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan in the agenda of the present session.

In order to prevent loss of time, and since the Assembly, I think, would wish to expedite the procedure, I venture to make the following proposal. The Agenda Committee will be asked to meet at once in the President's room behind the platform. It will examine the Council's proposal and draw up its report without delay, so that its recommendations can be submitted to the Assembly before the close of the present meeting.

If the Assembly approves my suggestion, I shall consider it adopted. (*Adopted.*)

In view of the decision of the Assembly I will ask the Chairman of the Agenda Committee to convene the Committee immediately.

58. — FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO STATES VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Third Committee on financial assistance to States victims of aggression (Annex 3, document A.60.1928.IX).

Now that we are about to deal with the reports of Committees I should like to remind the delegations of the practice followed at previous sessions of the Assembly.

The Rapporteurs of the Committees do not as a rule read their reports in full, as the text has been printed and distributed to the delegations previously. They confine themselves to a summary, adding such observations as they may think fit on any points, specially deserving of attention. The draft resolutions, however, are read in full.

If there are no objections, I shall request the Rapporteurs to conform to this custom. (*Assent.*)

(*On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.*)

The President :

Translation : M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Rolin-Jaequemyns (Belgium), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—I have the honour to lay before you the Third Committee's report and recommendations on the question of financial assistance to States victims of aggression.

In accordance with the President's instructions, I do not propose to read the report, but I feel that I ought to call your attention to the special nature of the question under discussion.

You are not asked to approve a draft convention, but merely to give to the Financial Committee, which has been collaborating with the Committee on Arbitration and Security, the instructions necessary for the framing of that convention. Certain principles should be laid down for the guidance of the Financial Committee, which has asked for information on the following points :

(1) Should the scheme for financial assistance be embodied in a special convention, or incorporated in the body of the agreements to be reached in connection with the reduction of armaments ?

(2) Should it be held that the scheme for financial assistance would apply not only in the case of war in the strict sense of the term, but also in the case of threat of war referred to in Article 11 of the Covenant ?

(3) In order that the financial assistance should become operative, would a Council decision be sufficient or would the approval of each signatory be necessary in each case—as laid down in Article 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant, which provides that a Member of the League shall be invited to send a representative when the Council is taking a decision

in regard to matters specially affecting the interests of the State in question.

The Third Committee was of opinion that the scheme for financial assistance should now be drafted in the form of a special convention, it being understood that the latter would come within the framework of the League's peace and disarmament programme, upon which we are at present engaged.

Further, the Third Committee agreed with the Committee on Arbitration and Security that financial assistance should be provided for, not only in the case of war in the strict sense of the term; but also in the case of threat of war, and several Members expressed the view that financial assistance might perhaps prove more effective in preventing bloodshed in the case of a mere threat of war than when war had already broken out.

As regards the third point, the Committee expressed the following opinion :

" We are not called upon at present to accept any specific convention but are simply asked to give instructions and directions for the drafting of such a Convention, and the Third Committee accordingly agrees with the Financial Committee that on general principles the Council's decision should be considered sufficient in principle. If all the guarantor States were asked to vote in every case, the convention would become inoperative in practice as it would take far too long to obtain all the votes. "

Again from the legal standpoint the Third Committee considered that there was nothing to prevent States renouncing their right, under Article 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant, to be represented during the consideration of matters specially affecting their interests. The renunciation of the exercise of this right in any particular case would not be inconsistent with public international law.

These were the points concerning which the Financial Committee wished to be given instructions. I have submitted the Third Committee's opinion which is in agreement with that of the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

In these circumstances the Third Committee has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

The Assembly :

(1) Expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security and the Financial Committee in connection with the scheme for financial assistance ;

(2) Requests the Council to invite the Financial Committee to continue the preparation of this scheme in the form of a draft Convention, bearing in mind the directions given in the report submitted to the Assembly at its ninth ordinary session on behalf of its Third Committee ;

(3) Expresses the hope that a full draft Convention, complete in all its details, may be submitted to the Assembly at its tenth ordinary session ;

(4) Invites the Secretary-General to submit the draft Convention as soon as it is prepared to the Governments in order that they may give instructions to their delegates at the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly.

In conclusion, I desire to inform you that the Third Committee, like the other Committees which have examined the question, regards it as most important that this proposal should be adopted by the Assembly.

It is also of opinion, and several members have asked me to lay particular stress on this point, that to produce its full effect the draft Convention

should provide not only for the case of war but also for that of threat of war.

The Assembly, however, will have an opportunity of deciding this when the draft Convention has been prepared according to its instructions and is laid before it at a future session.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak I shall consider the resolution of the Third Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

59. — WORK OF THE CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fifth Committee on child welfare (Annex 4, document A.54.1928.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Matos, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Senator Dandurand, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Mr. Dandurand, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Dandurand (Canada), Rapporteur, read his report and the following resolution :

The Assembly notes the report submitted by the Child Welfare Committee, thanks it for the work it is doing and requests it to go forward along the lines described in the report on its fourth session.

The Assembly, remembering that, at its first session in 1925, and at all its later sessions, the Child Welfare Committee has made a study of the various factors involved in the question of the cinematograph in relation to children, is glad to see that the Committee will be represented by at least one member on the Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. It requests the Child Welfare Committee to keep in close touch with the Institute.

The Assembly attaches particular importance to the work undertaken by the Child Welfare Committee's Legal Sub-Committee in connection with the preparation of :

(1) *A preliminary draft convention for the repatriation of minors who have escaped from the authority of their parents or guardians ;*

(2) *A preliminary draft convention for the relief of minors of foreign nationality. This draft would be in the nature of a model scheme, with a view to facilitating subsequent work on the question and for application between interested countries.*

(3) *A preliminary draft convention on the execution of judgments relating to maintenance payable on behalf of children by persons responsible for their support who have deserted them and gone abroad.*

The Assembly invites the Child Welfare Committee diligently to pursue its efforts in this direction.

The President :

Translation : Count Carton de Wiart, delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.

Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — My purpose in asking you to allow me to address you for a few moments on the subject of this report is not to discuss the conclusions just put before us by our eminent colleague, the delegate for Canada, still less to criticise them. I desire, on the contrary, to support those conclusions and to state on behalf of the Child Welfare Committee, of which I have been a member from the beginning, how grateful the Committee will be to the Assembly for any encouragement it may offer and for the guidance it has given it in its work.

Those who for the last five years have been associated with the Child Welfare Committee, realise the wisdom of the League in setting up this permanent body for the moral, social and material welfare of children, and in inviting to its discussions Government representatives and representatives of the big associations founded in both hemispheres to deal with this grave problem, upon which the future of the human race depends.

We are witnessing a miracle, a miracle that sometimes happens in every day life ; people may meet in a railway carriage or tramcar and take no notice of one another, may even eye one another askance. But directly a child appears, their expression softens, the ice is broken and they begin to talk. This is just what happened in the Child Welfare Committee, and every year the effect becomes more noticeable. The experience thus acquired has enabled us, as you may see from the conclusions now before you, gradually to narrow the wide field of action originally contemplated. It has been realised that there is no need for us to interfere in any way with national activities, that certain matters are the primary concern of the individual States, though there do exist other questions relating to child welfare which call, sometimes imperatively, for international agreements.

In this connection the report, I am glad to see, refers specially to the work accomplished in connection with the drawing-up of an international convention for the repatriation of minors who have escaped from the authority of their parents or guardians. Such cases are very frequent — more frequent than people realise. Children may escape from the authority of the children's courts or of their parents or guardians and go abroad, and at the present time the only way of getting them back is by means of diplomatic negotiations, though even then the practical difficulties are often insurmountable.

That is one of the practical results — and a most useful piece of work it is — of the League's initiative in setting up the Child Welfare Committee.

Another advantage of having this Committee is that it is able to direct the attention of Governments to certain problems which formerly passed unnoticed. For example, we have urged that the age of marriage and the age of consent in the various countries should be made to coincide as far as possible, absolute uniformity being impracticable in view of the diversity of customs and climatic and ethnographical considerations. Everyone realises the bearing this new problem may have upon that other vast problem, the traffic in women.

Then there are institutions such as children's courts, and various schemes — for instance, the system of family allowances, which has grown up in many countries since the war, France being the first to adopt it, — and other forms of provision for child welfare. All these want supporting, and the periodical meetings of the Child Welfare Committee, at which Government representatives and the representatives of all the big international

associations are present together, afford an excellent opportunity of discussing such problems and really getting down to them.

It only remains for me now, first to say that if you adopt the conclusions of the present report the Child Welfare Committee will be grateful to you, in view of the authority attaching to your decision; further, and more important still, I have to express our grateful thanks to the League for setting up that Committee in the interests of all unhappy and destitute children, whoever they may be. For are we not all responsible to posterity, according to our powers, for the generation that is growing up around us? These helpless little ones will be what we choose to make them, and their ruin or prosperity will be our punishment or our reward.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution of the Fifth Committee adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

60. — WORK OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN COMMITTEE: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fifth Committee on the work of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee (Annex 5, document A.53.1928.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Matos, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Madame Tilma Hainari, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Madame Tilma Hainari, delegate of Finland, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Madame Tilma Hainari (Finland), Rapporteur, read the report of the Fifth Committee and the following draft resolutions :

" I. The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, thanks the Committee for the good work it has accomplished, and expresses the hope that this work will be continued along the same lines.

" II. The Assembly takes note of the second part of the report of the Special Body of Experts, published in November 1927, and expresses its appreciation of the work done by the Experts and their co-workers. It expresses the hope that it will be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation has taken place before.

" III. The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the Committee has examined the resolution passed by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session as to ' the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of licensed houses', and it supports the Committee's request that ' the Governments of all those countries which still retain the licensed-house system will investigate the question as soon as possible in the light of the report made by the Special Body of Experts'.

" IV. The Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure."

The President :

Translation : Mrs. McDonnell, delegate of Australia, will address the Assembly.

Mrs. McDonnell (Australia) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to thank the Rapporteur, Mme Hainari, for her interesting report on the work of the Fifth Committee with regard to the traffic in women and children. I should like to refer to the fourth resolution before us — that is, that the Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure.

On the suggestion of some members of the Fifth Committee, and as a concrete instance of the great value of the employment of women police, I should like, with your permission, to give you a short sketch of the work of women police in South Australia — I speak only for South Australia — work with which I, as a Justice of the Peace, am constantly in touch and which I know to be of great value.

The corps of women police was formed during the war when the need for preventive work was particularly great. The Police Commissioner and the Government have always recognised its value. The head of the department is a woman responsible directly to the Chief Commissioner of Police. The women police are duly sworn-in constables, having the full powers of men constables, and equal pay. They work the same hours as the men, and are called upon to perform many of the same duties; but their work is confined to women and girls. Part of their duties is to search women, girls and children. They do escort duty and interview and receive complaints from women and children.

The women police patrol all the city streets and public parks and beaches. Girls who have run away and missing women are sought after, found, and befriended. The women police visit music-halls, picture palaces and café concerts; they work in close co-operation with the passport authorities, and enquiries in this connection are frequently made by them. They watch all advertisements which might be intended for immoral purposes and make enquiries if the agent is at all doubtful; this work bears particularly on that of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee. The women police take care always of neglected children, and when necessary bring their cases to court. As a whole, their work is preventive and reformatory. Arrests are only made in extreme cases.

As regards the result of the preventive work it is only necessary to say that during the last ten years, in spite of the great increase in the population and the increase in the number of crimes committed by men, there has been no corresponding increase in crime by girls and women in South Australia. Every social worker of standing will testify that this is largely due to the work of the women police.

The women police do not wear uniform, but merely a badge which they wear in an inconspicuous place, and they are absolutely convinced that they can do better work in plain clothes for the following reasons :

(a) They feel that in this way they can approach a girl as a woman and a friend, not as an official of whom she would immediately be afraid and with whom she would therefore be on the defensive. They can more easily create the right atmosphere for good influence without resort to authority or force,

although of course, if necessary, their badge enables them to use either.

(b) They are able to keep a better watch on undesirable persons. For instance, a man of loose character may be bestowing unwelcome attentions on a girl or persuading her to go for a motor joy-ride. He would not do so in the presence of a uniformed officer, but would do it elsewhere or wait until the officer had gone. Again, the knowledge that women police may be about, though they cannot be distinguished, makes undesirables of either sex chary of committing improprieties in public places.

Women police in South Australia are being employed in an industrial centre and amongst a shipping community, and have never been subjected to insult or molestation. They go about alone and would greatly deprecate being accompanied by a male officer — firstly, because the woman would not feel free to follow her own plan of action if she knew that she was taking the time of a male officer who would not place the same value upon the preventive and educational aspect of the work that she felt to be necessary, for example, in talking to a young child or in warning a youth or a girl. Moreover, the administrative authorities would say, perhaps with some reason, that two salaries were being paid for one piece of work.

I might say, in conclusion, that the success of women police largely depends on obtaining the right type of women. They need to be educated, with a broad and tolerant outlook, and experienced and interested in social welfare work.

I know that opinion is divided on the question of uniform versus non-uniform for women police, and it may be that what is suitable in Australia may not be so in other countries, although I noticed with interest in the Minutes of the seventh session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee that Mlle Erkens, the Inspector of Women Police in Germany, was using plain clothes women police, and I have heard from other sources that they are doing excellent work.

As the South Australian system has worked with such outstanding success that it has actually served as a model for other places, it was thought it might be of value to describe it here.

The President :

Translation : Lord Cushendun, delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

Lord Cushendun (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to make one or two short observations on this discussion for two reasons. First of all, I desire to emphasise what I consider to be the immense importance of this report of the Fifth Committee and of the subject with which it deals. Secondly, seeing that the Rapporteur on this matter is a lady, and that the only other speaker who has hitherto addressed the Assembly has been a lady, I desire to emphasise as strongly as possible that in my view this is not a matter which concerns women any more than it concerns men. I think that the whole subject discussed in this report is one which the men, as well as the women, who are interested in the work of the League of Nations ought to take into serious consideration, and to which they ought to give the strongest possible support.

There are just two points in this report which I think are of special significance. In the first place, we are told that after a careful study by experts of the question relating to the licensed-house system, a unanimous opinion has been given against that system. I feel sure that, in the face

of such a recommendation, the Governments concerned will feel it a duty not to leave the matter any longer where it rests at present. The second point of significance is this. In the report I read that :

“The Fifth Committee agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the necessity of adopting stricter measures against *souleneurs* in order to put a stop to their operations, which are among the main causes of the traffic in women.”

I want to give the strongest possible support to that recommendation on behalf of the British delegation and of the British Government. Whatever excuses some people may find it necessary to make for human frailty which produces vices of a sexual character, no decent man and no decent woman can have any excuse to make, or any tolerance to extend to those who, for the sake of a money consideration for themselves, stimulate the vices of others and try to promote the temptation which leads to those vices. I think that if there is any objection to be raised against the recommendation which I have read, it is that it is couched in too moderate language — “the necessity of adopting stricter measures”. I think that the people who are referred to in that sentence deserve no mercy, and that every Government should carefully consider whether the laws which they administer are sufficiently stringent to prevent these persons, who are the curse of mankind, from carrying on their nefarious operations. I think that in many countries it will probably be found that the penalties for conviction of offences of this sort are far less drastic, far less severe than public opinion would gladly support.

With regard to women police, about whom the honourable delegate for Australia has given us an interesting account, I recall with satisfaction and some pride that I was among the first to support, in the British House of Commons, the proposal to employ women police, at a time when that proposal was so novel in character that it was somewhat difficult to persuade people to take it seriously. I am quite sure that after the experience we have had in England of women police we are not likely to go back on it. On the contrary, experience has proved that the employment of women police is so valuable that public opinion in my country would, I am sure, gladly support an extension of that system and a strengthening of the too small force of women police which we employ at present.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the draft resolutions of the Fifth Committee which read as follows :

I. *The Assembly takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, thanks the Committee for the good work it has accomplished, and expresses the hope that this work will be continued along the same lines.*

II. *The Assembly takes note of the second part of the report of the Special Body of Experts, published in November 1927, and expresses its appreciation of the splendid work done by the Experts and their co-workers. It expresses the hope that it will be possible to extend the investigations to countries where no investigation has taken place before.*

III. *The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the Committee has examined the resolution passed by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary*

session as to "the desirability of recommending to all Governments the abolition of licensed houses", and it supports the Committee's request that "the Governments of all those countries which still retain the licensed-house system will investigate the question as soon as possible in the light of the report made by the Special Body of Experts."

IV. The Assembly desires to call attention to the great importance of the employment of women police as a preventive measure.

The resolutions were adopted.

61. — WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Health Organisation (Annex 6, document A.57(1).1928.III).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman of the Second Committee and Mr. O'Sullivan, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Mr. O'Sullivan, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Mr. O'Sullivan (Irish Free State), Rapporteur, read the report of the Second Committee and spoke as follows :

Before reading the draft resolution proposed by the Second Committee, I should like to make a few remarks.

The last paragraph of the report before you contains an appreciation of the work and the methods of the Health Organisation. The report also contains a summarised account of the whole of the work of the Organisation. From this the Assembly can form some idea of the extent of the work done by the Organisation, and can judge of its utility.

I should like to direct attention to two points, which I mention merely as illustrating the method adopted by the Organisation in its work and the gradual extension of that work. I refer, in the first place, to the friendly and extremely useful relations that exist between the various national bodies and the Health Organisation. It is on the efficacy and cordiality of these relations that the success of the Health Organisation depends.

The Health Organisation is to be warmly congratulated, I think, in that it constantly bears this in mind, and is careful never to overstep the limits it has set itself in this respect. It is also to be congratulated on the success that has attended its efforts gradually to marshal all the different national and international institutions in the common work of public health.

The second matter to which I wish to direct your attention is the valuable innovation that has been made this year by the Organisation in undertaking the very difficult investigation into the complicated question of rural hygiene, a matter which hitherto has been altogether too much neglected by the various national bodies. A cursory examination of the mortality figures of different countries will show the importance of this work, and I think we should bear in mind that, in the future, the Health Organisation intends to give a great deal of attention to this type of work.

I have the honour, therefore, to propose the adoption of the following draft resolution :

The Assembly :

Having taken note of the reports (documents A.6.1928 and A.6(a).1928) dealing with the work of the Health Organisation of the League during the past year,

Is gratified at these evidences of its increasing utility as an agency for the promotion of international collaboration in matters affecting the public health ;

Expresses its appreciation to all the health administrations of the various Governments which have generously collaborated with the Health Organisation in the different branches of its work ;

Records its gratitude for the services rendered by the members and experts of all the commissions and conferences of the Health Organisation, as well as the specialists and experts who have carried out individual missions ;

Approves the work accomplished by the Health Organisation since the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, and congratulates it on the increasing success of its far-sighted policy of practical collaboration with extra-European countries.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution of the Second Committee adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

62. — SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES AND GREEK STABILISATION LOAN: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Second Committee on the settlement of Greek refugees and the Greek stabilisation loan. (Annex 7, document A.58.1928.II.).

(On the invitation of the President, M. François, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. François, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. François (Netherlands), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — As M. Heldring, who was Rapporteur to the Second Committee of the Assembly on the settlement of Greek refugees and the Greek stabilisation loan, has now left Geneva, I have the honour on behalf of the Second Committee to submit to the Assembly the report on these two questions. The report has been printed and distributed, so that I do not propose to read it in full, but shall confine myself to making a few observations.

The Second Committee realises the financial and economic importance of Greek refugee settlement and the magnitude of the work which has already been accomplished. Nevertheless, much still remains to be done, both for the urban population, whose settlement is a problem not yet completely solved, and for the agricultural

population, whose equipment could in some cases be supplemented so as to enable it to become self-supporting.

As regards financial stabilisation, the Second Committee notes with great satisfaction that the loan was successfully floated and that nothing has occurred to hinder the operation of stabilisation.

I have the honour to propose the following resolution on behalf of the Second Committee :

The Assembly :

Congratulates the Refugee Settlement Commission on the excellent results so far obtained, and trusts that the work which remains to be done may be carried out in the same satisfactory manner ; Expresses its satisfaction at the success of financial stabilisation in Greece and the work of the Financial Committee in this connection. .

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution of the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

63. — SLAVERY CONVENTION : REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Sixth Committee on the Slavery Convention. (Annex 8, document A.62.1928.VI),

(On the invitation of the President, M. Marin-kovitch, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and the Rt. Hon. Godfrey Locker-Lampson, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform).

The President :

Translation : Mr. Locker-Lampson, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

The Rt. Hon. Godfrey Locker-Lampson (British Empire), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Sixth Committee, has done me the honour of appointing me its Rapporteur to the Assembly on the question of Slavery and I venture to preface my report with a very few remarks.

After the war it was generally believed that slavery and the slave trade had died out. Unfortunately, this was a misapprehension and, in proposing to the third ordinary session of the Assembly that the League of Nations should deal with this problem, my friend, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, then acting as a delegate for New Zealand, expressed the horror and dismay felt in all civilised countries at the existence of this most odious of human institutions.

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland's proposal and the subsequent energetic work of Lord Cecil resulted in the Convention of 1926 which has, I believe, given a great impetus to the complete eradication of this great evil. When the Covenant was drafted it was generally thought that slavery and the slave trade had well-nigh ceased and I assume that it was for this reason that no specific mention of it was made therein. As soon, however, as the representatives of States Members of the League perceived that this blot on our civilisation had not been eliminated they did not hesitate to take the necessary international action. I submit that this is an excellent example of the tasks which

are undertaken by the League and pursued unobtrusively, and that it is one which will not be laid down until slavery and conditions analogous thereto are unknown from the mountains of Africa to the plains of Asia.

The report of the Sixth Committee is very short and therefore if I am allowed to do so I should like to read it as it is already in a summarised form.

Mr. Locker-Lampson then read his report and the following draft resolution :

The Assembly notes the report of the Council regarding slavery (documents A.24.1928.VI and A.24(a).1928.VI) containing communications from the Governments of Great Britain, India, Italy and the Sudan and also notes a list submitted by the Abyssinian delegation.

The Assembly hopes that no effort will be spared to furnish similar information in the future, as it is of considerable interest and utility to the States Members of the League.

The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the number of ratifications and accessions to the Convention of September 25th, 1926, has appreciably increased since its last session, and expresses the hope that all countries affected by this question will ratify or accede to the Convention in the immediate future.

The President :

Translation : As no one has asked to speak, I shall regard the resolution as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

64. — MANDATES : REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on mandates submitted to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee (Annex 9, document A.61.1928.VI).

(On the invitation of the President, Count de Penha Garcia, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform).

The President :

Translation : Count de Penha Garcia, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Count de Penha Garcia (Portugal), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to submit to you the Sixth Committee's report on mandates. The conclusions of this report are both favourable and reassuring. The delicate machinery set up under the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant is working in a manner greatly to the credit of the League.

Thanks to the spirit of co-operation exhibited by the various organs responsible for the application of the mandates system, the work of perfecting the system is now in process of achievement. The Sixth Committee's report makes this abundantly clear and a tribute is due to the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Council and the mandatory Powers.

I should like to emphasise the function and importance of the Assembly as the intermediary of the States and of public opinion in all questions relating to mandates.

Count de Penha Garcia then read his report and the following draft resolution :

The Assembly :

Having taken note of the work accomplished by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in execution of Article 22 of the Covenant ;

Desires to convey to them its admiration for their continued efforts and for the spirit of co-operation which has characterised their work ; and

Trusts that this will always continue to be the case.

The Assembly :

(a) Expresses the hope that [the Permanent Mandates Commission's work on the question of the application of the principle of economic equality will be actively pursued, and that the mandatory Powers will supply all the information requested ;

(b) Hopes that the study of the question of the liquor traffic will, with the help of the mandatory Powers, lead to effective results ;

(c) Expresses the opinion that it is desirable that the mandatory Powers should furnish and keep up to date all the particulars necessary to complete the statistical tables already compiled by the Secretariat.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

65. — PLAN FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN THE REPUBLIC OF ERIVAN : REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE: REFERENCE TO THE SIXTH COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly will remember that this morning the question submitted by the Council concerning Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan was referred to the Agenda Committee.

I should like to thank the Committee for responding so promptly to our request. Thanks to its despatch, I am now in a position to communicate its report which is as follows :

“ The Agenda Committee met on September 18th, 1928, with Dr. Ramon Caballero in the chair. It examined the resolution of September 17th, 1928, by which the Council decided to submit to the Assembly for examination the question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan.

“ The Agenda Committee, having submitted this question to a preliminary examination, decided to propose that the Assembly should include it in the agenda of the present session, and refer it to the Sixth Committee. ”

The Committee proposes then that the question of the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan be placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly and be referred for preliminary examination to the Sixth Committee.

If there is no objection, I shall consider the Agenda Committee's proposals accepted by the Assembly. The question is accordingly placed on the agenda of the present session and will be referred to the Sixth Committee for preliminary examination.

This proposal was adopted.

The Assembly rose at 12.35 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FOURTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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66. — CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF NEW BUILDINGS FOR THE USE OF THE SECRETARIAT AND OF A LIBRARY : PROPOSAL BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

Translation : Before beginning the agenda, I have a communication to make to the Assembly on behalf of the General Committee.

At its meeting on September 3rd, 1928, the Assembly decided that certain items on the agenda of the present session should be referred to the General Committee for preliminary examination. Amongst these items was No. 9 : "Construction of an Assembly Hall, of new buildings for the use of the Secretariat, and of a library : report of the Committee of Five appointed to select a plan".

The Assembly, in accordance with my proposal, requested the General Committee to submit suggestions as to the procedure to be followed for the examination of this item.

Owing to circumstances, the Committee of Five has not yet been able to submit a final report to the Assembly, and the General Committee accordingly thought it inexpedient to take a decision on the procedure to be followed. In order, however, to prevent any loss of time, the General Committee, having learnt that the Committee of Five would shortly be presenting its report to the Assembly, decided at its meeting on September 19th, to

propose that this report should be referred to the Fourth Committee directly it was received.

The General Committee proposes, then, that the report of the Committee of Five be referred without further formality to the Fourth Committee for preliminary examination before being submitted to the Assembly.

I may add that there is no need to refer it to the Agenda Committee, as the item in question is included in the original agenda of the Assembly.

If there is no objection, I shall consider this procedure adopted. (*Adopted.*)

67. — QUESTION OF THE REVISION OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE : REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the First Committee on the question of the revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice (Annex 10, document A.59.1928.V).

(*On the invitation of the President, M. Erich, Vice-Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Cassin, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.*)

The President :

Translation : M. Cassin, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Cassin (France), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Twenty-four delegations, including the French delegation, submitted to the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations a draft resolution with a view to drawing the Council's attention to the advisability of submitting to the next ordinary session of the Assembly proposals for the revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable before the general renewal of the terms of office of the members of the Permanent Court.

The First Committee, to which this draft resolution was referred, unanimously appreciated the prudence and foresight underlying the proposal. Neither France nor any of the other Powers signatories to the Statute of the Court would have dreamt for an instant of taking any step inconsistent with the profoundest respect for the authority of the Court. That institution is unique in that it is the first judicial body ever constituted for the settlement of inter-State disputes, with judges appointed in advance and the machinery and procedure of a regular tribunal.

France, moreover, could never have supported any measure implying disrespect in regard to the Statute of the Court at the very time when the election of Mr. Moore's successor has shown how easily and smoothly the Statute works, and when the President of the Assembly has just paid such a warm tribute to the memory of M. André Weiss, who had acted as Vice-President of the International Court since its creation. It was my privilege to be a pupil of M. Weiss, who was not only an enthusiastic student and teacher of law but also served the cause of law and administered justice with absolute impartiality.

In full agreement with the authors of the resolution, the First Committee now has the honour to submit to the Assembly a draft resolution. The text of this has already been distributed to the delegations, so that it only remains for me to say a few words as to the expediency of the resolution and its contents, and the procedure contemplated for the re-examination of the Statute of the Court.

First, as regards its expediency, the Council, as you are aware, was empowered under Article 14 of the Covenant to prepare the Statute of the Permanent Court and submit it to the Members of the Assembly, by whom it was adopted on December 13th, 1920.

A Protocol was subsequently drawn up and left open for signature and ratification, and in virtue of this Protocol, the Statute, which was annexed to it, became a regular international treaty.

Since then the Statute, which had been very carefully prepared, has not been amended in the slightest particular — unlike the Rules of Court, which were revised in 1926.

We have now reached the year 1928, and the Permanent Court of International Justice has been established for several years. It has given a number of judgments; it has given weighty advisory opinions on a great variety of questions concerning many different nations. Its scope of action, at first small, has gradually been extended, and the number of cases submitted to it is on the increase. In other words, the Statute of the Court, taken as a whole, has proved its usefulness, but it is now being subjected to effective and repeated tests.

Now, after eight years have elapsed, the First Committee was unanimously of the opinion that it would be useful to do as regards the Statute just what the Court itself has already done as regards its Rules, namely, to consider carefully, dispassionately and with infinite caution whether it may not be expedient to modify or amend certain of the sixty-four Articles of which the Statute is composed.

An examination appears all the more expedient because, in 1930, it will be necessary to renew the term of office of the members of the Court. It would be undesirable for any examination of the Statute to coincide with that event and still more undesirable that it should take place immediately after the elections.

In the interests of the States entitled to appear before the Court, and in order to avoid any suggestion of personal issues, the Committee thought it desirable, and the Assembly will doubtless share its view, to propose that the Statute of the Court should be examined in 1929, so that any amendments deemed advisable may be adopted before the 1930 elections.

As regards the resolution itself, you will notice that neither in it nor in the original proposal is there the slightest suggestion of any amendment or modification in regard to the substance of the procedures of international law. This was intentional, and the omission is due first to natural consideration for the prestige of the Court and a desire to avoid the slightest suggestion of criticism in regard to an institution which the present generation, the peoples who have suffered from the war and its effects, regard as the highest expression of their faith in the establishment of the reign of justice on earth.

The stability of the judicial system is considered by any society which has acquired the status of a nation to be the soundest of guarantees for all whom the law may touch. The fact that the League is a recent creation, a rapidly growing

institution, does not call for any very different rules. The essential thing is that the States should have confidence in a judicial tribunal which has been evolved after long tentative efforts, that we should establish sound bases for international jurisprudence, which, like any other system of jurisprudence, should have continuity.

It is all the more important not to interfere with the framework of an established institution in that a large number of States have already concluded treaties agreeing beforehand to submit their international disputes to the jurisdiction of the Court, or treaties which are actually based on the Statute of the Court.

Accordingly, there can be no question of anything that might indirectly affect the execution of such agreements. Moreover, one State which is a signatory to the 1920 Protocol has left the League — though only temporarily, let us hope.

Other important States are not Members either of the League or of the Permanent Court, and everything must be done to permit of their acceding at all events to the latter. In any case, we must take care not to do anything that might endanger the results of past efforts, anything that might mean a set-back after the progress we have made since the 1926 Conference.

There is a further purpose in the cautious wording of the resolution, and that is — to prevent an extempore debate on suggestions which would undoubtedly have come pouring in and which it would have been a delicate matter to discuss.

Amendments designed to facilitate the work of the Court and to improve the conditions governing that work would first have to be recognised as necessary, but even so they would still require unanimous agreement, and would then have to be put into force without loss of time. This would never be feasible if we were to start discussing fundamental points or rashly venture to tamper with the essential features of the Court.

Accordingly, the Committee agreed unanimously in the first place that it could not interfere in any way in the question of the Rules of Court. That is a matter for the Court itself, and as a large number — in fact, practically all — of the Rules relate to procedure, they obviously cannot be affected by any examination of the Statute.

Again, in view of the intentionally restricted scope of the French proposal, as defined by M. Fromageot and the delegates of other nations, we could not accept the proposal submitted by Professor Pella, the Roumanian delegate, with the object of conferring on the Permanent Court certain powers in penal matters. Professor Pella's suggestions covered a number of important new points, such as international penal responsibility in the case of offences by individuals against public order and international morality. They also dealt with the settlement by the Court of disputes between States relating to judicial competence and criminal law, and, lastly, the repression of crimes and offences under common law, which in some cases cannot be referred to any existing national court, either because the scene of the crime is unknown or because there is a conflict of views as to sovereignty over the territory in which it was committed.

The Committee fully realised the importance of these questions of competence. It was of opinion however, that it could not itself examine them thoroughly or even suggest to the Assembly that their examination should be appended to the rest of the proposal concerning the Statute of the Court.

The present proposal is too restricted for this, and as the penal problem raised by our distinguished colleague, M. Pella, is now under consideration by various learned associations, those delegations

which are interested in the question could submit concrete proposals to the Assembly at a later session, when they consider that the time is ripe and that they have a sufficient body of opinion behind them.

As you will see, then, there is no question of re-casting the Statute of the Court or of actually revising it. All we are proposing is that it should be examined with a view to remedying such defects as experience may have brought to light, and introducing amendments which could be effected by general agreement without undue delay.

I wish now to say a few words with regard to procedure. After the exhaustive discussions at the Conference of September 1926, when the Signatories of the Protocol of the Statute of the Permanent Court met to examine the American reservations, which implied an addition to that Statute — no delegation questions the League's competence to recommend and formulate amendments, just as it prepared the original plans for the establishment of the Court; but it is agreed that any such amendments would become valid only after they have been submitted for examination to each of the signatory States since, when all is said and done, a treaty is involved, and the final decision must rest with the signatory States.

In view of the above considerations, it appeared to the Committee unnecessary to determine whether in law the League's authority was based upon Article 14 of the Covenant, under which the initial draft Statute of the Court was formulated, or whether it could be claimed in virtue of the powers of organs of the League in regard to questions of general interest.

Accordingly no time was spent in discussing what is after all a purely theoretical question. We agreed unanimously as regards the procedure to be followed, or at all events the main lines of that procedure, namely, that the attention of the Council should be drawn to the question of examining the Statute of the Court, in order that its suggestions might be submitted to the Assembly, and that after approval by the latter any amendments should be submitted to the signatory States, whether Members of the League or not.

If the Council agrees as to the expediency of our proposal, what steps will it take with a view to this examination? The draft resolution does not give any definite instructions on this point, or on the others I have mentioned.

The Committee is confident that the Council, which already gained experience when preparing the Statute in 1920, will have no difficulty in determining how best to carry out a careful and thorough examination with all possible despatch.

Without prejudice to its right to consult persons qualified to assist it, the Council will be able to apply to the Court for information; and, in particular, the body instructed to examine the articles relating to the working of the Court will doubtless, as a matter of courtesy and of general expediency, make a point of requesting the Court, through the President or his duly appointed representative, to give it the benefit of any information and suggestions arising out of the Court's experience.

States which do not at present send representatives to Geneva but are signatories to the Protocol should also be given the opportunity of offering suggestions and opinions.

In any case, I repeat, no suggestions and no definite instructions can be given to the Council.

If this examination is conducted prudently, as we trust it may be, it seems likely that any amendments that the Council may consider

necessary will readily secure the assent of all the States Members of the League, and that the procedure of ratification by each State will be effected without difficulty within two years from the present session of the Assembly, that is to say, before the ordinary session of the Assembly to be held in 1930, which, concurrently with the Council, will have to re-elect the members of the Court.

When the members of the Court take their seats, they will, we hope, have an even more efficient instrument to assist them in the performance of their duties, which are steadily growing heavier.

The League Assembly has always considered that one of the surest ways of promoting peace is to encourage the nations to have confidence in the judicial settlement of their disputes. Their confidence must inevitably be strengthened if, thanks to the increasing stabilisation of international law, and thanks to some slight amendments to the Statute of the Court, unaniously accepted and judiciously introduced from time to time, as occasion offers, we can facilitate the difficult task of those who may be called upon to fulfil the momentous duty of administering justice to the nations.

The First Committee has the honour, therefore, to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following draft resolutions :

"The Assembly :

"Considering the ever-increasing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

"Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary :

"Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly."

We trust that the Legal Committee's proposals will be ratified by the Assembly.

The President :

Translation : Count Carton de Wiart, delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.

Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Belgian delegation entirely agrees with the sound and learned report submitted by the Rapporteur of the First Committee.

M. Cassin referred to a question which was raised during the discussion in the First Committee, namely, the attribution of a certain jurisdiction in penal matters to the Permanent Court of International Justice. I understand and I concur with the reasons which led the Committee to decide not to retain for consideration at present, even incidentally, so vast and grave a problem. I think, however, that it would be quite wrong to assume from this decision that the problem has been summarily ruled out and does not call for any special consideration by the representatives of the different countries.

The question is by no means a new one. The League Council considered a report on the subject

from M. Caclamanos in 1920, and decided to adjourn the matter until various learned societies had obtained further information regarding it. In response to an invitation, these societies undertook and have since 1920 been engaged on an exhaustive examination of the question : in the first place, a remarkable report compiled by M. de Lapradelle under the aegis of the Institute of International Law ; later, a thesis by M. Bellot under the aegis of the International Law Association ; and more recently the matter has been taken up by the International Association of Penal Law. Neither must we forget the Inter-Parliamentary Union for Peace and Arbitration, which, at its meetings held at Berne and Washington, carefully studied the possibility of organising some kind of international criminal jurisdiction. All this work has been supplemented by many other valuable publications. I would refer in particular to a notable work by M. Pella, Professor at the University of Jassy, which supplements a survey of the question by M. Donnedieu de Vabres and M. Calojanni, Counsellor to the Egyptian Mixed Tribunals.

It may be said that, from the technical point of view, this problem has been brought nearer maturity, and that in M. Cassin's report we have a very exact and accurate summary of it.

The question at issue is whether, to what extent and by what means an international jurisdiction could take cognisance of the revision of judgments which have become *res judicate*, which are incompatible with each other, and which have been pronounced by the Courts of different countries. Secondly, we must ascertain whether some international jurisdiction could be made competent to judge individuals who have committed offences, crimes or misdemeanours which could not feasibly be brought before the courts of an individual country.

The problem might even be extended, as M. Cassin suggests, to include a jurisdiction taking cognisance of the liability not only of individuals but of certain corporate bodies in certain cases where international law, public order or international morality has been violated.

These weighty matters can, of course, only be cursorily touched upon here. Those who follow the scientific evolution of penal law hold that the present tendency is not towards the abandonment of the sacrosanct principle of State sovereignty, but towards the voluntary restriction of sovereignty in certain directions. The effect should be to help the nations to perform a duty which, as is becoming increasingly manifest, is incumbent on them all — that they should not thwart or oppose each other, but should strive to regulate their mutual relations.

For this reason, I welcome the very sound action that has been taken in this matter, and I should like to mark the great interest which the Belgian delegation attaches to the study of the question.

At present, all that can be said is that it is most decidedly an open question, and that in the light of the work accomplished during these last few years it calls for increasing attention on the part of jurists and statesmen alike.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the First Committee which reads as follows :

The Assembly :

Considering the ever-increasing number of matters referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice ;

Deeming it advisable that, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Court in 1930, the present provisions of the Statute of the Court should be examined with a view to the introduction of any amendments which experience may show to be necessary ;

Draws the Council's attention to the advisability of proceeding, before the renewal of the term of office of the members of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to the examination of the Statute of the Court with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable, and to submitting the necessary proposals to the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

The resolution was adopted.

**68. — WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE :
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE :
RESOLUTION.**

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Financial Committee (Annex 11, document A.65.1928.II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Suvich, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Suvich, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Suvich (Italy), Rapporteur, read his report and the following draft resolution :

The Assembly takes note of and expresses its satisfaction with the work of the Financial Committee.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution proposed by the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

**69. — SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES
AND BULGARIAN STABILISATION LOAN :
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE :
RESOLUTION.**

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Second Committee on the settlement of Bulgarian refugees and the Bulgarian stabilisation loan (Annex 12, document A.70.1928.II).

(On the invitation of the President, the Honourable Philippe Roy, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Mr. Roy, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly :

Mr. Roy (Canada), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to submit to the Assembly, on behalf of the Second Committee, the latter's

report on the settlement of Bulgarian refugees and the Bulgarian stabilisation loan.

I have only a few remarks to add to the report which has been distributed.

The work of settling the refugees has continued during the past year with every success. There were certain difficulties at the outset, but these were soon settled. Of a total of 33,000 families, only 3,000 or 4,000 have not yet received land holdings. Thanks to the technical advice of the Health Section of the Secretariat and to the co-operation of the Rockefeller Foundation, to which we desire to express our gratitude, the Bulgarian health authorities have set to work to combat malaria. The work is being carried out under the able and devoted direction of our Commissioner, M. Charron, and of the Chief of the Bulgarian Services, M. Sarafov, and is not only of a highly humanitarian character, but deserves our special attention in connection with the economic stabilisation and general pacification of the country.

This work has been followed by a plan for financial restoration and the stabilisation of the currency, with the co-operation of the Financial Committee. The principles on which this scheme is based have already been published and are known to you all : in the main they are the same as those which have already been successfully applied in previous cases.

The plan requires a loan of £5,000,000, which will be issued shortly. This sum is to be used for the liquidation of budget arrears, the partial reduction of the State debt to the National Bank, with a view to stabilising the lev, and the reorganisation of the National Bank ; it will also be devoted to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and of the Central Co-operative Bank, to the construction of roads and railways and also to meeting the expenditure entailed by the earthquake which laid waste part of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928. In this connection, I would like to assure the Bulgarian Government that this catastrophe has earned for Bulgaria the sympathy of the whole world.

As the report states, the preparation of the present scheme has been the main achievement of the Financial Committee during the past year. The Committee and the Bulgarian Government are to be congratulated on having made one more valuable contribution to the progressive financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, with all its important consequences in promoting a sense of political security and pacification.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :

The Assembly :

(a) *Notes with satisfaction the progress made in connection with the refugee work under the able direction of the Commissioner of the League and the Bulgarian authorities, to whom it expresses its appreciation of their work. The progress thus made confirms the Assembly's appreciation of the social and political importance of this work ;*

(b) *Takes note of the stabilisation scheme involving the issue of a loan of £5,000,000 sterling to be devoted to the repayment of the State debt to the National Bank in connection with the stabilisation of the currency, to strengthening the position of the Agricultural Bank and the Central Co-operative Bank, the liquidation of budget arrears, the construction of certain roads and railways, and work in connection with the damage caused by the earthquakes which ravaged parts of Bulgaria during the spring of 1928 ;*

(c) *Congratulates the Financial Committee and the Bulgarian Government for having, in the preparation of this scheme, made one more valuable contribution to the progressive financial and economic stabilisation of Europe, and expresses the hope that the issue of the loan necessary for the execution of the scheme may meet with complete success.*

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution proposed by the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

70. — RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INSTITUTES OR BODIES SET UP UNDER ITS AUTHORITY : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Second Committee on the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority (Annex 13, document A.71.1928.XII).

(On the invitation of the President, Dr. Breitscheid, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Dr. Breitscheid, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Breitscheid (Germany), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the report of the Second Committee on the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority.

The Assembly will doubtless remember that in September 1927 it invited the Council to submit a report on this subject. That was the report that was laid before the Second Committee. It treats exhaustively of both aspects of the question. It deals first with the application of the main principles to be followed in placing international bureaux under the direction of the League, that is, with the application of Article 24 of the Covenant, and, secondly, with the general rules which might in the future govern the acceptance of international institutes by the League.

The Second Committee is in full agreement with the principle established by the Council for the application of Article 24, and is convinced that the guiding lines laid down by the Council constitute a solid foundation for fruitful co-operation between the League and the international bureaux as contemplated in the Covenant. These bodies would function more or less as extensions of the League itself. The League would supervise the execution of the work entrusted to these bodies.

The Second Committee similarly approved the rules, set out in the second part of the report, which might govern the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League. These rules are based upon the fundamental principle that "the object of the institute must come within the sphere of activity of the League of Nations, the institute serving as a working instrument".

The adoption of this principle appeared to be advantageous in that it affords a definite solution

of the question and precludes all risk of misunderstanding.

The other rules contained in this part of the Council's report are supported by precedents, that is to say, the procedures and statutes adopted at the time of the creation of the Paris and Rome Institutes which were offered to the League by the French and Italian Governments respectively.

The Second Committee, however, thought it desirable to make two amendments to the second part of the Council's report. These refer to the necessity of the Governing Body of the Institute meeting at regular intervals, and provide that the nomination of members both to the Governing Body and the higher staff shall be made without distinction of sex and should take into account the international character of the Institute.

As it has approved the Council's report in its entirety with these two modifications, the Second Committee feels justified in proposing the following draft resolution :

*The Assembly,
Having taken note of the report adopted by the Council on the question of the relations between the League of Nations and institutes or bodies set up under its authority :*

Approves the rules embodied in that report for the application of Article 24 of the Covenant and for the acceptance of international institutes offered to the League by Governments. The modifications made in that report by the Second Committee of the Assembly are also approved.

The President :

Translation : If no one else desires to speak, I shall regard the resolution proposed by the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

71. — RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARBITRATION AND SECURITY REGARDING M. RUTGERS' MEMORANDUM ON ARTICLES 10, 11 AND 16 OF THE COVENANT : REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Third Committee on the resolution of the Committee on Arbitration and Security regarding M. Rutgers' memorandum on Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant (Annex 14, document A.63.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee and M. Politis, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Politis, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Politis (Greece), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to lay before you the result of the Third Committee's examination of the work done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security in connection with Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant.

Under the resolution of September 26th, 1927, in pursuance of which it was decided to appoint

the Committee on Arbitration and Security, that Committee was asked to consider the measures necessary for increasing the guarantees of arbitration and security which would enable States to reduce their effectives and armaments to the utmost possible extent.

In accordance with the resolution of September 26th, this enquiry was to be threefold, one of its objects being the systematic preparation of the machinery to be employed by the organs of the League with a view to enabling its Members to carry out their obligations under the Covenant.

It was this third task which included the study of the articles of the Covenant. The Committee decided to begin with the study of Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant as being the ones which had hitherto most engaged the attention of the organs and Members of the League.

My distinguished colleague, M. Rutgers, delegate of the Netherlands, was requested to make a preliminary study of the texts of these articles, and he submitted a very important memorandum, which the Committee took as the basis of its work.

This memorandum gave rise to a general discussion in the course of which two points of view became manifest regarding the degree of security provided by the Covenant. According to one of these, the Covenant gives a considerable amount of security which must not be overlooked. According to the other, this security cannot be considered as adequate, on the ground that the guarantees it provides are indefinite in principle and uncertain in application.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security endeavoured to reconcile these two points of view in a general resolution to the effect: (1) that the Covenant undoubtedly provides a measure of security, and that the conscientious application of its provisions can in most cases prevent war; (2) that the efficacy of the provisions of the Covenant as a preventive measure is all the greater because that instrument does not provide any rigid code of procedure or measures to be adopted by the Council of the League, and that it is therefore better not to attempt to draw up an exhaustive list of measures to be taken by the Council for preserving international peace; (3) for those States which feel the need for more effective and additional guarantees of security, one of the most practical means which can be recommended, besides the development of pacific procedure, is the conclusion of security pacts with other States in the same geographical area.

After this general examination of the problem, the Committee on Arbitration and Security proceeded to a detailed discussion of M. Rutgers' memorandum, and adopted a resolution the terms of which express the various shades of opinion which had been revealed in the course of the debate.

The Third Committee adopted this resolution of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and merely added a final paragraph, of which I shall speak later. The resolution is thus submitted to you in its completed form. A few observations only are necessary to emphasise its real scope, and I shall make my remarks as brief as possible, grouping them under four heads.

In the first place, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the main and essential purpose of the League is to prevent war, and that, of all the provisions of the Covenant, Article 11 would appear to be by no means the least important in this respect. In comparison with Article 16, it has a special significance from three points of view: first, as regards chronological order, since the Council, in dealing with an international crisis, must apply Article 11 before Article 16;

secondly, Article 11 is important because it is undeniably far better to prevent war than to stop it: lastly, the full and conscientious application of the procedure laid down in Article 11 facilitates the application, where necessary, of the procedure of Article 16. It enables the Council to follow the various phases of an international dispute, to observe the respective attitudes of the parties in conflict, and to take into account the help they give the Council in the fulfilment of its duty of conciliation and pacification. By observing their respective attitudes, the Council, when it applies Article 11, can obtain the evidence necessary to enable it to decide, with a view to applying Article 16, which of the two parties is responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. In other words, it enables all the necessary information to be collected for determining, should the case arise, which party is the aggressor.

Secondly, as regards Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant, the Committee had to define the terms "aggression" in Article 10 and "resort to war" in Article 16.

M. Rutgers and certain members of the Committee on Arbitration and Security were of the opinion that a hard-and-fast definition of these terms would be very difficult and, even if possible, very dangerous, for the very rigidity of such a definition might possibly lead the Council into a premature application of the sanctions prescribed by Article 16.

This opinion, however, was not general. The Committee on Arbitration and Security, in the resolution which has been adopted by the Third Committee and is now submitted for your approval, merely noted these difficulties, and states, in paragraph 3, that it "considers that the information concerning the question of the criteria of aggression contained in the Committee's documents usefully summarises the studies made by the Assembly and Council and the provisions of certain treaties".

Thirdly, with special reference to Article 16 and the preparation of military sanctions, M. Rutgers and certain members of the Committee held that it was not advisable to encourage such preparation, as it might hinder the development of mutual confidence between States, and that in any case this preparation should only be undertaken conjointly, and parallel with the development of pacific procedure and a general agreement regarding the limitation and reduction of armaments.

Here again a difference of opinion was disclosed in the Committee. Several States expressed, through their delegates, the opinion that the preparation of military sanctions constitutes an additional guarantee of security, since those States which feared that they might become victims of aggression were anxious that the help promised under Article 16 should be given with the requisite promptitude and efficacy.

Here again, the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and the Third Committee also, merely made a plain statement of the position, and did not take up a definite view. The last two paragraphs but one of the resolution read as follows:

"Takes note of the suggestions concerning Article 16 contained in the Committee's documents relative to the study of the articles of the Covenant:

"Recommends to the Council the studies in question as a useful piece of work which, without proposing a hard-and-fast procedure in time of emergency, and without adding to or detracting from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, provides valuable indications as to the possibilities offered by the different articles of the Covenant, and as to the way in which

they may be applied, without prejudice to the different modes of procedure which the infinite variety of possible eventualities may render necessary in practice."

My last observation is this: the Committee on Arbitration and Security, when instructed by the resolution of September 26th, 1927, to undertake the examination of the articles of the Covenant, was obliged to make a selection among the articles, and it began with Articles 10, 11 and 15, the purport of which I have just explained: but it certainly did not intend thereby to preclude a subsequent survey of other articles of the Covenant, more particularly Articles 13, 15 and 17. In the course of its work, and especially during its discussion of Article 13, the Committee had occasion to appreciate the particular importance, for the development of compulsory arbitration, of the final provision of this article, which lays down that the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken to give effect to any award that may be rendered.

The Committee wished to emphasise the importance of pursuing this study of the Covenant, and accordingly invites you at the end of its resolution to recommend that the study should be undertaken of the other articles of the Covenant, the conscientious and full application of which offers special guarantees of security.

As a result of this recommendation, the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, of which the Committee on Arbitration and Security is a subsidiary organ, will call upon the Committee on Arbitration and Security to continue the study of the articles of the Covenant, in order to complete the systematic preparation, mentioned in the resolution adopted by the Assembly last year, of the machinery to be employed with a view to enabling the Members to perform their obligations under the various articles of the Covenant. The continuation of this study of the articles of the Covenant is desirable for two reasons. In the first place, it will enable us to appreciate better and better the endless resources afforded by the provisions of the Covenant, if they are conscientiously applied and carefully observed, as the means of ensuring the peace of the world by the application, directly or indirectly, of a complete series of measures for the prevention of war. Secondly, it will bring out more and more clearly the necessity for completing by supplementary agreements, concluded within the framework of the Covenant and in harmony with its spirit, the guarantees which the Covenant provides, and which, for reasons exhaustively examined by the Committee, do not as yet appear to be sufficiently complete or effective.

In view of the above considerations, I have the honour, on behalf of the Third Committee, to propose the following draft resolution:

The Assembly:

Having noted the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security in regard to Articles 10, 11 and 16 of the Covenant,

Appreciates the great importance of the work done to apply the provisions in question;

Considers that the information concerning the question of the criteria of aggression contained in the Committee's documents usefully summarises the studies made by the Assembly and the Council and the provisions of certain treaties;

Recalls, in particular, that the action to be taken by the Council under Article 11 and other articles of the Covenant in the case of a conflict will provide it with important elements of appreciation likely to facilitate the determination of the aggressor in the event of war breaking out in spite of every effort;

Considers that the study of Article 11 of the Covenant, which stipulates that the League "shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations", forms the natural counterpart of the study undertaken by the Committee of the Council and approved by the Council on December 6th, 1927, on the Assembly's recommendation, and, without detracting from the value of the other articles of the Covenant, brings into prominence the fact that the League's first task is to forestall war, and that, in all cases of armed conflict or of threats of armed conflict, of whatever nature, it must take action to prevent hostilities or to stop hostilities which have already begun;

Takes note of the suggestions concerning Article 16 contained in the Committee's documents relative to the study of the articles of the Covenant;

Recommends to the Council the studies in question as a useful piece of work which, without proposing a hard-and-fast procedure in time of emergency, and without adding to or detracting from the rights and duties of the Members of the League, provides valuable indications as to the possibilities offered by the different articles of the Covenant, and as to the way in which they may be applied, without prejudice to the different modes of procedure which the infinite variety of possible eventualities may render necessary in practice;

In conclusion, recommends that a study should be undertaken of the other articles of the Covenant the conscientious and full application of which offers special guarantees of security.

The President:

Translation: If no one wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution proposed by the Third Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

72. — PRIVATE MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICITY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President:

Translation: The next item on the agenda is the examination of the Third Committee's report on the framing of a draft convention on the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war (Annex 15, document A.68.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President:

Translation: M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Guerrero (Salvador), Rapporteur:

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The report which the Third Committee is submitting to the Assembly reviews the work of the Special Commission appointed by the Assembly at its last ordinary session, to prepare in a single text a convention on the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

The Special Commission did not succeed in drawing up a single text. At its recent session fundamental differences of opinion were disclosed, and that is why the main purpose of the resolution now submitted to the Assembly by the Committee is to arrange for the preliminary work required to reconcile these differences.

The resolution is as follows :

The Assembly :

Having taken note of the report and preliminary draft convention drawn up by the Special Commission appointed to prepare a draft convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war ;

Observing that the Commission has not yet found it possible to submit a single final text as desired by the Assembly, although the Commission agreed that the principle of publicity should extend to Government manufactures ;

Affirming the urgent necessity for drawing up a convention which, while placing non-producing and producing countries on an equal footing, would facilitate the ratification of the Convention of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva on June 17th, 1925 ;

Referring to its successive resolutions passed at each of its previous ordinary sessions, beginning with the first session in 1920, in which resolutions it has constantly urged the importance of the problem of the manufacture of arms and the necessity for convening a conference as speedily as possible ;

Confirming the fact that a connection exists between the general question of the reduction and limitation of armaments and the question of the international trade in arms and also of that of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war :

Requests the Council to make an appeal, at its present session, to the Governments represented on the Special Commission to examine carefully the differences of view revealed during the last session of the Commission, and to consider calling another meeting of the Commission before the next Council session, in order that the work of the Commission may be completed as soon as possible and submitted to a special conference, which would meet either at the same time as the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments or at an earlier date.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution proposed by the Third Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

73. — MODEL TREATY TO STRENGTHEN THE MEANS FOR PREVENTING WAR: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Third Committee on the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war (Annex 16, document A.67.1928.IX).

(On the incitation of the President, M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Rolin-Jaequemyns (Belgium), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am laying before you, on behalf of the Third Committee, a report on a model treaty drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security

and a draft resolution approving that model treaty.

As you know from the documents which have been circulated, and as I point out in the Third Committee's report, this draft text is the outcome of certain suggestions submitted to the Committee on Arbitration and Security by the German delegation, and these suggestions form the actual basis of the model treaty now before you.

As indicated in the report and explained in greater detail in the introductory note which accompanies the model treaty and sets forth all the points discussed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, the German suggestions have not been incorporated in their entirety in the present text, which is intended to form the draft Convention to strengthen the means for preventing war.

There were three points in particular — they are mentioned in the report — about which the Committee on Arbitration and Security felt doubtful.

One is whether it should be specially stipulated that the Council, when it decides to make certain recommendations designed to prevent war in the event of a dispute, has the right specifically to order the restoration of the normal military *status quo*. The reason why the Committee was very guarded in the matter is, I think, that the normal military *status quo* relates to a state of affairs which to a large extent is still undefined.

The second doubtful question concerns supervision. This question was not included in the German suggestions. It arose in the course of the discussion, and it was thought it was unnecessary to include in the Convention any proposals on the subject, but that the Council should be left free to establish supervision to the extent which it thought fit — so that no pressure whatever would be brought to bear on the Council and there would be no semblance of an attempt to commit it definitely to such measures, which are always of a delicate nature.

The third and fundamental point, relating to the actual nature of the Treaty, is whether the latter should have the character of an open protocol, like the arbitration conventions, or whether it should be simply a model convention, offered as a suggestion to the Powers, but not involving any obligation on the part of the States represented at the Assembly to make use of that particular type of convention themselves.

It was generally agreed, however, that if these Conventions are to produce their full effect in enabling the Council to intervene with a view to preventing or stopping war, they must obtain the adhesion of a large number of countries all over the world, or at all events extending over very wide areas.

Having given you the main features of the introductory note and the report, it only remains for me now to read the draft resolution submitted to you by the Third Committee. The text is as follows :

The Assembly :

“Having noted the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, together with the explanations contained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee ;

“Highly appreciating the value of this model treaty ;

“Being convinced that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security ;

“Recommends it for consideration by States Members or non-members of the League of Nations ;

"And hopes that it may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind."

The President :

Translation : M. Undén, delegate of Sweden, will address the Assembly.

M. Undén (Sweden) :

Translation : The questions dealt with in the present model treaty relate to the action of the Council in times of emergency. At its last session, in 1927, the Assembly approved a report, drawn up by a Committee of the Council on the basis of a memorandum submitted by M. de Brouckère, on the preventive measures to be taken by the Council in times of emergency.

The proposal now before us sets forth the ideas embodied in that report more precisely and in juridical form, the object being to enable States to undertake in advance to accept the Council's recommendations.

Some of you may perhaps regard this text, and particularly Article 3 of the model treaty, which empowers the Council to intervene with the object of stopping hostilities, as purely Utopian in character.

We must remember, however, that in the past the Council has already applied, and successfully applied, the rule laid down in this article. I refer, of course, to the Greco-Bulgarian conflict in 1925. In a case such as this — when neither of the parties concerned wanted war but hostilities broke out owing to the existing state of tension and the military measures taken at the frontier — Members of the Council might find it difficult to agree upon the aggressor. But the Council need not be prevented from acting through lack of unanimity as regards this point. The Members of the Council might agree without difficulty to propose that the parties should cease hostilities, under conditions laid down by the Council, offering at the same time to open an enquiry into the origin and causes of the conflict.

Should one of the parties to the dispute have aggressive intentions, however, that particular party would be far less likely to accept the Council's recommendation that hostilities shall cease. But once the Council has made a recommendation in virtue of an international agreement formally adopted by the States concerned, any Government that refuses to accept that recommendation will condemn itself in the eyes of its own people and can hardly expect to convince the nation that the other party is the aggressor.

Hence a treaty of this kind, if adopted by a large number of States, would in my view provide the Council with a valuable means of intervention in times of emergency; and I consider that the German Government, by taking the initiative in this matter, has made a really constructive contribution towards solving the problem of security.

The President :

Translation : Dr. von Schubert, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Dr. von Schubert (Germany) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like briefly to express my views on the resolution which has been submitted to us by the Third Committee.

Although the Security Committee, after discussing the German suggestions, did not see its way to adopting them in their entirety, a very substantial part of these suggestions has been embodied in the model treaty which forms the subject of the resolution.

I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to express our great satisfaction at what has been done.

I need not revert to the principles which underlie the German suggestions and thus form the basis of the model treaty now before us. Our views were fully explained in the Security Committee and during the Third Committee's discussions. The speaker who preceded me also brought out certain aspects of the problem very clearly.

I simply wish to emphasise the fact that this model treaty will serve to strengthen the existing basis of security because it introduces a guarantee of peculiar efficacy in the maintenance of peace.

May I say also that we hope that those of our suggestions which have not yet been taken up will not be lost sight of altogether, but will be considered later, at the proper moment.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution proposed by the Third Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly :

Having noted the model treaty to strengthen the means for preventing war framed by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, together with the explanations contained in the introductory note drawn up by the Committee;

Highly appreciating the value of this model treaty;

Being convinced that its adoption by a large number of States would serve to increase the guarantees of security;

Recommends it for consideration by States Members or non-members of the League of Nations; And hopes that it may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude a treaty of this kind.

The resolution was adopted.

74. — WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the Fifth Committee's report on traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs (Annex 17, document A.64.1928.XI).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Matos, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and M. Chodzko, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Chodzko, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Chodzko (Poland), Rapporteur, read his report and the following draft resolution :

The Assembly notes with approval the reports of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs on the work of its tenth and eleventh sessions, together with the resolutions contained therein.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

The Assembly rose at 12.50 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FIFTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21st, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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75. — SIGNATURE BY THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT OF THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE RECOGNISING THE COMPULSORY JURISDICTION OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The President :

Translation : Before beginning the agenda, I have to inform the Assembly that the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs has signed the optional clause recognising the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

I think I am voicing the opinion of all my colleagues in the Assembly in expressing our great satisfaction at this decision of the Hungarian Government, to whom I venture, in the name of the Assembly, to address my warmest congratulations.

General Tánecz (Hungary) :

Translation : Mr. President — I desire to thank you most cordially for your kind words of appreciation, which I shall not fail to transmit to my Government.

76. — WORK OF THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Economic Organisation. (Annex 18, document A.66.1928.II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Veverka, Vice-Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Loucheur, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. Loucheur (France), Rapporteur :

Translation : I shall have occasion to make further observations to the Assembly on this report when we have heard all the speakers whose names are on the list. In the meantime I will merely read to the Assembly the following draft resolutions :

" The Assembly :

" (1) Having noted the work of the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations during the past year, observes with satisfaction the progress achieved, particularly in regard to the undertakings resulting from the resolutions of the World Economic Conference which were recommended to the favourable attention of all Governments by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session ;

" Is confident that the Economic Organisation will successfully carry through the important tasks still assigned to it, and that it will, if necessary, deal with them in an order corresponding

to their respective importance and urgency and the possibility of reaching practical results, regard being had to the manifold and occasionally divergent interests involved ;

" (2) Notes with satisfaction that the Convention for the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, which was opened for the signature of States by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927, has been signed by eleven States, and that there have been five new ratifications of the 1923 Protocol on Arbitration Clauses ;

" Trusts that at least those States which signed the Protocol will accede to the Convention, and thus enable traders in these States to resort to arbitration with full security ;

" (3) Welcomes the conclusions of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, and the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, and also the two International Agreements, dated July 11th, 1928 :

" Earnestly hopes that the Governments of the signatory States, and especially the Governments of the States enumerated in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, whose abstention might jeopardise the future of the Agreements concluded, will speedily ratify these Agreements and thus contribute towards achieving real progress in the economic situation of the world.

" (4) Trusts that the Diplomatic Conference on Statistics convened for November 26th next and the conferences contemplated for 1929 in regard to the treatment of foreign nationals and the partial assimilation of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques will lead to valuable results ;

" (5) Hopes that the preparatory work for the establishment of a simplified uniform Customs nomenclature, of which it recognises the high importance as facilitating tariff agreements and increasing the efficacy of the most-favoured-nation clause will soon be successfully concluded.

" (6) Considering that the Economic Committee has already arrived at interesting conclusions as to the possibility of reconciling the two tariff systems (hard-and-fast tariff and negotiable tariff) ;

" Requests the Economic Committee to pursue its work with a view to framing a doctrine in regard to commercial policy and preparing collective agreements to facilitate, by bringing about a milder Customs regime, the movement of certain products which are of special importance or which lend themselves more particularly to treatment of this kind ;

" (7) Follows with interest the investigations undertaken in regard to veterinary measures, and approves their objective character and the desire to take into account the legitimate and occasionally conflicting preoccupations of countries which export and import cattle :

" Considers that their completion is essential to enable regulations to be cleared from all suspicion of veiled protectionism, and promote the greater freedom of trade advocated by the Economic Conference ;

" And is confident that they will be pursued as rapidly as is consistent with the complexity of their character ;

" (8) Expresses its confidence that the Economic Committee, to which the investigation of the problems relating to coal and sugar were

submitted at the instance of the Consultative Committee, will carry through its work with all desirable energy, while not neglecting any of the interests involved, whether of producers or consumers — countries or persons — or the workers ;

" (9) Hopes that the Economic Organisation will be able to expedite, along the lines of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference and the Consultative Committee, the study of various aspects of the problem of international industrial understandings — in particular, the status of such understandings, their juridical forms, the legislation controlling them and the publicity concerning them ;

" (10) Believes that the successful attainment of the objects contemplated by the World Economic Conference will largely depend upon the measure in which it will prove possible to harmonise the interests of agriculture and industry, account being taken, *inter alia*, of the particular position of countries which are mainly agricultural or in the early stages of industrial development ;

" Approves the view expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee that the systematic study of the problems of agriculture will be an important factor in the encouragement of economic co-operation between peoples. "

The President :

Translation : Dr. Breitscheid, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Breitscheid (Germany) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In addressing you on this item of the agenda I do not propose to recapitulate all the details dealt with by the Second Committee as the outcome of M. Loucheur's admirable report and the explanations given by M. Colijn and M. Serruys.

Nor do I intend to dwell upon what has been done by various countries, and by my own, with a view to carrying out the recommendations of the World Economic Conference. We are surely not here merely to congratulate each other or to dilate upon what we ourselves have done. Rather should we try to learn from each other, and in particular come to understand why we who are met together under the auspices of the League are dealing with the problem of international economic policy. That is my justification for a further brief retrospect of the League's economic work.

It might be thought that economic problems are no real concern of the League. It is true that the Preamble of the Covenant, which epitomises the League's work, contains no reference to economic affairs ; and if we go through the articles of the Covenant, I think I am right in saying that the only mention of economics is a slight reference in Article 23, which states that the Members of the League will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable terms for the commerce of all Members of the League. Yet I believe that economic considerations were not the least of those which led to the creation of the League.

We must not, of course, forget the other considerations, nor must we attempt to belittle their importance. We know that the ardent hope of the nations that suffered so deeply in the war was for some organisation that would stop any recurrence of the horrors and the agony they had endured. We know that it was during those years from 1914 to 1918 that the desire to see

some legal system created to prevent war grew stronger than ever amongst thinking men.

At the same time the nations became more and more clearly conscious of their close economic interdependence, and realised that the violent destruction of this underlying foundation would bring immense loss upon victors and vanquished, belligerents and neutrals alike.

If it is true that economics constitute a basis — though of course not the sole basis — of politics, war must be prevented by other means than mere legal formulas, and — more important still — by the creation of a new spirit of conciliation; but it is also true, if we are to do our duty, we must face the facts of this economic interdependence and ascertain the essential consequences.

For that reason we must congratulate ourselves that the World Economic Conference was held in May last year; one hundred and ninety-four experts from fifty different countries met together and told the Governments by what means, in their opinion, international co-operation in economic affairs could be attained.

Since then considerable progress has been made in this direction. I need only cite the collective treaties for the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions on imports and exports. The main instrument is a Convention on this important subject signed by twenty-seven States after a Conference which only lasted for some weeks. They undertook to remove the chief hindrances to export trade. It would have taken years to obtain the same results by means of bilateral commercial treaties. Here, then, is an initial success upon which we have every reason to congratulate ourselves.

The main task, however, still lies before us. According to the memorandum submitted by the Secretariat on the application of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference, it is a fact that, despite certain sporadic reductions effected in accordance with the Conference's recommendations, the world level of Customs duties is higher to-day than when the Conference was held.

It must be confessed that the results achieved so far are, to say the least, extremely modest in the very field where the Conference particularly stressed the need for international co-operation.

We must keep these recommendations constantly before us, and we must trust that the nations will come more and more to see how sound they are and will not only pay them lip service but will put them into effect.

The Economic Consultative Committee, which is composed of producers and consumers, of masters and men, has made some very important suggestions as to ways and means of implementing these recommendations. It has suggested enquiries into the coal and sugar industries, and the Economic Committee has already begun the preparatory work on these subjects. You will remember that a Sugar Convention, concluded at Brussels, was in existence before the war, and we must now try to arrive at a collective agreement on similar lines.

The coal question is of particular importance, and presents great difficulties in view of the conflicting interests of the various countries concerned. It seems to me that the League is the best organ to find a solution to this question, taking into account the various interests involved.

The Economic Committee has also indicated eight groups of merchandise for which it is desirable to consider the possibility of a collective reduction of Customs tariffs. We hope the necessary credits for this work will be granted by the Assembly and that it will not be held up by considerations of principle or by false notions of economy.

I am glad to see that the Economic Organisation of the League deals not only with industrial but also with agricultural questions, since this practice accords with the principle laid down by the World Economic Conference, that agriculture is to be treated as a fundamental question on a par with industry and commerce.

The World Economic Conference brought home to us the reasons for the existing disorganisation in economic matters. It pointed out that "the attempts after the war to seek prosperity by a policy of economic isolation have, after an experience of nearly nine years, proved a failure". It showed, too, the harmfulness of a narrow nationalist policy.

The guiding principles laid down by the Conference are no less true to-day than they were eighteen months ago. Naturally the same situation does not exist in every country, and the same remedy cannot be applied to all. Natural conditions and economic development differ, and this difference must of course have its effect upon the economic situation and therefore upon the economic policy of each country.

As this report of the Second Committee points out, the special situation of those countries which are passing through a phase of industrial development must be taken into account, but not in such a way as to result in their adopting an excessive degree of protection. To take only one example showing the disastrous circumstances such a policy may involve, I will cite the report of the "Tariff Board of the Commonwealth, 1927" mentioned in the memorandum drawn up by the Secretariat.

"The results of this abuse", says the Australian report, "are an increase in cost prices, the cost of living, wages, etc., and a tendency on the part of industry to shelter itself slothfully behind Customs barriers."

As regards agricultural products it is stated that the consequence would be "lower output and the survival of obsolete methods of exploitation".

I should like to draw your special attention to this report. What we need is not an increase in Customs tariffs, but a reasonable reduction.

The Economic Committee has shown us the way by suggesting the abolition of Customs tariffs for certain groups of goods. Opinion may differ as to how quickly this procedure should be introduced. My personal impression is that progress is too slow, but I think the principle of a progressive and gradual procedure is quite sound.

H. G. Wells, the celebrated English author, in his book "Meanwhile", calls the League a "laboratory". He says: "The League of Nations is the mere first sketch of a preliminary experiment". There is a certain truth in this irony. Neither our organisation nor our methods of work are final or ideal. I could easily think of other methods of work which would ensure a quicker and surer achievement of our aims, such as rational international co-operation in the economic field.

As in all human affairs, however, so also in economic matters, we should eschew formulas that are too rigid. Progress can only be achieved by organic evolution and by the constant improvement of working methods. The recommendations of the World Economic Conference do not provide a final or ideal solution. They are but a beginning; but — and this is all-important — they are a good beginning. They proclaim the need for greater freedom in economic affairs. If barriers to trade could be systematically removed, the natural result would be a certain division of international labour, rationalisation on an international scale.

The effect of rationalisation is to obtain a maximum result with a minimum of effort. Untij

now rationalisation has only been possible in individual undertakings or combinations such as cartels. It has remained national. Could not the principle of the rational division of labour, which accords so well with the perfected means of communications existing to-day, be applied on an international scale? Could not the principle of "self-sufficiency" be superseded by the localisation of production wherever natural environment and skilled labour provide the most favourable conditions?

We know from the past history of world trade that men began by bartering goods and from that went on to barter ideas.

If we can succeed in placing world economy on an international footing, we need not stop at material things. The exchange of goods will at once be followed by the exchange of ideas, and from this would emerge international understanding and co-operation in the true sense of the term.

The League of Nations, therefore, by encouraging economic co-operation, can help to lay solid foundations for international harmony and peace. If we are convinced of this, if we are firmly resolved always to persevere, we may be certain that the laboratory of the League will one day contribute its element of real and permanent value to the well-being of mankind.

The President:

Translation: M. Veverka, delegate of Czechoslovakia, will address the Assembly.

M. Veverka (Czechoslovakia):

Translation: If I venture once again to speak from this platform on the economic work of the League, it is because I represent a country whose imports and exports are exceptionally high by comparison with its area and population, because I represent a State which is consequently perhaps of greater importance than others as an economic factor, intimately concerned as it is with the economic policies of the world, and which for this reason is bound to be more interested than any other in this particular branch of the League's work.

It is quite natural that Czechoslovakia should consider, in her own interests, what form co-operation in this work should take, or, in other words, what must be done so that the ideas of international co-operation and economic policy enunciated by the League may develop within the States in conformity with the lines laid down at Geneva.

Public opinion in every country must be taught and made to understand that the sacrifices necessary in the interests of the general community, sacrifices such as those to which Czechoslovakia agreed when signing the International Convention, will be fully recompensed later as the League's economic work develops.

To begin with, of course, this work had to be confined to a specific and more or less restricted field. But although the international arrangements were prepared with all possible care and were as nearly perfect as possible, difficulties, hitherto non-apparent, revealed themselves as regards the relations between this particular field of action and economic activities as a whole.

The League Economic Organisation will have to smooth over such difficulties as best it can, so that the questions covered by international arrangements shall interfere as little as possible with the economic life of the individual States.

Let me give you a concrete example: Under the International Convention for the abolition of prohibitions and restrictions which I have

just mentioned, and which represents the most practical application of the recommendations of the Economic Conference, States are obliged to abandon import and export restrictions. This will make the difficulties in regard to agricultural exports seem greater still, on account of the veterinary regulations which will simply look like a continuation of restrictions in disguise. Accordingly, Czechoslovakia welcomes the enquiry into veterinary questions on the lines suggested by the League, and hopes that this work will be accomplished quickly and regarded by everyone as a logical corollary to the Convention on Prohibitions.

I see, too, that the League Economic Organisation has realised, in quite a different connection, that countries can only apply the results of its theoretical work if the League itself will help them to solve the difficulties which, though perhaps only of a transitory nature, are bound to arise. I refer to the Economic Committee's work with a view to progressive tariff reductions for specific groups of commodities.

Czechoslovakia welcomes these methods, which have led to such satisfactory results, including the two international agreements relating to the exportation of hides, skins and bones.

We are still more pleased to see that the Economic Committee has not limited its conception of a group of goods to a particular tariff item or stage of production, but has made it very comprehensive.

Czechoslovakia trusts that the Economic Committee will apply this method not only to raw materials but also to half-finished and finished products, as the case may be, these being dealt with simultaneously by the Economic Organisation. To take a concrete example: a group should include not only wood in the rough but also sawn wood, cellulose, wood-pulp and paper; not only raw hides, but tanned hides and leather products, whether manufactured or not. In recommending this we are simply keeping to our theory of the interdependence of raw materials, half-finished products and finished products which we maintained at the Conference in November.

While on this subject, I should like to mention the question of coal and sugar, though this matter I know was submitted to the Economic Organisation on a wholly different and a more general basis.

The questions of coal and sugar have not yet been sufficiently defined for it to be possible to say with any certainty that they will form the subject of a "collective action" with a view to the reduction of tariffs.

I am sure, however, that if the League Economic Organisation studies the question of sugar with its usual thoroughness — and I trust that it will do so, for Czechoslovakia is one of the biggest sugar-producing countries — it will find this problem has many points common to the problems of stabilisation, the safety and freedom of world trade and, most important of all, the interdependence of raw materials, half-finished products and finished products, to which I have just drawn your attention.

I venture to hope that the Economic Organisation will decide that any enquiry must take into account the close interdependence of raw and refined sugar, because with this, as with other groups of commodities, it is impossible to consider the separate stages of production independently of the problem as a whole. The Economic Conference, it is true, urged the necessity of tariff reduction, but, at the same time, this policy will never be effective if it is only applied within narrow limits.

Moreover, as the Consultative Committee, the official interpreter of the resolutions passed by the Economic Conference, has noted, the real purpose of

tariff reduction is to bring about freedom of trade. It stated that :

"The agreement in respect of each group should cover as many stages of production as is practicable, having regard to the fact that, if reductions are limited to the rates of duty on raw materials or on semi-finished products, such reductions increase the protection afforded to the products of the industry in question at later stages of manufacture."

It may be of interest to note that the author of this passage is, I believe, a distinguished economist who cannot be accused of not realising the necessity for freedom in world trade.

Some people may object that partial reduction should be aimed at if Customs tariffs cannot be lowered altogether. But those who take this view must not forget that the World Economic Conference, in addition to proclaiming the principle of freedom of trade, laid even greater stress on another principle, namely, that any discrimination between States is to be condemned. From the League's standpoint this is a most important principle, closely bound up as it is with the problem of political and economic peace.

For these reasons I fully approve the report under discussion, and in doing so I am simply remaining faithful to the tradition of my country, which has always regarded the League's economic work as one of its vital activities. With the completion of the first stage of this work, many misunderstandings have been removed and the scientific diagnosis of existing economic ills has tended to correct many illusions due to distorted vision. I am glad to note that the Economic Organisation is now venturing to embark on practical achievements, and we sincerely hope that it may continue its work in this direction.

The world is entering upon an essentially economic era. A new attitude, a new mentality is emerging with the abolition of war as a means of settling inter-State disputes. New conceptions of the relations between peoples are beginning to arise and in every case find expression in economic forms. National resources hitherto locked up and devoted to the building up of armaments will shortly be released for productive purposes, and these economic factors will be employed to regulate international relations, replacing settlement by arms. In preparing for the logical consequences of this profound change in the present situation, the League's economic organs have an immense task before them.

Czechoslovakia is perhaps more anxious than any other country for the success of this great work of organisation and pacification, and earnestly hopes that, based as it is on these new ideas, it may prove worthy of its proud sub-title: the economic organisation of peace.

The President :

Translation : M. Jouhaux, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Jouhaux (France) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I must apologise for coming to this platform once again in the guise of a critic: let me assure you though, that I have no desire to play the part of a perpetual grumbler. I have to remember, however, that I am a member of the Economic Consultative Committee, on which I represent the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and in this capacity I feel it my duty to make a number of observations

which may appear to strike a somewhat discordant note in the usual chorus of praise, but which are none the less necessary.

I was present when the Assembly approved the suggestion of an Economic Conference, and I saw that suggestion carried into effect shortly afterwards. I witnessed the doubts and difficulties which attended the creation of the Economic Consultative Committee, and, despite all that we have just heard, I cannot help thinking that matters are not progressing as quickly as they might.

Of the Economic Consultative Committee many things, some good, some bad, have been said; and certain delegates are anxious to restrain the activities of this official interpreter of the World Economic Conference. At its last session the Committee again pointed out that the League's economic work has to be treated as a whole, that any attempt to deal separately with the individual branches of that work, which are sometimes conducted on quite different lines simply meant beginning all over again — the ceaseless and fruitless toil of Penelope!

The League's economic work, as the Economic Conference rightly declared, has to be treated as a whole, and the Economic Committee, assisted by the Economic Consultative Committee, must act within the framework of a general scheme.

May I say at once that I have no intention of criticising the Economic Committee's work, still less of disparaging it? It is of very real importance and valuable results have been obtained, but because those results are only partial they are bound to be incomplete and cannot avert the dangers of economic evolution proceeding along lines which we are powerless to control.

I do not deny that the examination of Customs tariffs, the Conference on prohibitions, the universal adoption of the most-favoured-nation clause and the conclusion of multilateral agreements are all necessary stages in the work, and we are glad to see that those stages, if not already completed, are on the way to completion; but, in addition to these particular aspects of economic problems — or rather, of the single economic problem — there are others which were pointed out by the Economic Conference, and in regard to which we succeeded after much discussion in reaching agreement, in achieving a compromise which placed heavy responsibilities upon the workers' representatives.

We knew what we were doing when, on this very platform, we agreed to support the suggestion of a new economic organisation, which should be no longer national but international, indeed, I might say, universal, in character. We knew, I repeat, what responsibilities we were incurring when we agreed to accept the principle described by the somewhat odd term "rationalisation". That was why we asked that rationalisation should be studied not from any particular standpoint, with limited objectives, but in a comprehensive sense, with one general objective, and in the general interest. We pointed out at the same time the necessity of compensating for this new system of organisation with its inevitable centralising tendency by providing for the institution of national and international supervision and guarantees in the interest not only of the working masses whom we represent, but of the nations as a whole.

The Assembly admitted our point of view, and these considerations are specifically mentioned in the report on the work of the World Economic Conference. They were mentioned still more specifically, despite the moderate terms employed, in the closing speech of the President when summing up the work of that Conference. More recently still, the Economic Consultative Committee in the course of its proceedings, declared —

though the point is not expressly mentioned in its resolutions — that these suggestions should be kept in view in any work undertaken by the Economic Committee.

The Economic Committee is now complaining of overwork, and this plea is advanced by the Committee itself or by others as a reason for urging that the League's economic activities should be made to proceed more slowly.

I merely wish to point out now that the Economic Conference had no idea of making the Economic Committee entirely responsible for the whole of this work. The Committee, which had previously been a somewhat specialised organ dealing more particularly with commercial matters, thought, however, that it ought to take over full responsibility for all economic problems submitted to the League.

This was a great honour, but one that brought with it a heavy burden. We all thought that a wiser and more effective course, and one which would not have interfered in any way with the Economic Committee's prerogatives would have been to set up a Permanent Committee to examine those problems. The proposal was rejected. The Committee wished to assume responsibility for all work done, and it must not complain now.

Moreover, neither the Economic Conference nor the Economic Consultative Committee asked the Economic Committee to find solutions for the various problems raised; they instructed it to set up the machinery for solving them, and this, I presume, is why reference is made in the report to the necessity for an international conference on coal and sugar.

Here again, the Economic Committee is not asked to find solutions for these two problems but simply to institute the procedure by which remedies may be found.

If there were any question of innovation, I should certainly advocate the utmost caution. But this is not the case; we are painfully pursuing a task already begun, and we cannot for a moment contemplate arresting the course of economic developments, however perfect our theories, however unanswerable our arguments.

We are living in an epoch of rapid change and development, and the problem is how to control this movement, not how to stop it (that we cannot do), how to guide it into profitable channels for the benefit of all.

Accordingly we felt it essential, both in the preparatory work for the Economic Conference and at the Conference itself, to urge that in every country national economic councils should be formed: the Consultative Committee would act as a link between them and the League, and they would be as it were the League's representatives, endeavouring to shape the economic policy of the particular country and to bring it into conformity with the policy broadly outlined by the League.

This suggestion was not accepted; yet I still think it should be borne in mind, because I take the view that if we are to do things thoroughly (and we cannot help ourselves) we must — we should — utilise every means which might throw light upon the situation, supply the necessary data for the examination of these problems, and at the same time bring any work done into line with the international principles laid down by the League.

We cannot check this forward movement and we must therefore try to keep pace with it. If we do not treat the problem as a whole, bearing in mind the interdependence of the various factors, there is the risk that the dangers may become more acute, may assume a definite form and overwhelm us while we are busy trying to find remedies.

Caution is of course essential, and I should be the last to deny it, but let us not, through over-caution, forget the twofold danger that faces us: we must remember the constant tendency in life to establish separate organisations founded on private interests, which are sometimes contrary to the general interests and are almost always contrary to those of the working masses; and there is thus a risk at the present time of intensifying the latent conflict between progressive ideas, which it is our duty to recognise and promote, and the great corporate interests which are bound to rise up in opposition to more general claims.

We must of course achieve definite results, and that is why, while accepting the principle of this new method of organisation which bears the strange title of "rationalisation", we emphasised the need for adequate supervision and guarantees.

We put forward these views in the Consultative Committee, but nothing has yet been done. Problems connected with the organisation of production, of industry, of distribution, of agriculture, may have been discussed in their theoretical aspects but they have not yet been examined from a practical standpoint.

Does this mean that since the World Economic Conference nothing has happened? Does it mean that progress ceased at the very moment when we decided to examine more or less closely the problems put before us? A glance at the world economic situation is sufficient to show that these organisations we anticipated, which mark a definite stage of economic evolution, have come into existence already, without waiting for us to cease discussing theories.

They have been formed, and now they dominate the economic situation in every country, just as they dominate the economic situation of the world.

But where are the guarantees? Where are the safeguards that the Economic Conference considered so indispensable? Their existence is purely hypothetical, contingent upon possible future discussions, which may be held no one knows when! And while we are discussing, and, worse, while we are waiting to discuss, these new organisations are growing apace, and the individual interests which constitute them are becoming consolidated and are forming corporate interests. Once that has happened it will be difficult to start afresh, to change or mend the situation, to organise things as we would have wished. That is why I am speaking now. That is why I say: let there be no slackening of the League's economic activities: do not ask it. Otherwise we should be running a grave risk, the risk of being confronted by obstacles so strong that no reasoning, no arguments, however cogent, could really shake them.

And I repeat, such a state of affairs would be bound to accentuate the latent cleavage which exists between the nations in general and the working masses in particular, and the League's activities.

If technical experts consider partial solutions satisfactory, if they think they can divide life into water-tight compartments, and flatter themselves that their work is done because they have solved some particular problem, no one with a grasp of realities, no one in permanent contact with the facts of life, can be satisfied with such partial solutions; still less can any one who has to endure the hard conditions of life find room for satisfaction. When, too, those who are suffering from such conditions find themselves overwhelmed by the dire consequences of certain forms of centralisation, consequences which they had themselves foreseen, they do not merely protest—they resort to violence. That, I tell you plainly, is the state of mind prevailing to-day

among the working classes of the vast majority of nations.

The idea of rationalisation, which was unanimously accepted a few years ago, and which we hoped to see put into effect, is now experiencing a reaction. Why? Because, under cover of our solemn declaration, the private interests which appeared so sceptical, which rejected the new formulas and to which we were obliged to give an impetus, have now adopted this idea, have gone ahead with it and have applied it in a very restricted sense, the result being, in a large number of countries, unemployment among the working classes, lower wages, and — inconceivable as the paradox may seem — longer hours.

Such a situation, of course, does not make for social progress. We can indulge in fine words here, we can flatter ourselves that we are doing good work, we can belaud each other, but we run a risk; we may find that the great public does not understand what we say. And then, the League, I tell you quite frankly, will be in a sad predicament. How often has it been said that public opinion and the trust it puts in the League must determine the League's progress — nay, its very existence? But to shelve problems is not the way to win or to keep the confidence of the public.

One problem at the moment is especially acute — I refer to coal. It was brought up at the Economic Conference, and then before the Consultative Committee.

In May of this year, you remember, the International Miners' Federation, representing several million miners, passed a unanimous resolution, calling upon the League to examine the coal question from the international standpoint with the object of finding a solution on international lines.

Why was this, gentlemen? It was because all the national solutions that have yet been tried have proved useless, because not one of them has ever done anything to remedy the mining situation and because the miners in every country are still suffering. As a result they now demand an international solution.

Will the League turn a deaf ear to their appeal? Will it not try to give them satisfaction? I know the many interests concerned; I know that the situation involves delicate issues; but you must remember that nothing but international action can solve this economic problem.

If we really wish to cope with this ever-growing aspiration of mankind, this movement towards unity, we shall have to consider all these problems as a whole. We must plan out a general scheme consisting of partial solutions which shall fit together as parts of one complete design. We shall be able by this means to keep the confidence of the nations, and of the workers in particular, and to pursue our task to the end, serenely conscious of having done our duty, with this general scheme to guide us on our path.

Gentlemen, in this great tide of economic endeavour, sweeping on regardless of obstacles in the wake of human progress, forcing its way past obsolete barriers, past ignorant misapprehension, the League may be the guiding power. Let it boldly choose this course — or stand aside in helpless impotence!

The President :

Translation : M. Loucheur, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Loucheur (France), Rapporteur :

Translation : We have just listened to three most interesting speeches — by the German delegate,

Dr. Breitscheid, by our Vice-Chairman, M. Veverka, and by M. Jouhaux, and I feel it is now my duty to explain France's position in the matter.

The first speech, that of Dr. Breitscheid, showed, if my impression of it is correct, confidence in the future, slightly tinged with pessimism; regret that matters were not moving faster; and concern at the fact that Customs duties were not being reduced more quickly. In the main, however, the delegate of Germany expressed confidence in our work, and in that I think he is right.

I will deal later with those points in M. Veverka's speech, which I thought to be of special interest, and I will reply in detail to M. Jouhaux, who showed more pessimism than the other speakers. You have the right to ask if this pessimism is really justified, and it is my duty, as Rapporteur, to lay before you a brief retrospect of the work of the Economic Organisation. I will be as brief as possible.

It must be admitted that little had been done in the economic field before 1925. But was it possible to do much so soon after the war, when the currencies of the world were in disorder and the general financial situation so unstable? It would have been quite useless to attempt the economic organisation of production and consumption when the means of payment themselves fluctuated in value from day to day. The League realised this; it held that it should first concentrate on financial questions, and we can say boldly and without fear of contradiction that it has achieved complete success there. The financial restoration of Austria, of Hungary, and of the other countries which applied to the League, and the very important findings of the Brussels Financial Conference, have done much to bring the world back to a much better financial condition than was the case a few years ago. We can well understand how the League, absorbed in this work and bent upon success, was unable to embark upon its economic work before 1925. In that year the Assembly decided to summon a World Economic Conference. I pass over what took place in the interval; but in May 1927 this Conference, to the great surprise of pessimists and sceptics, enunciated certain conclusions which may be said to have received the unanimous approval of the whole world and to-day constitute what might be termed the economic charter of production and consumption.

The next step was to put the solutions reached by the World Economic Conference into practice. The Conference considered that a new organisation should be created to carry on its work. M. Jouhaux rightly referred in his speech to the great divergency of opinion on that point. A number of delegates were in favour of instituting entirely new economic organisation for the League, and by way of compromise we agreed that the work of the Conference should be continued by a Committee called the "Consultative Committee" (with a view possibly to limiting its field of action), which should only meet once a year. In the report I am submitting on behalf of the Second Committee I point out that the Consultative Committee in a way acts as the engine of a motor. It comes here every year to remind the Economic Committee of all the work that awaits it.

Let me say first of all that you have every reason to congratulate yourselves upon the work done since May 1927, and above all since May 1928. I do not want to shower empty congratulations from this platform merely in order that we may later go our ways well content with each other. No, I say it quite frankly; and indeed the rapid summary of the work you have done will convince you; I want you, when you leave this Assembly, to feel the same confidence as I do, so that when you return home you will be able

to recount all that we have done and inspire your countries with the confidence they may justifiably feel in the economic work upon which we are engaged.

Have we been idle in the field of international trade? No, gentlemen. We tried first of all to find a common meeting-ground, and to ascertain if really insurmountable differences existed between the two tariff systems — the hard-and-fast tariffs of some countries and the negotiable, or we might even say bargaining, tariff which is used in others. The general opinion is that hard-and-fast tariffs should become more elastic, and that the negotiable tariffs should be adapted as closely as possible to the real needs of the country and should merely include a reasonable margin for negotiation.

But was nothing more produced than this relatively unimportant statement of principles? On the contrary, I maintain that, had the World Economic Conference never met, had the Consultative Committee not worked as it did, the many commercial treaties which have been concluded during the last two years would never have been signed.

I should like to refer, in particular, to the Franco-German Commercial Treaty, which in my opinion is the outcome not only of the closer relations brought about between the two countries but also of the work and conclusions of the World Economic Conference itself.

Thus the League has been the means of helping countries to conclude a number of commercial treaties which would most certainly never have come into being without its aid; and that is a noteworthy achievement.

Can it be said that we have been idle regarding the most-favoured nation clause, which has been responsible for so much spilling of ink and so many speeches? Not at all. The Economic Committee has defined the meaning and nature of that clause and also the exceptions to it which, as you know, always enabled the clause to be evaded.

In that direction too, therefore, much has been done. I should like, however, to draw your particular attention to one result, a small one, perhaps, but one which is so important on account of the principles involved that we ought to appreciate the significance of the fact that its realisation was possible in 1928.

Much has been said concerning the lowering of Customs barriers. Free trade even has been mooted. Yet it is admitted on all sides that in the present state of the world it is quite impossible to achieve the rapid and complete abolition of Customs barriers, or even to reduce Customs duties.

The League, however, set courageously to work. Its first step, taken through its Economic Committee, was to abolish the numerous import and export prohibitions and restrictions which, more than any Customs barrier, constituted one of the greatest handicaps to international trade.

A Conference was convened, and at the beginning, everyone was pessimistic and thought success impossible. Yet the Conference succeeded — succeeded so well, in fact, that it was considered necessary, immediately after the first conference, to summon a more limited one to deal with matters which were not generally thought of any importance, and which even lent themselves to the facile wit of journalists and the sarcasm of ill-wishers. I refer to the Conference on the Importation and Exportation of Hides, Skins and Bones.

However small the actual ground covered, we should realise that, for the first time in the history of the world, it has been found possible to make collective agreements in the matter of Customs

tariffs and import and export prohibitions and restrictions.

Such is the first result obtained in 1927 and 1928. These Conferences in themselves have not been fruitless, since twenty-seven States have already signed the first Convention, while the second has been signed by eleven.

I think we ought to realise the importance of these Agreements. To-day, as I have already said, the matters with which they deal are comparatively unimportant, but we are about to investigate other and far more important ones. The question of hides, skins and bones has been settled, and the Economic Committee, continuing its work along the same lines, is now engaged in studying the group of commodities which includes aluminium, iron, semi-manufactured products, timber, cellulose and paper. On this point I am entirely in agreement with the valuable suggestions put forward by M. Veverka. This enquiry should be extended as soon as possible to semi-finished and finished products. The Economic Committee is investigating all these questions in the hope of framing a convention regarding these commodities similar to that already drawn up for hides, skins and bones, that is to say, a collective agreement specifying the rates of Customs duties and the import and export prohibitions.

It cannot be said, therefore, that we are not making steady progress towards a world economic organisation. It is only reasonable, however, that the economists who are dealing with this vast problem should have felt it necessary to take it up stage by stage.

My friend M. Belloni, speaking the other day in the Second Committee, said that when the World Economic Conference was convened there were many who even doubted the possibility of drawing up a programme of discussion and of classifying the subjects to be dealt with — so vast was the field of enquiry.

Yet the programme was drawn up, and the subjects were classified, and as I have just shown you, results have already been obtained. I could give you many similar instances. For example, it is generally agreed that in order to arrive at international agreements and regulate world trade, the first step is to establish a standardised Customs nomenclature. Has nothing been done in that direction either?

Yes. Conferences of experts have been held, the Customs nomenclature has been prepared and the frame-work has just been communicated to all States Members of the League for them to insert the various items. It is practically certain that in the near future all nations will be able to adopt the same Customs nomenclature, and this will greatly facilitate the preparation of commercial treaties and collective agreements.

I will not mention all that has been done by the Economic Organisation in connection with the two very important questions of the treatment of foreigners and international legislation on bills of exchange. I merely wish, by enumerating some of the Organisation's activities to show you how very much has been done, especially in view of the short time that has elapsed since the World Economic Conference was held.

You ask us whether much remains to be done. The task before us, gentlemen, is a colossal one, and here I fully agree with my colleague M. Jouhaux. I am positively frightened at the magnitude of the burden placed on the shoulders of the poor Economic Committee. That Committee meets four times a year. It has first to carry out the work entrusted to it prior to the World Economic Conference. It acts, to some extent, as the League expert, and has accordingly to deal with a whole series of questions. We are

now asking the Economic Committee to examine at its quarterly sessions big problems such as the preparation of collective agreements dealing with all the various subjects I have just enumerated. We are asking it to study the complex questions of sugar and coal, for which it is imperative that a solution should be found.

I said in 1925 and said again in 1927, it would have been much better if we had decided to do what was really necessary to achieve success.

I am grateful to the Council for appointing the Consultative Committee and for providing the Economic Committee with means to go forward with its work ; but that is not enough. Either we must carry out the whole of the work before us, and for that the Economic Organisation will have to be reinforced : or we shall have to confess that we cannot finish our work. As M. Jouhaux reminded you a moment ago, life is moving on, the march of events is leaving us behind, and we may one day find ourselves face to face with disaster.

To illustrate my meaning I will take a particular point dealt with by M. Jouhaux. I may perhaps look at it from a different angle, but, as you will see, I arrive at the same conclusion.

Dr. Breitscheid said that the world must be organised on a rational basis, that, as Cobden held, iron-works ought to be built where iron and coal are found, and the economic life of the world in general ought to be systematically organised. This problem is of interest from both the theoretical and the practical standpoint. And yet, although I am very anxious to see the world organised on a more rational basis, I should be very much afraid of an entirely rational organisation.

Let me explain what I mean. Since these attractive theories were first propounded, the world has moved forward. The transforming industries have become more and more important, and it is no longer possible to consider the question of raw materials apart from the possibilities of their conversion into other products, since these possibilities are often the same in many countries. In this connection, fears were expressed on this platform by certain speakers who took part in the general discussion, more particularly by our Irish colleague, Mr. Blythe. I should not like small nations or nations which are in process of industrial development to think that the big nations are anxious to stabilise the situation merely for their own benefit.

We must bear in mind the interests both of small nations which are still in process of growth and of large nations which are endeavouring to re-organise their economic forces and to-day feel the need for creating industries. We must not say or do anything to prevent this normal development. I assert most emphatically that it is not our intention to stabilise the situation for the benefit of nations more highly developed than the rest.

But for some time there has been evident throughout the world — and whether we like it or not we have to acknowledge it, because here again, to use M. Jouhaux's expression, the march of events is leaving us behind — there has been evident a movement in the direction of industrial combines and centralisation.

For my part I consider that this centralisation has in many cases produced beneficial results. Nevertheless, it does constitute a definite menace to certain consuming countries, and may perhaps prove a menace to the working classes as well.

At the World Economic Conference, therefore, while urging the need for such agreements and cartels and encouraging this form of rationalisation, I maintained, as the representative of my Government, that national and international safeguards

were necessary, and that the rights of consumers, the rights of countries which in some cases were entirely without certain raw materials, and the rights of the workers, should be adequately protected.

Let us frankly admit that on this point our discussions at the World Economic Conference broke down, and we could do no more than frame a vague resolution to the effect that the question of rationalisation must be investigated. As a former industrialist I have been very surprised to find leaders of industry who have failed to grasp the social and political significance of those discussions, who, wrapped up in their own special interests perhaps, do not realise that we must allow these very necessary safeguards full play, or else — if you will pardon the expression — the fat will be in the fire.

Some kind of check is necessary, and as it is always difficult to impose checks in one's own country, I have always considered that international supervision would be more readily acceptable if exercised by a body like the League ; that the conditions of publicity established under its auspices would be more logically and also more impartially conceived.

The same ideas were taken up again at the Consultative Committee in 1928, but nothing has yet been done. Nevertheless, as M. Jouhaux pointed out, the workers' representatives needed courage to accept this form of rationalisation, to which they were originally so greatly averse. I think it is our duty to heed carefully the warning we have been given.

It is essential that this important part of our work should be undertaken without delay. Otherwise, as M. Jouhaux rightly remarked, we shall one day find ourselves, either in our own countries or, it may even be, in the international field, faced with a coalition of interests which we shall never be able to overcome, on behalf of the general interest, without recourse to arbitrary acts which may in some cases lead to revolution.

It is our duty, gentlemen, as we have constantly urged, to see that this does not happen, and our warning should be constantly kept in mind.

I am not pessimist, because I think there is still time to act. If more rapid progress can be made in certain preliminary studies, we shall make up for lost time.

I should like to emphasise, however, that if the League does not succeed in remedying the lack of co-ordination in the world production and consumption of coal and sugar, for instance, its work in the economic field will have failed.

There must accordingly be no further delay in getting to grips with the problem and examining all the difficulties it involves. I do not underrate these difficulties ; I have had twenty-five years of practical business experience, and I know what they are. I have kept my ideals, but I have tried to rid myself of mere superficial illusions, and, speaking as a practical man, I am sure that all these difficulties can easily be overcome.

As far as the much discussed coal problem is concerned, need I quote figures ? Need I refer to the unemployment in England, to the senseless price-cutting whereby countries directly or indirectly grant export bounties, despite their loud assertions that they will never grant them again ? It is true that consuming countries derive some temporary benefit from price-cutting, but when the time comes to raise prices again, producers immediately combine ; and then it is the turn of the consuming countries to suffer.

Europe produces 700 million tons of coal ; an increase of ten million tons causes prices to drop and imperils production, while a reduction of

output by 10 or 15 million tons produces a scarcity in the market and is followed by a rise in prices which reacts upon all consuming countries.

Are we still to look on without attempting to remedy this chaotic state of affairs? You, I know, think not; you believe that an international conference is necessary to deal with this question. Our Italian friends, who as citizens of a consuming country are specially interested, have declared; and I thank them for it, that they will give their full support to our international action. I am convinced that if the League brings faith and courage to the work it will succeed, and will thus give the world striking proof of the effectiveness of its methods.

The same might be said with reference to sugar and other commodities.

In conclusion, I should like to stress one point in particular, namely, that the Economic Committee, with the means at its disposal, has done magnificent work to which I desire to pay a heartfelt tribute from this platform.

Need I praise the Economic Organisation itself? Do we not all admire the splendid work Sir Arthur Salter has done in organising the International Economic Conference? Can we ask such men to work harder than they are doing? No, gentlemen, nor better.

It is material means that they lack, and I cannot help regretting the reluctance shown by the Fourth Committee to provide them with those means. I do not wish to say anything against the Fourth Committee, which has responded to our appeal. We approached it, and the echo of its discussions spread even beyond the walls of the Secretariat. We were, I say, sympathetically received. Our appeal was heard and our budget was passed.

I must warn you now, however, that the sum allocated will not be enough for next year, and unless it is increased, our economic work must come to an end. Work cannot be done without the necessary tools, and if you find that the Economic Committee is overburdened with work, the Council must enable it to sit practically continuously, and must if necessary create the Permanent Council already mentioned; the Council must, in fact, face the problem squarely. I am sure that if you do this you will have the people of every nation behind you, for the very importance attached to this morning's discussion shows the great value you all place upon our economic work. As you know, the peoples of the world, who, nowadays, are constantly trying to get down to realities, turn principally for enlightenment on economic questions to what is said here.

I do not deny that the modest work of the Second Committee and of the Economic Committee is sometimes overshadowed by the political discussions which — rightly, in my opinion — are the object and aim of our meetings at Geneva; but though our field of work is small, it is also extremely useful. We must not be blindly optimistic, but neither must we give way to pessimism. What I have tried to show you is the harmonious development of the work that has been taken in hand.

The President :

Translation : Mr. O'Sullivan will address the Assembly.

Mr. O'Sullivan (Irish Free State) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I do not intend at this late hour to delay you by examining the economic work of the League, but I must say a few words on the special topics we

have already felt bound to bring before the Assembly and before the Second Committee.

It is because we have intervened on these two occasions that, whilst appreciating fully the work of the League, I find it necessary again to make certain reservations. Perhaps the term "reservation" is too strong; perhaps I should say, rather, to call attention — I hope that will be sufficient — to certain aspects of the economic policy of the League that we consider on the whole may prove dangerous to our State, and to States whose economic situation is the same as ours.

We made it quite clear I hope, on the two occasions to which I have referred that the necessity we felt of making these reservations in no way indicated a lack of appreciation for the highly useful — I might say, the healing work of the Economic Organisation of the League. We are anxious especially to pay a tribute to the work of the Rapporteur, M. Loucheur, and to his efforts in this field, and also to express our appreciation for the clarity of his report. We can only say that it is what we might expect from him, and no greater compliment could be paid to him in that respect.

Despite the assurances given by M. Loucheur, I think it will help to forestall difficulties in the future, and may lead to steps being taken which will enable the League to avoid the danger of ceasing to retain the confidence of a number of its Members, if we underline once more what precisely we feel about one or two aspects of this economic policy of the League.

There are many countries in Europe, we quite admit, that seem to have lost all idea — or almost all — of the international interdependence of States. We quite admit also — we are not blind, we can see as clearly as anybody else — that economic forces may easily lead to misunderstandings and even to war itself. All the more reason, then, for saying that we are quite sincere in expressing our appreciation of the economic work of the League.

Furthermore, in the reservations that we are compelled to make I need hardly assure you — especially I need hardly assure the Rapporteur — that we are very far indeed from suggesting that there was any deliberate attempt to favour some nations or to favour certain types of nations at the expense of others, that there was any deliberate attempt to crystallise the present economic situation. We do not make that suggestion, and we do not believe it.

It is not necessary, however, to our argument to suggest that there was any such deliberate attempt. We are anxious to call attention, not to the aims of individual Members of the League or even of various bodies of the League — the Economic Committee, the Economic Conference, and so on — but to the policy they inaugurated. We are anxious to call attention to the onward march of a policy which, if care be not taken now, may prove stronger than all the expressions of goodwill on the part of individuals and Committees. We are anxious to call attention to the fact that that march is in a certain direction and that it has been, so to speak, intensified, its pace quickened, by the economic policy of the League, and that this has been done without sufficient attention having been paid to the peculiar position of certain States.

We are dealing with a force which acts quite unconsciously or semi-consciously and impersonally. But the fact is that, unless modifications along the line we advocate be adopted, this impersonal, semi-conscious force may tend to crush the weaker nations. Its impersonal and semi-conscious and irresponsible character and the fact that it ran counter to some of the expressed aims of its authors would be poor comfort for those nations.

We see here, if I may so put it, the gradual formation of an international public opinion. After all, we have to remember that, taking the League as a whole, its aim in most spheres is precisely the creation of international public opinion and that it finds its principal instrument for achieving its purposes in such international public opinion. We see here the creation of a certain public opinion with a certain end. In this connection I should like to ask, How far will it be possible in a few years for the weaker nations to stand up against that public opinion which is now in course of creation ?

I do not suggest that now or in the future there will be any attempt to interfere with the sovereignty of the different nations, large or small. What I do suggest is that, when the time is ripe, there will be little necessity for any such interference with the sovereignty of the different States — the force of the public opinion created may be sufficiently powerful. We are dealing, after all, with a practical policy, not with a treatise on political economy and the relative merits of protectionism and free trade.

It has been suggested to us that, after all, the big interests will come together ; they will concentrate in spite of all that we can do. We recognise this ; but we ask whether it is proper that the League should aggravate, so to speak, that particular tendency, whilst neglecting to take the measures necessary to prevent it from pressing unduly on the weaker nations — I prefer the term "weaker" economically to the term "smaller". I do not suggest that there was any intention of injuring the weaker nations. It is unnecessary for the Rapporteur or for anybody else to reassure us on that point ; but I feel bound to say that the impression created, not so much by the form of the resolutions as by a perusal of the Minutes of the Economic Conference, was that sufficient attention was not given to the problem of the States whose situation is similar to the one in which I am particularly interested. In the bigger, in the vaster interests that were involved it was, perhaps, natural that the particular problem of the economically less important States should, to a large extent, have been overlooked. It is because I feel that this was the case that I consider there can be no harm in calling attention again to the particular problem that must face States of the kind I have mentioned. This is the meaning of our intervention in this debate.

We are no doctrinaire protectionist country, we are not doctrinaire Free Trade. We admit, no one more readily, the dangers involved in a tariff policy, especially in a high tariff policy, but also in a low tariff policy. We are fully alive to the complicated issues involved. We admit the danger of such a policy even for small States. If we, or other States similarly situated, are asked, as is the case in respect of other countries, to lower our tariffs in the general interest, we must know what remedy the Economic Organisation of the League has to suggest to meet a case such as I will describe.

Take my own country, which, from the point of view of production, is predominantly an agricultural country. If we feel called upon, as we may, gradually to transform that agricultural country into a more industrialised country, into a country at all events in which there will be a more healthy balance, as we think, between agriculture and industry, what policy has the League to suggest for us except the lowering of tariffs ? Suppose we lower our tariffs, what other suggestion has the League to make ? I have searched and I can find none. That is the reason why I should like to say again, in regard to these small States, not

that an effort was made to crush them — far from it — but that they were simply forgotten.

The difficulty that we may have to face is especially noteworthy in the present depressed condition of agriculture. Everybody who is interested in agriculture knows that, in comparison with 1914, there is a disequilibrium between the receipts of the farmer and his expenses. This makes it still more necessary for the less well-developed countries to recognise that, whether they like it or not, they may have, in Europe at all events, to face the problem of the increased industrialisation of their States. I repeat, it is because I can find no effort which has been made to deal with that particular problem that I have taken the opportunity to make these remarks.

The other matter to which I called attention in the Second Committee on behalf of my Government is the rather unsatisfactory way in which the problem of agriculture was examined. Taking industry as a whole, there is no sphere of activity at the present time in which we are further from real health than in agriculture. That fact was recognised by the Economic Conference. I suggest, however, that no effort was made even to examine the causes of the depressed condition of agriculture, much less to find a remedy. If the situation of Europe is to be made sound economically, more attention will, in my view, have to be given in the future to the state of agriculture in the different countries of Europe.

I fully realise, as compared with industrial matters, the complicated nature of the agricultural question ; but I still think that more definite attention could be given to that particular problem. As I have said, we are anxious that the economic work of the League should continue. We recognise that it is necessary. All we ask is that special attention should be given to the problem presented by the economically weaker countries, and also to the special position of agriculture.

Apart from those two matters, we have nothing but admiration for the excellent work that has been done by the League organisations under the very able leadership of the Rapporteur.

The President :

Translation : If no one else desires to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions proposed by the Second Committee, which read as follows :

The Assembly :

(1) *Having noted the work of the Economic Organisation of the League of Nations during the past year, observes with satisfaction the progress achieved, particularly in regard to the undertakings resulting from the resolutions of the World Economic Conference which were recommended to the favourable attention of all Governments by the Assembly at its eighth ordinary session ;*

Is confident that the Economic Organisation will successfully carry through the important tasks still assigned to it, and that it will, if necessary, deal with them in an order corresponding to their respective importance and urgency and the possibility of reaching practical results, regard being had to the manifold and occasionally divergent interests involved ;

(2) *Notes with satisfaction that the Convention for the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards, which was opened for the signature of States by the Assembly on September 26th, 1927, has been signed by eleven States, and that there have been five new ratifications of the 1923 Protocol on Arbitration Clauses ;*

Trusts that at least those States which signed the Protocol will accede to the Convention, and thus enable traders in these States to resort to arbitration with full security;

(3) Welcomes the conclusions of the Convention of November 8th, 1927, and the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, and also the two International Agreements, dated July 11th, 1928;

Earnestly hopes that the Governments of the signatory States, and especially the Governments of the States enumerated in Article C of the Supplementary Agreement of July 11th, 1928, whose abstention might jeopardise the future of the Agreements concluded, will speedily ratify these Agreements and thus contribute towards achieving real progress in the economic situation of the world;

(4) Trusts that the Diplomatic Conference on Statistics convened for November 26th next and the conferences contemplated for 1929 in regard to the treatment of foreign nationals and the partial assimilation of legislation on bills of exchange, promissory notes and cheques will lead to valuable results;

(5) Hopes that the preparatory work for the establishment of a simplified uniform Customs nomenclature, of which it recognises the high importance as facilitating tariff agreements and increasing the efficacy of the most-favoured-nation clause, will soon be successfully concluded;

(6) Considering that the Economic Committee has already arrived at interesting conclusions as to the possibility of reconciling the two tariff systems (hard-and-fast tariff and negotiable tariff); Requests the Economic Committee to pursue its work with a view to framing a doctrine in regard to commercial policy and preparing collective agreements to facilitate, by bringing about a milder Customs regime, the movement of certain products which are of special importance or which lend themselves more particularly to treatment of this kind;

(7) Follows with interest the investigations undertaken in regard to veterinary measures, and

approves their objective character and the desire to take into account the legitimate and occasionally conflicting preoccupations of countries which export and import cattle;

Considers that their completion is essential to enable regulations to be cleared from all suspicion of veiled protectionism, and promote the greater freedom of trade advocated by the Economic Conference;

And is confident that they will be pursued as rapidly as is consistent with the complexity of their character;

(8) Expresses its confidence that the Economic Committee, to which the investigation of the problems relating to coal and sugar were submitted at the instance of the Consultative Committee, will carry through its work with all desirable energy, while not neglecting any of the interests involved, whether of producers or consumers — countries or persons — or the workers;

(9) Hopes that the Economic Organisation will be able to expedite, along the lines of the recommendations of the World Economic Conference and the Consultative Committee, the study of various aspects of the problem of international industrial understandings — in particular, the status of such understandings, their juridical forms, the legislation controlling them and the publicity concerning them;

(10) Believes that the successful attainment of the objects contemplated by the World Economic Conference will largely depend upon the measure in which it will prove possible to harmonise the interests of agriculture and industry, account being taken, inter alia, of the particular position of countries which are mainly agricultural or in the early stages of industrial development;

Approves the view expressed by the Economic Consultative Committee that the systematic study of the problems of agriculture will be an important factor in the encouragement of economic co-operation between peoples.

The resolutions were adopted.

The Assembly rose at 1.20 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SIXTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24th, 1928, AT 3 P.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

77. — ACCEPTANCE BY SPAIN OF THE COMPULSORY JURISDICTION OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The President :

Translation : It is my pleasant duty to inform the Assembly that the Royal Spanish Government has accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice for a period of ten years. Spain's acceptance takes effect from the date of the signature of the declaration by H.E. M. Quiñones de León, first delegate of Spain.

I believe I am voicing the feelings of all the members of the Assembly in expressing our deep satisfaction at this decision, which undoubtedly represents a big step forward in the judicial settlement of disputes between States.

I beg to offer to the Spanish delegation our most cordial congratulations.

M. de Palacios, delegate of Spain, will address the Assembly.

M. de Palacios (Spain) :

Translation : Mr. President — I desire to thank you on behalf of the Spanish delegation for the appreciative terms in which you have just addressed us. I shall not fail to transmit your message to His Majesty's Government, who will, I am sure, be highly gratified at this mark of esteem.

78. — CO-OPERATION OF COSTA RICA IN THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE.

The President :

Translation : I have received the following letter, dated September 22nd, 1928, from the Acting President of the Council :

"Acting on the suggestion of several delegations, and after consulting my colleagues on the Council, I have the honour to forward herewith for communication to the Assembly the text of a telegram dated September 6th, 1923, addressed to the Council by the Government of Costa Rica.

(Signed) PROCOPE."

The telegram from the Government of the Republic of Costa Rica is as follows:

"I have great pleasure in acknowledging receipt of the important telegraphic reply to my note of July 18th last, despatched through Your Excellency by the Council of the League on September 1st last. In this connection I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that at a meeting held to-day by the Council of Ministers it was agreed to thank the Council of the League most warmly for the careful consideration it has given to our initiative; and, as regards the kind invitation that Costa Rica should resume her membership of the League, to submit the matter to the Constitutional Congress, requesting it to vote the necessary funds for the payment of the contribution involved. — CASTRO, *Secretary for Foreign Affairs.*"

The Assembly, I am sure, will welcome this message with the keenest satisfaction and feel gratified at the decision taken by the Government of Costa Rica.

M. Guerrero, delegate of Salvador, desires to make a statement to the Assembly on the subject of this communication.

M. Guerrero (Salvador):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I find two causes for congratulation in the reply from Costa Rica which our distinguished President has just communicated to the Assembly. In the first place, we now have reason to hope for the co-operation of the Republic of Costa Rica in the very near future, and, secondly, this event has had the effect of elucidating a matter which, although so clear to most of us, was still a source of doubt to others. Our thanks are therefore due to the Council for its precise interpretation of the scope of Article 21 of the Covenant to which the Government of Costa Rica had referred.

But there is an even deeper cause for satisfaction at the return of Costa Rica, in that this may be the forerunner of other similar and equally important events. I am thinking now of the Argentine Republic. Only a few months ago, at the Pan-American Conference, it was my privilege to work side by side with the delegation of that great Southern people, and I had an opportunity of realising the inestimable value of their collaboration in the study of intricate continental problems. Their co-operation in the League's activities is no less essential in the interests of the great work of international law and international justice upon which we are engaged.

I venture therefore to express the hope — and my colleagues, I am sure, will share my feelings — that, at the next ordinary session of the Assembly, we may have the privilege of welcoming back, not only the delegation of Costa Rica, but also that of the Argentine Republic.

The President:

Translation: M. de Palacios, delegate of Spain, will address the Assembly.

M. de Palacios (Spain):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It would ill become me to listen to the appreciative tributes just addressed to the Republic of Costa Rica and the Argentine Republic without declaring my warmest agreement with every word that has been said.

As the representative of Spain, may I reiterate, with the deepest affection and sympathy; the hopes expressed by others before me?

President Irigoyen, who is to take up the reins of government on October 12th, the anniversary of the discovery of America — a date which he has, like ourselves, proclaimed a national holiday, thus publicly affirming the ties to which we cling — will, I am persuaded, pursue the work of peace and progress which the Argentine Republic has made its national glory and which Spain regards with most sincere approval and legitimate pride.

I do not wish to appear desirous of interfering with the responsibilities of the head of a Government or be considered lacking in the respect due to so eminent a statesman, but may I venture to express the hope that the League will one day enjoy to the full the co-operation of that country beyond the seas which, in its magnificent moral and material advancement, bears such glorious testimony to the qualities of our race?

The President:

Translation: M. Villegas, delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

M. Villegas (Chile):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to express my most cordial agreement with the satisfaction which has just been voiced at the welcome decision of the Government of Costa Rica and, as the representative of a country which is bound by so many intimate ties to the Argentine Republic, it is only natural that I should also wish to echo the hopes expressed by the representatives of Salvador and Spain.

Situated as they are in immediate mutual proximity, with one of the longest frontiers in the world, and united rather than divided by a mountain range which has been the scene of heroic action on both sides, Chile and the Argentine are governed in their relations with one another by a strong spirit of friendly co-operation, strengthened by common interests and common sympathies.

It is only to be expected, therefore, that every year we should become more conscious of the gap left by our great neighbour in this Assembly, where the Argentine delegation had proclaimed and defended principles, noble principles, which have since received so wide an application.

We feel confident, however, that the Argentine and Chile will once again be given an opportunity of working together on behalf of the ideals of peace and justice, which both countries have served in the past at difficult moments in their history, first by submitting their own disputes, now long forgotten, to arbitration, and again by contributing, in conjunction with Brazil, to the success of the memorable Niagara Falls conferences and the consolidation of peace between two great North-American countries.

The universal aims pursued by the League would, I am sure, always have power to evoke in us this same spirit of co-operation, and on this note I would close my speech. Let me, however, first pay a tribute to the Government presided over by M. de Alvear and about to be presided over

by M. Irigoyen, who, when he assumes office, can count upon the patriotic support of his fellow-countrymen and the warm sympathy of all Chilians.

The President :

Translation : Dr. von Schubert, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Dr. von Schubert (Germany) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is my very agreeable duty to associate myself on behalf of Germany with the cordial appeal addressed by previous speakers to the Argentine Government.

I am anxious that this appeal should be interpreted in the Argentine as a spontaneous expression of general and sincere approval of any decision that the Argentine Government may take with the object of sharing more fully in the work of the League.

May I take this opportunity of explaining how much we value the co-operation of the Latin-American countries? That co-operation, characterised as it is by a rare sense of responsibility and absolute impartiality, is an essential factor in the successful accomplishment of the difficult task we have before us. Of the States which have met in this Assembly, some to our deep regret — the Argentine Republic among them — are unhappily no longer with us, and we deplore their absence all the more keenly in that the principle of universality on which our great community is founded is thus impaired. But a special reason for our regret is to be found in the fact that the Argentine Republic, we are convinced, is eminently fitted to become the protagonist at Geneva of all that is represented by the League, in the loftiest sense of that term.

We are well acquainted with the generous impulses of the Argentine nation, which has always been ready to throw the weight of its authority into the scale on the side of peace and universal conciliation. Therefore, I cannot but hope that we may again have an opportunity of welcoming the delegates of that great Republic here at Geneva.

The President :

Translation : M. Motta, first delegate of Switzerland, will address the Assembly.

M. Motta (Switzerland) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Swiss delegation is very glad to have an opportunity of expressing its gratification at the declaration we have received from the Government of Costa Rica.

May I detain you for a moment to add a few words to what has already been said by other speakers?

During the general discussion on the work of the Council and Secretariat, I had occasion to say how gladly my country would welcome the return of the Argentine Republic to the Assembly and the renewal of its co-operation with us in developing and perfecting this great institution.

Although the Argentine delegation was only among us for a short while, we cannot forget how, from the first day of its arrival, it laid down certain maxims based on the principles of the equality of States and international justice, and those maxims have left a strong and lasting impression on our minds. The co-operation of the Argentine in 1926 in the work connected with the reorganisation of the Council was marked by nobility of view and firm devotion to the fundamental principles on which the League is based. For all these reasons we ardently desire the full collaboration of this

great Republic, and we trust that it may resume among us the place which is its due as a nation like ourselves whose sole desire in serving the League is to further the cause of truth and international peace.

The President :

Translation : M. Paul-Boncour, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Paul-Boncour (France) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The voice of France cannot remain silent amid this happy chorus of congratulations and good wishes attending the event which has just been announced to us.

I had the honour to represent my country on the Council when it was asked to perform the delicate task of replying to an enquiry concerning the interpretation of a certain article of the Covenant — the reply which has led up to the happy event at which we are rejoicing to-day.

I welcomed my share in that task. I felt we were giving some return to Latin America for the services which that great continent has so often rendered in the past by coming to us and helping us to solve the difficulties and conflicts of our unfortunate Europe. It was an act of courtesy long overdue.

I am glad to see that the result has been the return of another State to the League. I should not have ventured to pay this tribute had I not been preceded by others, the representatives of countries which are neighbours of that State, and therefore better qualified to do so than I. But I cordially associate myself with their good wishes.

Yet, frankly, I have had to think twice how to express my good wishes; for so accustomed am I to see that country affording its valuable co-operation on the various Committees to which I belong, more particularly in connection with the preparatory work for disarmament, that I cannot help feeling that it is already one of us, and that it is merely the final formalities we are asking it to carry out.

This will be a further triumph for the cause of universality, to which the delegate of Germany so appositely referred a few moments ago. To unenlightened minds this idea of universality may appear a mere fantastic dream; but we who, for some years now, have shared in the League's work and faced its difficulties know that universality, on the contrary, is the condition essential for practical success — in the work of disarmament, in particular, we know it only too well.

For all these reasons, therefore, I desire to add my good wishes and my congratulations to those that have already been offered.

The President :

Translation : M. Guani, delegate of Uruguay, will address the Assembly.

M. Guani (Uruguay) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of the delegation of Uruguay, I desire to associate myself with the cordial sentiments which have been expressed in regard to the Argentine and Costa Rica, and to add our fervent hope that the list of countries attending the Assembly at Geneva may be lengthened as the result of the co-operation of other Republics of the Western Hemisphere in our work.

I should like to point out that the nations of the New World can bring to our deliberations their individual outlook and their common devotion to the spirit of international justice, and also the principle underlying their work on behalf of peace,

namely, that greater importance should be attached in international life to conciliation, arbitration and the compulsory judicial settlement of international disputes.

You will remember that, after the first meeting at Washington in 1888, it was in the capitals of Mexico, the Argentine and Brazil — all of them countries not at present represented at Geneva — that the Pan-American Conferences were held; and, as President Motta recently remarked, these Conferences and the League of Nations are the two greatest international organisations in the world.

When, in 1926, we were considering the question of the composition of the Council, I reminded you that it was the Argentine delegation which, at the first ordinary session of the Assembly, proposed that all the Members of the Council should be elected by the Assembly, on the understanding that five only of those Members, representing the Great Powers, would be re-eligible.

I added that during the discussions at the Hôtel Crillon the representative of Brazil pointed out that the creation of two classes of Members would make the Council a kind of hybrid organisation consisting of certain self-appointed Members and others nominated by the Assembly.

I merely quote these observations as showing the desire of the representatives of the American States that the organisation of this international association should be based on juridical equality.

In the hope that these ideas may one day become practical political realities, we offer here and now a welcome to all countries whose historical and democratic traditions will enable them to defend and support international co-operation on a purely juridical basis.

The President :

Translation : M. d'Oliveira, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

M. d'Oliveira (Portugal) :

Translation : The delegation of Portugal wholeheartedly associates itself with the wishes expressed here for the prompt return of the Argentine Republic as a Member of the League.

The ancient ties between Portugal and the Argentine Republic, the fact that it was a Portuguese navigator who first entered and named the Rio de la Plata and that Portugal was the very first country to recognise the independence of the Argentine Republic would in themselves be sufficient to justify my country's special interest in this matter. But these are not the only reasons; though she no longer possesses territory there, Portugal is vitally interested in America through the close and intimate ties of emigration, language and culture that link her with the countries of the New World.

Moreover, Portugal desires the universal character of the League to be maintained and increased still further. For these reasons we attach particular value to the co-operation of the Latin-American nations, as sister nations to Portugal.

On behalf of the Portuguese delegation, I sincerely trust that we shall shortly see among us not only the representatives of the Republic of Costa Rica but of the Argentine Republic as well.

The President :

Translation : There are three members of the Assembly who wish to make a similar statement.

M. Adatci, who had also asked to speak, has sent me the following note :

" I shall be glad if, in your statement . . . "

(M. Adatci is referring to a statement I shall make at the close of this discussion).

" . . . you will mention my request to speak, which I now withdraw, and will express my sentiments — which are well known to you — on this matter."

Count Bonin-Longare, delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly.

Count Bonin-Longare (Italy) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Italian delegation has learnt with the greatest satisfaction of the decision taken by the Republic of Costa Rica, and wishes to express its pleasure and to offer its congratulations. It is our sincere and spontaneous desire to associate ourselves with the hope, expressed by several other delegations, that we may soon see the Argentine Republic resume her place among us. That great Latin nation, which has welcomed with open arms hundreds of thousands of my fellow-countrymen, is bound to Italy by the closest ties, the outcome of constant friendship and an unbroken tradition of co-operation in our common work for civilisation and peace.

The President :

Translation : M. Sokal, delegate of Poland, will address the Assembly.

M. Sokal (Poland) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Polish delegation desires to associate itself with all that has been said by previous speakers. The close ties of co-operation and friendship which unite Poland with all the States of Latin America embolden me to hope that these States may soon give us the invaluable benefit of their co-operation in the League's work. We earnestly trust that we may shortly enjoy to the full the help of the Argentine Republic.

The President :

Translation : M. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, will address the Assembly.

M. Caballero (Paraguay) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The delegation of Paraguay associates itself wholeheartedly with the words of appreciation which we have just heard regarding the return of the Republics of the Argentine and Costa Rica, our sister nations of Latin America, whose absence we deeply deplore, and whose representatives we hope to see resume their places among us next year.

The President :

Translation : The statements we have just heard will be included in the records of the present meeting.

In my capacity as President, I think I shall be voicing the feelings, not only of M. Adatci, who has asked me to do so, but of the whole Assembly if I associate myself with all that has been said. These words are addressed to Costa Rica, whose message has so greatly cheered us: and, too, they are addressed as a spontaneous and cordial welcome to the Argentine Republic.

This evidence of the Assembly's sentiments towards the great South-American Republic is a fresh proof of our sympathy for that noble country and the high value we attach to its co-operation.

79. — WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION: REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Sixth Committee on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. (Annex 19, document A.74.1928.XII).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Valdès-Mendeville, Vice-Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and M. Gallavresi, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Gallavresi, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Gallavresi (Italy), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Acting on the good advice of our President, which has been followed by all the previous speakers when submitting their reports, I shall not read my report, but shall merely summarise the essential points, especially as the document has been distributed in French and English, together with the report of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and that of the Director of the International Institute, which serves as the executive organ of the Committee.

In the resolutions which I shall read presently, special mention is made of the fact that there has been a gratifying response to previous recommendations, and that additional countries have come forward in order to assist the French Government with the expenses of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

The Institute is becoming more and more international in character, in accordance with the wishes of the Assembly, and I desire as Rapporteur to emphasise this point, and at the same time to stress the international character of the work of the various committees of experts who have met at the Institute in Paris.

The Rome Conference on authors' rights is one of the most important events of the past year. The resolution which I have the honour to submit on behalf of the Sixth Committee contains a paragraph dealing with the possible developments in this work.

Mention should also be made of the work of the Committee and the Institute in the matter of university interchanges, and of the international arrangements at present being worked out by competent bodies for extending these advantages to secondary schools, chiefly on the initiative of the delegate of the Polish Government.

The International Museums Office, the creation of which I welcomed as a particularly sound venture on the part of the International Committee, is about to enter upon a more active phase. The Office has already given us a substantial token of the excellent results we are entitled to expect from it, as evidenced by the question of plaster casts and the organisation of chalcographic exhibitions.

The Sixth Committee considered the vast problem of scientific property, but thought it advisable to wait for the replies from the Governments concerning the preliminary draft Convention prepared by the Special Committee of Experts.

It would hardly be possible to give you a complete list of the activities of the Committee and I have merely mentioned one or two examples. I should like, however, to add a word on a particular branch of the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which was exhaustively discussed in the Sixth Committee, namely, instruction in the aims and work of the League.

The Sixth Committee suggested a special grant for this purpose, and a lower amount has been allocated as the Fourth Committee could not recommend a supplementary credit. Thanks, however, to the good will so consistently displayed by the Secretary-General, provision was made for the publication of the first number of the *Survey*, which will contain material suitable for teachers and educational authorities who propose to give instruction in this most interesting and important subject.

We must hope, and indeed there is every reason to hope, that the *Survey* will be continued next year, and that instead of one volume we shall be able to place at least two at the disposal of the teaching authorities in all the countries Members of the League.

Having given this brief summary of the work of the Sixth Committee in the matter of intellectual co-operation, I now propose to read the resolution it submits for adoption by the Assembly. The Sixth Committee requests the Assembly to adopt the report on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to approve the following resolutions :

The Assembly has taken cognisance of the reports submitted by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the Institute. It is pleased with the results obtained by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation as well as with the work of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation during the past year.

The Assembly notes that its recommendations in preceding years in regard to eventual contributions from other States to the budget of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation have been acted on, that additional countries have granted subsidies, while France itself has increased its contribution by 500,000 French francs, so that the budget of the Institute for the year 1929 now amounts to 2,896,000 French francs.

It takes note of the progress made in regard to certain important questions :

Scientific property, co-ordination of bibliography for several sciences, co-ordination of institutes of higher political and social studies :

The work of the International Museums Office and the contemplated extension of its work in favour of scientific museums and similar establishments ;

The part played by the representatives of the Committee and of the Institute at the recent Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, and especially in the discussions which culminated in the recognition of the moral rights of authors, recommended by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ;

The action taken by several States in pursuance of the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Instruction of Young People in the Aims of the League, the beginning of the work of the Educational Information Centre at Geneva and Paris, and the contemplated publication of a Survey devoted to these questions.

The Assembly recognises the importance of the problem of the international circulation of books and hopes that the obstacles in the way of the

circulation of scientific and technical publications may, as far as possible, be removed.

The Assembly, in view of the general identity of principles between the Convention of Berne, as revised first in Berlin and then in Rome, and the Copyright Convention signed in 1910 at Buenos Aires by the American States, and revised in Havana in 1928, requests the Council to have its competent organs make all the necessary investigations and consultations regarding the desirability of a general agreement having for its object the unification, on an international basis, and in full conformity with the wish expressed at the Rome Conference for the revision of the Berne Copyright Conventions, of all laws and measures for the protection of intellectual property.

The Assembly notes with satisfaction the readiness with which teachers in secondary and elementary schools have answered the appeal for co-operation addressed to them and welcomes the organisation of courses of study with a view to their special requirements, not only on a national basis by various committees, but also on an international basis at Geneva and elsewhere. It is glad of the support received from Governments by which, following the recommendations by the Sub-Committee of Experts of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, facilities have been offered to teachers for following these courses of instruction, and, convinced of the paramount importance of the training of teachers for such teaching, it expresses the hope that similar facilities will be offered by the other States Members of the League.

The Assembly requests the States Members to take into consideration the need for the systematic organisation of the exchange of children in secondary schools during the summer holidays with a view to developing the spirit of peace and international co-operation, for which purpose the existing University offices should be utilised or special organisations created.

Convinced that this international exchange of school-children would greatly promote mutual understanding among peoples, the Assembly recommends that arrangements be made between different countries on this subject, and it begs the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to instruct the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the Secretariat of the League to facilitate the execution of such arrangements.

It draws the special notice of Governments and requests them to give the greatest possible effect to resolutions of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation regarding :

(1) The creation in the national or central library of every State of an information bureau ;

(2) The preservation of prints and manuscripts ;

(3) The suppression of Customs duties on prints sent to libraries and recognised institutes ;

(4) The adoption of the necessary measures for the preservation and the study of primitive languages which are dying out.

Finally, it calls the attention of Governments to the danger of cinematographic performances and of broadcasting characterised by a spirit antagonistic to that of the League.

The President :

Translation : M. Lucien Hubert, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Lucien Hubert (France) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have followed with great interest the work of the Sixth Committee in the very able report submitted by our colleague M. Gallavresi, and I have much pleasure in associating myself with the expressions of approval so justly called forth by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation — that most practical and capable instrument of the League.

With the Assembly's permission, I should like to consider just what that praise amounts to in the light of the difficulties actually involved. We have to do, ladies and gentlemen, with the most delicate, certainly the most daring undertaking on which the League has yet embarked. It is, I can fairly say, without precedent in the history of the world. Our task is not, like that of ancient Greece, to impose upon the world the ascendancy of a higher form of culture ; it is not, as in the stirring days of the Renaissance, to demand from a privileged land a renewal of human genius ; we have to deal, on the contrary, with mature forms of civilisations, sanctified by time and by their own achievements ; we have to bring them together, to harmonise them, to form, as it were, a luminous constellation in which each orb shall conserve its own brilliance while adding to the general glory.

The intellect has never been ringed round by frontiers, and the realm of science extends beyond the limits of national frontiers. Dante sought inspiration on Mont Sainte-Geneviève, and Goethe probed Italy for the secrets of Latin culture. But this commerce of the mind was only a matter of moments, broken and intermittent.

You have dreamt of a meeting-place kept in readiness, a mart and medium for the ideas and intellect of the world. Was ever a more glorious or more difficult task ? It is comparatively easy, despite appearances, to conciliate national interests. Raw materials, economic needs, output — these things can be reckoned in terms of facts and figures. The realm of material things, though vast in extent, is of necessity limited and, as it were, tangible. The realm of the intellect, on the contrary, is indefinable and limitless. It cannot be measured by any common standard, its boundaries extend beyond our powers of vision. And it is in this realm that we have to establish points of contact, methods and working principles ! Paradoxical as it may seem, I would even venture to say that it is easier to effect alliances in the sphere of the emotions than in that of the intellect. Community of emotions is less rare than community of thought. Noble words and great events cause hearts instinctively to beat in unison.

Few intellectual ideas have power thus to command unanimous acceptance. It is possible to shape human consciousness, springing as it does from one common source, but to shape the human mind, with all its marvellous complexity, must be a task of infinite difficulty.

To bring national mentalities into closer touch with one another, that is the problem. Simple to enunciate, it is vastly difficult of achievement. For what is a national mentality ? It is the product of hundreds, nay, thousands of years of traditions and history. It is the result of long-established habits of common thought and community of expression. It is the product of the soil, climate and language, of the life of the individual and of society, of joys and sorrows experienced in common. It is composed of subtle and delicate gradations, shades and reflexes, which foreign eyes cannot always comprehend or appreciate. Did not Renan say that a nation was a soul, and what is more difficult to understand than a soul ?

We, however, are endeavouring not only to understand and to define, but even to conciliate.

We are inviting all these separate mentalities, which stand in ignorance of one another, and may even be opposed, to learn to know and sympathise with one another. Each of them is a source of life and light, each has its own particular qualities and characteristic aspects, each contributes its share to the grandeur and beauty of the creations of the human intellect. We respect them all, and urge them to respect one another. We wish to bring them closer to one another, not to merge their individuality; to harmonise their differences, not to destroy them.

We do not wish all men to speak the same language, but we desire that they should understand one another. Everyone has his own particular way of thinking and defining and reasoning. We urge every individual to realise that others may have different methods, and not to find in this fact a source of irritation or amazement, but to come and study those methods, discuss them and learn to understand them.

We want each nation to learn not only the outward characteristics of the other peoples, their geographical limits, their political interests and industrial resources, but also the very essence of their innermost selves, their thought. For in the realm of thought, agreement, though so difficult to achieve, is certainly most productive of results. In the lofty spheres of science, art and literature minds may commune without offence.

For peace to become a reality it is not necessary that men should love one another, it is sufficient if they respect each other, and respect is based on mutual understanding. To bring about such mutual understanding is our whole aim and object, and compared with the infinite difficulties of our task, what are a few criticisms of detail, what are a few isolated or momentary reproaches? Our purpose is all-powerful, and secondary considerations such as these cannot hinder its advance. We must build on firm foundations; we must sow the good seed in the hearts of the peoples.

To work for them is to work through them. We call upon them to decide their own destinies, and nothing is more important or more calculated to produce results than to attract to our side the youth of all countries, to teach them the purpose of the League of Nations, what it is doing, what it has set itself to do.

Only the support and encouragement of youth can bring an idea to full fruition. The future of any nation is bound to be shaped by the type of adolescent education which that nation provides. One of our greatest Ministers of Education has said that it is at the adolescent age that the mind becomes formed, — or deformed.

If the new generations remain imbued with the old ideas, our efforts are vain. If irony and scepticism are still to be their daily fare, our purpose is frustrated. But if, without causing them to stray among mystic illusions, we can teach them, not only to love peace, but to trust and hope in it, we shall be able with joyful hearts to build an enduring edifice.

Moral disarmament is the essential condition of peace — how often has this been said! But intellectual co-operation alone can hope to make this possible. If the League is the great machine which is to destroy war, surely intellectual co-operation supplies its motive power, for every noble thought that makes its way across the frontiers becomes a source of generous endeavour, and, linked with other kindred thoughts, passes on, a harbinger of peace and human progress.

The President :

Translation : Mlle Hélène Vacaresco, delegate of Roumania, will address the Assembly.

Mlle Vacaresco (Roumania) :

Translation : Mr. President, my dear colleagues — We are met together here under the patronage of the Muses, nine in number as this is the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League. May the most pensive of their number, the Muse of history, stand by my side while I unroll before you the record of our past endeavours.

It is pleasant, when we are travelling far, to rest awhile on our way and read the tale of the milestones, to cast an appraising glance over the wide horizon. This is the fateful moment for statesmen who hold in their hands the destinies of nations.

Of more modest pretensions and lesser renown, I will do no more than survey the work of intellectual co-operation; and if we cannot cover the whole of its vast extent we can at least admire its vigorous life.

In its earnest desire to ensure an era of peace that shall be lasting — if possible everlasting — the League has realised that it must create harmony in every sphere, amongst all the groups of the human race. This was the object of each of its Committees, whether dealing with social, political or financial questions. The realm of the mind has been assigned to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, which deals with what we may call the technique of the sciences. Then there is the plastic or literary art, which, too, is technical up to a point, but which transcends the limits of analysis and reigns supreme in the measureless realms of heredity and the unconscious.

It was natural, therefore, that the International Institute at Paris should establish that wonderful and novel institution, the International Museums Office. It has gone yet further and is about to constitute a Translations Bureau, which is to be opened shortly. It has also given its attention to public education, which is a matter so dear to the heart of all nations and is the ultimate refuge of their traditions and the centre of their hopes.

The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and in fact the whole Committee, has given its most careful attention to public education and has worked unceasingly upon the preparation of educational programmes.

Co-ordination of the work done and the results obtained in the field of science; the education of the masses in all countries to a true appreciation of the masterpieces of art and literature; above all, the creation of an international moral spirit, — these are the aims of intellectual co-operation. And they lead to an even greater goal, the moulding of modern psychology.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation occupies a position *sui generis* among the organs of the League. While the other Committees are ready to respond to appeals in times of emergency, while they are intended to solve every international crisis which may arise and menace peace, while the part they play in the life of the League is outstanding and sometimes sensational, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation works in secluded vales, goes down to the dark places and seeks to grasp each problem by the roots. Its contact with the peoples of the world is through their inmost selves. I repeat that its main purpose is to create and define the laws of a newer psychology; for, Mr. President and dear colleagues, a new psychology has come into being. You know all the circumstances that gave birth to it, you remember the blood-stained dawn of that day. And since then, how the world has changed!

Humanity is the honoured guest of the day, and a vast field of possibilities lies unrolled before it. The world, high and low, cultured and unlettered alike, is seething with agitation. Then,

too, we live in an era of prodigious progress in mechanical invention. The motor-car redoubles its speed: the aeroplane has surpassed the wildest hopes. Wireless pierces the clouds and holds dominion over the mysterious powers of the ether. Nor let us forget the cinema, whose multiplicity of vision crystallises the psychology of the age.

What a revolution has taken place in the literary world too! The most secluded of authors must come forth and probe the mind of this world which is in constant communication from end to end: for pampa, jungle and ocean are now near neighbours. Travellers in their thousands go their ways over the earth, and miracles are commonplace of everyday life. Appeals for enlightenment pour in from every corner of the globe, and literature finds itself overwhelmed.

You may judge of this by the number of famous authors who have come to watch us this year, seeking to know whether to praise or blame the League.

What they really seek is the key-word of the new age, of which they must be the apostles or the protagonists. It is a key-word difficult to define, but the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation must place it before you in living terms. It is already setting its hand to this work; for a Popular Arts Congress is to be held at Prague, where each individual nationalism, strange to say, will display itself to the world under the watchful eye of triumphant internationalism. The national spirit is the very salt of the nation; nationalism will prevent internationalism from becoming lost in a dead level of monotony; we shall see it in popular song and in the handicrafts of the peoples.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has therefore but to go forward in the vast field which lies before it and advance triumphantly with the success which has hitherto attended its efforts.

It is the duty of the Press — and may I say that it was partly to address a message to the Press that I ventured to mount this world platform? — it is the duty of the Press to help the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Paris Institute in the mission assigned to them. It may be a paradox to say that the Press, which leads public opinion, or follows it, the Press which is so avid for news, the Press to which we all turn, has hitherto given all its attention to the other Committees, and has rather neglected the Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

As you see, I am betraying jealousy; but I speak from a profound conviction which I should like to communicate to you all, and especially to the Press which is listening to me, and also to those distant organs which I hope may perchance hear me.

Thanks to this support, thanks to the help which the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Paris Institute have given us in the accomplishment of our desire for peace, we shall see the work of the League, that rainbow of the nations, reveal itself in triumph.

The President :

Translation : M. Valdès-Mendeville, delegate of Chile, will address the Assembly.

M. Valdès-Mendeville (Chile) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire, as a member of the Chilean delegation, to give my warmest support to Professor Gallayresi's report and to pay a cordial tribute on behalf of my delegation to the work done by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the International Institute at Paris. I think we may rightly rejoice

at the increasing realisation of the fact that an international centre for intellectual relations is essential to real and fruitful peace.

As I said in the Sixth Committee, I believe the time is not far distant when it will be proclaimed far and wide that the peace edifice of the future must be reared on a triple foundation, — politics, social economy and intellectual co-operation — each part of which will be equally essential to the whole.

Chile is following the development of the dynamic principle of intellectual co-operation with the deepest interest, and has taken it as the basis for the reform of her educational laws. The new Chilean Law on Public Education, passed on December 10th, 1927, and the numerous executive regulations which followed, are admitted by all educational authorities who have studied them to be one of the most complete and best-conceived pieces of legislation of recent times. They form ample proof of Chile's belief that equality of opportunity in education and general culture form the essential bases of world progress and peace, and that Chile desires to keep abreast of the onward march of enlightenment and education towards conciliation and co-operation between country and country. That is why Chile is naturally interested in the formation of a spirit of international co-operation from the school years onwards, and has consequently become interested in the question of the instruction of young people in the aims of the League.

I should like to remind you that the Chilean delegation took this matter up formally before the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly. We submitted a proposal which, in conjunction with other suggestions, led to a meeting of the Sub-Committee of Experts, the recommendations of which may be regarded to-day as the charter of our work in this essential branch of the activities of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

In pursuance of the work begun by our delegations in this direction, I had the honour this year of submitting to the Sixth Committee a draft resolution, which you will find in the tenth paragraph of our resolutions, noting with satisfaction the readiness with which teachers in secondary and elementary schools have answered the appeal for co-operation addressed to them by the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly and the facilities which have been offered to teachers for following special courses of instruction.

In view of the letter and spirit of the report submitted by the Sub-Committee of Experts, I thought it but just to mention in the draft resolution the work done by the Educational Information Centre at Geneva, which was the first to carry Recommendation No. 5. into the international field by organising a practical educational exhibition of the highest interest, and also by instituting special courses for teachers, in which a large number coming from twenty different countries participated.

The Committee was unanimous in paying tribute to the work of the Educational Information Centre, but in view of the objection raised by certain members on grounds of principle, no special mention of the Centre was made in the resolution, and I accepted the Rapporteur's suggestion to amend my draft resolution, which now takes the form laid before you.

I should like, however, once again to express my great appreciation of the sterling work this Centre is doing for the League and to urge it to continue its work.

For reasons of which you are all aware and which our delegation accepts, the League has decided not to take up general educational questions. Nevertheless, some of the problems we are dealing

with are definitely of an educational character. I am therefore glad to see that there is a regular technical centre of information at Geneva, where it has the great advantage of living in the same environment as the League and of having been created on Swiss soil, and where no one's susceptibilities are likely to be awakened, in this noble and hospitable country which is famed not least for the efforts it has at all times made to further the cause of education.

I am sure the League Secretariat will continue to give every facility to the organisers of these special courses for teachers, and that those who have come to Geneva this year will take back with them not only the knowledge necessary to enable them to instruct their pupils in the aims of the League and to develop the spirit of international co-operation but also the benefit of direct and first-hand acquaintance with the noble and varied activities of the League: for there is nothing to equal direct contact with the work as a means of enabling teachers to understand it themselves and to pass on their knowledge to their pupils.

The League of Nations, which has such vast possibilities before it, is especially in need of the intelligent and constant support of public opinion, and it is on the school benches that the public opinion of the future is moulded. It is therefore not too much to say that on the education of youth on the right lines and the right principles the future peace of the world depends.

The President :

Translation : M. Zumeta, delegate of Venezuela, will address the Assembly.

M. Zumeta (Venezuela) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire, on behalf of the Venezuelan delegation, to express our hearty congratulations to the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to the Paris Institute on the work they have accomplished during the past year and to support most warmly the conclusions of the report and the draft resolutions submitted to the Assembly by M. Gallavresi on behalf of the Sixth Committee.

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that 1930 will mark the tenth anniversary of the League's foundation. This will certainly not be allowed to pass unnoticed, but will surely be hailed as a great historical event and a unique occurrence in the world progress of intellectual co-operation.

It is only right that from time to time the League should look back on its past achievements in order to seek courage and inspiration for the task still before it.

For both these reasons, first, as an important anniversary and secondly as a year peculiarly suitable for taking stock of the situation, 1930 should be the occasion of public and official celebrations — on a date to be fixed — in honour of the tenth year of the League's existence.

The Venezuelan delegation is desirous of bringing this matter to the attention of the Assembly and the Council. It has no definite suggestion to put forward as to the form which this proposal should take. It considers, however, that it should be possible for the numerous societies, unions, federations, associations and other bodies engaged in international activities, to take part in the anniversary celebrations and the work connected with them.

Accordingly, the delegation of Venezuela has the honour to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly,
Considering that the League of Nations enters on its tenth year in 1930,
"Recommends that the Council should consider what measures it may think appropriate fitly to celebrate that anniversary, and invites the international organisations of all kinds whose work comes within the framework of the League or which co-operate with the League to take part in the aforesaid celebration."

The President :

Translation : The Assembly has just heard the draft resolution read out by the first delegate of Venezuela. It will be printed and circulated to the delegations. I may have suggestions to make later as to the disposal of the draft resolution. I shall consult the General Committee on the matter at to-morrow morning's meeting.

If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions submitted by the Sixth Committee as adopted.

The resolutions were adopted.

80. — QUESTION OF ALCOHOLISM : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on the question of alcoholism, submitted to the Assembly by the Second Committee (Annex 20, document A.72. 1928).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Valdès-Mendeville, substitute Rapporteur, acting for M. de Porto-Seguro, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Valdès-Mendeville, substitute Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Valdès-Mendeville (Chile), substitute Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Acting on behalf of M. de Porto-Seguro, the Rapporteur appointed by the Committee, I have the honour to submit the report on the question of alcoholism. As the report has been circulated in the two official languages, I shall simply read the draft resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Committee after negotiations between the delegations most interested in the question.

The draft resolution is as follows :

The Assembly :

Having had a draft resolution on the subject of alcoholism submitted to it by the Finnish, Swedish and Polish delegations ;

Decides to ask the Council to request the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to collect full statistical information regarding alcoholism, considered as a consequence of the abuse of alcohol, giving prominence, inter alia, according to the data available, to the deleterious effects of the bad quality of the alcohols consumed ;

And, considering that, while it is for the Governments to put a stop to the contraband trade carried on in violation of the conventions in force between them, it may nevertheless be useful to examine the terms in which such conventions or agreements might be drawn up, for the prevention of smuggling in general and that of alcohol in particular :

Decides to ask the Council to request the Economic Committee to carry out this investigation and to submit to the Council any proposals arising out of its conclusions.

It is understood that this resolution does not refer to wine, beer or cider.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution submitted by the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

81. — WORK OF THE ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit, submitted by the Second Committee (Annex 21, document A.73.1928).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Nagai, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Nagai, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Nagai (Japan) read his report and the following draft resolution :

The Assembly, noting the report of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit on the work of the Organisation between the eighth and ninth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, expresses its satisfaction with the normal progress of the Organisation's work.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the draft resolution of the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

82. — ADVISORY OPINIONS OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE: RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — The next item on the agenda is the examination of the draft resolution proposed by the First Committee on the Swiss proposal concerning advisory opinions of the Permanent Court of International Justice (document A.52.1928.V).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Scialoja, Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Burckhardt, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Burckhardt, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Burckhardt (Switzerland), Rapporteur :

Translation : As the First Committee has not

adopted a written report, I propose briefly to summarise the result of its discussions.

The question whether, in order to request an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice under Article 14 of the Covenant, it is necessary for the Assembly or the Council to be unanimous or whether a majority vote is sufficient was discussed at length, you will remember, at the Conference of States Members of the League, which met in September 1926 to consider the American reservations. The question was not settled then, and the proposal put forward at the time by several delegations that it should be submitted to the Permanent Court appeared inopportune.

With a view to reopening the question, the Swiss delegation, through its first delegate, M. Motta, submitted to the Assembly, at the plenary meeting on September 8th, 1928, the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly recommends the Council to consider whether it would not be desirable to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice, for an advisory opinion, the question whether the Council or the Assembly can, by a simple majority, request an advisory opinion under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

In the First Committee, to which it was referred, the Swiss proposal was supported by various delegations, but also encountered a number of objections. Certain delegations considered that it was inopportune at the moment, that the idea of asking the Court itself for an advisory opinion on the interpretation of an article of the Covenant was attended by drawbacks (the contingency might always arise of some States refusing to accept the interpretation given by the Court), that it might perhaps be preferable to leave the Assembly and Council themselves to reply to this question by building up a careful system of jurisprudence. Moreover, it appeared that opinions as to the meaning of Article 5 of the Covenant (which provides that all matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council may be decided by a majority) were very divergent.

Some held that an advisory opinion might be requested by a majority vote in all cases connected with conciliation procedure ; others maintained that it should only be permitted when the question submitted to the Court was itself a question of procedure and not of substance ; others, again, considered that the answer must depend on the procedure adopted by the Court when giving its opinion ; lastly, it was asked what was the connection between this question and the question whether and in what cases the votes of the States concerned should be included.

This is not the time to attempt even a summary of the arguments adduced on either side. It is sufficient to note that the general impression was that the question was an important one which needed to be cleared up, that, if the present moment appeared to the Council to be inopportune, it would nevertheless be unwise to postpone the examination of the question indefinitely and that, if it were not thought advisable to submit the matter to the Court for its opinion, some other method might be chosen.

In deference to these various objections and suggestions, the Swiss delegation modified its proposal and redrafted it as follows :

*The Assembly,
Noting the divergencies of opinion which exist as regards the requirements for voting in the Council or Assembly a resolution requesting an*

advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice :

Expresses the desire that, when circumstances permit, the Council may have a study made of the question whether the Council or the Assembly may, by a simple majority, ask for an advisory opinion within the meaning of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

In this form, the proposal was unanimously approved by the First Committee and I now have the honour to submit it for approval to the Assembly.

The President :

Translation : Dr. Nansen, delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Nansen (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The resolution presented by the First Committee, on the proposal of the Swiss delegation, concerning advisory opinions is regarded by the Norwegian delegation as of great importance.

I cannot pretend that our delegation is wholly satisfied with the solution we are asked to accept. We believe that it is of urgent importance in the interests of the League that every Member of the League should know as soon as possible what is the meaning of the Covenant and whether or not it is within the power of the Council to ask by a majority vote for an advisory opinion. We wish, therefore, that the First Committee had decided to invite the Council to settle the point at once, and to do so by means of putting the question in general terms before the Court for its advisory opinion. We regret that the First Committee did not consider it possible to go so far as this, but we are in any case very glad that the proposed resolution was not withdrawn and that it was not wholly rejected by the First Committee.

With regard to the resolution which we are now asked to adopt, and which states a problem which it is in the interests of the League to settle at the earliest convenient date, we consider that the debates of this Assembly have carried the matter a substantial step forward. For this reason we propose to vote for the resolution, but in doing so it is my duty to make a statement as to our interpretation of it.

By the terms of the resolution, the Council is invited to study the question whether by a simple majority the Council or the Assembly may ask for an advisory opinion within the meaning of Article 14 of the Covenant. There are two points in this connection which we desire to make plain. The first is that to entrust the dispute to the Council does not in any way exclude a reference of the whole question to the Court. On the contrary, it is our understanding that, when the Council undertakes this study, the proper course for it to pursue would be to refer the matter to the Court itself.

The second point is that, if by any chance it should not seem possible to the Council to refer the matter to the Court, but if it should prefer to refer it to a Committee of Jurists, that Committee should be a general committee representing not only all the Members of the Council but all the Members of the League. In our view, if such a Committee should be required, it should be of the same character as that which drew up the Statutes of the Court, and we believe that only the opinion of such a body could carry the necessary authority. I repeat once more, however, that in our view the right course is to refer this issue

to the Court itself, and we confidently hope and expect that this course will be followed.

We vote for this resolution on the express understanding that it does not mean that the Council can postpone for an indefinite time taking the necessary steps in this matter. The world expects that something effective will be done by the Council in this important question in the very near future.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

83. — RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC STATION TO BE CREATED WITH A VIEW TO PROVIDING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WITH INDEPENDENT COMMUNICATIONS IN TIME OF EMERGENCY: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : We shall now examine the report of the Third Committee on the radio telegraphic station to be created with a view to providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency (Annex 22, document A.75.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Guerrero (Salvador), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Assembly has before it a report and a draft resolution of the Third Committee concerning the radio-telegraphic station to be created with a view to providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency. This question was entrusted to a Sub-Committee, which has examined it in all its aspects.

The Third Committee does not think it desirable at the moment to recommend a final decision to the Assembly. It therefore proposes that the question as a whole, including the suggestion of an independent station belonging to the League, and the Swiss Federal Government's offer, should be studied in the interval between this session and the next.

The Committee accordingly proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution :

The Assembly :

With a view to enabling Members of the League of Nations to proceed to a full examination of the proposals submitted with regard to the creation of the radio-telegraphic station for the purpose of providing the League with independent communications in time of emergency, and also with a view to allowing time for the additional technical, financial and legal studies considered desirable,

Decides to place this question on the agenda of its tenth session ;

And requests the Council to take all necessary measures for a further study of these questions.

The President :

Translation : If no one else desires to speak, I shall regard the resolution of the Third Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

84. — PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the draft resolutions proposed by the First Committee on the progressive codification of international law (document A.56.1928.V).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Scialoja, Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Henri Rolin, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Rolin, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Rolin (Belgium), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The report I have submitted to you deals with a problem that has engaged the League's attention for several years past.

It was in 1924 that the Swedish delegation made from this platform a proposal for the codification of international law, and, as you will remember, the Assembly decided after an exhaustive discussion to appoint a Committee of Experts to proceed very cautiously, after consulting the most authoritative legal organisations, to draw up a list of subjects the regulation of which appeared to be most desirable and realisable, to communicate this list to the Governments, to examine their replies and to report to the Council on the questions which were sufficiently ripe for solution.

The Committee of Experts, which was very carefully selected as representing the various legal systems and schools of thought, began its work, and three years ago submitted to us the first results. It informed us last year that in its opinion three questions were sufficiently ripe for examination. These were, first, the responsibility of States for damage done in their territory to the person or property of foreigners ; secondly, territorial waters and, lastly, nationality.

In continuation of this preparatory work for codification, the Assembly last year requested the Council to appoint a Preparatory Committee of Five to prepare a report on each of these questions, and also draft regulations. This Committee was duly appointed by the Council, and the results fully justify the wisdom of its choice. It is only right that we should recall the names of its members. They are : M. Basdevant, Sir Cecil Hurst, M. Pilotti, M. François, and M. Castro Ruiz.

In accordance with the indications furnished by the First Committee, the Preparatory Committee sent to the various Governments a detailed schedule of the different points included under the three questions to be examined by a Conference on Codification, requesting each Government to inform it as to any legal precedents in favour of any particular solution of these points and of its views in regard to positive law and its preference for any particular rules.

We now have before us the results of this work, together with further resolutions by the Preparatory Committee — the large Committee which we appointed four years ago — as well as certain additional resolutions which should, I think, give a much wider scope to our work.

As regards the Conference on Codification, which was decided upon in principle last year, your Committee proposes various resolutions.

In the first place, it very rightly desires to congratulate the jurists appointed by the Council on the extremely thorough work which they have done, and which affords a striking proof of the efficacy of the League's methods. It also congratulates itself upon the valuable assistance for the study of these questions afforded by the various international scientific societies.

The majority of these societies have naturally not been in a position to reply direct either to the League Secretariat or to the Preparatory Committee of Jurists — the essential point is that, during the past two years, they one and all proceeded to investigate the three questions to be examined by the forthcoming Conference on Codification.

The Institute of International Law has also, after lengthy preparation and discussion, drawn up draft resolutions, the most recent having been submitted last month. A similar task has been carried out by the International Law Association. The American Institute of International Law has likewise undertaken an enquiry into these questions, and a Japanese association has drawn up a draft Convention dealing with them. A recent and possibly the most important development has been the work carried out by an American Committee consisting of a number of eminent jurists. This Committee, which was organised by Harvard University, has already collected with regard to each of the questions selected by the Preparatory Committee a considerable quantity of legal data and official documentation based on drafts prepared by scientific societies or Governments.

It is highly gratifying to see that the League's action in initiating the study of these questions has proved a clarion-call to the scientific world to mobilise its forces to deal with the subject.

Accordingly, your First Committee did not consider it over-ambitious to ask that the Conference on Codification should be convened in 1929, and the resolution which I had the honour of submitting to you provided that this Conference should in all circumstances be convened in 1929.

I now take the initiative, and to some extent the responsibility, of proposing that the words "in all circumstances" should be replaced by the words "as far as possible" and this for the following reason :

You will remember that, in the First Committee, I strongly urged that this Conference should be convened in all circumstances. I thought that in any case we should have sufficient material to ensure the success of the Conference. At the same time, we are all equally anxious that a Conference for the Reduction of Armaments should be convened in the course of 1929, and, after an exchange of views with the members of the Fourth Committee and with the Secretariat, we have reached the conclusion, not that the cost would be excessive — for we consider that in view of the importance of the question the necessary sum would readily be forthcoming — but that it would be a practical impossibility both for the Secretariat to prepare for and the majority of Governments to be represented at two Conferences held simultaneously, or almost simultaneously.

We considered that if, as we had hoped, the Disarmament Conference were to meet as early

as 1929, it would be a great pity, notwithstanding the urgency of the work of codification, if we were to place any obstacle in the way of that Conference. Therefore, in accordance with the views expressed in the Fourth Committee, I propose that, for purely administrative and not, as I desire to emphasise, for fiscal or economic reasons, we should show our desire to further the work of the Third Committee, and more especially of the Disarmament Conference, by stating that, if necessary, we would agree to a postponement of our Conference for a few months to enable the Disarmament Conference to be held first.

On the question of urgency we considered that, if we were to hold the Conference at the beginning of 1930, it was essential for the Preparatory Committee of Jurists to receive replies to the various points mentioned in its questionnaire as soon as possible, and that accordingly the Assembly should request the delegations to communicate these views to the Governments, if necessary by telegraph, and to recall to their attention the importance which the Preparatory Committee attaches to receiving before October 31st their replies to the questionnaire sent to them.

In this connection, certain objections have been raised. It is maintained that, in view of the detailed nature of the questionnaire, Governments might find it impossible to reply by such an early date.

In answer to these objections, we pointed out that, as we understood it, the Preparatory Committee was not asking the legal advisers to Foreign Ministries to make an exhaustive examination of all points of international law. They were asked to give their actual experiences and their own preferences, based on *de facto* circumstances. As regards their conceptions and rules of law, they need not express an opinion on any points not clear to them, and similarly, as regards their preferences, they could, if they chose, reserve their opinion and give their delegations to the Conference instructions allowing them to take such decisions as might appear in the light of the debates to be conducive to the progress of international law and would at the same time conform to their own country's notions and ideas.

This possibility is provided for in paragraph 6 :

" 6. It asks that on this occasion it may be pointed out to the Governments that the detailed questionnaires drawn up by the Preparatory Committee, in obedience to the instructions given to it, have been prepared with the sole object of rendering it more easy for the various Governments to send the information for which they are asked, and do not prevent them, if they so wish, from reserving their opinion upon points which have not arisen in their own experience or upon which they would at present prefer not to pronounce."

Lastly, we propose that the Assembly should earn the lasting gratitude of our women colleagues by expressing the hope that — at all events, with regard to one question, that of nationality — States should consider the desirability of including women in their delegations. The Committee was struck by certain communications from women's organisations, in particular by a communication from a Committee of Women Jurists, appointed by a Pan-American Conference on International Law. We considered that, as regards questions of nationality, which directly concern personal status and are thus of special interest to women, it was only natural that they should pay special attention to the position of their sex under international law, and that in these circumstances, in countries

where women have already acquired the necessary legal knowledge, they should be called in when the question of nationality came up for discussion.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are the conclusions we propose for your adoption with regard to the preparation for our forthcoming Conference.

The Assembly has likewise before it the conclusions of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, according to which two new questions, namely, the legal position and functions of consuls and the competence of the courts in regard to foreign States, also appear to be sufficiently ripe for codification.

If the Assembly follows the First Committee's suggestions it will take note of these conclusions, but will not decide as yet to place the questions on the agenda of the Conference which it is proposed to hold in 1929, or at latest in 1930. It would in fact be unwise and inexpedient to overload the agenda of the Conference or to introduce questions which have not been prepared as completely as the rest. Neither will the Assembly decide that these items should be placed on the agenda of a subsequent Conference, both because they would not provide sufficient material, and because it is not certain that we shall continue to employ precisely the same method of preparation, which is somewhat slow.

This is the proposal put before you in the first resolution of Chapter II.

The Assembly will also note " that a new questionnaire, dealing with the question of domicile, has been drawn up by the Committee of Experts and transmitted to the Governments by the Secretary-General "

In this connection the question arose whether it was necessary to convene once again the Committee of Experts, which comprises some fifteen jurists. We thought it rather unreasonable to expect a considerable number of jurists (some of whom come from overseas) to undertake a long voyage and give up their time to attend a session for the sole purpose of examining the replies from the Governments on the question of domicile. As we have already a complete agenda, which is long enough for a first Conference, we did not consider that there was any urgent need to examine this question of domicile until the replies from the Governments were received.

I should like to add that during our discussions I suggested that the forthcoming Conference should also be invited to give its opinion on the methods we have adopted for the preparation of international codification. It was considered that an official expression of opinion would be undesirable, but it was agreed that, if the Conference reached definite and unanimous conclusions on the subject, it might embody in its Final Act any modifications in the League's methods which it might consider advisable.

I now come to the third paragraph: the establishment of a general plan of codification. The Assembly had submitted to it last year a proposal by the delegation of Paraguay suggesting that the Committee of Experts should be asked to prepare a plan for codification.

The word " plan " seemed somewhat ambiguous, and it was feared that it might be taken to imply that a programme of codification should be drawn up forthwith, thus definitely binding us to deal with questions of international law in a fixed order and by hard-and-fast methods.

We consulted the Committee of Experts on the matter and, after hearing its opinion, decided that it would be inexpedient to adopt our colleague's proposal in that form.

There was, however, one very valuable point in the proposal. It is highly undesirable that

people outside the League should imagine, because we have confined the programme of our proposed Conference to three questions, and because the subjects dealt with by the Preparatory Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law appear somewhat restricted in scope, that the League does not intend to pursue the work of codification any further. I say emphatically that there is no reason, notwithstanding the caution with which we are advancing in this difficult domain in our anxiety to be certain of success — there is no reason, I say, why we should not deal successively with other problems of international law in regard to which codification, although more difficult and possibly less fully realisable, is still much to be desired.

It was therefore essential for us to indicate to the scientific world in some tangible and visible form the field of work we propose to cover, while avoiding any mention of the order in which the questions would be dealt with and codified.

The Committee accordingly proposes that you should recognise that "there would be advantages in indicating the full extent of the subjects which, without prejudging the order to be followed, the Assembly proposes to cover by the work of codification".

We proposed that this work should be entrusted to a Committee of three jurists, to be chosen preferably from among the members of the Committee of Experts. We considered that, as the work was of a theoretical and scientific nature, it would be inadvisable to convene a large committee of fifteen or twenty members to carry out a task of this kind.

We also thought, in this connection and in order to avoid overlapping or disputes as to competence, and to prevent our legal organ, whatever form it may take, from encroaching upon the domain of our technical organisations, that it would possibly be desirable for this Committee of three jurists to endeavour to distinguish the subjects which should be reserved for the technical organisations and those capable of being dealt with by the jurists, and to define their respective powers.

This proposal is set forth in another paragraph :

"It suggests that it would be desirable at the same time to distinguish, if possible, the subjects which should be reserved for the technical organisations of the League, or the international conferences which have already been initiated by particular Governments, and the subjects which appear capable of being dealt with by conferences of jurists."

Finally, in connection also with our general plan of codification, we concluded that, even though our first Conference has not yet been held, the League of Nations — using the word in the widest sense of the term, that is, in its legal sense, as meaning the community of nations — had already achieved in many fields — possibly without realising it — the codification of international law.

I would refer in the first place to the important treaty which has just been signed at Paris, and which will presumably come into force very shortly — namely, the Briand-Kellogg Pact. There are also the very numerous technical conventions on labour questions, questions concerning communications and transit, health questions and humanitarian questions. These conventions unquestionably constitute a codification of international law in the subjects specified.

Following the suggestions of one of our most distinguished colleagues, M. Fromageot, we thought it desirable that this already substantial achievement in the field of codification should be assembled in a code divided into a series of chapters with

headings. If this were done, public opinion would be reassured and would realise that the work of codification we are endeavouring to carry out is not really so difficult, since, during the last few years, and without any preconceived ideas, but impelled, so to speak, by the necessities of international life, considerable results in the matter of codification have already been achieved.

For this reason the Assembly is invited in the resolution to ask :

"The Council to submit to examination by the above-mentioned Committee of three jurists the question of publishing, as an accompaniment to the *Treaty Series* and in the form of a code, of which new editions would from time to time be produced, those general conventions which have the above-mentioned character, and to report to the Assembly on the matter at its next session."

I have intentionally omitted one paragraph, as I wish to refer to it at the end of my survey.

The Committee proposes that you should once more call attention to the fundamental importance, for the satisfactory operation of arbitral and judicial procedure, of the codification of international law, and emphasises the urgency of the work to be done in this field in presence of the remarkable extension which has been assured, by a very large number of international conventions, to pacific methods for settling international disputes.

This resolution really implies that the resolutions as a whole are based on the codification of the general work of the League. In the very interesting discussion which took place during the first week of our meetings there was one word which was on the lips of all — the word "confidence"; confidence, from which springs security, the essential pre-condition of disarmament.

But confidence is not a spontaneous growth, and is not created by speeches or even by acts, however noble. Unfortunately, it appears that in international matters suspicion and mistrust grow up more naturally in men's minds than confidence, and there is only one way in which we can create confidence and safeguard it from international storms, by which it is so quickly swept away, and that is by substituting for the arbitrary decisions of States and Governments the decisions of impartial persons whom we must ask to act as arbitrators, or else address ourselves to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

That is the object of the General Act for the Settlement of International Disputes, for which M. Politis, with the admirable qualifications he possesses, will act as Rapporteur to-morrow.

Finally, one other thing is necessary to create confidence. Confidence requires that for equity and the open and always debatable judgment of arbitrators, however well qualified, there should be substituted a definite, hard-and-fast rule applying equally to all. That is the essential condition for the achievement of legal security.

In accordance with these observations, I have the honour to propose to you the adoption of the following resolutions :

I. THE FIRST CODIFICATION CONFERENCE.

1. *The Assembly expresses its high appreciation of the work already accomplished by the Preparatory Committee of the Conference.*

2. *It congratulates itself also upon the valuable assistance for the study of the questions to be dealt with by the Conference which is already being afforded by the various international scientific societies and by the study groups which have been formed, more particularly in the United States of America and in Japan.*

3. It once more calls attention to the fundamental importance, for the satisfactory operation of arbitral and judicial procedure, of codification of international law, and emphasises the urgency which attaches to the work to be done in this field in presence of the remarkable extension which has been assured, by a very large number of international conventions, to pacific methods for settling international disputes.

4. The Assembly accordingly expresses to the Council its desire that the Conference should as far as possible be convened in the course of 1929, so that the first practical results may be secured from an undertaking which has for four years been the subject of methodical preparation.

5. The Assembly requests the delegations to communicate these views to the Governments, if necessary by telegraph, and to recall to their attention the importance which the Preparatory Committee attaches to receiving before October 31st, 1928, their replies to the questionnaires sent to them.

6. It asks that on this occasion it may be pointed out to the Governments that the detailed questionnaires drawn up by the Preparatory Committee, in obedience to the instructions given to it, have been prepared with the sole object of rendering it more easy for the various Governments to send the information for which they are asked, and do not prevent them, if they so wish, from reserving their opinion upon points which have not arisen in their own experience or upon which they would at present prefer not to pronounce.

7. The Assembly, considering that the question of nationality which is on the agenda of the Conference is of special interest to women, and that Article 7 of the Covenant embodies the principle that all positions under or in connection with the League shall be open equally to men and women, expresses the hope that the Members of the League, when invited to the forthcoming Conference, will consider the desirability of taking these considerations into account in composing their delegations.

II. PREPARATORY WORK FOR FURTHER CONFERENCES.

1. The Assembly, having considered the report addressed to the Council of the League of Nations in June 1928 by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, thanks the jurists who, under the enlightened guidance of their President, have made this new contribution to the work of codification.

It notes the conclusions of the Committee, according to which two new questions appear to be sufficiently ripe for international regulation, namely :

- (1) Legal position and functions of consuls ;
- (2) Competence of the courts in regard to foreign States.

It decides to reserve these questions with a view to subsequent conferences.

2. The Assembly notes that a new questionnaire dealing with the question of domicile has been drawn up by the Committee of Experts and transmitted to the Governments by the Secretary-General.

It adjourns to its session of 1929 the question whether it is necessary to convene the Committee of Experts again for the purpose of examining the replies from the Governments received in the interval by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and, eventually, of studying other questions which may arise in connection with codification of international law.

The Assembly recommends that the Committee of Experts should, when it next meets, examine whether it would be possible and desirable to endeavour, by the procedure of codification, to formulate a declaration of the fundamental rights and duties of States.

III. ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL PLAN OF CODIFICATION.

The Assembly :

Having considered the opinion expressed by the Committee of Experts regarding the proposal of the delegation of Paraguay :

Confirms its decision to make no change at present in the method of codification adopted by it in 1924 ;

Recognises, however, that there would be advantages in indicating the full extent of the subjects which, without prejudging the order to be followed, the Assembly proposes to cover by the work of codification ;

And, in view of the character of the contemplated task, addresses to the Council the request that the establishment of a systematic survey may be entrusted to a Committee of three jurists, to be chosen preferably from the members of the Committee of Experts, and that the survey may be communicated to the Members of the League as soon as possible.

It suggests that it would be desirable at the same time to distinguish, if possible, the subjects which should be reserved for the technical organisations of the League, or the international conferences which have already been initiated by particular Governments, and the subjects which appear capable of being dealt with by conferences of jurists.

The Assembly emphasises the great immediate practical value in this connection of assembling together in the form of a code, according to a methodical classification, the various general international conventions, i.e., those which are open to acceptance by States in general.

It accordingly asks the Council to submit to examination by the above-mentioned Committee of three jurists the question of publishing, as an accompaniment to the Treaty Series and in the form of a code, of which new editions would from time to time be produced, those general conventions which have the above-mentioned character, and to report to the Assembly on the matter at its next session.

The President :

Translation : M. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, will address the Assembly.

M. Caballero (Paraguay) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to thank the Assembly for the favourable reception which it will, I am sure give to our proposal for the establishment of a general plan for the codification of international law.

After the very pertinent remarks of M. Rolin, the eminent jurist who is our Rapporteur, further comment on my part would be superfluous. But I should like to remind you of our reason for submitting this proposal to the Assembly last year : it was because we thought that, in any general plan for the codification of international law, it should be possible, by taking into account the efforts already made in different parts of the world, to prevent the danger of a break in the unity and universality of law.

I do not wish to anticipate the agenda of the Assembly, but the connection between codification and arbitration is so close that I cannot speak of one without the other. The Assembly will be

called upon to-morrow to pronounce upon a general act for the pacific settlement of disputes, a world arbitration convention drafted by the First Committee, and in this act conciliation figures as one of the procedures laid down for pacific settlement, together with arbitration and judicial settlement by that great common-law tribunal, the Permanent Court at The Hague.

This is undoubtedly one of the most important acts framed by the League since the Protocol of 1924. It is bound to stir public opinion and thus hasten the establishment of an organised system of law all over the world.

Only by the help of public opinion will the idea prevail that voluntary submission to the law is a sign not of weakness but of strength.

Arbitration — taking the word in its widest sense as embracing judicial settlement by the Permanent Court of International Justice — arbitration which has for so long been employed only in specific cases, as between one State and another, and indeed has only existed at all subject to numberless reservations, will henceforth be established on a definite basis, with the proper machinery and the requisite procedure. It will be given a fresh start.

In order to advance the cause of arbitration, however, it is not enough to establish the relevant procedure; for procedure is not the whole of law, and judges can only base their decisions on a body of laws.

Peace laws, laws of justice, must therefore be placed at the disposal of judges and arbitrators. Hence the importance of codification and of establishing a general plan of codification definitely connecting up the various subjects to be progressively codified, those which are already sufficiently ripe, and those which we hope may be ready for codification in the near future.

The League, which is the seat of the legal activities of the world, owed it to itself to undertake this fresh task. I am confident that the Assembly will realise this and that it will adopt the proposal submitted by the delegation of Paraguay.

The President :

Translation : I wish to point out that, in the fourth paragraph of the first group of resolutions, the Rapporteur made the following oral amendment : in the first sentence, beginning : " The Assembly accordingly expresses . . . ", for the words " in all circumstances " he substituted the words " as far as possible ".

As no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions submitted by the First Committee as adopted with the amendment proposed by the Rapporteur.

The resolutions thus amended were adopted.

85. — ENQUIRY INTO THE TRAFFIC IN OPIUM IN THE FAR EAST: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fifth Committee on the Enquiry into the Traffic in Opium in the Far East (Annex 23, document A.32.1928.XI).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Matos, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Dame Edith Lyttelton, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I propose, instead of reading the report which lies before you, merely to say a very few words about it. There have been a great many misunderstandings about the British proposal and therefore it seems well that I should try and state it again in simple terms. The enquiry into the position in the Far East was desired by Great Britain, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, Japan and Siam. All these countries have approved of the enquiry, in principle, because smuggling of prepared opium in those countries has reached such dimensions that the authorities find themselves in a large measure unable to carry out the undertakings given in Chapter II of the Hague Convention.

Now, this enquiry is strictly limited. It is not an enquiry into the cultivation of the poppy or even into the production of prepared opium, but strictly into the conditions under which the control of opium-smoking is exercised. It has very often been asked why the enquiry should be limited in this way? It is that question which I will try now to answer.

This is a definite and separate problem, which is dealt with in a special chapter of the Hague Convention. In all scientific enquiries the usual procedure is to try and isolate the problem, to exclude from it all that is not relevant and to concentrate on the one issue. Another question, however, is constantly asked: Is not the position in China relevant to the problem? Of course, it is. Governments would have welcomed the opportunity of investigating in China not the cultivation of the poppy but the conditions under which smuggling out of China is carried on. But there is this to be said, namely, that such an enquiry is not absolutely essential, as the facts and the extent of the smuggling can be investigated in the countries which suffer from it. The conditions laid down by China were these — I will quote the exact words — " That the enquiry should extend to all countries without exception which produce manufactured opium and its derivatives or other narcotic drugs ". I will ask you to consider with me for a moment what that condition entails. The poppy is cultivated, as everyone here knows, in a great many countries; the enquiry, therefore, would first entail an investigation in China, Persia, India, Turkey, Russia, Afghanistan, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Greece, etc.

There is then the question of the production of the coca leaf, which would entail an investigation in Peru, Bolivia, Java, etc. It also includes an investigation into the manufacture of morphine, heroin, cocaine, benzoylmorphine and other esters of morphine, eucodal, etc., in the following countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Hungary, India, Japan, the United States of America, etc.

It would be extremely difficult to estimate the length of time that would have to be spent, first in negotiating with the countries concerned for such an enquiry, and then carrying out the investigations. I feel that a statement of what the Chinese condition would have entailed sufficiently explains why the Fifth Committee felt that it was impossible to accede to the proposal.

Emphasis was also laid upon the fact that the Geneva Convention, the provisions of which come into force this very week, deals with the whole question of the manufacture of drugs and it is hoped that it will result in far more effective control than the Hague Convention. As the delegate for Germany said in the debate in the

Fifth Committee, let us see first what effect these new regulations will have before we enquire further into the matter.

Another question which is continually asked is: What is to be the effect of this enquiry? I think that we hope for two results: the first is that this enquiry would establish facts which are continually being questioned or doubted; and, secondly, it would review the situation as a whole and present a comparative study. It would examine all the systems of control in force and the difficulties encountered, in the hope of providing a solution for them. It is because of the necessity of surveying the whole field that the Fifth Committee welcomed, and the Governments concerned welcomed, the suggestion of the distinguished and expert representative of the Netherlands Government that the United States Government should be asked to allow the Commission to visit the Philippines. The Philippines, as you are aware, is the only place where the system of prohibition is already in force, and it would be of immense value to know how it is working and what the results have been.

I would then refer to another question that is constantly being asked, namely: Why should the League of Nations undertake this enquiry? Here, again, there are two reasons: First, it is surely the business of the League. The subject of the supervision of the traffic in opium is one of the few definitely mentioned in the Covenant, Article 23 of which lays down that the League of Nations is to supervise this traffic. That is the first reason, and I venture to think it is a very strong one. The second reason is that what is desired is an impartial and independent enquiry — an enquiry the conclusions of which would command confidence. What body is there in the world which could give such an absolutely impartial and conclusive opinion at the end of an enquiry as the League of Nations?

By the decision of the Fifth Committee, the matter is at present left with the Council. If the principle is approved by the delegates to the Assembly, the Council will decide as to the arrangements, financial and otherwise, that are necessary.

I have made a plain business statement, and I hope I have been able to convince some of you of the necessity of this investigation. The details as to how it is to be carried out are left to the Council, and I think we can safely leave the matter in its hands.

The President:

Translation: M. Wang-King-Ky, first delegate of China, will address the Assembly.

M. Wang-King-Ky (China):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I will not take up your valuable time, and have no intention of making a long speech, even upon so grave and difficult a question as the war against opium.

The word "war" sounds strange in this temple of peace; but this is a holy war, a war undertaken to save many thousands of human beings from decrepitude, madness and death.

This new crusade has enlisted in the service of the high ideal it has set up many doughty champions whose merits I should be the last to decry.

I will venture to say no more than this: it is a pity that for many years past so many conflicting plans of campaign should have been made, so many mutually antagonistic methods employed, so that East and West have never formed a solid front against the terrible scourge of opium and all the other narcotics.

As you know, China is not a country in which opium-smoking is allowed. Public opinion in China

unanimously condemns this deadly vice, and has always looked upon opium-smokers as unhappy people stricken with disease, more to be pitied than blamed, people whose minds and bodies can only be cured by suitable instruction and by radical measures removing this accursed poison beyond their reach.

The repressive measures introduced in 1906 were particularly severe, and by 1917 the cultivation of the poppy in China had almost entirely disappeared.

We had almost hoped that this evil was extirpated, when civil war broke out. The stringent prohibitions were relaxed and once again we may see on Chinese soil, and especially in the more remote provinces, a fairy picture, vast fields of bright, deadly poppies, like the masses of many-hued tulips that are one of the fairest ornaments of the Netherlands.

These prohibitive measures were always hampered, particularly as regards the contraband trade in opium derivatives and other narcotics, by the abnormal privileges which foreign organisations and individuals enjoy in our country, — abnormal privileges which China holds largely responsible for the defeat of our campaign against opium. These privileges have been so much abused that some Powers have withdrawn their protection from any of their own nationals who have been found to be engaged in this illicit traffic.

I will add that I am thoroughly convinced that these abnormal privileges must shortly disappear.

However that may be, I have said elsewhere, and I repeat here, that this recrudescence of the evil — I am speaking of the cultivation of the poppy — is a consequence of the exceptional circumstances which our country has just experienced.

To-day civil war is over, China is once more united, national education has begun and the Chinese National Government, from its very first day, resumed the relentless struggle against opium — indeed, against all narcotics without exception. It was proved, particularly in the period between 1906 and 1917, that smuggling and the consumption of opium derivatives and other dangerous drugs increased in proportion as the cultivation and consumption of opium diminished.

An Anti-Opium Committee consisting of the highest civil and military authorities, both central and provincial, has already been appointed. It began work on September 1st, and is still continuing; legislation has already been drafted and will be communicated without delay to the competent authorities. I may mention that a period of grace expiring on March 1st, 1929, has been given to opium-smokers, and after that date indulgence in their dangerous vice will be remorselessly dealt with.

The Government has also decided to summon a National Anti-Opium Congress, which will meet on November 1st simultaneously with the National Political Congress, and we are thus in a position to show the League not only words but deeds.

How is it, then, that China and Great Britain, pursuing the same object, should have found themselves at cross purposes in the Fifth Committee?

Simply because the Government of the Republic is fully alive to the dangers to which the Chinese population and the whole world are exposed by the contraband trade in narcotics, whatever their nature, and, in order to put an end to this traffic it is absolutely necessary to eradicate the evil altogether. And this the proposed Commission of Enquiry could not do: the field of its investigations would be far too small.

This explains why we insisted that the enquiry should be extended to all countries in the world

which manufacture dangerous drugs or which produce the raw material for such manufacture, and that China, as the country principally concerned, should be represented on the Commission.

It was objected that such an extension of the enquiry would impose too heavy a burden upon the League budget. Our reply is that the problem of narcotics constitutes a complete question in itself, and that it would certainly be less costly to solve it once and for all than to deal with it piecemeal this year and then find ourselves, in a few months time, forced to begin over again and to incur the same expenditure once more.

For that reason we regret that our view was not taken into due consideration by the Fifth Committee.

We are nevertheless still firmly resolved, as far as we ourselves are concerned, to do everything in our power, regardless of private or fiscal interests, to root out this terrible evil, and in this we rely upon the help of all the States Members of the League. I hope that China, opening wide her doors to visitors from all the world, will in the near future be able to invite them into the remotest corners of her territory and show them what the National Government of the Republic has done, by its own efforts, to promote the general interests of humanity.

The President :

Translation : Count van Limburg Stirum, delegate of the Netherlands, will address the Assembly.

Count van Limburg Stirum (Netherlands) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The discussions which have taken place in the Fifth Committee have shown once again that the consumption of prepared opium is still a cause of anxiety to the different Governments. It has long been admitted that the machinery for the suppression of this traffic can only be effective if organised on international lines. It is not surprising, therefore, that this question should have been included in the scope of the League's activities.

In organising this campaign against prepared opium we must of course take into consideration primarily the special conditions existing in countries where this product has always been an article of consumption, as well as the experience of the Governments which have ceaselessly striven to suppress it. Any proposal not based on a thorough understanding of local conditions would only make matters worse.

The international campaign against prepared opium is founded on the Hague Convention of January 23rd, 1912, of which Article 6 is as follows :

“ The Contracting Powers shall take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of, prepared opium, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned, unless regulations on the subject are already in existence. ”

In 1925, a supplementary agreement was concluded in order to obviate the difficulties encountered in the execution of this article, and particularly for the suppression of the contraband trade.

Twenty years before the conclusion of the Hague Convention, the Government of the Dutch East Indies adopted a series of measures to suppress the consumption of opium as far as was possible. The system of leases previously in force was superseded by a Government opium monopoly. Under

the new system the importation of raw opium and the manufacture of prepared opium became a Government monopoly, and its retail sale was only allowed through Government officials. These are paid a fixed salary and receive no commission on sales, so that they have no interest in increasing the turnover in the shops under the control of the administration. The monopoly, first instituted in 1894, was gradually extended, until by 1914 it comprised the whole of the Dutch East Indies.

The cultivation of the poppy was always prohibited in the Dutch East Indies, and the administration is therefore obliged to import its raw opium from abroad. Until recently, all the raw opium required was imported from British India, but, on account of the measures applied by the Government of India for the gradual abolition of the exportation of raw opium from India, the Dutch East Indies monopoly now obtains part of its requirements from Persia.

The consumption of prepared opium is forbidden in retail establishments, the number of which is very limited. Apart from home consumption, opium can only be smoked in licensed divans, which are subject to rigorous Government supervision. The number of divans is also limited as far as possible. Women are not allowed to enter them, and consumers must bring their own prepared opium with them, the licensees being forbidden to sell it.

The price of prepared opium sold in the Dutch East Indies is extremely high, the average being 26 florins or 52 gold francs per tael of 38.6 grammes. On the other hand, consumption is limited by the following restrictive measures: no one is allowed to possess more than one tael of prepared opium, and in some regions not more than one-quarter of a tael; consumption by persons under 18 years of age and the sale of prepared opium to such minors is forbidden; the hours during which places for the sale and public consumption of opium are allowed to remain open are restricted; propaganda against the use of opium is carried on by means of instruction and text-books and popular pamphlets published by the Government; and subsidies are given to private societies working for the same object. The Government also helps in the establishment of homes for the treatment of opium addicts. Lastly, the consumption of “ dross ”, a residue which is far more dangerous than prepared opium itself, is restricted by forbidding its sale to private persons. Consumers may only sell it to the Government monopoly department.

Besides these general restrictions, the consumption of prepared opium is forbidden altogether in certain regions of the Dutch East Indies, whilst the licence system has been established in other regions in order to ration the drug. I do not think I need enter now into further details of these systems.

I would draw attention, however, to the necessity of observing a certain discretion in the application of restrictive measures. In promulgating legislation on the subject, care must be taken that the result is not to encourage smuggling; for otherwise, despite the active watch kept the Customs and the police, the contraband trade would spread, and by its insidious propaganda contribute to increased consumption.

The Government of the Dutch East Indies spends considerable sums on strengthening the police force and the Customs personnel, and on motor-launches for the suppression of smuggling. Smuggling is still common, however, and it is therefore quite impossible to put into effect the provision regarding the period of fifteen years referred to in the Protocol annexed to the Agreement

of 1925, after the expiration of which the consumption of prepared opium is to be restricted to pathological cases.

In order to give an approximate idea of the present situation in the Dutch East Indies, I will quote a few figures from the annual publications of the Opium Monopoly. On account of the contraband trade the total consumption is higher than the official figures would imply, but the following facts clearly show that the consumption of prepared opium in the Dutch East Indies has not taken on alarming proportions.

The population of the Dutch East Indies is 51,700,000, of whom nearly 1,000,000 are Chinese. The total sales of prepared opium in 1927 only amounted to 59,100 kilogrammes, with a gross turnover of about 40,500,000 florins or about 81,000,000 gold francs. The average consumption did not exceed 1.16 grammes per inhabitant, whilst only one-third of one per cent of the population are addicts. The revenues from the monopoly amounted to about 5 per cent of the total budget.

Should a commission of enquiry visit the Dutch East Indies, the competent authorities will be only too happy to place at its disposal much fuller details than the few figures I have just quoted.

The summary I have submitted to the Assembly shows that the Government of the Dutch East Indies, in accordance with its international commitments, is prepared to submit to every sacrifice in its campaign to suppress the contraband trade in and the consumption of prepared opium; and I will add that it is firmly resolved to carry on the work it has begun.

Danic. Edith Lyttelton (British Empire), Rapporteur :

In view of the observations I have made, I will now ask the Assembly to adopt the following resolution :

The Assembly recommends the Council to appoint a Commission of three persons to enquire into and report upon the situation in the Far-Eastern territories of the Governments which agree to such an enquiry as regards the use of opium prepared for smoking; the measures taken by the Governments concerned to give effect to the obligations undertaken in Chapter II of the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 and in the Geneva Opium Agreement of February 1925; the nature and extent of the illicit traffic in opium in the Far East and the difficulties which it causes to the fulfilment of those obligations; and to suggest what action should in the circumstances be taken by the Governments concerned and by the League of Nations.

The Assembly also expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will permit the Commission to visit the Philippines and inform itself of the experience of the system of prohibition in operation there.

The President :

Translation : As nobody else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution submitted by the Fifth Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

The Assembly rose at 7.55 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SEVENTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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86. — QUESTION OF THE METHOD OF CELEBRATING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LEAGUE : WITHDRAWAL OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY M. ZUMETA, DELEGATE OF VENEZUELA.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly will remember that, at yesterday's meeting, M. Zumeta submitted a draft resolution on behalf of the Venezuelan delegation. The text has already been circulated to the delegations. I said that I intended to consult the General Committee at its meeting this morning, in order to be able to submit suggestions to the Assembly as to the procedure to be followed. In the meantime, M. Zumeta has informed me that, in view of the doubts expressed as to the

possibility of examining his proposal at the present stage of the Assembly's work, he thought it better to withdraw his draft resolution. The Venezuelan delegation considers it more expedient to reserve the right to submit the proposal directly to the Council.

The draft resolution submitted to the Assembly yesterday is therefore withdrawn.

87. — RUSSIAN, ARMENIAN, ASSYRIAN, ASSYRO-CHALDEAN AND TURKISH REFUGEES : REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Fifth Committee on Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees (Annex 24, document A.76.1928.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Fotitch, Vice-Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and M. Bastid, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. Bastid (France), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — A Rapporteur's duty is always easy when he has nothing but satisfactory results to report. At all events the praise which it is now my duty to bestow justifies me in speaking though only for a few moments.

The Fifth Committee has once more been called upon to consider the great humanitarian work with which Dr. Nansen's name will always be associated and which the Council at one of its recent sessions

decided should be extended to additional national categories of refugees.

The Committee was able to appreciate the progress that has been made. The figures speak for themselves: the number of refugees in distress has fallen from 1,300,000, the original figure, to 200,000. Moreover, in some cases the refugees themselves are responsible for their own uncertain fate; at Constantinople, for example, where the situation is critical, the refugees do not always appear to have been very eager to take advantage of the facilities for evacuation offered to them.

The resolution submitted to you calls upon the Governments—in my opinion quite rightly—to maintain and increase those facilities. Speaking now not as Rapporteur but as delegate of France, I am authorised to say that my Government is prepared to maintain the most benevolent attitude towards the refugees at Constantinople, and is considering the possibility of agricultural settlement for a number of families, especially if the High Commission is able to carry out its plan and establish a re-adaptation centre in France. In Syria, very marked progress was made again this year, as last year. Of the 100,000 Armenian refugees in that country, only 40,000 still remain to be settled and, of these, over 7,000—7,760 to be precise—will soon be adequately and permanently installed.

The enthusiasm shown on the administrative side is both encouraging and unusual. It would indeed be difficult to believe, if things had not happened so quickly before our very eyes, if Dr. Nansen had not lent us the support of his high authority, and if we had not had access to certain documents which your Rapporteur was fortunate enough to find in the files, documents which demonstrate clearly the keenness and confidence of the writers.

I am thinking specially of a detailed report submitted last month to the Sub-Committee at Geneva on the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria and in the Lebanon by two persons of different nationalities, Dr. Duguet, head of the Medical Service, and M. Burnier. I can only say that men who have such magnificent faith in their work are bound to succeed.

A most important point to note is that the refugees have not been treated as inert material. In assisting this unfortunate Armenian people, we have sought the co-operation of the refugees themselves, and if we have succeeded in winning their confidence, it is probably because we have discovered how to awaken a response in this most impressionable nation. We have reached the very heart of the nation through its notables, its religious chiefs and its political representatives; we have worked side by side with the people and have put not only our brains but all our enthusiasm into our every effort.

I have given figures in my report. More than 1,500 families, after a careful examination of their qualifications and abilities, are about to be settled either in the country or in the towns. The results of the agricultural settlement are especially remarkable in a country where the ground available is scattered far and wide and the means of communication are very uncertain. The policy of settlement is directed wholly towards full proprietorship. The aim is to make those who till the soil owners of the soil, directly interested in the yield of crops, and to help them, through their permanent settlement on the land, to recover the peace of mind that deserts peoples and individuals alike when their lot becomes precarious and uncertain.

I cannot enter into the details of the complex administrative machinery which it has been necessary to set up on this account; drainage

works are a special case in point. I simply wish to point out now that the moral aspect so characteristic of this Armenian regeneration is completely in accord with the apostolic mission of the League and of Dr. Nansen himself.

The work begun under these conditions must be continued and brought to a successful conclusion; you may rely upon the mandatory Power to do everything possible.

Now, gentlemen, we have to be thinking what is to be the end of all this refugee work; that question, I may say, was the one uppermost in the mind of the Fifth Committee.

The League has never thought of the refugees work as anything but a provisional remedy for a temporary state of affairs, and our efforts must be designed not to perpetuate it but to do away with it entirely. It is quite clear that the demographic upheaval due to the war cannot be allowed to devolve into a new order of things sanctioned by permanent institutions—everybody agrees on that point.

Despite these considerations, however, it is only fair to say that any drastic attempt to settle once and for all the problem of assisting these distressed peoples, a task which has brought such credit on the League, would probably mean not only inflicting injury upon those to whom help has been offered but at the same time damaging the prestige of this Geneva institution.

It is pointed out that the position of the refugees is still attended by difficulties in many countries. On the other hand, present political conditions in Europe and all over the world make it impossible to consider mass repatriation, nor do the countries appear disposed to assimilate the refugees residing within their territories before they have evinced their suitability for naturalisation by a sufficiently lengthy sojourn. There is, however, no other alternative by way of solution.

These were the two principal points that came up for discussion; we noted the progress that had been made; we expressed the hope that the work would soon be concluded.

We had also to report the results of the Inter-Governmental Conference held in June last. The Conference drew up a number of texts defining, and hence calculated to improve, the legal position of refugees. The new regime thus created—which requires the approval of the Government concerned—confers additional powers on the High Commission, necessitating the reorganisation of that body. A further point—the refugee work entrusted to the International Labour Office—will shortly be brought to a conclusion. It appeared desirable, in consequence, that the High Commission should be assisted in its task by a Joint Advisory Commission, consisting of representatives appointed in equal numbers by the Council of the League of Nations and the Governing Body of the International Labour Office respectively.

The refugee service would thus acquire the unity and authority that it needs.

These and other ideas are summed up and set forth in the following resolutions which the Fifth Committee has the honour to submit to you, and to which we trust you will give your approval:

The Assembly:

(1) *After examining the reports submitted by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the Director of the International Labour Office on questions connected with Russian, Armenian, Turkish, Assyrian and Assyro-Chaldean refugees:*

(2) *Recognises the progress achieved in the course of the year;*

(3) Notes that a complete solution of the problem can only be provided by the return of the refugees to their country of origin or their assimilation by the countries at present giving them shelter ;

(4) Earnestly invites the Governments concerned to provide the refugees with all possible facilities for acquiring the nationality of the countries in which they at present reside ;

(5) Whereas, however, in present circumstances, international action is still necessary for some time to come :

(6) In conformity with the resolution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, invites the Council to take urgently all necessary steps to appoint an Advisory Commission to be attached to the High Commissioner ;

(7) Recommends the Council of the League to invite this Advisory Commission to submit to it, before the next session of the Assembly, a general report on the possibility of reaching a final solution as soon as possible and on the means by which this object might be attained ;

(8) Earnestly invites States Members to adopt and apply, on as wide a scale as possible, the Inter-Governmental Arrangements concluded on July 5th, 1922 ; May 31st, 1924 ; May 12th, 1926 ; and June 30th, 1928, which offer the refugee work the means by which it may gradually become self-supporting ;

(9) Points out, however, that the respective Governments must be left free to decide whether and how far they are prepared to give force of law to the recommendations adopted by the Inter-Governmental Conference of June 30th, 1928 ;

(10) Notes that the taxes to be levied will be fixed in consultation with the respective Governments, that only the representatives of the High Commissioner will be entitled to levy them, and that the employment of the proceeds will be subject to the control of the High Commissioner ;

(11) Declares that the Council's resolution of June 27th, 1921, shall be applied in regard to all categories of refugees ;

(12) Recalls with gratitude the endeavours of the High Commission and of the International Labour Office by which about 800 Russian refugees in Constantinople have been successfully evacuated during recent months ;

Cognisant of the very difficult situation of some 2,000 of these refugees who still remain in Turkey and who, in accordance with a Decree of the Turkish Government, must be evacuated from Turkey before February 6th, 1929 :

Expresses the hope that the High Commission will seize every opportunity to press forward their evacuation and that the various Governments will, as an exceptional measure, and subject to the safeguarding of their own interests, authorise the issue of emergency visas to enable the refugees to leave Turkey ;

(13) Adopts the budget for the Refugees Services for 1929, as already approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and by the Supervisory Commission, and

Requests the Supervisory Commission to take into consideration the uncertainty of the position of the officials employed in that Service, to which attention has been drawn by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and to grant them the improvements asked for on their behalf.

The President :

Translation : As no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee as adopted.

The resolutions were adopted.

58. — PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN THE REPUBLIC OF ERIVAN : REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan, submitted to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee (Annex 25, document A.80.1928.VII).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Valdès-Mendeville, Vice-Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and Dr. Riddell, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Dr. Riddell, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Riddell (Canada), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to present to this Assembly the report of the Sixth Committee on the establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan. This proposal first came before the Assembly in 1924, in which year 50,000 francs were added to the refugee budget to provide for an enquiry into the possibility of settling a substantial number of Armenian refugees in the Caucasus and elsewhere.

In 1925, the Assembly considered the question of securing a loan from the States Members of the League in order to finance this settlement scheme, but that was found to be impossible. In 1926, the High Commissioner for Refugees was authorised to see what could be done to secure additional contributions towards this scheme. In September 1927, the High Commissioner asked the Council if anything could be done by the Members of the League in the way of contributing funds to help the scheme.

The Council thereupon decided to make a final appeal to the Members of the League. In reply, four Governments have now offered to contribute either by means of credits or in cash. Two other Governments have indicated that it may be possible for them to make some contribution. At the Council meeting held on the 17th of this month, Dr. Nansen announced that, in addition to these gifts, the Armenians in Europe had given £100,000 for this scheme and that he was willing to carry on this work under the auspices of the League under certain conditions, namely, that the Council should continue negotiations with the Governments which had indicated their desire to assist, and that the League should provide funds for the administrative cost incurred in carrying out the scheme.

As you know, the Council referred this matter to the Assembly. The results of the deliberations of the Sixth and Fourth Committees are embodied in the report which is now before you ; and as you have had an opportunity of reading that report — carefully, I trust — I shall only read the resolution which the Sixth Committee proposes to the Assembly :

"The Assembly :

"Decides that the work of the establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan shall be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations ;

"Requests the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered assistance in this work, in order that the conditions under which other offers have been made may be fulfilled ;

"Approves the inclusion in the budget of the sum of 50,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of this work."

If you adopt this resolution, your action will afford additional proof of the profound sympathy which you have shown from the beginning in the rehabilitation of Armenian refugees. Dr. Nansen has stated that the funds which will probably be at his disposal will enable him to settle between 10,000 and 12,000 refugees in the Republic of Erivan.

I trust that the report of the Sixth Committee on this subject has had your careful consideration, and that it will now meet with your unanimous approval.

The President :

Translation : Dr. Nansen, delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Nansen (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I desire to express my satisfaction that at last a result has been reached in this matter, and that the League of Nations will now actually do something for these destitute Armenian refugees. It can be said with truth that no people deserve more the help of the League. No people in the world have had a sadder fate than the Armenian people. Their history has been one long record of suffering and oppression in their worst forms. Their rich and fertile country was in an exposed situation between great Powers — Persia on the one side, Greece and the Roman Empire on the other. Then came the Turks and the Arabs. The fertile country was swept by the armies of these peoples going backwards and forwards, destroying the country, massacring the people, sacking the towns and destroying the villages ; nevertheless, with wonderful energy, vitality and tenacity, these remarkably gifted people always and every time patiently built up their homes again. So it went on until the final catastrophe came during the last war, when the Turks decided to wipe out these people from their territory, and when they were deported over mountains into the Arabian desert, to be massacred or starved to death.

One million of these people were murdered or died from starvation, and the rest were scattered over the world, so that the Armenians were actually driven out of Turkish territory. As was then said : "*La question arménienne n'existe plus*". The Allied Powers then invited the Armenians to fight with the Allies and promised them that, if the war were successful, they should be given an independent home and protected against their enemies. The war ended successfully, but all the promises were forgotten, and the Powers did not fulfil their duties and their solemn promises. Two hundred thousand Armenian volunteers sacrificed their lives for the Allied cause. But the Armenians received nothing that they had been promised.

The League of Nations has time after time unanimously adopted resolutions to the effect that it was necessary and desirable to give the Armenians a national home. This was done at the first and

second ordinary sessions of the Assembly, and at the third ordinary session, in 1922, it was decided that as a result of the peace negotiations it was of the greatest importance that the Armenians should have an independent national home. The Council of the League was asked to take the necessary steps to fulfil that desire. Then came the negotiations at Lausanne, when Lord Curzon, in the name of all the Powers, declared that it was necessary to give the Armenians a national home and described the Armenian question as one of the worst scandals of the world. The Turks put themselves in opposition and in the Peace Treaty of Lausanne there is not a word about the Armenians.

Mr. Baldwin, the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, declared that the five million Turkish pounds which was deposited in the banks in Berlin and which was divided between the Allies was, to a very great extent at least, Armenian money which had been taken by the Turks from Armenian banks in Asia Minor, and that from every point of view it was absolutely necessary for Great Britain to contribute an important sum to help the Armenian refugees on very much the same plan as was afterwards proposed.

The League of Nations has examined the question, going into it very thoroughly through the intermediary of its High Commissioner and a special Commission of Experts, which recommended irrigation, etc., and hoped that there would be no great difficulty in obtaining the support of the Governments in order to establish a home for the Armenians and to alleviate at least those miseries which had been created by the war. But, unfortunately, the Powers did not seem able to give the necessary support, and nothing was done. Then it was proposed that small sums should be given in order to settle the most destitute of the refugees in Armenia, and that proposal also met with difficulty.

Now, at last, I hope that the necessary money will be raised to be administered under the auspices of the League. The greater part of the money which is now at our disposal has been provided by private contributions from the Armenians themselves in Europe and in America, and some part of it is a loan from various Governments. I hope that, as a result, something will be done for the Armenian refugees in order to alleviate the worst misery of some of those who are most destitute, especially, I think, in Greece and in Constantinople. The money at our disposal is certainly much less than was at one time hoped for, but none the less it constitutes a beginning.

Some members of delegations in the past had misgivings as to the carrying out of the plan. I feel confident that they will have no cause for regret when the work actually begins. The settlement, I feel convinced, will be as successful as any that the League of Nations has effected. I believe this, in the first place, because of the industry and ability of the Armenians themselves, and, secondly, because of their determination to conserve their national culture in a country of their own. I believe that this will be, as I said before, the beginning of a much larger work by means of which that national home promised to the Armenians will actually be built up, though on a much smaller scale, it is true, than was originally desired and intended. Nevertheless, it will be a national home which will serve as the spiritual centre of all the Armenians in the world — a centre to which they will look as the country of their culture and their civilisation.

The Republic of Erivan is an independent Republic in the Soviet Union, but is populated now almost entirely by Armenians, and Armenian is the

only official language, and Armenian culture is the culture of that country.

But I may add that this development, as I hope, of the work towards building up that national home which was promised does not mean that the League will be involved in indefinite commitments, but that the success of the first settlements will persuade others, private organisations and perhaps Governments also, to take part in the work. The more that can be done for the Armenian people the better, because the obligation of Europe and of the world to those people is unlimited.

The President :

Translation : His Highness, Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi, first delegate of Persia, will address the Assembly.

His Highness Mohammad Ali Khan Foroughi (Persia) :

Translation : When speaking of the history of Armenia and the misfortunes of its sorely-trying but valiant people, Dr. Nansen mentioned Persia as one of the aggressors that had contributed to the ruin of that country and massacred its inhabitants.

He forgot to say that in Persia, above all, and especially during the last few centuries, the Armenians have always found a refuge and been allowed to live in peace and prosperity. The Armenians themselves are the first to recognise this fact, and have never lost any opportunity of expressing their gratitude.

I wish now to take this opportunity of expressing our admiration for the disinterested efforts of that great philanthropist, Dr. Nansen, and to inform you of our whole-hearted approval of the resolution submitted to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee. We have great pleasure in supporting the resolution.

The President :

Translation : As no one else desires to speak, I will put to the vote the following draft resolution submitted by the Sixth Committee :

The Assembly ;

Decides that the work of establishment of Armenian refugees in the Republic of Erivan shall be carried on under the auspices of the League of Nations ;

Requests the Council to continue negotiations with those Governments which have offered assistance in this work, in order that the conditions under which other offers have been made may be fulfilled ;

Approves the inclusion in the budget of the sum of 50,000 Swiss francs to meet the administrative expenses of this work.

The resolution was adopted.

89. — WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Third Committee on the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference (Annex 26, document A.83.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Beneš, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Beneš, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Beneš (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur, read his report, and continued as follows :

Translation : In various quarters, there has been a tendency to regard the results of the Third Committee's discussions as symptomatic of the almost overwhelming difficulties with which we are faced, and to conclude a little too readily that all practical achievement must again be postponed for some long time.

I know the difficulties that exist, but I know, too, that all of us here — and, indeed, public opinion in every country as well — instinctively feel that the psychological moment is coming when the Conference will become inevitable.

We are faced with differences of opinion between certain Governments, and these differences do, in fact, constitute a difficult problem ; but they cannot last much longer. Anyone acquainted with political life, anyone having practical experience of these questions, knows that difficulties of this kind between large countries cannot go beyond a certain point nor continue indefinitely without great and unforeseen danger to the policy, both foreign and domestic, of those countries.

I am sure, therefore, that negotiations will shortly be resumed with a view to reconciling these divergent views, and the Preparatory Commission will then be able to continue its work. We all feel that, once the Conference is convened, it is essential that every possible means should be employed to ensure its success.

The preparatory work carried out at Geneva during the last nine years is already so far advanced, and the conclusions reached could be turned to account so rapidly, that it would be possible to get to work without losing a single day. I think I may say that the material collected by the League on this matter, the experience acquired during the past few years, and the careful investigations that have been made into the problem of disarmament would rapidly enable us to achieve valuable results.

I do not want to be too optimistic, but I must also warn you against unwarranted pessimism. Problems as difficult as these cannot be settled in a day, nor even in a year ; but we must none of us forget that one of the League's most important tasks is to give effect to Article 8 of the Covenant.

In conclusion, may I say that if we find we are faced with obstacles which are hard to overcome, it is our duty to join forces and display not only greater energy than ever, but also a spirit of conciliation, goodwill, and confidence, so that we may triumph over these difficulties, for the sake of the League and of world peace.

I recommend to your attention the following resolution :

"Whereas a close connection exists between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments ;

"And whereas the present conditions of security set up by the Covenant of the League of Nations, by the Treaties of Peace, and in particular by the reductions in the armaments of certain countries under these Treaties, and also by the Locarno Agreements, would allow of the conclusion at the present time of a first General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments ;

"And whereas those Governments which consider that their security is not sufficiently assured are now, thanks to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, in

possession of fresh means for strengthening their security, of which it is to be hoped that they will make use at need, by having recourse to the good offices of the Council ;

"And whereas the Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments will increase international security ;

"And whereas it is desirable that the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security shall be pursued so that, by further steps, armaments may be progressively reduced as the increase of security allows ;

"The Assembly :

"Urges the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible ;

"Notes with satisfaction the efforts of certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Preparatory Commission ;

"Earnestly hopes that Governments among which differences of opinion still subsist as to the conditions for the reduction and limitation of armaments will seek, without delay, in the most liberal spirit of conciliation and international solidarity, agreed solutions which will enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be brought to a successful issue ;

"Proposes to the Council that the President of the Preparatory Commission be instructed to keep in contact with the Governments concerned so that he may be apprised of the progress of their negotiations and may be able to convene the Commission at the end of the present year, or, in any case, at the beginning of 1929."

The President :

Translation : General Tanczos will address the Assembly.

General Tanczos (Hungary) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like to explain in a few words why I shall abstain from voting on the draft resolution submitted to us.

This resolution contains no promise, nor even a reference, in regard to the convening of a first Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. It must in fairness be recognised that the report does mention the point, but unfortunately in very vague terms.

It appears from the debates of the last few years that this first Conference, even if convened, would give us very little satisfaction, because it would only mean a very limited advance in the direction of general disarmament. We should, of course, be the first to rejoice if our very slight anticipations in the matter were exceeded.

The draft resolution before us carefully avoids mention of anything that would give us even this slight hope. In consequence, our present humiliating condition of unilateral disarmament will continue, in spite of the contrary provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant and the preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Trianon, dealing with military clauses.

In order to record our fresh disappointment this year at the very slight results obtained in the matter of disarmament, which for us is of paramount importance, I now inform you that I shall abstain from voting on the draft resolution.

The President :

Translation : Count von Bernstorff, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Count von Bernstorff (Germany) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Allow me to explain in a few words the German delegation's point of view in regard to the resolution now before you.

It was from this very platform that the head of the German delegation, Chancellor Müller, asked the Assembly to adopt a definite decision with regard to the convening of a first Disarmament Conference, and to take steps to bring to an end without further delay the technical work of the Preparatory Commission.

He added that the object of the first Disarmament Conference should be, as an initial stage, to bring about an appreciable reduction of existing armaments — military, naval and air — and to provide for full and complete publicity in regard to all categories of armaments.

It was in conformity with these views that, in the course of the Third Committee's discussions, the German delegation, as the Rapporteur has just reminded us, submitted a concrete proposal in the form of a draft resolution, requesting the Assembly to ask the Council to convene the first Disarmament Conference in 1929, while leaving it to the President of the Preparatory Commission to convene the Commission at such time as would enable the programme of the Conference to be drawn up.

I need hardly say how deeply the German delegation regrets that it was not successful in securing the acceptance of these proposals. What are the arguments advanced against us ? They take two forms. First, our critics have attacked the arguments which Germany draws from her own disarmament. The manner in which Germany has fulfilled her disarmament obligations has been criticised and it has been sought to minimise the extent and scope of her actual disarmament. Further, we have been much astonished at the reserve and scepticism with which our critics have spoken of the present possibilities of achieving general disarmament.

They have brought out the political and technical difficulties which, it is said, would make it impossible to proceed rapidly with the first stage of general disarmament ; and our resolution, which was proposed with a view to the adoption of concrete and decisive measures, has been declared inopportune and even dangerous.

In spite of our keen desire to see the matter from the point of view of our colleagues of the other delegations, we are unable to admit the force of their objections, or to abandon the standpoint we have already described from this platform.

With very great reluctance, ladies and gentlemen, I return to the question of the execution of German disarmament, which has been raised here.

The attempt has actually been made, as you know, to account for the slow progress at Geneva by adducing Germany's alleged delay in carrying out her own obligations to disarm.

What are the facts ? On January 1st, 1921, the effectives of the German Reichswehr had been reduced to 100,000 men ; by the summer of 1920 the reduction prescribed for the German fleet had been completely carried out ; by the end of 1922 the destruction and surrender of arms and munitions provided for by the Treaty had been effected to the extent of 95 per cent of the total required.

You will see, therefore, that disarmament was carried out in all essentials, and that only a few minor points remained, on which differences had arisen as regards interpretation.

Nor can we admit the other argument that Germany's armaments to-day constitute a military factor to be reckoned with in judging the international situation. All the world knows that

Germany has no heavy artillery, no tanks and no military air fleet. Neither has she any reserves of equipment or ammunition. The total trained reserves are diminishing year by year. Her war industries have been destroyed.

It would take several months to train new units, and still longer to convert peace-time industries, however highly developed, into war industries.

Having regard to the geographical situation of Germany — she is surrounded by powerfully armed countries — a war would be bound to terminate in favour of our adversaries long before Germany could draw upon her human and industrial resources.

I must say frankly that the German people are unable to repress a feeling of bitterness when they see that the scope and extent of the efforts made by Germany to carry out loyally the disarmament clauses are being overlooked or belittled. Our critics even go so far as to blame us for the military regime imposed upon us by the Treaty of Versailles : even the pacific work upon which we have been engaged with the object of reconstructing our economic life is used as an argument against us.

Nor can I agree with the argument by which some people seek to show that the existing political situation justifies the rejection of the German proposals. The first paragraph of the present resolution lays down as an indisputable fact that the present security of States is such as to allow of the framing of a first disarmament convention. What then are the reasons which prevent the Assembly from pushing this argument to its logical conclusion ? Is security always to be opposed to disarmament ? We can only repeat the elementary axiom that nothing tends to increase the sense of security more than the beginning of general disarmament.

Similarly, we do not hold that the work of the Preparatory Commission should consist solely in placing on record, some day, the direct agreements reached between the different States. Its duty is rather to create those agreements.

It need hardly be said that our proposals were in no way intended to prejudice any diplomatic negotiations already in progress.

Nevertheless, what is there to prevent the Preparatory Commission, in the present state of affairs, from undertaking useful work itself ? It is a political organ, and its members are appointed and are given instructions by their Governments. During its earlier sessions its work was sometimes hindered, I know, by prolonged political disputes, but there is no reason why the Commission should not adopt a different method of procedure now. It might, for instance, appoint sub-committees to deal with different questions, such as naval disarmament, the German proposal concerning the publicity of armaments, and other concrete tasks.

The one essential is to be sure that we are attacking this great problem with a definite desire to attain practical results, and it is this desire that we should have liked to see expressed with greater force and greater confidence in the resolution of the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly.

If we were to make a table of all the resolutions that have been adopted by previous sessions of the Assembly, we should be astonished at what we should find. We should see that the present resolution, far from constituting progress of any kind, really marks a certain relaxation of effort. There is no longer any reference to the convening of a first Disarmament Conference. On the contrary, the resolution appears to attach primary importance to diplomatic negotiations.

Why should we not ourselves try to lay down exact principles to serve as a basis for the work of

disarmament ? Much is said of the possible danger to the League's prestige if a Disarmament Conference, too hastily summoned, failed to achieve positive results : but we think there is a far greater danger in allowing it to be thought in the world that the League is standing idle before its most urgent task — a task, too, which is so closely linked with its highest mission, the maintenance of world peace.

For these reasons, the German delegation cannot assume any responsibility for the further delays which might result from this resolution. We cannot endorse a resolution which is primarily concerned with emphasising the objections to rapid action of any kind instead of drawing inspiration from the hopes kindled in the minds of all peoples, who are looking to the League to achieve at all events some first result.

But we say, and we are anxious to prove, that we are ready, now as in the past, to co-operate loyally, and without making any unreasonable demands, in the work contemplated by the Assembly.

The German delegation will not vote against the resolution as now submitted to you. Whatever it contains of a positive character — and in our view it contains too little — must certainly not be weakened by being made a mere recommendation. The German delegation will accordingly abstain from voting. It still hopes that the meeting of the Preparatory Commission, which is to take place in any case at the beginning of 1929, will lead to the early convening of the Disarmament Conference, which continues to be our ultimate object in whatever we do.

The President :

Translation : Mr. Locker-Lampson, delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Locker-Lampson (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In view of the statements made by the previous speakers, it is clear that the proposed resolution will not achieve unanimity, and perhaps I may therefore be allowed to state the attitude of my Government in the matter.

It is quite true, and none the less regrettable, that the work on which the League has been engaged, for the realisation of a first step towards an international agreement for the reduction and limitation of armaments, has been slower than some, at least, had dared to hope. The disappointment felt in many quarters is due, in part, to the fact that the League may have attempted to move too quickly.

In order to make clear the attitude of the Government which I represent, it may be necessary to recall shortly the more recent development of the activities of the League in the sphere of disarmament. In 1925, the Assembly, while reasserting the doctrine that disarmament could not be dissociated from security, decided that the existing bases of security warranted the inception of the preparatory work for the eventual convening of a Disarmament Conference, and it created the Preparatory Commission for this purpose. It was felt to be essential that, should the psychological moment come upon us unawares, the League must not be found unprepared and unable to take advantage of the situation owing to the fact that it omitted to complete beforehand all the laborious work necessary to ensure agreement.

The Preparatory Commission thought it possible, in the existing circumstances, to go so far as to prepare a draft Convention for submission to the Conference. Great progress was made towards the drafting of a Convention, but the work was held up

by a conflict of opinion on certain fundamental principles. It was agreed that this difference of opinion, which rendered further progress impossible for the moment, should be discussed between the Governments which had championed the opposing points of view. These Governments thereupon conferred together and, by mutual concession, were able to agree upon certain principles. The agreement was submitted, in the first place, to the other Governments principally interested, whose acceptance is desirable before it can be submitted to the rest of the Commission. We are not, however, in possession of the views of all the Governments consulted.

If that agreement should find general acceptance, there would be good reason to believe that the Preparatory Commission could forthwith resume its work with every prospect of success. If, on the other hand, it fails to find acceptance, it is clear that the Preparatory Commission, if it met, would find its progress obstructed by the same difficulties which have recently necessitated a suspension of its work.

A check to negotiations of this kind, however, need not be final, and efforts on the part of Governments to ascertain what concessions would be acceptable, though at first they might be fruitless, might nevertheless be resumed and ultimately achieve success which might be jeopardised by an immediate confession of failure in the full Commission. For that reason the British delegation was in favour of the idea of leaving the Preparatory Commission in suspense while negotiations continued, leaving it to the discretion of the President to convene it as soon as there might be a fair prospect of agreement.

It became clear, however, during the discussions in the Third Committee that this idea would not meet with unanimous acceptance, and certain delegates demanded an early meeting of the Commission at a date to be fixed, irrespective of the state of negotiations on the points of difference which had barred progress at its last meetings.

As I have already said, the British delegation did not consider that to demand a fixed date was the most practical method of procedure; such a demand seemed to it to imply a lack of confidence in the intention of the members of the Commission to make the best possible progress. Nevertheless, even against its convictions and solely in order to secure unanimity, the British delegation reluctantly agreed to the resolution which is now submitted to the Assembly. It hoped that by this means unanimity had been secured; but, to its profound regret, it finds that the procedure recommended in the resolution is unacceptable to certain delegations, who maintain the view that the Disarmament Conference itself should be summoned in any event during the course of next year, irrespective of the state of the preparatory work.

The British delegation cannot accept this view, and is convinced that, as has already been maintained on many occasions in this Assembly, to summon a Conference without preliminary agreement on principles would be nothing short of a disaster and might result in an irreparable setback to the cause of disarmament. It maintains the resolution. It doubts whether the procedure recommended in the resolution will, in the circumstances, produce the best results; but at all events it does not represent a radical departure from the line of action which the Assembly itself has traced, and which reason would seem to dictate. Along this path the British Government is determined to make, in the future as in the past, every effort to progress in a spirit of loyal co-operation.

The President :

Translation : M. Paul-Boncour, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Paul-Boncour (France) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — When, a few days ago in the Third Committee, Count von Bernstorff and General Tanczos stated, on behalf of their respective countries, that they could not support the resolution which it had seemed might be accepted unanimously, the Press, always so ready to note what we say, and even what we do not say, observed that the Committee received these statements in tense silence.

The time has come to break that silence. It was due to regret at a decision, of which the least that can be said is that it is hardly calculated to hasten the solution of the difficult problem in which we are all interested; it was due also to a sense of the fitness of things — the League is composed of equal sovereign Powers whose decisions no one is entitled to question, if no explanation is given of the motives which determined them.

Count von Bernstorff and General Tanczos, when announcing their decisions, made no further comment, reserving their right to make a statement in the Assembly. This they have done. We were not entitled to demand an explanation of this grave decision, but we do possess the right to take up the arguments adduced in support of it, because these arguments are highly prejudicial to the work of the Preparatory Commission, to the confidence placed in that Commission and to the value of the resolution adopted by the Third Committee.

With all due courtesy, I would ask their permission to criticise their arguments one by one.

I have never made any difficulty, to-day less than ever, in recognising that the Preamble to Part V of the various treaties — Part IV of one of them — promises a general reduction of armaments in return for the reduction imposed in certain cases. Count von Bernstorff knows this better than anyone. Last March he used as his own my expression of opinion on the point, which I maintain in its entirety. In return I ask him, I ask my other colleagues, to interpret this text in its entirety, as I do myself. These special reductions imposed on certain countries by the Peace Treaties are the forerunners of general reduction, but are at the same time the condition of that reduction. They are to be distinguished from similar prescriptions enacted in the past, in that the latter were purely unilateral while the whole value of those under consideration lies in the fact that they constitute a preliminary condition, and not only the promise, of a general reduction of armaments. Hence respect for these treaties would not appear to imply any humiliation for the Powers accepting them.

But the issue on this point is not merely between Germany and France, or between Hungary and her neighbours. The question is a bigger one. The real text which governs whatever we do is Article 8 of the Covenant. In this case also let us accept it as a whole, without curtailment. It is quite clear.

Article 8 of the Covenant, not with any idea of the compensation clauses to be found in treaties concluded after a war, but in the general interests of peace, provides for "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations".

It adds that "the Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments".

Thus, in the very article in which the Covenant provides in imperative terms — from which no one is entitled to claim exemption — a promise of a general reduction of armaments, it explains the precise meaning of that promise and even specifies briefly but clearly the general lines on which it is to be carried out. It cannot be translated into uniform arrangements fixed in advance. Such arrangements must be in harmony with the general situation and geographical conditions of each State; they depend primarily not on a feeling of security but on the actual security of the States.

It is not true, therefore, to say then that the League has been wasting its time spending years trying to build up a general edifice, an international organisation for security. Still less can it be argued that it has been moved by the pressure of theories or by caprice of public opinion, or that it has made the problem of security a pretext for not disarming.

After much effort and lengthy deliberation, two attempts — in the form of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Protocol — were made to ensure total security which should allow of total disarmament; for this I believe, as you do, is what the nations really desire.

But let us make no mistake. Disarmament on this vast scale will only be possible when we have perfected the general scheme of international security upon which we are now engaged.

Complete national disarmament is unthinkable without international armies responsible for seeing that treaties are respected and for ensuring general security by the use of compulsion against those guilty of violating either. Real disarmament, genuine disarmament, can only follow on real and genuine security conceived on a universal international scale.

No blame should be laid at the door of those who have made such great efforts towards general security, were the first to affix their signatures, and still proclaim their allegiance to the acts framed for this great purpose. I know my country and have no hesitation in saying that, whatever changes may take place in party politics, the signature it affixed to the Protocol will always be honoured. Others must revive this instrument, if they think fit. We are always ready.

If security had really been used as a pretext for postponing disarmament, we might easily have shelved disarmament altogether. You know how enthusiastically we helped in the planning of those great schemes for international security. They proved, however, to be premature, and they encountered opposition; their non-acceptance by certain great Powers rendered them abortive. We need only have pointed out that, since the conditions for disarmament laid down in Article 8, and reiterated in the various resolutions of the Assembly, had not been fulfilled, we could not go on with disarmament, and must just wait.

This would have been all the more justified since, as you must remember, according to Article 21, the application of the Protocol was to be contingent upon the adoption of the plan for the reduction of armaments to be fixed by the proposed Conference. The connection was completely and definitely established. If it were really to be complete, the organisation of security must be accepted. It was quite able to fulfil its object. This great international Treaty could only be put into effect under the terms of Article 21, after the plan for the reduction of armaments, as fixed by the proposed Conference, had been carried out.

This was not our interpretation of the matter. In 1925, at the beginning of the Assembly, when it became clear, from the non-acceptances notified and the views put forward, that the Protocol would

not be accepted by the majority of the Powers, or at all events by the majority of the great Powers — in 1925, I say, the date is significant, the preparatory work for disarmament was begun, on the initiative of the French delegation.

How was this? Because no human endeavour is ever wholly wasted. Therefore, though we should not indulge in illusions — as you will see, I am not suggesting any — this is not the moment to utter words of discouragement, which never spur men on to action. Again, I say, no human endeavour is ever wasted.

The Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Protocol were prepared. Neither was adopted, but they were both the outcome of strong currents of public opinion, for the League moves with the tide of the people's demands. But these instruments produced their effect; they set ideas in motion. The arrow may not always hit the mark, but the arrow in its flight traces the course to be followed, and shows where the objective lies.

The Protocol did not win acceptance, but the impulse which it gave to ideas resulted in its being applied after Locarno to a large area of Europe, to those regions where the most recent conflicts had left their deepest blood-stained track.

Locarno was already in the making. It was not yet an accomplished fact, but the predominant features were becoming sufficiently clearly defined to show that the principles of the Protocol would be applied to a specific region of Europe; that is to say, arbitration on a general scale accompanied by guarantees — both features are essential.

This was enough — the French delegation could now submit, and the League could now accept, a proposal that a preparatory study of disarmament should be begun at once. And the fact that the work was begun that very year — the year of the adjournment of the Protocol and the conclusion of the Locarno treaties — was a clear indication of its nature and of the purpose in view; it was the first stage, starting from two positive ideas: the reduction of armaments as provided in the peace treaties, and security as ensured by the Locarno treaties.

The Assembly of 1925 passed its resolution. On December 3rd, a Committee of the Council met under my chairmanship; in four days it drafted the programme for a Preparatory Commission, and this programme was accepted by the Council itself, on M. Beneš' report, on December 12th, 1925.

Let me impress upon my colleagues the fact that this programme is binding upon us, and, as for our method of work, we cannot change it unless the Council itself so decides. This method and the continuity so essential in the pursuit of any great undertaking follow naturally from the whole body of questions, which were grouped under seven chapters and transmitted to the Preparatory Commission. At the outset, the Council's decision and the terms of reference of the Preparatory Commission, as accepted by those who agreed to sit on the Commission, eliminated a whole series of conceptions which might possibly have been adopted but which it was not for us to consider, and we took as our starting-point the interdependence of armaments.

This method may be open to criticism. Some may prefer a different one. But it was the one chosen, and we were already bound by the Assembly resolution of 1924. Both the report submitted to the Council and the actual Council resolution endorse that 1924 resolution, which was to the effect that limitation and a general reduction of armaments must be considered in terms of the interdependence of armaments; that is to say, the limitation of land armaments cannot be considered independently of a limitation of naval or air armaments and vice

versa. That is quite evident, and it would be very unfair in any Convention for the general limitation of armaments to attempt to limit the one without the other. It would run counter to the supreme purpose of our work, which is not to satisfy any one Power but to ensure that no country shall have power, whether on land, on the sea, or in the air, to impose its will upon the community of nations.

We continued our work; the Preparatory Commission met, its first act being to entrust the task of defining certain questions to technical committees, to the Permanent Advisory Committee and to a Mixed Committee composed of members of the League's economic organs and representatives of the International Labour Office, as we considered it important that labour should be directly represented.

These technical committees, it is true, took a long time over their task—a year at least. I, for one, have never admitted, and never will admit, that this was a waste of time, or involved any unjustifiable delay in our disarmament work.

I consider that, in acting thus, we rendered a signal service to the cause of disarmament, and that we were able to register greater progress than ever before.

The very pressure to which we are now being subjected, and which I should not have regretted—for a certain amount is necessary—had it not taken the form of abstention which detracts from the value of what we had intended to be a unanimous effort, such pressure could not have been exercised if the disarmament problem had not reached this advanced stage.

It is due to our work, which revealed the political antagonisms at the back of these technical controversies, that you were enabled to exert pressure in this way. I have no complaint to make; if I might offer any criticism, it is that you are unduly reticent.

When the technical work was finished, the Preparatory Commission met in March 1927, so no time has been lost since. The Commission in its turn completed certain essential work without which disarmament would be a lost hope.

The Preparatory Commission and technical organs have enabled the question of disarmament to emerge from the mystical and rudimentary phase in which it had remained for centuries. We did not invent the cry for disarmament; it has echoed through the ages of history. It has remained unanswered, and it would appear that even the most civilised and cultured nations which have uttered this cry have, in their turn, succumbed, as a result of the renunciation of their own power, to the more brutal nations. Our first duty was to provide an international organ of security as a foundation for disarmament, for no such organ had hitherto existed, and, in order that it may have the maximum possible weight and authority, we feel it essential that the establishment of this organ should not be separated from the actual work of disarmament.

Disarmament has emerged from the purely mystical and rudimentary phase and entered upon the technical phase. The Preparatory Commission, composed, as you rightly pointed out, of political personalities representing the Governments, with power to bind those Governments, carried disarmament on from the technical to the political phase.

You may perhaps exclaim: "What a number of phases and what a journey!" Very true, what a journey, what a number of phases! The reason is that we had taken in hand a problem which had never before been taken in hand except in talk, and you know what a sorry experiment was made

before the war. You know, too, that it needed the terrible lesson and bloodshed of the war to induce the world to give this subject sufficient consideration for it to be brought before us to-day in the shape of a definite proposition that has been argued out in the Preparatory Commission.

Political divergencies exist at a time when—let us speak quite frankly and not try to cloak our difficulties with technicalities—the problems still retain their technical aspect; that is the difficulty, but behind these technical divergencies loom State interests and conflicts, or what the States consider, rightly or wrongly, to be their vital interests. This was revealed in the Preparatory Commission in 1927.

My colleagues took part in that work. Those of you who, to our regret, are no longer in agreement with us, you shared the same experience. We all know the difficulties with which we had to cope. Do you think that session of March 1927 was a mere waste of time?

I should like the people who laugh at our work, who criticise it so sharply, just to examine the results of our discussions, to study the parallel columns showing the points of agreement and those on which disagreement still persisted. I am even prepared to admit that the points on which we disagreed are the essential ones, I admit that success is impossible until we have reduced those points of disagreement, but I maintain that a complete scheme has now been framed, that one part of the preliminary draft convention on which a Conference could meet and agree is already prepared.

We must not forget, gentlemen, that the difficulties of the Preparatory Commission were due in large measure to the conscientiousness with which it set about its task. The Council instructed the Commission to examine and perfect a questionnaire, and these instructions are binding upon the Commission. They constitute a programme from which the Commission cannot depart until so authorised by the Council. The Commission, however, exerted itself to the utmost to comply with the Council's request. It wished its study of these questions to take the form of a preliminary draft Convention, the text of which should be sufficiently complete and clear for it to be possible to convene, with every chance of success, a general Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments; for, believe me, such a Conference must not be summoned unless it is certain to succeed.

We took steps to, or perhaps I should say we tried to take such steps as would, ensure success. We did our best to draw up the draft convention, and there are already whole chapters sufficiently advanced for final drafting; while, as regards the points still at issue, it is in itself a great step forward to have been able to define the causes of disagreement. We now have to concentrate on these points and do away with them.

That was the position when the Assembly met in 1927. The atmosphere to begin with was tense and pregnant with difficulties, somewhat like the atmosphere in which, I very much fear, the present Assembly may end. It was because, all through the preparatory work, we had been coming to feel behind these technical divergencies the full weight of the task—perhaps prematurely undertaken—on which we had embarked. We desired to give proof of our goodwill. We did not want to wait for complete and general security to be organised by the League before beginning our disarmament work. But we had planned that work on a world-wide scale. We could not have done otherwise, for how can it be dealt with on any other scale, since the limitation and reduction of armaments in one

country are conditioned by the limitations and reductions effected by that country's neighbours and potential enemies. We therefore provided for a worldwide system of disarmament, although there is as yet no worldwide system of security. We took as the starting-point for the first stage of disarmament a special agreement, a regional agreement, the Locarno treaty; but we realised that this first stage could only be partial, since only partial security had been established in Europe by that treaty.

When we approved the results obtained — remember, gentlemen, that those who have already spoken from this platform agree with me on this point — we approved them simply as constituting a beginning.

It had never occurred to us that the League would abdicate in favour of the method of separate regional agreements, if these could not be extended all over Europe, all over the world.

It would, indeed, have been an abdication of authority if the League had been satisfied with the mere existence of an agreement, however excellent, as a pretext for relinquishing all further interest in the treaties which still have to be concluded. That, ladies and gentlemen, would assuredly have been abdication.

It did not do this; it proclaimed its confidence in the Locarno agreements, a confidence based on the hope that the number of such agreements might increase. It neglected, however, to interest itself directly in the matter. States, chancelleries and diplomatic methods are not always governed by the principles of international politics; as we understand them here. They soon fall back into the rut worn in the course of centuries, and there have not been many repetitions of the Locarno agreements — that is, a group of generalised and guaranteed arbitration treaties. We have seen alliances and treaties of every kind; we have seen the old diplomacy gradually re-emerging. If no other methods are available, then obviously Europe must fall back on it. But let us beware. When we said that the Locarno agreements must multiply and spread their network over the whole world, at all events over Europe to begin with — for we must deal first with Europe, which, unhappily, is the main cause of our difficulties — when we said that, we reckoned without the weavers. The network was never woven, for there were no weavers. Let us hope that the Fates are not busy weaving a mourning veil to enshroud humanity anew.

When we met again at the Assembly in 1927 we dissipated this brooding atmosphere by reinvesting the League with the powers it should never have relinquished. We said: "It is clear that, if you let the States and diplomacy have their way, if you allow the old agreements, the old alliances and the old methods to spring up again, war will be the outcome, just as it was before. You are here to establish an organ of international security".

We tried to do this; we worked on a definite plan; we tried to rear a classic edifice mirrored in the lake. Circumstances prevented the completion of our plans. The necessities of life, the resistance we encountered, the absence of an international spirit, compelled us to give up. Further attempts were made to build up the edifice by means of a series of agreements, as it were a succession of scattered stones. The least we could do was to safeguard the plans and keep watch over the materials.

It was then that you decided upon the constitution of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. It set to work, and this afternoon M. Politis, in his masterly report, will submit to you the results of the Committee's efforts. Most of you are already acquainted with them, either

because you have sat on the Committees to which they were referred or because you have been given a general outline of them.

This is a remarkable piece of work, gentlemen, which should suffice to restore in the Assembly the confidence it appears to have lost. The past year cannot be regarded as altogether sterile, since this much at least has been done. Treaties of arbitration, treaties of mutual assistance — for as you know in disarmament questions neither can be envisaged without the other — are at the disposal of the States. Of course, I quite understand that they will be worth precisely what the different State policies may make of them: perhaps, mere sheaves of paper, they will join other such treasures in the oblivion of some great library; or, again, if the States adopt them and employ them as instruments of their policies, they may become the starting-point of new security agreements pending the establishment of general security. They will, I am sure, tend to reduce the numerous technical divergencies attaching to disarmament.

All this can come to pass if the peoples, if public opinion, so desire. Do not let us be afraid to launch our appeal from this platform. We are not men to carry on debates in secret; we are not simply diplomats who have met behind closed doors. We are the representatives of States and are most of us in touch with public opinion and popular sentiment. To them we must make our appeal; not in order to offer them the empty phrases of demagogues and stir up the destructive forces of popular passion, but in order to arouse enthusiasm, to win them over to our thankless task of finding positive and definite solutions.

If the texts prepared are to be used, they must not be left to grow dusty on our shelves, but must be infused with the breath of life, as they can be if international policy so desires. The result will be a general increase in security, which will facilitate not merely the first but the subsequent stages of disarmament. For, by a sort of perpetual paradox, those who are here as plaintiffs in the disarmament question are defendants in the question of security.

Those who, rightly, are most anxious to hasten the work of disarmament are at the same time most reluctant, nay, are most unwilling, to provide the League and the Council with sufficient powers to conclude the necessary security agreements. Even those not directly concerned with the possible conclusion of these agreements should remember that international solidarity knows no frontiers.

It is not for any State represented here to ask: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Every State can give its guarantee. As we all know, conflicts are no longer confined to limited areas. The rising tide of war gradually swallows up one nation after another. Not only do victors and vanquished alike suffer to an equal degree, but even those who had hoped to profit by a war are crushed under the weight of the burdens it brings.

So it is for each and all to do whatever may be necessary for security. We must all, without distinction, provide the agreements we have prepared with the guarantees without which they cannot become real or vital.

Meantime, we must continue the first stage. We are all agreed there. The idea of a first stage is not inconsistent with what I have just said; it supplements it. And if I pass from disarmament, in the strict sense, to security, it is because life itself and the realities of life command me to do so. Disarmament and security are so closely interconnected that it is impossible to treat them separately, even in a speech.

The idea of a first stage, then, during which this further progress towards security must be continued, is not at variance with but reinforces my previous

arguments, because in the meantime there is a precautionary measure to be taken. We must stop any possibility of a race in armaments. We must act quickly. This first stage must be completed rapidly — not that, as far as I am aware, or at all events as far as my own country is concerned, there has been any renewal of the competition in armaments. I can give you figures to prove that.

May I say that I should not have touched on this subject at all if you had not done so yourselves, thereby somewhat anticipating the work of the Conference? You are so eager for this Conference — not more eager than I, though — that you have already, in this Assembly, begun one of its tasks. When the Conference actually meets, when we are called upon not to frame a preliminary draft Convention but to fill in the blanks in that draft, to insert, as in a marriage deed, the amount of the dowry, to state the number of our effectives, our tonnage and our material, it will then be essential, in view of the variety of types of armies in existence, to compare them with one another.

No one, I think, has ever dreamed of blaming the nations whose military forces were reduced under the Peace Treaties for the type of army that has been imposed upon them; but, since the matter has been raised, I venture to say that, when the time comes, we shall be entitled to weigh very carefully and exactly what this type of army represents, and to remember that the number of effectives is not the only factor that counts. We must also know their value; we must know what proportion of this type of army consists merely of a body of young men who have undergone a short period of training, and what proportion could form a series of *cadres* from which others could be trained. When that time comes we shall have to compare the various armies very carefully, not to indulge in mutual recrimination, but simply in order to gauge their potential strength. In this way, after due examination, we shall complete that first stage which you so eagerly desire. It has been said here, thus to some extent frustrating the hopes we were striving to realise, that, whatever turn is taken by this first stage, it cannot prove very satisfactory.

I venture to say that, ever since the Preparatory Commission started work, we have always, realising the magnitude and importance of the task to which we have set our hands — we have always, I say, regarded disarmament, not as a single great and complete whole, but as a series of successive stages to be covered by all the States marching side by side. Last year, when we saw eye to eye — and I heartily wish we did so this year too — it was in a joint Franco-German resolution that the necessity for these stages was recognised. If we admit that necessity and realise that disarmament must be progressive and gradual, it follows that the first convention will necessarily and primarily be a convention for limitation. It would be easy to arouse hopes that would be doomed to disappointment, to make promises that would never be fulfilled.

I say — and I say it in the teeth of fresh criticism — that we must limit our action, that we must direct that action towards definite objectives, and that we all know in our hearts that the first thing to be done is to cry halt, to check further increase. We must first stop any possible race in armaments. That in itself will be no small achievement, because we shall thereby consolidate the spontaneous reductions carried out by certain countries, which in doing so have begun to carry out the provisions of Article 8 of the Covenant.

When we meet round the Conference table I shall be able to say that, without any Conference and on its own initiative, my country has reduced its land effectives by 34 per cent, and has made its

preparations for the Conference which is to consider general limitation. I shall be able to say, too, that it has taken steps towards a further reduction, bringing the difference between its present effectives and the 1913-14 figures up to 45 per cent. As regards the navy, France has reduced her general tonnage by 25 per cent, while the proportion of her military expenditure to the total budget figures is at present 19 per cent as compared with 35 per cent in 1913-14. As you see, therefore, under the League's influence, and under influences at work at home, spontaneous reductions have already been made. I should like to see them recorded at the earliest possible moment in international conventions.

I agree that this stage should be completed quickly. Why? Because, if doubt persists — and it does persist through the very fact that no one knows what his neighbour is going to do — I am afraid we shall see the nations starting a new race in armaments. My fear is that, as the financial strain becomes less tense, as the memory of the war fades away, and the generation that took part in it, the generation that detests war and is resolved to end it, gradually dies out, all these circumstances together may, unless a first international convention, a convention to arrest competition in armaments, is speedily concluded, result in a renewal of competition and, as the final outcome, war.

I do not agree with those of our colleagues who hold that disarmament in itself creates security. I believe that security has requirements of its own, and that disarmament is the effect and not the cause of security. I need not labour the point; but I know this: that, though disarmament does not necessarily ensure security, competitive armaments inevitably mean war, and that is what must be stopped.

The thing can be done; first, because for the successive stages we have the possibilities afforded by the work of the Arbitration Committee, and, secondly, because we may justifiably feel hopeful so far as the first stage is concerned, though we must be careful not to say too much, though we cannot call success certain — far from it. If I were merely to indulge in misgivings, I should say very much what Count von Bernstorff has said. But I want to be rid of these doubts and misgivings; I want to conquer the difficulties, though I well know that neither is possible without a unanimous, confident and wholehearted effort on the part of all the Members of the League.

There are technical difficulties, and behind them, as I have already said, lurk political controversies — controversies which must command respect, inasmuch as they concern what States conceive to be their vital interests. Those difficulties could not be solved even by the Commission itself, and the President of the Preparatory Commission, with the assent of all the members present, invited the States concerned to endeavour to come to an agreement between themselves. A discussion took place. I was not there; the voice of a democratic country had called me to resume a very salutary contact with its electors, and I was able to realise how greatly the people trusted us. We must not betray that trust, gentlemen, unless we wish to see the world plunged into disaster and revolt.

I have carefully read the records. I see that there were certain divergencies of views; that M. Rutgers, the delegate of the Netherlands, used the same words as those I employed in the resolution which was so sharply criticised a few moments ago by Count von Bernstorff — the words "convene the Commission in any case". I see that Count Bernstorff, taking a line he was perfectly entitled to take, voted against the resolution, which, in point of fact, did not fix any date for the meeting

of the Preparatory Commission ; but, on the other hand, I did not observe a single voice raised in protest against the President's invitation to the Powers holding divergent views to try to reconcile them.

That was in March 1928. Two Powers accepted the invitation. There may have been others, but I only mention those I know. The two Powers in question were divided over a matter — we grant it was not the only one — which had assumed special significance owing to the fact that, when we met in March 1927, our negotiations were influenced by the prospect of a purely Naval Conference to be held a few months later.

No wonder the matters in dispute could not be settled, although some of us had hoped that part of the ground at least might have been covered. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the months during which we tried a method other than that proposed to us — I mean the method which takes into account the interdependence of armaments and security — were wasted. On the contrary, the results show that, in spite of our critics, we were right in choosing that method. No one can say that the negotiations dragged on for months without furthering the cause of disarmament.

But when, after the failure of this purely Naval Conference, and as the result of this series of disappointments, the President of the Preparatory Commission, at its session in March 1928, invited the nations concerned to negotiate with one another, the invitation was accepted, and I am surprised that they should now be blamed for having done so. Personally, I felt no enthusiasm for the course suggested by the President of the Preparatory Commission, and I publicly stated my objections at the December session of the Commission. I said that I preferred open diplomacy, that I was in favour of discussions at which everyone publicly entered into definite commitments. But I did not deny — nor did anyone else — that certain preparatory diplomatic work, as suggested by the President, would be useful. Who, now, has a right to criticise that work ? Who, in this Assembly, does not employ such methods ?

The League of Nations is not built upon entirely new ground. It is bound to come into contact with fixed habits of mind and engrained traditions, and it must make allowance for them, if only in order to achieve its ends. As everyone knows, many of the most successful settlements have been the outcome of prolonged diplomatic preparatory work. Was not Locarno the result of such preparatory work, begun in February 1925 at the instance of Germany herself ? Was there no diplomatic preparation before Germany entered the League, as we so ardently desired she might do, to occupy the permanent seat on the Council to which, as a great Power, she is entitled ?

Does not every State represented here constantly have recourse to diplomatic negotiations ? Then why cavil in the case of what is admittedly the most difficult problem of all, when the work has been decided upon by a Commission, when an invitation has been issued by the President of that Commission, when an attempt has been made to find a solution ? I was not expecting laurels. We are not school-boys at a prize-giving, but I do ask — and I repeat that I am sorry some of our colleagues are not with me here — I do ask for recognition of the fact that we have tried to act on the suggestion put forward and that two of the nations concerned achieved success.

Does the Preparatory Commission propose to abdicate, its powers ? Does it propose to wait indefinitely until all the nations with difficulties to solve have solved them ? For, of course, there may be other nations negotiating to solve other difficulties ; they must do so, both to serve the

highest interests of the League and because they have been asked to try to solve them. Is the Commission to go on waiting, I say, even when the nations have failed to reach agreement on some point or other ? Will it not meet, if only to admit its own failure ?

I did not think it could possibly wait indefinitely ; and in my resolution, or rather in the amendment to it, which I made in an attempt to meet your wishes, I asked that, when it was clear that all the necessary efforts had been made — and that is an important addition to the resolution — then, and not till then, the President of the Preparatory Commission should be asked to get into touch with the Governments concerned, to follow their negotiations and so restore the necessary contact between them and the Preparatory Commission.

But ought not the Commission still to meet, even if — I do not overlook any contingency, not even the possibility of failure — even if these negotiations prove unsuccessful ? Personally I think it should, and that is explicitly stated in the resolution. There can be no doubt on the point. I am very grateful to those of my colleagues who, cautious at first, and thinking, unlike myself, that the Preparatory Commission should not meet unless private negotiations had been successful, nevertheless were so conciliatory as to come round to my view. I appreciate their action, and I feel it the more because their attempt at conciliation has proved useless.

I believe that, in substance, in its real significance, that part of the resolution is sound.

The Preparatory Commission exists ; it has its work to do, and it must do it. I do not think the time it has devoted to its work has been wasted. I believe, as Dr. Beneš, our Rapporteur, said just now, that the psychological moment, the crucial moment, which is to determine our success or failure, is approaching. We must do what we have been asked to do. We must show the Council how far the methods we have adopted have succeeded.

I will speak my whole mind. I will say frankly that, even if it is impossible to remove the difficulties that are holding up our work, we must not, if we believe in open discussion and in international democracy as we believe in national democracy, neglect this last method of bringing about an agreement, but we should convene the Commission in any case. No one imagines that the Preparatory Commission would meet merely for the sake of meeting.

The report of Dr. Beneš, the interpreter of our discussions, contains an impartial commentary on the resolution proposed for your adoption, which will, I hope, be adopted with the quasi-unanimity that is required. The report states that the Preparatory Commission will, if possible, postpone its next session until its task has been facilitated by the solution of technical difficulties, and will then report to the Council on the success or failure of its work.

It may fail. Who knows ? I am prepared to face that contingency, for we all realise the difficulty of the problem, and we can speak plainly. We know that we are doing our best, but we cannot foresee what the final result will be. As regards the possible failure of the Preparatory Commission, though I fully agree with you as to the disastrous consequences that would ensue, I entirely disagree on the question whether, notwithstanding that possibility, a Conference should or should not be convened before the result of the Commission's work is known.

I should like to ask you how a Conference is going to approach the problem if the Preparatory Commission, after working systematically on definite lines for several years, should find success impos-

sible ? Should we not be blazoning our failure abroad by exhibiting the spectacle of such lamentable failure to the world at large ? Should we not be raising a Tower of Babel, merely to see its ruins mounted, as they soon would be, with the machine-guns and the cannon that would inevitably follow in the wake of so egregious a failure ?

The Preparatory Commission is an organ which is intended to work, a technical organ with a definite task before it. If it cannot accomplish that task, it must say so. Believe me, that failure alone would be bad enough. There would be no need to magnify it, for it would be certain that, for some years at least, the main hope placed in the League by the peoples of the world would be shattered.

Such a fate would hardly be deserved. Even if the League failed in this task, it would still be of

value. The League justifies itself by the mere fact of its existence, and by the fact that, after all, it is to the League Council that men turn when a dispute arises. You cannot deny the League's value. It is a symbol. It incarnates the supreme hopes and ideals of the men who fell on either side of the barbed wire that once divided Europe from the North Sea to the Dardanelles. Because of that solemn past and because of the belief that the League would realise those hopes, it will, if it fails, have lost the brightest jewel in its crown. It will still go on. We shall still look upon it as a goddess on whom all our hopes are centred; but a goddess dethroned, an organ whose power has been crippled.

The discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

The Assembly rose at 1.15 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

EIGHTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25th, 1928, AT 3 P.M.

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President : M. ZAHLE.

90. — WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE : REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION : CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the continuation of the examination of the Third Committee's report on the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference (Annex 26, document A.83.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and Dr. Beneš, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Count Carton de Wiart, delegate of Belgium, who is the last speaker on the list, will address the Assembly.

Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of the Belgian delegation I should like to tell you, briefly and simply, just what our feelings are in associating ourselves with the observations of Dr. Beneš, the most able Rapporteur of the Third Committee.

I do not think that we should any of us carry away from this morning's discussion any real feeling of anxiety or even uneasiness. When we all return home to-morrow, we shall doubtless meet some people — whom we never find at Geneva — who will ask us in the sarcastic tone we know so well : " Well, have you managed it ? Is disarmament an accomplished fact ? "

I think we can safely answer that nothing has happened to prevent its becoming an accomplished fact and can add with the fullest conviction that it will surely come to pass.

I, too, share the disappointment caused by the obstacles we meet at every turn. I quite understand that to others they may give the impression that we are slackening speed, instead of going straight ahead without a break, as we would wish. But this is one of the laws of all human endeavour, and no one has ever defined it better than Blaise Pascal, in that famous passage in which, speaking of progress, he says that it goes forward intermittently, then backward, then forward again by leaps and bounds, until at length, for no apparent reason, its onward sweep becomes resistless.

I myself have only been associated from time to time, and as an onlooker rather than a participant, with the preparatory and constructive work, dating now from some years back and gathering impetus every day, which is to culminate in the monumental achievement of disarmament, so that

I need feel less diffidence in expressing my profound admiration for those who have engineered this difficult undertaking.

Surveying it from afar, what strikes me specially is the realistic, judicious and systematic manner in which the various obstacles in the way of disarmament, or the limitation of armaments, have been singled out, defined and accurately specified in turn. It was realised at the outset that disarmament and security must go forward hand in hand, not, as has so often been said, on parallel lines, for parallel lines never meet; disarmament must rather be based on security. This fact appears to have been recognised even by the old diplomacy, judging from a letter, not very widely known, which was written by Metternich in 1831 to the Austrian Ambassador in Paris, with reference to a suggestion made by Louis-Philippe. In this letter, Metternich declared that a return to a state of peace from the military point of view could only follow after a return to a state of moral peace.

But this truth has never been so clearly recognised as in the League's work. The Preparatory Commission and the Committee on Arbitration and Security have advanced it beyond the empiric stage, the stage of fragmentary solutions. To that same sense of method and judicious appreciation is due the emphasis placed on the interdependence of armaments, and again it has made you realise the necessity of establishing a criterion, a common denominator, which is essential for determining the scale of armaments.

There remains another technical obstacle on which I wish to dwell. And if I speak of technical obstacles it is not, I would ask you to believe, because I am foolish enough to underestimate the obstacles of a political and geographical nature to which reference has very rightly been made. But these have for some time been gradually growing less acute. The technical obstacle to which I refer is the establishment of supervision. We have to realise that limitation and reduction are impossible without supervision, without a certain right of investigation — in regard both to the private manufacture of arms and more especially to State manufacture — which is naturally repugnant to States.

All these various obstacles have been encountered by the League. Some of them have already been overcome, a fact which alone would prove the value of the League's work in this most complex problem and justify the hopes that we have placed in it.

And now, in the matter of security, the General Act to be submitted to us shortly supplements or reinforces special instruments by adding a series of guarantees which constitute a remarkable and memorable contribution, while obviously the pact of non-aggression and the scheme for financial assistance to States victims of aggression or threatened by aggression represent a very important advance.

The interdependence of armaments is now an accepted fact, and if the criterion, the common denominator, has not yet been found, the laudable efforts now being made, and in which we hope other naval Powers will shortly join, should soon make it possible to settle the delicate question of tonnage assessment.

But I wish to emphasise the importance — in my view — of trying to settle, without further delay, the technical difficulty of supervision. In 1925, under the auspices of the League, a large number of States signed at Geneva a Convention on the international trade in arms and ammunition and implements of war. For the first time, as M. Paul-Boncour very rightly observed, an attempt was made by means of this Convention to remove the question of the manufacture of implements of war

from the domain of private law to that of public law. Ratification, however, has been slow, and many countries have delayed in view of the principle laid down in 1925 that the Convention in question should be supplemented by a parallel convention concerning the manufacture of arms for purposes of war. These two questions form, as it were, the two leaves of a diptych.

It really seems to me that we ought to be able to find a way out of the difficulty in a very short time and to determine the main requirements of a convention on the manufacture of arms, to cover both private and State manufacture, at all events by means of guarantees in regard to publicity, which would certainly be reinforced in practice by supervision; this is now being exercised more and more within the individual countries as the result of pressure brought to bear by public opinion, Parliament and the Press.

But there is another result, perhaps the most important of all — this is my last point — which must be placed to the League's credit in the disarmament campaign: I mean the moral atmosphere created and fostered by the League, in which we all have a share and which it is our duty to encourage.

This ninth ordinary session of the Assembly can rightly claim that the frantic race in armaments is ended, and M. Hymans, the head of the Belgian delegation, told you how, in our country, the call for a reduction of national armaments to the lowest possible minimum has been heard and obeyed. I think I can say that all groups and all parties are becoming increasingly familiar and ready to sympathise with the work that is going on here, and the important thing — perhaps even more important than weighty Conventions and solemn declarations — surely is that the Geneva spirit should ultimately become the spirit of the world.

On whom does this depend? On every one of us. In the old city of Bruges there is a fifteenth-century building, the Gruuthuuse, decorated in flamboyant Gothic. The walls of its rooms are ornamented with the somewhat cryptic mottoes which were so popular in those days. One of these mottoes, which is repeated again and again, reads: "There is more to be found in yourselves". What does it mean? It is an appeal to the individual, conscience, to individual effort. It invites us to seek peace not only in agreements and international conventions, but above all in ourselves. Both for nations and for individuals, lasting peace can only be secured by means of loyal and constant efforts, on the part of one and all, to subordinate human passions and even individual interests to the higher claims of order, justice and equity.

This is the spirit in which, realising to the full the difficulties of this great undertaking, but confident of its future success, Belgium has so gladly taken her share in all your work. Indeed, she can claim to have taken a very active share. I am thinking now particularly of the contributions to the discussions on this subject made by my distinguished compatriots, Baron Rolin-Jaequemyns and M. de Brouckère. This is the spirit in which, despite temporary difficulties, we hope soon to advance a further stage with you — at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission and the decisive Conference to be held in the not too distant future.

We are prepared to go forward again boldly, fearlessly, confidently, along the road — no doubt difficult at times — that leads triumphantly to the goal which we have set ourselves to reach in virtue of the Covenant, a goal towards which the hopes of every nation and the future of civilisation call us.

The President :

Translation : As no one else wishes to speak, the discussion is now closed. I will put to the vote the resolution proposed by the Third Committee, which reads as follows :

Whereas a close connection exists between international security and the reduction and limitation of armaments ;

And whereas the present conditions of security set up by the Covenant of the League of Nations, by the Treaties of Peace, and in particular by the reductions in the armaments of certain countries under these Treaties, and also by the Locarno Agreements, would allow of the conclusion at the present time of a first General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments ;

And whereas those Governments which consider that their security is not sufficiently assured are now, thanks to the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, in possession of fresh means for strengthening their security, of which it is to be hoped that they will make use at need, by having recourse to the good offices of the Council ;

And whereas the Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments will increase international security ;

And whereas it is desirable that the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the Committee on Arbitration and Security shall be pursued so that, by further steps, armaments may be progressively reduced as the increase of security allows ;

The Assembly :

Urges the necessity of accomplishing the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments with as little delay as possible ;

Notes with satisfaction the efforts of certain Governments to prepare the ground for the future work of the Preparatory Commission ;

Earnestly hopes that Governments among which differences of opinion still subsist as to the conditions for the reduction and limitation of armaments will seek, without delay, in the most liberal spirit of conciliation and international solidarity, agreed solutions which will enable the work of the Preparatory Commission to be brought to a successful issue ;

Proposes to the Council that the President of the Preparatory Commission be instructed to keep in contact with the Governments concerned so that he may be apprised of the progress of their negotiations and may be able to convene the Commission at the end of the present year, or, in any case, at the beginning of 1929.

The resolution was adopted, the delegates of Germany and Hungary abstaining from voting.

91. — CONSTRUCTION OF AN ASSEMBLY HALL, OF A NEW BUILDING FOR THE USE OF THE SECRETARIAT AND OF A NEW LIBRARY: REPORTS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : As M. Politis has not yet arrived, I propose that we change the order of the agenda, and examine first the report on the construction of an Assembly Hall, of a new building for the Secretariat and of a new library, submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee.

M. Rappard, the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee, will submit on its behalf the report laid before the Assembly by the Special Committee

of Five (Annexes 27 and 27 a, documents A.79 and A.84.1928.X).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Rappard, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Rappard, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Rappard (Switzerland), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Assembly has before it two documents concerning the construction of an Assembly hall, a new building for the Secretariat and a new League library. One is the report submitted to the Assembly by the Special Committee known as the "Committee of Five"; the other document is a note by the Fourth Committee, to which the report was referred.

I do not propose to read these documents or even to give you a detailed summary of them. I will merely explain very briefly what has been done in the matter by the Committee of Five and the Council since the last session of the Assembly. I will then outline the solution that has been reached, and I should like in conclusion to say a few words as to the method by which and through whom this solution was made possible.

I will first tell you what has happened since the last session of the Assembly. At this time last year the Assembly had before it nine architects' plans which had been awarded equal prizes. It had at its disposal three properties on the lake side on which to erect these buildings, and a sum of 10,000,000 francs very generously given by Mr. Rockefeller for the construction of a library worthy of the League.

The eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, being desirous of obtaining as soon as possible a satisfactory and final solution of the problem, granted extensive powers to the Committee of Five. It authorised that Committee, which consists of M. Adatci, M. Osusky, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young, to choose one of the nine plans. It also authorised the Committee to cause any changes to be made that might be necessary, and to submit its decision to the Council for approval and ratification.

Since September 26th, 1927, the date on which it was constituted, the Committee of Five has held eight sessions. I should like, on behalf of the Fourth Committee, to pay a sincere tribute to the sound judgment, zeal and goodwill displayed by the members of this Committee in the service of the League.

Without dealing with each of these eight sessions in detail, we may say that the work of the Committee of Five falls into three stages. The first stage began immediately after the Assembly and lasted until March of this year.

As you know, the Committee selected the plan submitted by M. Nénot and M. Flegenheimer. It proposed various modifications in their plan, however, and invited them to prepare a final design in collaboration with the authors of three other plans.

The Committee also instructed these architects to consider the question of the new library, which it was now possible to erect, thanks to the American gift. The architects carried out these instructions, and on March 6th of this year the Council was able to approve the plans proposed by the Committee of Five for the construction of three buildings on three sites which were at the League's disposal.

In March, therefore, a satisfactory solution appeared to be in sight. It was at this point that

the second stage of the work of the Committee of Five opened. The Library Planning Committee, appointed by the Secretary-General with the authorisation of the Assembly and in agreement with the donor, examined the site and, after three days' study at Geneva, unanimously reached the conclusion that it was impossible to erect on the ground available a library worthy of the generosity of the donor and of its future international use by the League. The Committee's report states that its objections were based on the ground of the exposure of the site to noise and dust, its inadequate size and the impossibility of providing for future extensions.

The Committee of Five felt bound to agree with the unfavourable conclusions reached by the Library Planning Committee and the whole question had thus to be reopened.

The Committee of Five felt bound to agree with the Library Planning Committee that the acquisition of additional ground was essential. The next step was to obtain further ground, but the difficulties which prevented the acquisition of the only available site proved insurmountable.

That, ladies and gentlemen, was the position on the eve of the present Assembly, and it remained unchanged even up to a fortnight ago.

The Committee of Five which had always been on very cordial terms with the Swiss authorities, held a further consultation with M. Motta, the representative of the Federal Council, and M. Moriaud and M. Boissonnas, the representatives of the Geneva Council. The Cantonal authorities proposed various alternatives to the Committee of Five; the Swiss authorities unanimously declared that it was for the League to state its preference and that they would do everything in their power to enable the solution preferred by the League to be carried into effect.

Of these various alternatives there was one which was welcomed with relief and indeed with enthusiasm by the majority of those acquainted with the proposals made. As you know, that solution is that the City of Geneva should confer on the League of Nations the *droit d'usage* of a considerable portion of the Ariana Park, forming a large area of 250,000 square metres, which is amply sufficient not only for the Assembly Hall, the Secretariat and the proposed Library, but also for any possible extensions in the near future.

In exchange, the League will confer on the City of Geneva similar rights of occupation of the three lake-side properties.

The League will thus have ample ground at its disposal, and in return will merely be required to give to the people of Geneva the right to use its present properties.

The Committee of Five and the Fourth Committee are unanimous in proposing that the Assembly should accept this exchange of *droits d'usage* and should grant the Committee of Five the necessary powers to enable it to bring to a successful conclusion the work on which it has been engaged for over a year.

The use made of these powers must, of course, be subject to the necessary ratification by the Council, but the Committee would thus be able to come to terms with the architects already appointed to adapt the plans to the new site.

The Committee will have to obtain all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view. This clause, which was proposed by the Special Committee itself and accepted by the Fourth Committee, was inserted in order to take into account certain wishes which were manifested during the proceedings of the fourth Committee.

To whose good offices do we owe this solution? It is nothing short of a miracle that in the space

of fifteen days a public park belonging to a democratic city that has ever been a jealous guardian of its independence and has always respected the wishes of its benefactors should have been placed at the League's disposal by the unanimous decision of its municipal authorities. It is almost as remarkable that the representatives of nearly fifty States should have been able to accept unanimously this offer of the exchange of their rights of occupation.

This miracle has become a reality, thanks to the valuable help we have received from several eminent persons and to certain particularly fortunate material and other circumstances.

Let me speak first of the valuable personal help we have received. I appear on this platform as the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee; yet I cannot forget that I am a Swiss citizen and a Genevese, and I find myself somewhat embarrassed in having to express the gratitude of the Fourth Committee to my compatriots. I shall therefore confine myself to reading the following extract from the Special Committee's report:

"The Special Committee could not close this report without taking the opportunity of expressing its warmest thanks to the Federal Authorities, and in particular to M. Motta, to the Cantonal and Municipal Authorities of Geneva, as well as to the heirs of M. Gustave Revilliod, for their invaluable assistance in solving the difficult problem with which the Committee was faced."

I must explain that the heirs of M. Gustave Revilliod are deprived of the property which the benefactor of this city left to the municipality about a generation ago, and I think it is only right that we should associate ourselves in this expression of thanks to the heirs who have sacrificed their claims on the altar of concord for the sake of the League.

I should like to do something that has not yet been done, and say how much the League owes to the memory of M. Gustave Revilliod, but for whose generosity the City of Geneva would not have been able to offer us a site so eminently suited to our purposes.

But I will not dwell further upon my compatriots' generosity. It would indeed be a misuse of the term if we attributed the attitude of the authorities and population of Geneva to that motive alone. They have, if I may say so, given proof of their judgment, of their concern for their own best interests, of their statesmanship and of other qualities more important than generosity itself; for in this matter the generosity was all on the side of the benefactors and of the League.

If I feel a natural hesitation in expressing our gratitude to my fellow-countrymen, yet as a citizen of the Swiss Confederation I am very happy to be able to thank the organs of the League to whom we owe this happy solution of the problem. I must first of all thank the Special Committee and each one of its members in the name of the Federal Government, the Cantonal and Municipal Authorities and the Fourth Committee: in the first place, the Chairman, M. Adatci, whose acute discernment, infinite patience and conciliatory attitude have enabled us to bring these often difficult negotiations to a successful termination; then, to take the names in alphabetical order, M. Osusky, who was no less enthusiastic and energetic in helping the League to increase its property than he is in his customary task of defending the budget in the Fourth Committee; M. Politis, whose renown no praise of mine from this platform can augment, and of whom I wil-

merely say that he has created new ties of sympathy between his country and Geneva, where philhellenism has long been one of our most honoured and cherished civic traditions; M. Urrutia, who, though a citizen of a distant land, has followed all our negotiations with a paternal interest, and who, by reason of his long sojourn in Switzerland, has been able to give the Committee invaluable advice. I should also like to mention Sir Edward Hilton Young, whose absence we all deplore, though our regret is tempered by the presence of his substitute, Mr. Duff-Cooper.

The unanimous thanks of the Swiss authorities and of the Fourth Committee are due to all these persons and to the Secretary-General of the League, Sir Eric Drummond, and to the Marquis Paulucci de Calboli Barone, Under Secretary-General, who represented the Secretariat in these negotiations. I have also to express my gratitude to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman and to all the members of the Fourth Committee, who did everything in their power to facilitate and expedite the solution which I trust will meet with your unanimous approval.

If this matter of the League building has afforded Geneva and Switzerland an opportunity of furnishing fresh evidence of their attachment to the League, the League on its side has without doubt given a further token of its friendship for the country and the city, to which I belong, and on whose behalf I should like to express my thanks to the League.

The circumstances which, apart from the personal help we received, have favoured this rapid settlement of the question are, in the first place, the mutual confidence which has always existed between the League representatives and the Swiss and Genevese authorities and, further, our constant eagerness to achieve our aim. These circumstances, which explain our success in the past, will, I trust, be a good omen for the future, and warrant the hope that when the next Assembly meets we shall all have the satisfaction of knowing that the foundations of our new buildings have been laid.

The question of the League's new buildings already has a long period of evolution behind it. Though its final stage has not yet been reached, we have at least arrived at a decisive stage in its evolution; and, strange to say, that evolution coincides with the evolution of the League itself. At Paris, in the spring of 1919, whilst the Covenant was still being drafted, we saw a vision of a League triumphant, a golden dream which America offered for Europe. We saw swiftly rising out of the ruins and ravages of the war the imposing edifice of a League soon to become the universal guarantor of peace based on justice. The Americans, sanguine with hope, held that this fair vision should have a worthy setting.

- I can see once again Colonel House's study in the Hotel Crillon, its walls covered with magnificent photographs of the Creux de Genthod, in which the buildings of the League and the embassies of all the States Members represented on the Council were depicted, surrounded by a beautiful park. On the lake-side boats entered it under a triumphal arch, while the land façade looked out over a majestic esplanade.

The setting was worthy of the vision, but neither the one nor the other could become realities at once.

Then, early in 1920, I see a puny, sickly League in London, treading the international path with uncertain steps, lodged haphazard, almost in a war bivouac.

Then, later, at Geneva, in November. The League is still a doubtful experiment. Its various

services are housed in a converted hotel; and the first session of the Assembly met in this very hall.

And, last of all, the League, having built up its strength in its early years, has been seeking since last year to establish itself and to add to its property at Geneva as its activities spread and become more ambitious.

We have now reached the year 1928. The League has attained maturity and has gathered strength. If those of its Members who have undertaken to ensure progressive disarmament will allow us the hope, we may now say that the League is on the upward path. It is to leave the lake-side and take up a higher position on a terrace, with a magnificent view. I can at any rate praise the panorama which will rejoice the eyes of the Secretariat, since it is not my country alone that they will look upon.

It is fitting that from an institution whose mission, whose staff and whose spirit are alike international, the very view itself should be international; for from the terraces and the windows of the new palace you will all look out upon a beauty that belongs not to my country alone.

May I say one word more in conclusion? At the end as at the beginning of the evolution of which I have spoken, we see the influence of America. It was the enthusiasm of the United States which first gave birth to this noble ideal of ours, and once again it is owing to American generosity that the League is no longer content with the site first contemplated by the lake side.

Since the faith and the hopes of all men of goodwill throughout the world are centred in the League, let us hope that soon, on the hillside of Pregny, it will have a great and splendid home worthy of its work of bringing together in co-operation all nations of every continent, of every tongue and every race, for the establishment of the reign of justice and the consolidation of peace.

Gentlemen, on behalf of the Fourth Committee, I have the honour to invite you to hasten the coming of that day by adopting the following resolution:

"The Assembly:

"Approves the report (document A.79.1928) of the Special Committee of Five Members in regard to the new buildings;

"Approves the choice of the Ariana Park as a site for the new buildings of the League of Nations;

"Authorises the Secretary-General to sign all the necessary legal documents concerning the exchange of rights on the properties in question between the League of Nations and the Genevese authorities, as well as to draw up and sign the necessary contract between the architects and the League of Nations on the basis of the Special Committee's report to the Council (document C.93 (1).1928), approved by the Council on March 6th, 1928;

"Authorises the Special Committee of Five Members (M. Adatci, M. Osusky, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young) as soon as the legal formalities for the transfer of the land have been completed, and after having obtained all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view, to give final approval to revised plans adapted to the new site, such approval to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ratification. The final plans thus approved will then be carried into execution without delay by the Secretary-General and the Building Committee already appointed in accordance with the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1924."

The President :

Translation : M. Adatei, first delegate of Japan, Chairman of the Committee of Five, will address the Assembly.

M. Adatei (Japan), Chairman of the Committee of Five :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The hour is late, and I would not have asked to speak had I not noticed a serious omission in the account which the Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee has given us. I feel it is incumbent upon me to repair this omission, though at the same time I quite understand and appreciate our Rapporteur's motives.

I must pay a public tribute to all the authorities of this country who, whenever almost insurmountable difficulties arose in the path of the Committee of Five, hastened at once to give us, to give us without measure, their invaluable aid.

I should like to recall what is already a distant memory. When the Assembly instructed the Committee of Five to examine this question, the Committee met in December at Geneva, and the Federal Government at once sent us a Commission composed of a large number of eminent experts representing the various technical branches involved in the question. From that moment the former President of the Swiss Confederation, our distinguished colleague M. Motta, remained in constant contact with us and gave us every assistance. So when, at the beginning of this session of the Assembly, unforeseen difficulties suddenly arose, our minds turned at once to M. Motta, first delegate of Switzerland, who had from the outset given such signal proof of his goodwill.

I myself, by arrangement with my colleagues, applied to the authorities of Geneva in our search for a solution of our difficulties. M. Alexandre Moriaud, President of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva, M. Jean Boissonnas, Councillor of State, Head of the Department of Public Works, M. Ballansat, President of the Administrative Council, M. Uhler, who is in charge of public domains in this canton, and M. Frédéric Martin, President of the Municipal Council, all immediately offered to give us all possible help, and showed the soundest judgment and a ready comprehension of the needs of the League, whose cause is common to us all.

How often has it not been my pleasure to receive visits from these authorities! How many meetings have we not held with them! What a vast correspondence we have exchanged!

And then, as our Rapporteur has told us, a solution appeared as if by a miracle. I might even say that had we never known the difficulties, the miracle would never have taken place.

I should like, too, to devote a few words to the heirs of M. Revilliod, whose mausoleum is situated in the midst of the beautiful Ariana Park which is soon to become our domain.

I must confess, Mr. Rapporteur, that, whenever I have had a short half-hour at my disposal, I have stood in meditation before that mausoleum and allowed my thoughts to dwell upon the benefactor of Geneva, who is now to become the benefactor of the entire human race. I am sure that ineffable content will come to the spirit of M. Revilliod at the solution which to-day's plenary meeting is about to adopt.

If within a few years — within three years, perhaps — we are able to meet under the roof of our own new building in the Ariana Park, I say now that it will be thanks to the wise counsels and ungrudging help given us by all the authorities

of this country and by the heirs who have so fully realised the League's position in the matter. I trust that the Assembly will be unanimously with me in paying a public tribute to the authorities of this country.

Gentlemen, if I have ventured to detain you for a moment, it was solely in order to say what M. Rappard had left unsaid.

The President :

Translation : M. Hambro, delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

M. Hambro (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — While associating myself heartily with the words of thanks uttered by the Chairman of the Committee of Five to the Swiss authorities and to all the persons concerned in Switzerland and in Geneva who have taken part in the work to facilitate the task of the Committee of Five, and while associating myself also with what the Rapporteur said in regard to that Committee and the task it has fulfilled, I wish to explain in a few words why the decision of the Fourth Committee was not unanimous.

I wish to remind you that the architects and art critics throughout the world were not entirely enthusiastic regarding the competition that was held among the architects and associations of architects, and I would point out that the procedure followed in a matter of such great and lasting importance to the League of Nations was abnormal.

Last year the Committee of Five was entrusted with a difficult task by the Assembly, and they have done more than they were asked to do; they have worked with a diligence and wisdom to which I wish to render homage, and I think the choice of site which they have made is a good one. But the delegates at this Assembly and the States Members of the League have been given no opportunity of studying this very important matter, and I would point out that associations of architects in Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia have formally protested against the procedure followed.

In the resolution which we are invited to vote upon to-day, the Committee of Five have amended one very important point; they have made it possible for the League of Nations, for the Committee of Five and for the Council to secure such architectural and artistic advice as may be necessary. It will be understood that the alteration in the programme for the buildings which has taken place must necessarily have some influence on the architectural and æsthetic side of the question, and those architects who took part in the competition, and who were dissatisfied because the jury did not respect the programme laid down, would certainly have reason to complain if a new plan for the buildings were chosen without regard to such considerations.

My delegation does not propose to vote against the resolution which is before you, since we do not in any way wish to obstruct the work of erecting the new buildings as soon as possible; but I would express the hope that the Committee of Five will communicate to the Council the opinions given by competent authorities of architects, whether in favour or against the final plan, and that the Council will give the States Members of the League an opportunity, if not of studying, at least of seeing the final plans adopted, for so far no single Member of the League has been given this opportunity.

I hope that, at the final stage, it will be possible to make such amendments in the plans as will, in the opinion of the competent authorities of the

world, give to this building some of that dignity which we all want to be attached to the home of the League of Nations, more of that beauty which we have all been looking forward to finding in the building of the League.

A proposal has been made here to consider in what manner we should celebrate the tenth anniversary of the League of Nations. In abstaining from voting against any single paragraph in the resolution before us, we do so in the conviction that we could not celebrate the tenth anniversary in any better way than by trying to erect a building which shall be worthy to be the home of the League of Nations, and which shall be for the generations to come a symbol of the ideas that have inspired the League of Nations and always must inspire it.

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. Rappard (Switzerland), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like to express briefly my thanks to M. Hambro for the tribute he was kind enough to pay to the representatives of the League and of my own country.

I am most happy to learn that he approves of the site chosen by the Committee of Five, and I thank him for his decision not to oppose the resolution submitted to the Assembly.

He has felt impelled to repeat the criticisms he made in the Fourth Committee against the procedure followed in the choice of the plans. It is not for me to defend the Committee of Five, whose work speaks for itself; but I should not like any uncertainty on this subject to exist in the minds of any of the delegates.

The Committee of Five did its best having regard to the Assembly's desire, which was I believe unanimous, to terminate this affair as quickly as possible.

If all the Governments and all the architects had had to be consulted, a rapid settlement of the matter would obviously have been impossible. Great architects, like great doctors and even great jurists, never agree; and if we want a building that will harmonise with the beauty of the site, each one of us must be prepared to assume his own responsibility in the matter.

I do not doubt that, since it was the Committee of Five itself which proposed this amendment to the resolution, it will take care to obtain all the expert advice necessary and will refer each item of the procedure to the Council.

In this way M. Hambro's wishes will be met, and I trust that next year he will be able to thank the Committee of Five for having taken his advice into consideration.

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur of the Fourth Committee proposed on behalf of that Committee that the Assembly should accept the draft resolution submitted by the Special Committee of Five, which reads as follows :

The Assembly :

Approves the report (document A.79.1928) of the Special Committee of Five Members in regard to the new buildings;

Approves the choice of the Ariana Park as a site for the new buildings of the League of Nations;

Authorises the Secretary-General to sign all the necessary legal documents concerning the exchange of rights on the properties in question

between the League of Nations and the Genevese authorities, as well as to draw up and sign the necessary contract between the architects and the League of Nations on the basis of the Special Committee's report to the Council (document C.93(1).1928), approved by the Council on March 6th, 1928;

Authorises the Special Committee of Five Members (M. Adatci, M. Osusky, M. Politis, M. Urrutia and Sir Edward Hilton Young) as soon as the legal formalities for the transfer of the land have been completed, and after having obtained all the expert advice necessary from the technical point of view, to give final approval to revised plans adapted to the new site, such approval to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for ratification. The final plans thus approved will then be carried into execution without delay by the Secretary-General and the Building Committee already appointed in accordance with the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1924.

If there is no objection, I shall consider that this resolution is adopted, in conformity with the Fourth Committee's recommendation.

The resolution was adopted.

The President :

Translation : As the Assembly is already aware, the report of the Special Committee of Five concludes with a suggestion to the effect that the Assembly should nominate two substitute members of that Committee.

The Fourth Committee, when approving the report of the Committee of Five, suggested that, in accordance with precedent, names should be submitted by the General Committee for approval to the Assembly, in order to facilitate the latter's decision.

To avoid all possible delay — for this, I felt, would be the Assembly's wish — I consulted the General Committee this morning and asked for suggestions, to be submitted to the Assembly if the latter decides, in conformity with the Fourth Committee's proposal endorsing the suggestion of the Committee of Five, to appoint two substitute members of the Committee.

As the Assembly has adopted the report of the Committee of Five and has accordingly agreed in principle to the addition of two substitute members on this Committee, I beg to inform you, on behalf of the General Committee, that the latter decided to recommend to the Assembly the names of His Excellency M. Loudon, delegate of the Netherlands, and His Excellency M. Parra-Perez, delegate of Venezuela, as substitute members of the Committee of Five.

If no one wishes to submit any observations or to have a vote, I shall consider that the Assembly, adopting the General Committee's proposal, has decided to appoint the gentlemen whose names I have just mentioned as substitute members of the Committee of Five. (*Assent.*)

No delegation can remain indifferent to this question of the League's new building, which has already figured under various aspects in the agenda of several of our sessions.

I feel that I should be failing sadly in my duty as President if I omitted to express the Assembly's very grateful thanks to the Swiss delegation and to M. Motta, the eminent head of that delegation, to the authorities of the Republic and of the Canton of Geneva, and to the municipal authorities of the city itself.

While conveying our warmest thanks to the Swiss authorities, as is only fitting, I feel that an

equally sincere expression of gratitude is due to the members of the Special Committee of Five, over which His Excellency M. Adatei presides with such tact and authority.

92. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, AND MODEL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Third Committee on the pacific settlement of international disputes, and the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance (Annex 28, document A.86.1928.IX).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, and M. Politis, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

M. Politis (Greece), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have to submit a report on the Third Committee's discussions bearing on that part of the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security which deals more particularly with arbitration and security.

As you know, the main duty of this Committee was to study measures calculated to give the States the necessary guarantees to enable them to reduce their national armaments to the lowest possible point, and according to the terms of the resolution of September 26th, 1927, which provided for the creation of the Committee, these measures were to be sought above all in action by the Council with a view to promoting, generalising and co-ordinating special and collective agreements on arbitration and security.

After a general survey of this difficult problem, the Committee on Arbitration and Security prepared a series of model treaties — covering the pacific settlement of international disputes and guarantees of security — to be open for signature by the States, and considered further what action might be taken by the Council with a view to promoting the conclusion of such treaties.

The work done by the Committee on Arbitration and Security passed through various phases, which I shall now mention briefly in order to show that our present suggestions do not include anything in the nature of hasty improvisation.

After exhaustive preliminary studies, the Committee adopted at its second session the first drafts of these model treaties, and in framing them it took into consideration the different points of view expressed during the debates, together with the general observations submitted by various Governments.

The texts approved on a first reading were communicated to the Governments, and the Committee on Arbitration and Security, at its third session in July, revised, corrected and completed them up to a point and then adopted them at the second reading.

The First and Third Committees of the Assembly, in their turn, submitted these texts to a detailed examination. The two Committees then set up a Mixed Committee, to which each of them appointed representatives, and this Mixed Committee examined the scheme of the model treaties in detail.

It was only after these various discussions that the acts in question were drawn up in the form in which they are now submitted to you for approval.

I can safely say, then, that nothing has been improvised. There has been ample time for the expression of any differences of opinion ; there has been ample time to allow of systematic work and mature consideration.

The haste displayed during the last few days applies only to the actual material drafting of the texts, and a motor accident last night prevented these documents from being distributed until this afternoon. I wish to apologise to the Assembly on behalf of those who have been concerned with the material side of this work, and this I do all the more naturally because, before proceeding any further, I have to point out two or three accidental but rather important errors and omissions in the text.

In the resolution on page 6 of the report, the first clause of the preamble, although included in the English text, has been omitted from the French. The text to be inserted in the final version is as follows :

“ Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee . . . ”

Again, in Article 34 of the General Act, the second sentence, which required modification, has not been completely amended. The final text of the second clause of (c) of this article, which lies before you, should read as follows :

“ . . . in the case of the disputes mentioned in Article 21, the above Article 22 and following articles shall apply, but each Party having separate interests shall appoint one arbitrator, and the number of arbitrators separately appointed by the parties to the dispute shall always be one less than that of the other arbitrators. ”

Ladies and gentlemen, the texts submitted to you have been commented upon in detail, and their scope is clearly defined in the introductory notes prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. I therefore need only indicate the general scheme of these texts, and endeavour to show you what additional guarantees of security the States might derive from their practical application.

First, as regards the pacific settlement of international disputes, the Committee on Arbitration and Security had prepared six model treaties: three general conventions and three bilateral conventions. Each of the bilateral conventions represented an adaptation of one of the general conventions. All the conventions were lettered, the general conventions being called A, B, C, and the corresponding bilateral conventions (a), (b), (c).

Convention C was the simplest of these general conventions. It was a general conciliation convention which did no more than codify and reproduce the provisions dealing with conciliation which are to be found in a large number of bilateral treaties now in force. Its sole merit consisted in the fact that it allowed the States to enter into undertakings at once with a large number of other States by the mere act of accession, without being obliged to conclude a separate convention with each one.

Convention B went further than mere conciliation; it added compulsory arbitration for all disputes of a legal nature and constituted the Permanent Court of International Justice the judge in matters of common law, unless the parties agreed to have recourse to an arbitral tribunal.

As regards non-legal disputes, it provided for compulsory conciliation. If this failed and agreement was not reached, the disputes would have to be submitted to the Council of the League, in accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant.

Finally, Convention A — the most comprehensive of all — extended judicial settlement and arbitration to all disputes without distinction. Disputes of a legal nature might be brought before the Permanent Court, while for non-legal disputes the parties had to set up a special arbitration tribunal.

In order to give these model treaties the necessary elasticity, that they might lend themselves to practical needs and the infinite variety of situations and requirements, and in order to facilitate the accession of as many States as possible, the Committee on Arbitration and Security thought it advisable to provide for a system of reservations.

The Committee accepted the system of reservations, but without enthusiasm. It resigned itself to this as a necessary evil, but did its best to restrict and qualify the system. It employed two means: first, it divided the reservations into clearly defined categories; secondly, it substituted for the subjective reservations hitherto found objective reservations which might be made subject to the authority of a court. Henceforth, the application of a reservation is no longer left to the discretion of the States, but is dependent on the sovereign decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The elasticity thus introduced into the three conventions was further extended in the interpretation which the Committee on Arbitration and Security sought to give the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court. This interpretation showed that the terms of Article 36 are sufficiently wide to permit of States adhering to the article with every conceivable reservation. The Committee on Arbitration and Security desired to bring out this point in a draft resolution which was adopted by the Committees, and is now submitted to you for approval. These explanations are included in the above resolution, in the hope of facilitating acceptance of the optional clause by the States.

This hope is further justified by the fact that, during the last few years, particularly during the last few months, there has been an increase in the number of accessions. Germany notified her accession last year, while we have just had the pleasure of recording that of Hungary, and Spain too has announced her intention of acceding. I am in the happy position of being able to add to this list the name of my own country, which has recently promulgated a law authorising the Government to accede to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court.

The system of arbitration conventions, however, exhibited one defect when examined by the First Committee from the legal standpoint. The necessary connection was lacking between the three model treaties, so that undertakings entered into by acceding to the individual treaties were liable to remain inoperative. The First Committee thought it essential to provide for a proper connection. Two methods were considered: The first was to establish a common Protocol linking the three conventions, so as to connect up the effect of an undertaking under one of them with the undertakings assumed under the others.

The second method provided for the fusion of the conventions in a single text, so that all States acceding to this instrument, on whatever terms, should be regarded as co-contracting parties, and their undertakings would thus become effective.

The second of the two methods appeared by far the more feasible.

The First Committee, followed by the Third Committee, accepted the General Act now submitted to you for approval, which consists of four chapters reproducing the provisions of the three general conventions drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security.

The first chapter, relating to conciliation, corresponds to Convention C.

Chapter II relates to judicial settlement and corresponds to Convention B.

Chapter III, concerning arbitration, corresponds to Convention A.

Finally, the last chapter, which consists of general provisions, sums up the provisions of this nature found in different forms, although practically identical, in all three conventions.

The General Act maintains in its entirety the general scheme of the three conventions drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. Nothing is added. The feature of elasticity, which the Committee had observed, is kept and even increased.

The Act allows of partial accessions: Article 38 provides that States may accede, either to all four chapters at once or to the separate chapters, with the choice of three methods of combining them, as indicated. Not only is the system of reservations maintained, along with a number of improvements included in the text of Article 39 as now drafted, but further elasticity has been obtained by allowing the States at any moment to extend the scope of their undertakings, any party being free to abandon its original reservations or, if occasion should arise, to denounce part of those reservations by means of a simple declaration.

All these provisions supplement the system established by the Committee on Arbitration and Security most satisfactorily. The General Act has the added merit of being simpler and at the same time more practical than the conventions and will serve to stimulate accessions: but neither in its principles nor in its structure does it contain anything new. It preserves the essential character which the Committee had given to the conventions. Like them, it is only a simple instrument, but it can be converted into a convention as soon as it has been accepted by two States.

It does not require to be negotiated upon or to receive signatures; as soon as two States have notified their accession, the Act will come into force and will remain open indefinitely for the accession of all the other States.

The General Act thus retains this essential characteristic, which may appear new to some, but is in conformity with several precedents established by the League for the acceptance of undertakings between Members of the League and between Members and non-Member States.

The General Act is not to be confounded with the instruments previously drawn up here. It may be well to point out that, while it has a certain affinity with the Geneva Protocol as regards its legal structure, it is in itself of quite a different character. I say this to calm certain apprehensions which might arise.

In the first place, the Act will not necessitate any amendment to the League Covenant. It is open to all States and needs no more than two adhesions to become effective. This difference is sufficiently characteristic to distinguish it from the Geneva Protocol.

I said that there was, nevertheless, a great affinity between the two instruments, since, despite the elasticity, perhaps indeed because of the elasticity, which is the chief merit of the General Act, we have every right to hope that it will become

a medium, and I trust a rapid medium, for the promotion of compulsory arbitration between States.

On yet another point the General Act follows the main lines laid down by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. At the beginning of my explanatory statement, I reminded you that, side by side with the three model general conventions, the Committee had prepared three model bilateral conventions, and it was quite understood at the discussions in Committee that the two classes of model treaties were on an equal footing and that the Committee did not intend to indicate any preference between them.

That, ladies and gentlemen, was by way of a compromise, such as is often reached when differences of opinion arise in the course of discussion; and here two schools of thought were revealed, one favouring general agreements, the other preferring special agreements.

In order to conciliate the two tendencies, which appeared mutually exclusive, it was agreed that both the general and the bilateral type should be submitted to the States for acceptance, as they might prefer.

At the time when the three general conventions were fused into the General Act now before you, various apprehensions were expressed. It may have been feared that preference was being given to the general system, that the bilateral type of convention was being relegated to the background. The Committee made a point of removing these misgivings and allayed the fears that had been expressed. You will notice in the draft resolution relating to the General Act that the latter, which sums up the three previous conventions, is placed on an equal footing with the bilateral conventions. These, like the General Act, are annexed to the resolution, and, like it again, must be communicated to all the States Members and to such States not Members as may be indicated by the Council.

Moreover, it is specifically stated — this is the most formal assurance given to those who favour special agreements — that States which prefer bilateral conventions may conclude them either on the lines of the model bilateral conventions or in any other terms; that is, on the basis of any other principle they care to chose.

There is thus complete freedom of choice without restraint or reservation.

The draft resolution in question combines the substance of the preambles to the General Conventions A, B and C.

It reproduces certain clauses to be found in the actual text of these conventions relating to the action of the League. The clauses were included in the draft resolution after being extracted from the text of the General Act in order that the latter, even in form, might be accessible without demur to all non-Member States as well as to States Members of the League.

I have mentioned the resolutions which accompany the treaties relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes. There are three of them: the general resolution recommending the General Act and model bilateral conventions to the Council and inviting the latter to communicate them to the States; the resolution on the Optional Clause of Article 36 supplemented by the British delegation's amendment, and lastly the resolution showing how the Council can employ its good offices in order to facilitate negotiations for the adoption of a special convention relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes.

I now come to the second part of this important work — the treaties which are intended to give additional guarantees of security to such States as require them. Following the system it had

adopted, the Committee on Arbitration and Security prepared model treaties, as in the case of the pacific settlement of international disputes.

There were three. The first, a model collective treaty, is the most complete of all, and includes the three fundamental rules taken from the Locarno Rhineland pact, rules which it is proposed to include in all similar treaties, namely, the clause concerning non-aggression, the clause for pacific settlement — which entails compulsory arbitration for disputes of a legal nature, other disputes being submitted to conciliation procedure and, where agreement cannot be reached, to procedure before the Council under Article 4 — and the mutual assistance clause, which is applicable when one of the contracting parties is the victim of aggression on the part of another, after the Council has established the act of aggression and designated the aggressor.

The second model treaty, also collective, resembled the first, of which it included the first two clauses but not the third.

There was, lastly, a third model treaty, the same as the second but bilateral in form; it also included the clauses relating to non-aggression and pacific settlement.

The Third Committee kept the texts prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security practically unchanged. It merely added a few words to the resolution concerning the good offices of the Council in facilitating the conclusion of similar treaties.

The most comprehensive of all the treaties prepared by the Committee in the matter is undoubtedly the first, which includes the three fundamental clauses just mentioned. It is based, as I reminded you, on the Locarno Rhineland pact, but differs from that treaty in several respects. It does not include special territorial guarantees, it does not provide for guarantees by third States, it makes no provision for cases of flagrant aggression and it contains no stipulations regarding demilitarised zones.

These are the four essential differences that distinguish our model treaty of mutual assistance from the Locarno Rhineland pact.

As regards these various questions, it did not seem possible to lay down now that the clauses in question should be accepted as general rules to be included in all treaties of this nature. For all of them, particularly the last two — flagrant aggression and demilitarised zones — it was held that each individual case should be examined and settled according to the particular circumstances and the wishes and requirements of the contracting parties.

The introductory note prepared by the Committee, which is published among the documents before you, gives, in greater detail, the explanations which I have just summed up. The note will have to be studied by the Governments which may wish to conclude treaties of this nature following on your adoption of the present report.

The first draft resolution invites you to approve the model treaties and to recommend the States to adopt them. The second resolution concerns the exercise of the good offices of the Council with a view to the conclusion of similar treaties. It was understood, and is clearly set out in the text, that the Council can only intervene if so requested by one of the contracting parties, and can take no steps without the agreement of all the parties concerned. It was to be quite clear that the procedure must be voluntarily accepted by all the parties. No pressure may be exercised. The Council is meant to act as a kind of umpire, facilitating the action of the parties when both agree to have recourse to its mediation.

The last resolution submitted to you is the work of the French delegation. It is designed to give the Secretariat of the League facilities for adding to the documentation it has begun to collect and establishing the proposed maps and graphs relating to treaties, arbitration and arbitral awards. In this text also there is a slight omission which I should like to point out. The end of the second paragraph mentions judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice; judgments of the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration should also be included.

This, gentlemen, is merely a rapid summary, with very inadequate comments, on the texts now submitted to you. I think they constitute a useful contribution towards the regulation of peace. The treaty signed a month ago at Paris — I mentioned this recently — marks an important date in the history of mankind. It lays down the principle of non-aggression, and we firmly trust that this principle will before long become a universal law. When this comes to pass, it may appear at first sight that the texts we have just prepared will lose some of their usefulness. This is true, but it will only be in appearance — it will seem useless in future to reiterate in an agreement between three, four or five States an undertaking which has been universally assumed by the fact of adhering to the Paris pact.

It will only be so in appearance. The efficacy of the pact of mutual assistance and non-aggression will only be diminished by the Paris pact in a very slight degree. We must not forget that the prohibition to resort to force laid down in the Paris pact is attended by a number of exceptions. These are understood in the pact. They should be clearly defined and explained in some text, and this is the purpose of the models submitted to you, since, after establishing the principle of non-aggression, they indicate the exceptions to the principle, namely, in the case of legitimate defence, the application of Article 15, paragraph 7, or Article 16 of the Covenant, or action authorised by the League.

The Paris pact, however, is far from complete from the standpoint of the organisation of peace.

It speaks of submitting disputes to pacific procedure, but it does not provide for the organisation of such procedure, nor does it stipulate any obligation to have recourse to it, and the guarantee of assistance which is considered by a great many States as essential for the definite establishment of peace is entirely absent from the Paris pact.

This double omission can be made good by means of the model treaties, which are open for the acceptance of all States actuated by goodwill.

If the pacts, treaties of non-aggression and treaties of pacific settlement and mutual assistance are accepted by the States, this will undoubtedly be an added factor of security, it will mean additional guarantees of the greatest practical importance in facilitating the solution of that vast and most serious problem — the reduction and limitation of armaments.

I hope that the moral authority which the Assembly's approval is bound to give to these texts, and the pressure brought to bear on Governments by public opinion after hearing our discussions, will result, despite difficulties which everyone can foresee, in the conclusion of such treaties, in the near future, in various parts and regions of the world, particularly in Europe.

But the likelihood of useful and practical results is, in my view, considerably greater as regards the pacific settlement of international disputes. The General Act and the model bilateral conventions

submitted to you will do much to facilitate the development of compulsory arbitration.

These texts are the more opportune, as compulsory arbitration has made great strides of recent years, particularly within the last five years. The instruments we have prepared follow the same lines, the path already marked out, and, thanks to the fact that the attendant circumstances are favourable, we can be sure that they will yield useful and practical results, increasing in scope and importance. Should this come to pass — as I confidently believe it will — you, gentlemen, by accepting these texts, will have made a great and worthy contribution towards the progress of peace.

I propose the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of a General Act and of Three Model Bilateral Conventions in regard to Conciliation, Arbitration and Judicial Settlement.*

"The Assembly:

"Having considered the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security;

"(1) Firmly convinced that effective machinery for ensuring the peaceful settlement of international disputes is an essential element in the cause of security and disarmament;

"(2) Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes;

"(3) Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals;

"(4) Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent;

"(5) Taking note of the fact that a great number of particular international conventions provide for obligatory conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement;

"(6) Being desirous of facilitating to the greatest possible degree the development of undertakings in regard to the said methods of procedure;

"(7) Declaring that such undertakings are not to be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League of Nations to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world; nor as impeding its intervention in virtue of Articles 15 and 17 of the Covenant, where a dispute cannot be submitted to arbitral or judicial procedure or cannot be settled by such procedure or where the conciliation proceedings have failed;

"(8) Invites all States, whether Members of the League or not, and in so far as their existing agreements do not already achieve this end, to accept obligations in pursuance of the above purpose either by becoming parties to the annexed General Act or by concluding particular conventions with individual States in accordance with the model bilateral conventions annexed hereto or in such terms as may be deemed appropriate;

"(9) Resolves to communicate the annexed General Act and the annexed model bilateral conventions to all Members of the League of Nations and to such States not Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council.

"(10) Requests the Council to give the Secretariat of the League of Nations instructions to keep a list of the engagements contracted in accordance with the terms of the present resolution either by acceptance of the provisions of the General Act or by the conclusion of particular conventions with the same object, so as to enable Members of the League and States non-Members of the League to obtain information as soon as possible."

2. *Resolution concerning the Good Offices of the Council.*

"The Assembly :

"In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security ;

"Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars :

"Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see the application of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible, and

"Invites the Council to inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of contracting for this purpose undertakings concerning the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested to do so by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue."

3. *Resolution on the Submission and Recommendation of Model Treaties of non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance.*

"The Assembly :

"Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee ;

"Highly appreciating the value of these model treaties ;

"And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security ;

"Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-members of the League of Nations ; and

"Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort."

4. *Resolution concerning the Good Offices of the Council.*

"In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security ;

"The Assembly :

"Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security ;

"Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council if freely accepted by all the parties concerned might facilitate the conclusion of such treaties ;

"Invites the Council to inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance or a treaty of non-aggression for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue."

5. *Resolution regarding the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

"The Assembly :

"Referring to the resolution of October 2nd, 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date ;

"Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired ;

"Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves ;

"Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that meanwhile attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by the terms of that clause to States which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope ;

"Noting in this latter connection that the reservations conceivable may relate, either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined ;

"Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the Optional Clause of Article 36

of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated;

"Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter, indicating at the same time the questions of international law the elucidation of which would in their opinion facilitate their accession to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court; and

"Asks the Council to inform them at the next session of the Assembly of the replies it has by then received."

6. *Resolution with regard to the Revision of the Systematic Survey of Arbitration Conventions and Treaties of Mutual Security deposited with the League of Nations, prepared by the Legal Section of the Secretariat.*

"The Assembly:

"Recognising the importance of the documentation which the Secretariat of the League of Nations has begun to collect concerning treaties of judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation, and of the maps and graphs which it contemplates establishing:

"Requests the Secretary-General to be so good as to invite the Governments of States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations to communicate to the Secretariat the text:

"(1) Of those treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes which are now in force and which were concluded prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and which have not been registered;

"(2) Of such arbitral awards affecting them as may be rendered in the future, with the exception of judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the Permanent Arbitration Court and of special tribunals such as the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals."

The President:

Translation: Count Apponyi, first delegate of Hungary, will address the Assembly.

Count Apponyi (Hungary):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In order to be as brief as possible, may I waive any introduction to or rhetorical ornamentation of my speech, and proceed at once to a concise statement of the reasons which have determined the vote of the Hungarian delegation on the questions before us.

The Rapporteur, with his customary lucidity, has just summarised the resolutions which the Third Committee recommends for our approval.

Let us first examine the draft resolution regarding the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. There is no need for me to explain why we are in favour of that resolution. Hungary has just signed the clause in question without any reservation.

If I have any criticism to offer with regard to this resolution, it is that, in my opinion, too much is made of reservations, which are an undesirable feature of the accessions to all agreements dealing with arbitration or any form of judicial settlement. I will say no more on that point at the moment, as I shall return to it later when speaking of the General Act.

We next have a draft resolution concerning the good offices of the League Council, with a view to facilitating, though its moral influence, the conclusion of the agreements which we advocate. To that resolution also we fully adhere.

Lastly, there are two other draft resolutions, one of which recommends, first to the approval of the Assembly, and, after the approval of that august body has been obtained, to the acceptance of all States, whether Members of the League or not, the conclusion of agreements, either through accession to the General Act or by means of bilateral agreements regarding security and arbitration. The other draft resolution recommends for consideration by States, whether Members of the League or not, treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance.

I must explain our attitude towards these two draft resolutions.

We support the former resolution, recommending accession to the General Act and bilateral conventions which, in substance, are similar to the General Act, because there is nothing either in the Act itself or in the reasons given in support of the recommendation which conflicts with the principles we defend.

On the contrary, this admirable and scientific piece of work, on which we congratulate the authors and their collaborators, is based on ideas corresponding entirely with what we consider to be essential, namely, a clear distinction between the political and judicial aspects of international questions and, secondly, the intangibility of the international magistrature as regards its procedure and decisions. We are entirely in sympathy with these principles and recommendations, and we consider that they should be generally accepted.

Nevertheless, I feel bound, on behalf of my Government, to make certain reservations, or rather to explain to you the significance of our affirmative vote.

An affirmative vote, given after serious reflection — as is the case with all the votes given here — means that the Government concerned is under a moral obligation to implement the recommendations of the resolution. None of us can urge others to do what we are not prepared to do ourselves. Hence we consider that this accession connotes a moral obligation on the part of the Hungarian Government to conclude as soon as possible conventions similar to the General Act and to adhere to a general convention. That, to be sure, is our ultimate aim; yet I am bound in all sincerity to say that the Hungarian Government cannot undertake immediately to convert into conventions and into accessions to concrete agreements the general approval it has given to our recommendations, and this for the following reasons.

I do not wish to enter into any detailed criticism of the Act submitted to us. I have already acknowledged that, in principle, it is admirably conceived, clear, lucid and in harmony with our views.

There is, however, one article in regard to which we have certain misgivings and feel called upon to take certain precautions, namely, the article dealing with reservations.

I have already referred to this article in connection with the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. I should like to say something more on this subject, because no satisfactory solution of this very serious question appears yet to have been reached.

States are granted what amounts to almost complete freedom in regard to reservations. I am aware that the Preamble to the General Act states — and the statement is repeated in one of the articles — that the power to make reservations

is limited, and I quite admit that much progress has been made in that direction.

Progress has been made, since any dispute concerning the applicability of a reservation must be submitted to the Court. Accordingly, the State making the reservation has no absolute right to judge for itself whether the reservation is applicable in every case. If there is a dispute on the matter, it must be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. That is certainly a step in the right direction.

The reservations permissible do not include those which relate to objections based on constitutional grounds; that is to say, where there is the possibility of violation of the State's constitution should certain questions be compulsorily submitted to judicial procedure. The exclusion of these reservations marks a step forward, because they leave the door open to endless casuistry and abuse.

Nevertheless, the reservations defined in subparagraph (c) of the list really cover anything and everything, and permit of any subject being withdrawn, under the guise of a reservation, from the jurisdiction of the magistrature, from the application of compulsory judicial procedure, whether arbitral or other.

This detracts very much from the value of the whole work. The power, however limited, to make reservations makes it only too easy in international relations to cover vice with a cloak of virtue.

A State wishing to evade the Act can easily enough tell the world that it has acceded to the Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and can also point out that it has concluded, in conformity with the General Act, treaties providing for the submission of all juridical questions to arbitration or compulsory judicial procedure; yet it can make reservations which will completely nullify this obligation.

Hence when, in accordance with one of the resolutions proposed, the Secretariat submits to the Council or Assembly a list of States which have accepted and concluded such engagements and have signed the Optional Clause of the Statute of the Court, a list of the reservations made should be submitted at the same time, because it is only by those reservations that we can gauge the real value of the States' accessions.

Herein lies a very real danger, a circumstance that gives pause to those who, like ourselves, are anxious to conclude these agreements and have signed the Optional Clause without any reservations. We might find that some countries had made reservations of such a nature, and having such a scope, as to render the agreement entirely valueless in our eyes.

Suppose, for example — and this is one of the cases covered by the General Act — suppose a State reserves all questions which arose prior to the signature of this Act, thus including any disputes as to the interpretation of the Peace Treaties. To Hungary, the value of an agreement limited in this way would be practically nil, because for a long time to come the question of primary importance to us will be the judicial — that is to say, the impartial and equitable — settlement of disputes arising out of the interpretation of the Peace Treaties. It is one of our vital interests.

What compensation is offered to us in such a case? We are told that, generally speaking — and this seems quite fair — a State which has made no reservations may, in its relations with a State which has made them, claim the benefit of the same reservations as the latter State.

In the case in question, therefore, we should also have the right to refuse judicial settlement if we were accused of violating the Peace Treaties, or if we put forward a claim deemed to be a misinterpretation of those Treaties.

But we do not ask for this concession; it is no favour, no compensation to us. If we ask that any claim or complaint we may make against any party in virtue of the Peace Treaties should be submitted to judicial settlement, we also consider that the same judicial procedure should be applied to ourselves when a similar complaint or charge is brought against us.

That is a question which, as yet, is unsolved. I do not wish to take up an extreme attitude in the matter by suggesting that reservations should be entirely eliminated. I realise that life calls for reservations; I also realise that the authors of the General Act have attempted to set reasonable limits to the freedom allowed, which might otherwise defeat all the aims of the Act. But the happy mean, the exact limit, has not yet been found, and I venture to say that this is a matter requiring further study to enable us to define what reservations are permissible without utterly destroying the principle of compulsory judicial settlement through the reprehensible practice of giving ambitious agreements a purely fictitious value.

That is one of the reasons why the Hungarian Government may possibly hesitate to conclude treaties of this kind. It will want to know what reservations are likely to become usual and how public opinion will regard them. It will want to make sure that it is not being enticed into agreements where unfair advantage may be taken of its good faith by parties whose good faith is less complete.

There is a second reason which bids us pause. I will not conceal the impression I have received, not from the instrument under discussion but from recent developments in matters of theoretical principle and the influence they have begun to exercise on the procedure of the organs of the League. This influence has had the effect of placing the prestige of the international magistrature and arbitration somewhat under a cloud. The tendency is openly displayed in certain theoretical works to place political power in the League above judicial power, and to grant to the Council, as the principal political organ, a sort of right of revision and of judgment and to allow it to act to some extent as a court of appeal against the decisions of the international magistrature.

That is a tendency which I shall always combat by every means in my power, because I regard it as destructive of the whole work of the League. It is especially destructive of the security and the dignity of small nations, for their juridical equality, as stated in the Covenant and proclaimed from this platform, depends upon the intangibility of the international magistrature, since that magistrature is the only domain in which such equality really exists. If equality exists at all, it must be in questions of law; otherwise if, even in this sphere, the nation whose political influence is strongest is to have the upper hand, we may well ask why the League was ever created.

I have seen, and no one with their eyes open can fail to see, that this tendency has already to some extent influenced certain proceedings of the Council. I do not say the Council has yielded to it; on the contrary, I feel sure that, in the last resort, the Council will always uphold, respect for law and will always carry out the obligations devolving upon it under Article 13 of the Covenant, namely, to carry out so far as its means permit the decisions of the international magistrature.

But notwithstanding the hope — nay, the certainty — I feel as to the position the Council will take up, other and contrary hopes have undeniably been entertained, and a certain hesitation, which only encourages those hopes, has been displayed.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, in view of this hesitation, we ourselves should also hesitate and should desire to await the issue, because when an agreement is concluded with one or a number of parties, if it is to be honest and sincere, it must mean the same thing to all concerned. When we speak of submitting unconditionally all juridical questions affecting us to the international magistrature, we mean that for us this magistrature represents an impregnable fortress, a power whose authority is beyond dispute. But if the tendency to which I have just referred gradually affects the policy of one or more States, they will cease to regard the magistrature as an unimpeachable juridical power, that absolute guarantee of dignity and freedom which we expect from it; it will merely be a stage of procedure liable to be influenced by changes of policy.

If this should be the case, international jurisdiction will become a very different thing. We may call it by the same name, and the bodies to which we appeal may employ the same methods, but they will not then mean the same thing to both parties.

We wish to know where we stand in this matter. I do not say that the General Act now before us gives the slightest encouragement to these subversive legal theories; it does not. What makes the Act so valuable in our eyes is that in its whole purport, its simplified form and its construction, it upholds the theory of the intangibility of the international magistrature, and enunciates the lofty conception of international jurisdiction which we hold so dear and by which we set such great store. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether, in face of subversive tendencies, this truth, this conception can prevail.

I say it frankly; the tendencies to which I have referred have brought to light a certain reluctance to carry out a duty towards us prescribed by the existing law. In the end, this reluctance will certainly be overcome and right will prevail; but until that comes to pass it is only natural that we too should hesitate.

To sum up: I considered it my duty to say frankly and loyally that, while we accede fully and sincerely to the Act in regard to security and arbitration, we may not be able to fulfil our moral duty to carry it into effect immediately, until we have guarantees concerning the conventions which I have just mentioned.

Our position in regard to the resolution recommending treaties of mutual assistance and non-aggression is altogether different. These treaties are excellent in themselves, and nothing is further from our thought than to try to prevent their acceptance. We feel bound to abstain from voting for them, however, primarily on account of the nature of the engagements involved by the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. In Article 3 of the Collective Treaty of Mutual Assistance (Treaty D), it is stated that:

“As soon as the Council of the League of Nations has ascertained that such a violation has taken place, it shall at once advise the Powers which have signed the present Treaty, and each of these Powers undertakes in such a case to give assistance forthwith to the Power against which the act complained of has been directed.”

How can we, in our present state, disarmed so that we are defenceless, seriously undertake to assist any Power whatever? How can we, disarmed and defenceless, conclude a treaty of mutual assistance with nations armed to the teeth? The thing would be as incongruous as a treaty of mutual financial assistance between a small tradesman and Pierpont Morgan.

Our very sincerity therefore compels us to abstain from voting.

But there is another point also, and this point represents our main objection. I hardly need mention it, because it is to be found in the introductory note to the Model Treaty of Mutual Assistance. We read in the last paragraph but one of the introductory note to Annex 3 that:

“The conclusion of a collective Treaty of Mutual Assistance, as conceived by the Committee, naturally presupposes political preparation, and endeavours to bring about a better understanding between the nations destined to conclude reciprocal agreements.”

If it is to be genuine and sincere, therefore, a treaty of mutual assistance presupposes good understanding and confidence between the nations which conclude that treaty. Now I regret to say that in that part of Central Europe to which we belong — and in our case it would obviously be a matter of regional agreements — these political conditions and the necessary mutual confidence do not yet exist, nor has the position improved to any large extent of late. I will say as little as possible and will use the mildest terms I can; but there are some things I must say.

M. Briand, speaking from this platform, asked whether sincerity was possible in the League. He answered his own question in the affirmative. I will go further and ask whether sincerity is necessary to the League, and I also reply in the affirmative: for if the League is to achieve its objects and to carry out any task completely, truth is essential and must be faced. If we conceal the disequilibrium which exists in certain regions and which contains the seeds of conflict, we are doing a disservice to the cause of peace and international understanding. We must look facts in the face, because that is the only way to find real remedies, to advance towards our common goal, to promote concord, to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence, moral pacification and voluntary acquiescence, such as is essential to real peace. If the basis of European organisation is to be that one powerfully armed group is to impose its will on another disarmed and weak group, discontent and irritation will ensue, and, I repeat, in that case a League of Nations will not be worth while. It would be tantamount to a Holy Alliance, the system of the 1815 Treaties. There was little enough concern then as to whether some nations were satisfied or not; but the treaties were enforced, for a time, by reason of the superior power behind them.

No, gentlemen, that is surely not the system we want. That system would not represent an advance towards a new and better order of things. If we were to apply it, a disinterested spectator with a philosophic turn of mind might repeat the charming epigram of a French political writer who, surveying the results of a series of revolutions, said: “*Plus cela change, plus c'est la même chose*”. No, gentlemen, it must not be the same thing. If we are to bring about a new order of things based on truth, and to advance towards peace based on a belief in justice, on an understanding of the fundamental interests of nations and of the natural course of human evolution, we must first of all be frank and sincere with one another, we must allow fresh air,

however cold, however piercing, to enter these often incense-laden precincts.

You are quite entitled to ask me what are the obstacles to this genuine understanding. I will not go into details to-day, because, I assure you, it is not my intention, at this final stage of the Assembly, to moot serious problems which can only be settled or profitably dealt with after lengthy discussion.

What I have said to-day I shall explain more fully to the next Assembly, when we shall certainly have to revert to this matter, if only because, notwithstanding the care and skill with which these agreements have been drafted, certain technical details will need to be revised, and certain problems still outstanding will have to be solved. Next year, therefore, it will be my duty — if I have the strength left to perform it — to lay before the Assembly a true picture of the evils afflicting the part of Central Europe to which Hungary belongs. I shall then show you that it is no question of legal formulas — nothing is easier than to find formulas — but that there are grave political problems which call for a real and not a fictitious solution. I feel that, in bringing these facts to your notice, I shall be rendering a real service to the League by enabling it, after discussion, to realise the position and take the necessary action.

I should now like to touch upon another point — the aspect of this discussion which makes an emotional appeal to us all — namely, the connection between the item on to-day's agenda and the great problem of disarmament.

You may perhaps say to me: You who are more eager than others for the speedy completion of disarmament, or at any rate for an appreciable advance in that direction, you are not acting logically in raising difficulties with regard to what is an essential condition for disarmament, namely, the establishment of security.

But that is the argument of those to whom the present situation already gives full security and who think that if they reduce their armaments they will be making a sacrifice in the cause of disarmament.

May I point out that there are other nations who have no security at all to-day, and to whom, therefore, similar disarmament would bring security. There are nearly a hundred million civilised people living under those conditions.

What measure of security has Hungary to-day? May I give you a small instance? I have often, both at plenary meetings and in committee, told you of the intolerable position in which certain countries, my own included, have been placed through unilateral disarmament. But I am now speaking of security. Everyone is concerned about the disastrous effects of air warfare, not only on the armies themselves but on the population as a whole. To this direct danger is added the danger of chemical warfare, for which poisonous substances and gases are employed. Nations possessing sufficient military aircraft could attack whole populations by this means. Do you realise what our position is in this matter? We have actually been forbidden protective masks.

Some years ago now we made representations, I think to the Conference of Ambassadors, or if not, to the competent disarmament authorities, asking to be allowed to use these masks, which can hardly be called an instrument of aggression — and for years permission was refused.

We were eventually granted a concession, in the shape of an authorisation to manufacture some 52,000 gas masks for the 35,000 men we are allowed to have under arms. But for the civil population there are none at all. What do you think of that? All countries are anxious to protect their own people against air attack, but we — we have no

means of protecting them; we are not allowed to protect them. Is that security?

I could give you many similar examples, but I think that instance sufficiently proves the impossibility of arranging the questions of security and disarmament — security first and then disarmament — in chronological order, as the theorists seem to want. Many factors are involved. In the first place, how will you know when security has been reached? Will it be when the Assembly has recommended the General Act and the other conventions before us to-day? No. An Act, a paper Act, whatever the respect it commands, however excellent the principles it contains, however sacred these principles should be, is not yet a guarantee of security. It becomes a guarantee when, and only when, it has been brought into effect.

In the Preamble to the General Act itself it is admitted that much has still to be done before real and universal security is achieved through the acceptance of the Act and of the bilateral conventions based on it. Can we afford to wait until then?

As the example I give shows, the existence of this disparity in armaments itself makes for insecurity. International acts which legally bind nations may do something, may do much, to increase security; but the real basis, whether of security or of an assured peace, as well as of legal stability, is a pacific spirit, a spirit born of a general belief in the justice and the organic nature of the existing arrangements.

Anything, therefore, which is unilateral in character forms an insuperable barrier to the establishment of that moral basis of security. The great, the fundamental falsity of the situation created by the Peace Treaties was that they stereotyped the situation of the belligerents, that they introduced into what is termed a state of peace a distinction between the allies of one Power and the allies of another, according to the particular side on which they happened to be during the war. That, gentlemen, is an insuperable barrier to moral reconciliation and to the stabilisation of the civilised world as a moral unit.

No nation worthy of the name can accept a position of juridical inferiority; it cannot accept the application to itself of a system of international law different from that applied to others; still less can it accept as a reason for these differences its alleged moral inferiority.

Only if we solve such problems — of which I have touched on but a few — only if we attack them courageously, if we refuse to harbour illusions based on fictitious circumstances, if we take bold action to achieve true reconciliation and re-establish moral unity; only if we do this shall we really be serving the cause of world security.

In this way alone can the foundations of true peace be successfully laid. You see, therefore, that our attitude is quite consistent when we refuse to take a step which would be wanting in complete sincerity and would give the impression that we are seeking security solely, or even mainly, in juridical formulas. That is not so. Security depends on psychological and political factors. Most big political mistakes are due to errors of psychology. Each State has its own mentality and acts accordingly, without troubling to try to understand the mentality of others. Only when these differences of mentality are disclosed and fully appreciated will it be possible to arrive at an understanding.

Once this result has been attained I do not despair of overcoming all other difficulties. Then, and then only, shall I be optimist enough to share the confidence expressed by many speakers in the League's future. If the League is content to shirk real problems and to take refuge in formulas,

instead of settling the questions at issue, it will no doubt continue to exist, it will make a great show of work and celebrations will be organised in its honour; but its greatest aim — an aim which will always have my firm and devoted support — will never be attained.

If I have been outspoken, I have also been perfectly candid and sincere; and I only spoke as I have because I earnestly desire to further the cause of real and lasting peace.

The President :

Translation : M. d'Oliveira, delegate of Portugal, will address the Assembly.

M. d'Oliveira (Portugal) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Portuguese delegation is glad to give its cordial support to the Third Committee's proposal relative to the General Act of Arbitration, and thanks the members of that Committee, and particularly the distinguished Rapporteur, M. Politis, for their important contribution to the work of the League.

Portugal has long-standing traditions in the matter of arbitration, to which it is her duty to remain faithful. It was on the initiative of Portugal, as we have already reminded you, that the Hague Conference of 1907 discussed a draft world convention for compulsory arbitration, which was supported by a large majority and which only the opposition of a very small number of States prevented from being accepted.

The General Act submitted for your approval is, in our opinion, the logical sequel to and the necessary development of the general obligation to submit to arbitration contained in Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant.

It is the duty of the League loyally to do its utmost not only to make this undertaking effective and real but to extend it and render it available for all States. The whole world must be brought to realise that each provision of the Covenant, which is our common constitution, far from becoming a dead letter, or practically so, is a living factor in our minds and is becoming an ever-growing inspiration and guiding force for all our acts.

For this reason the delegation of Portugal earnestly and sincerely trusts that a large number of States will in the near future affix their signatures to this charter of arbitration, as it has been so aptly called, after it has received the approval of the Assembly.

It will remain one of the most important acts, and one of the most fertile in results, of all the work we have done this year. Undoubtedly arbitration, if not the sole way to disarmament and peace, is, jointly with judicial settlement, the most direct, the most comprehensive and the most just way, the way best calculated to ensure the equality of States, the way which more than any other has earned the growing confidence of the nations.

The discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

The Assembly rose at 7.15 p.m.

VERBATIM RECORD

OF THE

Ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

NINETEENTH PLENARY MEETING

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26th, 1928, AT 10 A.M.

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93. — PROTECTION OF MINORITIES : DECLARATION BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : Before dealing with the first item on the agenda, I will ask His Excellency Jonkheer Loudon, first delegate of the Netherlands, to address you. He wishes to make a statement

to the Assembly on a matter connected with the minorities question.

Jonkheer Loudon will address the Assembly.

Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The statement I have to make is a very brief one. During the discussion of the report on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat, M. Beelaerts van Blokland, the first delegate of the Netherlands, made certain observations regarding the protection of minorities, without, however, submitting any definite proposal. He expressed the hope that other delegations would state their views on the matter, and I should like to thank all my colleagues who have been good enough to respond to that invitation.

The Netherlands delegation was glad to find that those who spoke unanimously recognised the great importance of the problem, although opinions differed as to the solutions which it would be desirable to apply.

Leaving aside the question of the advisability of revising the present system, it seems to me that it would be a very good thing if we could make it more effective. We might, for instance, amend the procedure of the existing system by holding more frequent meetings of the Committees of Three in the intervals between sessions of the Council. I fully realise, however, that the end of our session is not the time for discussing this matter at length and I will merely say, in conclusion, that the Netherlands delegation is confident that the question of the proper protection of minorities will continue to receive from the League the full consideration it deserves.

The President :

Translation : The communication made by the Netherlands delegation is merely in the nature of a statement; it will be duly included in the records of the present meeting.

94. — PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES AND MODEL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS: CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President:

Translation: The first item on the agenda is the continuation of the discussion of the Third Committee's report on the pacific settlement of international disputes and model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance (Annex 28, document A.86.1928.IX).

I will ask Count Carton de Wiart, Chairman of the Third Committee, to be good enough to take his place on the platform.

As M. Politis, the Rapporteur for this question, has been obliged to leave Geneva, I will ask the Chairman of the Third Committee to be good enough to act in his stead if necessary.

His Excellency M. Comnène, delegate of Roumania, who is the first speaker on the list, will address the Assembly.

M. Comnène (Roumania):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have listened with great interest to the speakers who have preceded me on this platform, and I have noticed that, while some of them displayed possibly undue optimism with regard to the League's work in the field of arbitration, security and disarmament, others went to the opposite extreme and practically proposed that the League should file a declaration of bankruptcy.

As in all human affairs, truth is, I think, to be found in the golden mean. When we remember that for ages past men have waged war on each other, and that the history of civilisation is one long record of bloodshed, it seems absurd to expect to raise a complex structure, a very complex structure, and to build up in a few short months a complete international system of security and arbitration designed to prevent war.

History shows that the evolution of human institutions rarely proceeds by leaps and bounds. It is only by dealing with difficulties methodically, in stages, or, as Pascal said, "en sériant", and by carefully taking all the aspects of the problem into account, that we can hope to attain our object.

I know that public opinion is daily becoming more eager for an advance in the direction of disarmament, security and arbitration.

I can pass over the clamorous demands of the impractical idealists whose voices are sometimes to be heard in this Assembly, crying aloud for immediate and total disarmament.

It may be well, I think, for us to remind ourselves occasionally that this is not a mere political academy or one of those international debating societies at which, to use Saint-Simon's expression, "pistols of straw and words of snow are the rule".

Nearly all the members of this Assembly are statesmen representing their Governments. They are men with heavy responsibilities on their shoulders.

However lofty our personal aspirations may be, whatever our individual ideals, it is the imperative duty of one and all of us not to lose sight of realities.

Count Apponyi yesterday emphasised the importance of sincerity for the League, and encourages us to follow his example — to speak forthright and look the facts squarely in the face. He told us of his anxiety at seeing his country disarmed amidst neighbours whom he regards as

armed to the teeth. Allow me to remind you that my own country is passionately attached to peace, that no country would be more happy to disarm, that it has always said so, and, that in the course of our history we have more than once — unfortunately without success — appealed at international assemblies for the privilege of neutralisation on the same lines as Switzerland.

But when I remember the offers we have solemnly made to all our neighbours more than once from this platform to participate in a pact of non-aggression, when I remember that those offers have met with no response, when I perceive the constant, stubborn and irrepressible desire of some of our neighbours to disturb peace and overturn the existing order, I feel I should like to look them in the face and ask them, as M. Paul-Boncour asked us yesterday, where the danger actually lies and what are the exact threats which their neighbours offer to their countries. For years past we have heard vague accusations formulated by Hungary against her neighbours both from this platform and in other international assemblies. We are glad that at last the time has come when we can ask for definite explanations; and we now await them.

You will therefore understand the anxiety sometimes felt by our statesmen, who are desirous of serving the cause of peace, as all of us here have solemnly undertaken to do, and you will see why, in view of certain facts and certain actions, we must demand guarantees.

Last night Count Apponyi thought to place his country's neighbours in a quandary by asking them how they would know when the minimum of security had been reached. Were we not imbued with the spirit of Geneva, we might reply: "When a minimum of moral disarmament has been achieved by all our neighbours; when the great wind of democracy has finally swept away the last vestige of abolished privileges".

But this reply, simple and incisive as the question itself, might, if given without further elaboration, accord ill with the international spirit which all those who undertake the pilgrimage to Geneva should possess.

We had thought that these minimum guarantees would be given us through the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol; but for reasons of a constitutional, historical or psychological nature, which affect certain Members of the League, we have not yet secured those guarantees.

We are now trying to obtain them through new formulas and by new methods, and we believe that these methods are the right ones. The Kellogg pact, the Franco-British agreement and the settlement of certain highly controversial points connected with disarmament, all encourage us to hope that we are on the right road.

I am glad to find that the Roumanian delegation was not mistaken when it declared last year that the problems of disarmament, arbitration and security were leaving the empirical to enter upon the scientific stage.

You have before you the work of the Third Committee and of the Preparatory Commission. That work justifies the belief of those who come here, not with ill-disguised ambitions, but with an ardent faith in the future of the League, that success is assured.

As regards arbitration, let me state that, though arbitration is a matter of primary importance for large countries, it will readily be understood how enthusiastically all small or medium-sized countries must welcome the progress made in the direction of compulsory arbitration.

When I reflect upon the distressing history of my own country, I cannot help thinking of the terrible sufferings and disaster it might have been

spared by compulsory arbitration. It is only necessary to look at the geographical position of countries such as mine to realise how sincerely I speak and what great importance these countries attach to the principle of arbitration.

That is why, although we realise that our efforts are still tentative and that the work done may not be altogether satisfactory, we are nevertheless prepared to give it our full support.

I shall not follow the example set from this platform by bringing up before the Assembly a question still pending before the League Council, as I feel it is hardly right, when a controversial matter is before the Council, to raise it in the Assembly in an attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Council.

It was said here yesterday that most political mistakes are errors of psychology.

I do not intend, therefore, to commit such an error myself.

I have just stated our views on international justice; but I feel bound to add that we cannot subscribe to everything that has been said here with regard to the predominance of the judicial over the political in the working of the League. That is a matter of such importance that we cannot pass over it lightly.

What is the League's purpose? Peace, peace above all things. That is stated clearly and emphatically both in the Preamble and in the main articles of the Covenant. Peace, in fact, is at the basis of the whole structure.

Whether in the international or in the national sphere, vital necessities come first.

The judicial records of every country are full of cases where justice has had to yield before the imperative necessities of everyday life. We must not be carried away by catchwords and first principles. We all owe respect to justice; yet when a judgment is likely to kindle the torch of war, to give over perhaps a whole Continent to fire and sword — for, as we know too well, it is impossible nowadays to localise the danger of an outbreak — I do not think you will find a single statesman or a single jurist worthy of the name who will not echo the principle of the Covenant: "Peace before all!"

I am glad to be able heartily to support in particular the paragraph of the fifth resolution concerning the efforts which are being made with a view to the progressive codification of international law. We cannot forget the very sound observations made at the last ordinary session of the Assembly by certain delegations who pointed out the great drawbacks to establishing international jurisdictions while the common law which they are to apply is still a mere mass of conflicting individual opinions and of controversies between the various schools of law.

In conclusion, I should like to see this debate close on a note of peace and not of strife, on words of confidence and not of doubt; and I therefore venture to say, on behalf of the Roumanian delegation, that the nation of peasants whom we represent here believes in the League and its work, believes in its future and in the coming of justice and of universal peace, and that, whenever they are called upon to furnish their modest measure of help to bring the world a further stage along the road to peace, they will not fail, as throughout their history they have never failed, to answer the call.

The President :

Translation : Dr. Nansen, first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Nansen (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — As it was the Norwegian delegation which, after Sweden had made a similar proposal three years ago, submitted at the last ordinary session of the Assembly the proposal from which the Arbitration Treaty now under consideration has resulted, I feel it is my duty to express the gratitude and appreciation of my delegation to those who, during the last year, have done such strenuous and successful work upon this subject. We are delighted that the matter was taken up so warmly by the expert jurists of the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and we are also very happy that the First Committee has seen its way to amalgamate the drafts of general conventions prepared by the Arbitration Committee into a single text which is now submitted for the acceptance and adhesion of the various Governments of the world.

I should like particularly to say how glad we are that the First Committee has adopted the procedure of preparing a General Act for immediate adhesion. We have always believed it to be of the greatest importance that the Assembly should be able to draw up treaties on matters concerning which a large number of Members of the League were in agreement, and that a treaty of this kind should be open for adhesion to those States which were ready to accept it. We welcome the treaty before us which confirms a practice that we regard as valuable in the extreme. We made our proposal a year ago because we were profoundly convinced that the time had come when, as regards international conciliation and arbitration of all disputes, the Governments of many countries were prepared to go beyond the system of bilateral treaties.

The system of bilateral treaties has been most valuable in the past. It may still serve a useful purpose in the future, but it is clear to us that bilateral treaties cannot meet the needs of the organised community of States at the present time.

Since the last war, arbitration has passed into a new phase. The reservations of different kinds which used to be made in arbitration treaties have now been dropped, and a system of compulsory arbitration by bilateral treaty has been more and more adopted. But it is precisely those Governments which have concluded the largest number of bilateral treaties which now believe it to be necessary to pass to a new stage. The pioneers of compulsory arbitration themselves want to do more. They desire to reach the stage of a general international convention which will codify procedure in respect of arbitration — a convention which will have behind it the increased authority of a general agreement.

For these reasons we welcome the draft which has been prepared, and we believe that this treaty, when it has been accepted, as we believe it will be, by a large and increasing number of Governments, will have a double importance. In the first place, we believe that it will mean a great practical increase in recourse to arbitration in disputes which are not submitted to final decision. We expect from it the same progress in respect of non-legal disputes which has been made in respect of legal disputes by means of the optional clause. In the second place, we believe that this treaty will increasingly prepare the way for international security, and thereby for the general reduction of armaments, and will do much to develop thought even among those Governments which are not yet prepared to accept it.

I am fully aware that there may be people who are afraid that the proposed treaty or similar treaties may contain holes or mistakes which might be dangerous for the future, but I am sure

we have to be careful not to let the best become the enemy of the good.

Those who are always so afraid of making mistakes remind me of people in the street who are so afraid of taking a wrong step that they do not move at all, and thus expose themselves to a double risk of being run over. I think that, if the League is to develop and strengthen its prestige, it has to go forward with courage. It can be said about the League, as it is said about man, "Show me a man who has made no mistakes and I will show you a man who has never accomplished anything".

The President :

Translation : M. Osuský, delegate of Czechoslovakia, will address the Assembly.

M. Osuský (Czechoslovakia) :

Translation : I do not desire, now that the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly is nearing its close, to inflict upon you a lengthy statement of the Czechoslovak delegation's views on the pacific settlement of international disputes and the treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance.

The part taken by M. Beneš in the preparation of the instruments submitted to us by the Committee on Arbitration and Security is the best witness to the spirit that animates Czechoslovakia in her international relations.

Nevertheless, I cannot ignore certain things that were said from this platform towards the end of yesterday evening's meeting. I need not have replied had not those words gone beyond these walls. For my part, indeed, I should have preferred to wait for next year's Assembly, thus allowing time for our minds to become calmer. Unhappily, the words that were uttered have spread far and wide, and have thus gone not only beyond the control of the speaker himself but also beyond the control — calm, reasoned and wise — of this Assembly. Already they have reached the valley of the Danube.

The delegate of Hungary declared yesterday from this platform that the Government he represents must abstain from voting in favour of the clauses of the treaty of mutual assistance and non-aggression.

What are the essential ideas and principles of this treaty? The report states that it is composed of three essential elements: non-aggression, pacific settlement of disputes, and mutual assistance. The report adds that, "by their close combination, they signify that the contracting parties, renouncing the use of force to back up their claims, will be guided by a respect for legality in their relations with each other, and that whichever of them breaks its engagements will expose itself, apart from the possible application of the collective sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant, to the particular sanctions organised by the system of mutual assistance provided for in the treaty".

The delegate of Hungary explained the reason for his attitude. He declared that a pact of mutual assistance and non-aggression implies better moral understanding and mutual confidence. He stated that, as regards Hungary, the political conditions which would allow her to conclude such a pact did not yet exist.

He added that he did not intend to raise grave issues at the last moment of the Assembly, and that he would reserve further explanation of the observations he had made until the next session of the Assembly. Nevertheless, he uttered words which will weigh heavily upon the public and political life of the Danubian countries.

The gravest and most significant feature of his statement is the fact that he only spoke at the very last moment, thus allowing an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust to hang over Central Europe. He told us, remember, that Hungary could not conclude a pact of mutual assistance and non-aggression owing to the absence of a satisfactory moral understanding and mutual confidence. In that case, what purpose can his remarks yesterday evening have been meant to serve? Did he intend thereby to help us to a better moral understanding and to create that confidence the lack of which he deplures? The statement is all the more serious because it was made almost at the last moment of the Assembly, thus allowing no time for public discussion, the only means of dissipating the misunderstandings and misgivings to which his remarks will not fail to give rise on the banks of the Danube.

Is it to create the confidence to which he said he would devote his last energies that the delegate of Hungary proposes to allow a feeling of anxiety to hover over the countries of Central Europe for a whole year until the next session of the Assembly?

In face of this attitude, the Czechoslovak delegation declares that its Government, believing in the force of enlightened reason, and inspired by the ideals and principles for which this temple and instrument of peace, the League of Nations, was founded, will pursue its undeviating course in favour of pacification, conciliation, good understanding and co-operation between the nations, and will come here to defend and to practise those principles with the same determination as in previous years.

The President :

Translation : M. Rolin, delegate of Belgium, will address the Assembly.

M. Rolin (Belgium) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I asked to speak on a simple proposal regarding a matter of form, which I will shortly explain. I think, however, that it is my most elementary duty, more especially after the speeches and the replies to which we have listened since yesterday evening, to say that the work on arbitration achieved in the First and the Third Committees appears to many of us essential, nay vital, for the proper development of international relations.

It is indeed only by strengthening procedures for pacific settlement, and increasing the confidence which those procedures can inspire, that we shall maintain and increase the spirit of unanimity which is essential to the League.

If I am right, I will ask — and I address a particularly urgent appeal to those of our colleagues of the First and Third Committees who are still here, and who have personally co-operated in framing the General Act — so far as that Act commended itself to their choice — I ask them, when they have left these precincts and returned home, and have resumed contact with their Governments — unless indeed they happen to represent them directly — not to lose time, not to forget the promises we have made to each other here, but to see without delay whether and how far they can accede to the General Act, so that we shall be able to show positive results next year to those who have expressed scepticism concerning our work.

I appeal chiefly to the very large number of States with which Belgium has concluded treaties of unrestricted arbitration, and also to the very large number of States that have signed the optional

clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, since by that fact alone they have already officially demonstrated the possibility of acceding to the major part of our General Act.

I also appeal to those of our colleagues who have advanced far along the path of arbitral agreements, who have already concluded agreements with the States with which they might possibly come into conflict, and who do not therefore feel any special need of this General Act; I ask them to consider that, apart from the interests of their own countries, they must not forget the moral value of the impression which may be caused by their decision; and I would beg them not to lose sight of this factor in any decision they may take.

I apologise, ladies and gentlemen, for this introduction to so modest a proposal.

I am one of those who attach great importance to this instrument, and I should like to propose an amendment which will improve the form and logic of the text, though the point in question is quite a secondary one.

To those who may be astonished or uneasy at seeing a proposal put forward at this late stage, let me say at once that, if the least hesitation or objection is shown, I shall hasten to withdraw my suggestions, which are in no way vital and do not affect the substance of the convention. I should add that they do not apply to the texts drafted during this session, but to those adopted by the Committee on Arbitration and Security in March, and we cannot therefore be said to have improvised something and then found that it requires the finishing touch at the last moment.

Before taking this decision I thought I ought to consult some of my colleagues on the Committee, and they all agreed that my suggestion would make an improvement. I will now explain it.

In the chapter on conciliation we have provided that the procedure of conciliation is to be exercised in principle by a permanent Conciliation Commission. Article 3 stipulates that this Commission shall be constituted within a period of six months at the request of one of the parties. Article 5 states that if, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission is in existence, a special commission appointed in the manner laid down in the preceding article shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute.

The words "appointed in the manner laid down in the preceding article" are in any case not very happily chosen from the point of view of language. But the chief point is that we do not mention any special period in Article 5; this we only stipulate in Article 6, where we say that when a dispute arises the period for constituting the special commission will be three months. By putting this reference to a special period in so illogical a position, there is a danger that, should a dispute arise, and if the special commission has not been appointed, a Government may refer to Article 5 and imagine that the period allowed is six months, as in the case of the permanent commission, and will therefore be surprised to discover afterwards that it is only three months.

In order to obviate this unsymmetrical and awkward arrangement of the text and to give a final polish to our Act — since it will immediately be opened for signature — I propose, after consultation with several of my colleagues, and in agreement with M. Politis, to whom I submitted the modified text yesterday, and with the Chairman of the Committee, now sitting in his place, to whom I submitted the new text to-day — I propose to change the position of the stipulation relating to the period of three months. As a result, Article 5 would read as follows:

"If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise."

Article 6, in which more than two lines can be suppressed, would read:

"If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 3 and 5, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted . . ."

The rest of the article remains unchanged. It is thus merely a matter of changing the form of the article in order to render the text clearer and more logical.

The President:

Translation: The Chairman of the Third Committee, Count Carton de Wiart, will address the Assembly.

Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium), Chairman of the Third Committee:

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of the Rapporteur, who is unable to be present, and also as Chairman of the Third Committee, I have to say that I see no objection to adopting the amendment which M. Henri Rolin proposes. It in no way changes the sense of the provisions which have been adopted, and it improves the text.

The President:

Translation: This discussion is now closed. The amendments submitted by M. Henri Rolin refer to the following points:
Article 5 should read as follows:

"If, when a dispute arises, no permanent Conciliation Commission appointed by the parties is in existence, a special commission shall be constituted for the examination of the dispute within a period of three months from the date at which a request to that effect is made by one of the parties to the other party. The necessary appointments shall be made in the manner laid down in the preceding article, unless the parties decide otherwise."

The first paragraph of Article 6 should read as follows:

"If the appointment of the commissioners to be designated jointly is not made within the periods provided for in Articles 3 and 5, the making of the necessary appointments shall be entrusted . . ."

As no one else wishes to speak, the six resolutions submitted by the Third Committee, and the annexes which complete those resolutions, are adopted with the modifications suggested by the Rapporteur, M. Politis, which are due to printers' errors, and the two changes proposed by M. Rolin, which simply rearrange the text and do not affect the substance.

The Hungarian delegation has declared that it will abstain from voting on Resolution No. 3 proposed by the Third Committee, which relates to the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual

assistance, and on the introductory note to those treaties, and also on the part of the report relative thereto.

This abstention will be duly inserted in the records of the present meeting.

Subject to the above observations, the resolutions and annexes submitted by the Third Committee were adopted.

The following is the text of the resolutions :

1. RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF A GENERAL ACT AND OF THREE MODEL BILATERAL CONVENTIONS IN REGARD TO CONCILIATION, ARBITRATION AND JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT.

The Assembly :

Having considered the work of the Committee on Arbitration and Security ;

(1) *Firmly convinced that effective machinery for ensuring the peaceful settlement of international disputes is an essential element in the cause of security and disarmament ;*

(2) *Considering that the faithful observance, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of methods of pacific settlement renders possible the settlement of all disputes ;*

(3) *Noting that respect for rights established by treaty or resulting from international law is obligatory upon international tribunals ;*

(4) *Recognising that the rights of the several States cannot be modified except with their consent ;*

(5) *Taking note of the fact that a great number of particular international conventions provide for obligatory conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement ;*

(6) *Being desirous of facilitating to the greatest possible degree the development of undertakings in regard to the said methods of procedure ;*

(7) *Declaring that such undertakings are not to be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League of Nations to take at any time whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world ; nor as impeding its intervention in virtue of Articles 15 and 17 of the Covenant, where a dispute cannot be submitted to arbitral or judicial procedure or cannot be settled by such procedure or where the conciliation proceedings have failed ;*

(8) *Invites all States whether Members of the League or not, and in so far as their existing agreements do not already achieve this end, to accept obligations in pursuance of the above purpose either by becoming parties to the annexed General Act or by concluding particular conventions with individual States in accordance with the model bilateral conventions annexed hereto or in such terms as may be deemed appropriate ;*

(9) *Resolves to communicate the annexed General Act and the annexed model bilateral conventions to all Members of the League of Nations and to such States not Members of the League as may be indicated by the Council ;*

(10) *Requests the Council to give the Secretariat of the League of Nations instructions to keep a list of the engagements contracted in accordance with the terms of the present resolution either by acceptance of the provisions of the General Act or by the conclusion of particular conventions with the same object, so as to enable Members of the League and States non-Members of the League to obtain information as soon as possible.*

2. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

The Assembly :

In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security ;

Recognising that the development of procedures for the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between States is an essential factor in the prevention of wars ;

Expresses its appreciation of the progress achieved in concluding treaties of this kind, and its desire to see the application of the principle of the pacific settlement of all disputes extended as far as possible, and

Invites the Council,

To inform all States Members of the League that, should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of contracting for this purpose undertakings concerning the pacific settlement of any disputes which may arise between them, and should negotiations in connection therewith meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested to do so by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices, which, being voluntarily accepted by them, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.

3. RESOLUTION ON THE SUBMISSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF MODEL TREATIES OF NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE.

The Assembly :

Having noted the model treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance prepared by the Committee on Arbitration and Security, and amended as a result of the work of the First and Third Committees, together with the explanations supplied in the introductory note drawn up by the first-named Committee ;

Highly appreciating the value of these model treaties ;

And convinced that their adoption by the States concerned would contribute towards strengthening the guarantees of security ;

Recommends them for consideration by States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations ; and

Hopes that they may serve as a basis for States desiring to conclude treaties of this sort.

4. RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE COUNCIL.

In view of the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1926, requesting the Council to offer its good offices to States Members of the League for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security,

The Assembly,

Convinced that the conclusion between States in the same geographical area of treaties of non-aggression and mutual assistance providing for conciliation, arbitration and mutual guarantees against aggression by any one of them constitutes one of the most practical means that can now be recommended to States anxious to secure more effective guarantees of security ;

Being of opinion that the good offices of the Council if freely accepted by all the parties concerned might facilitate the conclusion of such treaties;

Invites the Council:

To inform all the States Members of the League of Nations that should States feel the need of reinforcing the general security conferred by the Covenant and of concluding a treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance or a treaty of non-aggression for this purpose, and should the negotiations relating thereto meet with difficulties, the Council would, if requested by one of the parties — after it has examined the political situation and taken account of the general interests of peace — be prepared to place at the disposal of the States concerned its good offices which, being voluntarily accepted, would be calculated to bring the negotiations to a happy issue.

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE OPTIONAL CLAUSE OF ARTICLE 36 OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

The Assembly:

Referring to the resolution of October 2nd, 1924, in which the Assembly, considering that the terms of Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice are sufficiently wide to permit States to adhere to the special Protocol opened for signature in virtue of that article, with the reservations which they regard as indispensable, and convinced that it is in the interest of the progress of international justice that the greatest possible number of States should, to the widest possible extent, accept as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court, recommends States to accede to the said Protocol at the earliest possible date;

Noting that this recommendation has not so far produced all the effect that is to be desired;

Being of opinion that, in order to facilitate effectively the acceptance of the clause in question, it is expedient to diminish the obstacles which prevent States from committing themselves;

Being convinced that the efforts now being made through progressive codification to diminish the uncertainties and supply the deficiencies of international law will greatly facilitate the acceptance of the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, and that meanwhile attention should once more be drawn to the possibility offered by the terms of that clause to States which do not see their way to accede to it without qualification to do so subject to appropriate reservations limiting the extent of their commitments, both as regards duration and as regards scope;

Noting in this latter connection that the reservations conceivable may relate, either generally to certain aspects of any kind of dispute, or specifically to certain classes or lists of disputes, and that these different kinds of reservation can be legitimately combined;

Recommends that States which have not yet acceded to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should, failing accession pure and simple, consider, with due regard to their interests, whether they can accede on the conditions above indicated;

Requests the Council to communicate the text of this resolution to those States as soon as possible, desiring them to notify it of their intentions in the matter and to indicate at the same time the questions of international law the elucidation of which would in their opinion facilitate their accession to the optional clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court; and

Asks the Council to inform them at the next session of the Assembly of the replies it has by then received.

6. RESOLUTION WITH REGARD TO THE REVISION OF THE SYSTEMATIC SURVEY OF ARBITRATION CONVENTIONS AND TREATIES OF MUTUAL SECURITY DEPOSITED WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, PREPARED BY THE LEGAL SECTION OF THE SECRETARIAT.

The Assembly:

Recognising the importance of the documentation which the Secretariat of the League of Nations has begun to collect concerning treaties of judicial settlement, arbitration and conciliation, and of the maps and graphs which it contemplates establishing;

Requests the Secretary-General to be so good as to invite the Governments of States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations to communicate to the Secretariat the text:

(1) Of those treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes which are now in force and which were concluded prior to the establishment of the League of Nations and which have not been registered;

(2) Of such arbitral awards affecting them as may be rendered in the future, with the exception of judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of special tribunals such as the Mixed Arbitral Tribunals.

95. — FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President:

Translation: The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report on financial questions submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee (Annex 29, document A.85. 1925.X.)

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Vasconcellos, Chairman of the Fourth Committee, and M. Molloff, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President:

Translation: M. Molloff, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Molloff (Bulgaria), Rapporteur:

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In submitting on behalf of the Fourth Committee the report on the budget of the League and of the organisations attached to it, I need give you only a few explanations, since the report itself, which was distributed in both languages two days ago, contains full details of the important discussions — sometimes involving questions of principle — which took place in the Fourth Committee.

Before the actual discussion of the 1929 budget, the Secretary-General made a statement to the Fourth Committee explaining the reasons for the increase over last year's budget. The reasons are given on page 1 of the report.

The Committee expressed concern at the increased expenditure and discussed the possibility of refusing certain credits, and, as some speakers urged, of "ruthlessly" cutting down the estimates for the coming year.

It was also proposed that the League budget should be stabilised at about 25 million Swiss

francs, but the Committee, after examining from every point of view this very serious question of economy, decided that it was impossible to stabilise at present owing to the necessity of expanding the League's work, which is still only in its early stages.

At the close of the discussion a resolution which is to be found on page 3 of the report was approved and sent to the Committees of the League concerned with technical questions. The Committees were asked to revise the various programmes suggested in so far as they involved expenditure, and to restrict that expenditure wherever possible.

The request has been complied with, all the Committees having revised their programmes, with the result that, as the Fourth Committee duly noted, the proposed expenditure was reduced.

After the general discussion, which dealt mainly with the question of economy, the Fourth Committee proceeded to examine the actual budget. In the course of this examination a suggestion was made to the Secretary-General that he should submit next year—that is, to the next ordinary session of the Assembly—an estimate of the sum which would be necessary to cover the travelling expenses of three delegates from the capital of their country to Geneva and back. No resolution was adopted on the motion.

In examining the credits for the Assembly and the Council, the Fourth Committee reaffirmed the principle that, as regards unforeseen expenditure subject to a special vote of the Council, this credit was intended solely to cover expenditure of a political nature that might be incurred during the year.

With reference to the general services of the Secretariat—salaries, wages and allowances of the Secretariat—several delegates raised the question of the international character of those services.

After a lengthy discussion, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The Assembly endorses and would recall the principles concerning the staff of the Secretariat contained in the report which Lord Balfour submitted to the Council, in agreement with a memorandum drawn up by the Secretary-General, and which was adopted by the Council on May 19th, 1920. In the words of this report, the Secretary-General, in making appointments to posts on the Secretariat, 'had primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed. But in doing so, it was necessary to have regard to the great importance of selecting officials from various nations. Evidently no one nation or group of nations ought to have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institution'. Lord Balfour emphasised the word 'international' because the members of the Secretariat, once appointed, are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national, but international.

"The Assembly believes that the observance of these principles constitutes an essential factor in the confidence which the Members of the League of Nations repose in the Secretariat.

"The Assembly relies on the Secretary-General and on the Council, which, in virtue of Article 6 of the Covenant, is responsible for approving the nominations made by the Secretary-General, to uphold in their entirety the principles stated above.

"The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the Members of the League of Nations in good

time before the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly a list of the appointments, promotions and resignations of officials of the rank of Members of Section and above that have taken place since this Assembly and of the salaries allotted in each case."

Following on the discussion to which this question gave rise, the Fourth Committee adopted a further resolution concerning the Staff Regulations. It reads as follows:

"The Assembly:

"Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922;

"Considering that, although the regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention has been drawn;

"Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps—in particular amendments to the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this enquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session."

As regards the other items of the budget, I should inform you that after a prolonged discussion the Committee reduced by 100 francs the credit opened for the publications of the Mandates Section in order clearly to mark its desire that the mandatory Powers should in future increase the number of copies of their annual reports sent free of charge to the League of Nations.

Although, for political reasons, the proposal of the representative of India to charge the cost of printing connected with the slavery question to the budget of the Mandates Section was not accepted, the Secretary-General agreed to a reduction of 500 francs in connection with Item 20, the International Slavery Convention.

The Supervisory Commission's report on the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League also gave rise to a lengthy discussion. The Committee approved the reductions, amounting to 30,000 francs, proposed by the Supervisory Commission in the budget of the Communications and Transit Organisation. It further agreed to suppress the sum of 100 francs provided for in the original budget *ad memoriam* for a possible conference on the revision of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications.

Following upon the resolution adopted by the Assembly, the Committee approved a new item of 50,000 francs: "Administrative Expenses for the Settlement of Refugees in Erivan".

The Fourth Committee dealt with the convening of two conferences: the Disarmament Conference and the Conference for the Progressive Codification of International Law.

Following the discussions in the Committee and in the Sub-Committee instructed to examine the scheme, the Fourth Committee was glad to note that the estimated expenditure for the Codification Conference could be materially reduced in consequence of a decision of the Netherlands Government to make itself responsible for the difference between the total expenditure entailed by holding the Conference at The Hague and the

sum representing the budget of the Conference if it had been decided to hold it at Geneva.

I feel sure that I am voicing the opinion of the Fourth Committee and of the entire Assembly in expressing our heartiest thanks to the Netherlands Government for its generous decision.

The Fourth Committee made good progress in the question of the commission of enquiry into opium in the Far East. It had before it a report in which the Supervisory Commission proposed the rejection of the Fifth Committee's proposal that an item of 250,000 francs should be included in the budget to cover the expenses of the commission of enquiry. After discussing the matter the Committee appointed a Sub-Committee to make a further examination of the question.

The Sub-Committee noted with extreme satisfaction that the British Government was prepared to offer the sum of 50,000 francs towards the expenses of the enquiry.

The Fourth Committee, therefore, decided to limit the financial liability of the League in connection with this enquiry and to vote a credit of 100,000 francs for 1929. It is understood, however, that the British Government will ascertain whether the Governments concerned would be willing to offer additional contributions in order to finance the whole scheme.

I desire to express the warmest thanks of the Fourth Committee to the British Government.

Lastly, the Committee accepted the Supervisory Commission's proposal to enter in the fourth part of the budget: "Buildings at Geneva", the sum of 70,000 francs to pay back into the Building Fund the sum used for the enlargement of the Council hall.

There remained the examination of the budget of the international organisations attached to the League, and first that of the International Labour Organisation. This year the general discussion was much fuller than usual. The Committee spent some considerable time on what is called the "constitutional question", that is, the rights and powers of the Fourth Committee and the Assembly to examine, discuss, amend and approve the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

Following on these discussions, the so-called constitutional question was settled as indicated on page 8 of the report.

In closing his statement, M. Albert Thomas, the distinguished Director of the International Labour Office, observed that, though the principles involved seemed to be somewhat vague, the present arrangement had so far worked satisfactorily in practice and it would be advisable to keep to it.

The Committee was of opinion that under the Financial Regulations only the Assembly — of which the Fourth Committee is a subsidiary body — had the right to approve or amend the budget of the International Labour Organisation. It was necessary, however, that the Assembly, in the exercise of its indisputable and undisputed right, should take account of the system in force in the International Labour Organisation, which provides that the budget submitted to the Assembly is that approved by the Governing Body of the Office.

The second point was the consideration of the items of expenditure, or rather increased expenditure. The first increase was explained by the two conferences which it is proposed to hold in 1929. Several speakers urged that these should be held conjointly. After discussing the question the Fourth Committee passed the credit and agreed to the two conferences meeting on separate dates. At the same time, however, it passed a resolution requesting that, if in future it is decided that two conferences shall be held in the same

year, the dates shall be so chosen that these conferences shall take place consecutively, for reasons of economy. The resolution will be found on page 8 of the report.

A long discussion also took place concerning the creation of seventeen new posts in the services of the International Labour Office. The expenditure was passed by the Fourth Committee. The delegation of India, however, asked for a separate vote on the creation of a new post of Chief of Division and reserved the right to bring the question of the new posts before the Assembly.

The Fourth Committee, after examining it, then adopted the budget of the International Labour Organisation.

The budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice was approved without discussion.

The Fourth Committee also examined and approved the reports of the Supervisory Commission and subsequently adopted the following draft resolution:

"The Assembly decides that, excepting in the case of the Mandates Commission and Committees of the Assembly where special considerations apply, the Minutes of Committees and Sub-Committees will in no case be published, unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General."

This will mean a reduction in the expenditure resulting from the publication of certain documents.

The question of the allocation of the expenses of the League was examined in the form of a report submitted by the Allocation Committee which proposed that the provisional scale should be maintained for the four years 1929 to 1932 and that a revised scale should be prepared in 1932, when it is reasonable to hope that the national currency will be stabilised in every country.

In conclusion, I desire to submit the following draft resolutions which the Fourth Committee has the honour to present to the Assembly for adoption:

"(1) The Assembly, in virtue of Article 33 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the audited accounts of the League of Nations for the ninth financial period, ending on December 31st, 1927.

"(2) The Assembly:

"In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, passes, for the financial period 1929, the general budget of the League of Nations, of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 27,026,280 Swiss francs.

"And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

"(3) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports submitted for its consideration by the Supervisory Commission, except in regard to the Commission of Enquiry to the Far East.

"(4) The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.

"(5) The Assembly:

"I. Requests the Council to ask the Allocation Committee to submit a revised scale to the 1932 Assembly;

"II. Approves for the years 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932, the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League in force during the year 1928."

After exhaustive and sometimes very involved debates the Fourth Committee thus succeeded in settling the serious and important questions which concern the finances and general organisation of the League.

On behalf of the Fourth Committee, I invite you, therefore, to approve the resolutions which I have just read.

The President :

Translation : Lord Lytton, delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

The Earl of Lytton (India) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I apologise for coming to this platform to make a speech at so late a stage in our proceedings, but if I am to carry out the instructions of my Government I cannot do otherwise. The inadequacy of the concessions made to our views at an earlier stage in the Fourth Committee compels me to take this last opportunity of expressing with the utmost possible emphasis the grave anxiety of the Indian delegation at the upward tendency of the budget of the League.

In the few observations I desire to make today there are three points which I wish to bring to the notice of this Assembly. The first is the unsatisfactory nature of our procedure for determining the expenditure of the League; the second is the responsibility of this Assembly for the budget of the International Labour Organisation equally with that of the Secretariat itself and that of the Permanent Court of International Justice; and, lastly, the special circumstances of India's membership of the League.

My first point has reference to the inadequacy of our procedure, and in proof of my contention I would direct your notice, ladies and gentlemen, to the figures of this year's budget. Two years ago there appeared to be a general agreement in this Assembly that the contributions of States Members of the League had reached their limit. Last year the budget of the League was modified, but this year we are asked to approve an increase of 1,700,000 Swiss francs, or nearly 7 per cent of the total which was approved last year. I must tell the Assembly quite frankly that India cannot agree to a normal increase at this rate in the expenditure of the League.

This is in no sense an abnormal year. There is nothing in the circumstances before us to justify any exceptional expenditure. If, then, this increase of 1,700,000 francs is to be regarded as the normal expansion of the activities of the League, it will be seen that the total expenditure of 1926 will at this rate be doubled in ten or twelve years.

If this increase in the expenditure were merely the result of an increase in appreciation of the value of the League, if it represented an increasing interest in its activities and an increasing use of its machinery, I should have nothing to say, except that, for reasons which I will explain in a moment, India has participated less than other countries in those general activities. I submit, however, that that is not the only cause, it is not indeed the main cause, of our increasing expenditure. The cause is to be found in the inadequacy and the defective nature of our procedure for controlling and limiting expenditure. If the machinery of the League of Nations in this matter of budget control is compared with that of any efficient, well-organised national Government, its defects will become apparent at

once. In any such Government there is always to be found a Ministry of Finance, whose influence is continuously exercised in favour of economy, which scrutinises with the utmost vigilance the estimates of all the spending departments of the Government, and whose ability to find the money for any policy which may be approved necessarily governs any decision to undertake such a policy. Lastly, in the background there is, of course, the more remote control of the general taxpayers of the country, to which such Governments are, in the last resort, responsible.

In the League the procedure is quite different; in the League we have no executive government with whom rests the sole responsibility for initiating expenditure. We have, as it were, nothing but spending departments. The Secretariat of the League is a spending department; the International Labour Organisation is a spending department, and the various Committees of the League itself are all spending departments. All these bodies are naturally more interested in spending than in saving money, more interested in expanding than in limiting the activities of the League, and the only check which we have upon this tendency to spend is to be found in the Supervisory Commission and the Finance Committee of the League.

The Supervisory Commission, it is true, carries out some of the functions of a Finance Ministry, but not all, and the financial control exercised by the Finance Committee of the League cannot be said to represent in any degree the control of a body which is responsible for finding the money for any expenditure which it may sanction. In the League the money is found by other means; it is found automatically, it is found by a proportional increase in the contributions of the States Members.

I have not referred to these defects in our procedure for the purpose of suggesting any remedy. Indeed, I recognise that they may be inherent in the constitution of the League itself. I have referred to them solely for the purpose of indicating and emphasising what is the only check at our disposal. In the absence of all those safeguards which I have represented as being present in the government of States, we here in the League are dependent, for the purposes of economy, solely upon the exercise by our Members of self-restraint and a spirit of reasonableness. The exercise of those qualities by the various delegations which assemble here each year constitutes the only check which we have upon an expenditure which would otherwise be unlimited.

Unfortunately, in the budget of this year and in the proceedings from which it has emerged, I see very little evidence either of goodwill or of self-restraint. There has been too little moderation, too little of the spirit of compromise shown by those whose duty it has been to bring forward and defend new claims for expenditure and, in consequence, there has been, I think, too little determination to scrutinise carefully the merits of each particular item in the budget by the members of the Fourth Committee, whose duty it is to supervise such claims as are submitted to them.

The necessary balance between considerations of policy and of finance cannot be achieved unless the members of the Fourth Committee not only possess the necessary qualities of judgment and experience, but are given a reasonable discrimination in the exercise of those qualities. The experience of this year has been that those who have spoken in favour of economy in general, have often been the very first to object to particular proposals for reductions and the first to defend new items of expenditure — items which have been challenged by other members of the Committee.

This year new services have been created which, however desirable they may be, are not and cannot be claimed as either urgent or essential, new posts have been created the necessity for which for the practical purposes of the work in hand has never been established.

This brings me to my second point. Although the work of the International Labour Organisation is separate, it cannot be independent of the League of Nations which is responsible for financing it. So long as the expenses of that Organisation are included in the annual budget of the League, so long, I submit, must the programme of that Organisation be subject to the detailed examination and supervision of this Assembly and its Fourth Committee.

It is more particularly in respect of the programme of the International Labour Organisation that there has been this year so conspicuous an absence of any disposition to meet, with the ordinary spirit of compromise, the demands which have been made for economy.

The claim has actually been put forward in the Fourth Committee — and I submit that it is entirely inadmissible — that the International Labour Organisation is autonomous to a degree which, if it were ever conceded, would deprive the financial authority of this Assembly of any practical reality, and would require the various delegations who assemble here once a year to vote silently for programmes which have already been settled definitely in advance. I repeat, ladies and gentlemen, that such a claim is wholly unjustifiable, and if it is made again next year I hope that it will be resisted with more vigour and determination than it has been this year by the members of the Fourth Committee.

My third and last point concerns the special circumstances of India's membership of the League. Of all the States Members of the League of Nations India is the one whose Government probably finds it most difficult to justify the contribution which it makes. That contribution, as has often been pointed out in the past, is higher than that of any of the States Members of the League which do not sit permanently on the Council, while the proportion of the work of the League which can be truly described as of special value or interest to India is far from corresponding to India's contribution to the expenses of the League.

It may be argued that the amount of India's contribution is relatively small, and compared with the total expenditure of the country I agree it is relatively small, but nevertheless it is a considerable sum, and it is a sum which could be profitably devoted to important national services for which funds are urgently needed.

But that, ladies and gentlemen, is not the whole difficulty. There undoubtedly exists in India, as His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur pointed out in the speech which he made from this platform in our first debate, as in other Eastern countries, a widespread view not only that the League does not carry out work of much value to Eastern countries, but that its tendency is definitely in the direction of strengthening European interests at the expense of the interests of other continents and other races.

Now, if it can be truly said, as I think it can, that the League of Nations is firmly and finally established in Europe, that can certainly not yet be said of Asia: and for that reason it is important that the work of those who are trying to support the principles of the League of Nations in the East, who are trying to promote its ideals, should be made as easy as possible.

The more the East can be brought into contact with the work of the League, the more the League itself can demonstrate that it is working as much and as impartially for Asia as it is for Europe, the less necessary will it be for the League to hear of financial difficulties such as are now being expressed.

I have no desire, I need hardly say, to attempt to stereotype for all time the activities of the League and I think that the best solution for the difficulty I am discussing is to be found along the lines of increasing its activities outside Europe — of increasing, that is to say, the collaboration and co-operation between Europe and Asia, between the East and the West.

In the meantime, in the present circumstances and until this development takes place, India's claim for some limitation of the heavy financial burden involved in her membership is an urgent one. It is a claim, I submit, which deserves a little more sympathy and a little more attention than it has hitherto received.

I must remind the members of this Assembly that the question is often asked in India whether membership of the League is really worth the price. Every increase in this financial burden without a corresponding extension of activities must add to the insistency with which that question is asked year after year, until I fear the time may come when the Government of India may find it no longer possible to answer in the affirmative.

I have felt bound to make this protest on behalf of the Indian delegation, which is profoundly dissatisfied with this year's budget and with the proceedings in the Fourth Committee. Weak as our normal procedure of control may be, there does exist in the last resort one method by which a dissentient Member may insist upon getting its views respected. Like all the resolutions of this Assembly, that which approves the budget requires a unanimous vote. Therefore I appeal very earnestly to all the delegations here present, to the Secretary-General of the League, and more especially to the Director of the International Labour Organisation, not to force the Indian delegation into the very unwelcome necessity of refusing its assent to the budget. In that spirit of conciliation for which we have looked, and I fear looked in vain, in others, we refrain this year from taking the drastic step to which I have referred. I must nevertheless add that, if the protest which I have felt it my duty to make on this occasion is disregarded in the framing of future budgets, the Government of India may find itself obliged to give instructions to its delegation another year to make its assent to the budget of that year conditional upon obtaining some limitation of expenditure of which so large a proportion falls upon the Indian people.

The President :

Translation : M. Hambro, delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

M. Hambro (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am very glad that the first delegate of India made the speech which he has just delivered, because it will give the discussion of the budget some of the weight which it ought always to have, and because he has called attention to certain methods of procedure that all the members of the Assembly of the League of Nations ought to have clearly in their minds.

It cannot be denied that the faculty given to the delegations and especially to the members of the Fourth Committee to examine the budget

of the League of Nations is not to be compared with the methods used in any country by the body that is responsible for the budget.

I associate myself with the critical remarks made by the first delegate of India. I am glad that he stressed his point, but I should like also to call his attention to the fact that, if the budget has been treated by this Assembly in rather a superficial way, if the various delegations have not been given time to make any profound study of the various items of the budget, the fault is not with the Secretariat, the fault is not with the Supervisory Commission, but with the Assembly and with the delegations to the Assembly, and this because the delegations have not fully grasped their power. They have not yet fully grasped their duties as delegations and the responsibility they have for every resolution that is passed by this Assembly; and only when the delegations themselves take up these problems will they be solved in a more satisfactory way.

I think that each member of the Fourth Committee has a very strong impression — and I think it is to be found also in the report this year, for those who can read between the lines — that his task is not a very satisfactory one because, from the very nature of things, he cannot make here the observations which he can offer as a member of any Parliament on earth or as a member of a budget committee in any country.

I think it is right to call attention to the fact that the Financial Regulations under which we work can only be amended by the Assembly after having been discussed in the Fourth Committee. A good many of those financial regulations — like a good many other regulations — were laid down at a time when the League of Nations was very young and its experience very short, and it is time that some of the regulations were amended.

The Supervisory Commission — and I think I have a right to express in the name of every member of the Fourth Committee his very high opinion of the excellent work done by the Supervisory Commission — has not had clearly laid before it its duties, its power and its sphere of authority. All that can be obtained from the Financial Regulations is somewhat obscure, and it will be the duty of the Fourth Committee next year to take up and examine very carefully those fifty-one paragraphs which ought to be clearly in the mind of every delegate, but which, I suspect, every delegate does not know by heart.

If we wish to have more satisfactory methods of work, methods satisfactory to the delegations and to the League of Nations, it is necessary that a profound study be made of those regulations.

I am glad also that the delegate for India stressed so strongly the importance of strict economy in the League. Many Governments to-day are working under very difficult financial conditions. More than one delegate in the Fourth Committee stated that the budget of his country showed a deficit which made it very difficult for his Government to accept with a feeling of satisfaction any increase in its contribution to the League.

My own Government has instructed us to help in the work of furthering economy in the League without in any way obstructing its activities, and on the Fourth Committee we have tried to effect such economies as were possible taking into account the conditions of our work. I will not say that we were very successful, but I am not going to renew here any of the debates which took place in the Fourth Committee; I would just call your attention to what is mentioned on page 8 of the report, namely, that as regards one special item (Item 3) under Chapter II of the budget of the Labour Organisation there was a minority of ten

members who voted against one of the new posts created because they had not been convinced that it was necessary to create that post in order to help and further the work of the Organisation. We should like to have a vote here on the question whether that item might be reduced by the sum of 38,500 francs, as a strong body on the Fourth Committee desired.

I should like also to call attention to another point in the report which has been so very ably laid before you by the Rapporteur. I refer to those discussions which are rather fully reported in the document before you and still more fully reported in the Minutes of the Fourth Committee and in the *Journal* of the Assembly — I refer to the discussions on the Secretariat and on the International Labour Office, on their international character and on what might be expected and hoped from them.

The feelings of the Fourth Committee on this matter are condensed in the resolutions before you. I want to emphasise the words relating to the international character of the Secretariat, and I hope that the discussions in the Fourth Committee this year, both on financial and constitutional questions and on practical questions, will show results in the future. I trust that, when the Fourth Committee meets another year, it will not be necessary to renew those discussions, but that the feeling of uneasiness which was manifested this year will be appeased and that every member of the Fourth Committee will feel in the future the truth of the words spoken by the Secretary-General in these discussions, to the effect that the time had now arrived when the various high posts in the Secretariat should be open to any member of any nationality.

The President :

Translation : M. de Vasconcellos, Chairman of the Fourth Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), Chairman of the Fourth Committee :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have to reply to the criticisms which have been expressed by certain speakers in regard to the League budget. I must confess that I was very astonished at a wholly unexpected charge which one speaker brought.

Lord Lytton has entered a protest against the procedure followed by the Fourth Committee. I am curious to know how such a protest came to be made, since the Fourth Committee included a representative of India, who followed all our work without criticising any part of the procedure, and on one occasion only voted against an article which had been proposed.

What complaint can be made, then, against the procedure of a Committee which was quite in order and which conforms in every way to the rules governing the other Committees and the Assembly itself ?

Then, too, I cannot understand the statement of the delegate of India because he could have employed a very simple method of amending the procedure if he thought it defective. The Committee had under consideration certain amendments to the Financial Regulations. Then or never was the time for the Indian delegation to submit any modifications it considered appropriate.

The report before you indicates the amendments proposed by the Supervisory Commission, which we adopted. The Financial Regulations were drawn up at a time when the League had not

developed to its present proportions. I agree with Lord Lytton that the present tendency to pass last-minute credits must be checked as far as possible, and stricter measures for that purpose must be introduced in the Regulations. But we did discuss such measures, and we are now submitting them for adoption by the Assembly.

I now come to the question of the increase in expenditure. We are criticised for having increased the budget this year as compared with last; but you must not forget that the increase is due to decisions adopted by the Assembly last year. The Secretariat had to put into effect the Assembly's resolutions, which involved very considerable expenditure.

These resolutions have been passed, and it is illogical now to censure anyone for merely taking the necessary steps to put them into force. When these increases were accepted last year their inclusion in the budget must have been foreseen. They were expenses passed at the last moment, and it is to check this same tendency that we are proposing certain modifications in the Financial Regulations, so as to avoid a repetition of mistakes which, as a matter of fact, have not been made again this year.

Lord Lytton said that these increases in expenditure would be explicable if they corresponded to improvements in the League's work, but that they did not, seeing that the League has undertaken no new activities nor has its work been appreciably changed in any way. That is not the case, however. Surely the Economic Conference and the work of the Economic Committee represent a great new activity undertaken by the League. They necessarily involve expenditure, and the increases complained of are chiefly attributable to them.

Then again, there is the enquiry into the complex problem of native labour, which is of special concern not only to the British Government but to the Governments of all countries possessing colonies. Is not this a new and most important activity? Can the work be carried out without the necessary staff?

It must be admitted, then, that the League has undertaken new branches of work which necessarily entail expenditure; and this work is just as important for the cause of peace as anything else the League has taken in hand. The work of the Economic Organisation helps just as much to consolidate world peace as treaties of arbitration or disarmament, or the other matters dealt with by the political side of the League.

Lord Lytton is right in saying that the Indian contribution is very heavy, and that the material benefits India obtains are far from corresponding to her contribution. He asks the League to undertake new activities which would benefit the peoples of the East: but he would surely refuse the necessary credits, for such work would certainly involve fresh expenditure.

Nevertheless, I am convinced that such work will have to be undertaken as far as may be possible. It is true the League ought not to be merely European. It must show a real concern for the other peoples represented at this Assembly, whose interests must be given due consideration.

As regards the constitutional question I have nothing to say. My presence here and this debate itself are a sufficient justification, and prove that we are carrying out our duty by discussing the various budgets — of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice — and also by amending them, since a proposal to that effect lies before you.

Apart, therefore, from the justifiable reservations made by the meeting at San Sebastian to the effect

that the autonomous situation of the International Labour Office and of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be taken into consideration as far as possible, we can discuss the budgets of these organisations as we please before ratifying them.

Lord Lytton and M. Hambro insist upon economy. For that matter, all of us are in favour of economy, but we must take care we do not so economise as to impair the value of League work. Naturally we all want to stabilise the budget but we must agree as to how this is to be done. What would be the result of stabilising the budget? We should merely be tying the League's hands and should unduly hamper it in its vital tasks.

Moreover, those who call for economies usually find them excellent provided they are suffered by others and do not affect the particular branches in which the critics themselves are interested; and herein lies a very real difficulty for those who have to direct the League's work and allocate its expenses.

Let us turn to the chief object of these attacks, — [the much-talked-of post of Chief of Division in the International Labour Office.]

The Fourth Committee does not as a rule ask the Assembly to maintain any item of expenditure. On the contrary, its Chairman and Rapporteur usually ask you to cut down expenses. On this occasion, however, I would urge you to maintain this post and follow the example of your Fourth Committee, which carefully examined all the chapters of the budget even after the Supervisory Commission had already thoroughly sifted every item of expenditure. The International Labour Office has been instructed to undertake a certain number of very important tasks, which necessarily involve the engagement of additional staff. Thus new posts have been created for social insurance, health, emigration and ratifications. Are these questions unimportant? Surely almost everybody must have been in agreement as to their urgent character since only two voices were raised in protest.

The whole attack was concentrated on the post of Chief of Division. Can you really mean, gentlemen, that the International Labour Office should be given executive officers to carry out this new work, but that we should refuse the increase necessary to provide for its actual direction?

M. Albert Thomas and Mr. Butler possess a most remarkable capacity for work; but there are limits to all things, and they must be provided with those who can help them to direct their organisation — a task that is daily growing more difficult and more formidable.

In conclusion, therefore, I urge you to maintain the post of Chief of Division which you are asked to create, and to adopt the budget which your Fourth Committee proposes as the outcome of the very thorough consideration which I assure you it has given to the subject.

The President :

Translation : M. Hambro proposes that Chapter II, Item 3, of the budget of the International Labour Organisation should be reduced by 38,500 francs. The Norwegian delegation has thus put forward an amendment to the budget providing for the reduction of a specific item.

In conformity with the procedure for the adoption of the budget at plenary meetings of the Assembly, I have taken note of this amendment and regard the credit in question as temporarily detached from the budget as a whole.

In accordance with the relevant rule of procedure, I shall first ask you to pass the credits to which

no amendment has been proposed. I shall then ask you to take a decision on the amendment submitted by the Norwegian delegation.

If no one has any objection, I will put to the vote the draft resolutions proposed by the Fourth Committee, which read as follows :

I. *The Assembly endorses and would recall the principles concerning the staff of the Secretariat contained in the report which Lord Balfour submitted to the Council, in agreement with a memorandum drawn up by the Secretary-General and which was adopted by the Council on May 19th, 1920. In the words of this report, the Secretary-General, in making appointments to posts on the Secretariat, " had primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed. But in doing so, it was necessary to have regard to the great importance of selecting officials from various nations. Evidently no one nation or group of nations ought to have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institution ". Lord Balfour emphasised the word "international" because the members of the Secretariat, once appointed, are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national, but international.*

The Assembly believes that the observance of these principles constitutes an essential factor in the confidence which the Members of the League of Nations repose in the Secretariat.

The Assembly relies on the Secretary-General and on the Council, which, in virtue of Article 6 of the Covenant, is responsible for approving the nominations made by the Secretary-General, to uphold in their entirety the principles stated above.

The Assembly requests the Council to submit to the Members of the League of Nations in good time before the tenth ordinary session of the Assembly a list of the appointments, promotions and resignations of officials of the rank of Members of Section and above that have taken place since this Assembly and of the salaries allotted in each case.

II. *The Assembly :*

Whereas the Staff Regulations were drawn up shortly after the organisation of the Secretariat and whereas it would be advisable for the League to avail itself of the experience acquired since 1922 ;

Considering that, although the regulations have, on the whole, proved satisfactory, certain modifications would appear desirable to remedy certain disadvantages to which attention had been drawn ;

Instructs the competent officials of the autonomous organisations, after examining the present situation and the improvements which might be made, to consider what steps — in particular amendments to the Staff Regulations — could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results, and to submit the results of this enquiry to the Supervisory Commission, in order that a report on the question may be communicated to the Assembly at its next ordinary session.

III. *The Assembly decides that, excepting in the case of the Mandates Commission and Committees of the Assembly where special considerations apply, the Minutes of Committees and Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General.*

IV. (1) *The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the audited accounts of the League of Nations for the ninth financial period, ending on December 31st, 1927.*

(2) *The Assembly :*

In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, passes, for the financial period 1929, the general budget of the League of Nations, of the Secretariat and special organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation, and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 27,026,280 Swiss francs.

And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the Official Journal.

(3) *The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports submitted for its consideration by the Supervisory Commission, except in regard to the Commission of Enquiry to the Far East.*

(4) *The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee.*

(5) *The Assembly :*

(i) *Requests the Council to ask the Allocation Committee to submit a revised scale to the 1932 Assembly ;*

(ii) *Approves for the years 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932, the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League in force during the year 1928.*

It is understood that Chapter II; Item 3, of the budget of the International Labour Organisation is reserved.

The resolutions submitted by the Fourth Committee were adopted, Chapter II, Item 3, of the budget of the International Labour Organisation being reserved.

The President :

Translation : I shall now open the discussion on M. Hambro's proposed amendment to Chapter II, Item 3.

M. Hambro will address the Assembly.

M. Hambro (Norway) :

I only want to say and I think I can say this in the names of all those who voted against this item, that it is not our idea in any way to obstruct it. If it is proved here that there is a majority in favour of the creation of this post we will all loyally vote for it.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), Chairman of the Fourth Committee.

Translation : I merely wish to observe that the saving resulting from the reduction of this item would represent only 38 francs per unit.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, the vote will be taken.

The Assembly is asked to vote upon the initial proposal of the Fourth Committee. In conformity with Article 20, paragraph (a), of the Rules of Procedure, the vote will be taken by roll-call. The delegations accepting the initial proposal of the Fourth Committee will reply : " Yes ".

Those accepting the amendment proposed by M. Hambro will reply: "No", and those who desire to abstain will reply: "Not voting".

(The votes of the delegations were taken in turn by roll-call.)

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of States voting . . .	35
Abstentions	11
Voting papers valid	24
In favour	18
Against	6

The President :

Translation : I should like to ask M. Hambro whether he was speaking, before the vote was taken, on behalf of his own delegation only or on behalf of other delegations as well.

M. Hambro (Norway) :

All the members of the Fourth Committee who constituted the minority were of the same opinion. Our intention was not to obstruct the item, and in view of the vote which has just been taken we will withdraw our opposition and loyally vote for the whole item.

The President :

Translation : In these circumstances I shall be obliged to take another vote by roll-call on the same question.

M. Motta (Switzerland) :

Translation : I think that, since the required majority has been obtained, since those who were against the proposal state that they will withdraw their opposition, and since there are a number of abstentions, the procedure could easily be simplified. You need merely say that the item has been passed.

The President :

Translation : I fully appreciate M. Motta's proposal, but I think I shall have to ask the six delegations who voted "against" to state whether they agree to the method of procedure proposed by the Swiss delegation.

The Earl of Lytton (India) :

I associate myself with what has just been said by M. Hambro and also with the suggestion of M. Motta. As one of the objectors, I am now perfectly content that the motion should be accepted unanimously.

The President :

Translation : In these circumstances, as there is no further objection to this item, which had been detached from the budget, I declare it adopted unanimously.

96. — AMENDMENT TO THE REGULATIONS FOR THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the report of the Fourth

Committee on the amendment to the Regulations for the financial administration of the League of Nations (Annex 30, document A.78.1928.X).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Molloff, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Molloff, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Molloff (Bulgaria), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Fourth Committee, being rightly anxious to assist as far as possible the complex and difficult work of the Supervisory Commission, desires to submit to the Assembly the following proposal :

That Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Financial Regulations should be amended as follows :

The Commission shall be composed of five members, of whom one at least shall be a financial expert. The members shall be appointed by the Assembly, which, in selecting members, shall include among them persons belonging to countries Members of the League which are not represented on the Council. The Assembly shall also appoint two substitutes to replace, if need be, members unable to attend a meeting.

The difference between this text and the existing regulations is that while the members of the Commission have hitherto been appointed by the Council it is now proposed that they shall be appointed by the Assembly.

The Fourth Committee realised that this resolution, if adopted, could not be applied immediately.

Accordingly, it proposes that this amendment should come into force as from January 1st, 1929, in order to give the Council an opportunity of submitting proposals to the Assembly at its next ordinary session as to the best procedure for the election of members, and considering the possibility of a small nominating Committee being set up by the Assembly.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall regard the proposal submitted by the Fourth Committee as adopted.

The proposed amendment was adopted.

97. — CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda, the examination of the report on contributions in arrears, submitted to the Assembly by the Fourth Committee (Annex 31, document A.81.1928.X).

(On the invitation of the President, Mr. MacWhite, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Mr. MacWhite, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Mr. MacWhite (Irish Free State), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Fourth Committee instructed a Sub-Committee to consider the question of unpaid

contributions for the financial years of the League previous to December 31st, 1927.

The Sub-Committee examined the different cases submitted by the Secretary-General with the very greatest care, and any documents which may enable him to take a decision have been returned to him.

The Sub-Committee is of opinion that the Secretary-General has taken all the necessary measures to put into effect the resolution adopted by the Assembly last year, and considers that the situation has improved.

There are at present very few countries whose contributions are in arrears; to be exact, there are only five. The situation this year is therefore better than in the past. The representatives of certain States whose contributions are in arrears were heard by the Sub-Committee, and it should be observed that none of these States has shown itself indifferent to the representations which have been made.

The Sub-Committee presented a confidential report to the Fourth Committee. After this report had been discussed at a private meeting, the Fourth Committee unanimously agreed to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

The Assembly requests the Secretary-General:

(1) *To continue to give his support when necessary to any steps which he may consider useful with a view to the recovery of arrears;*

(2) *To submit to the Council before the next session of the Assembly a detailed report of the position with regard to contributions in arrears.*

The President:

Translation: If no one wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolution submitted by the Fourth Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

98. — CLOSE OF THE SESSION: SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President:

Translation: Ladies and gentlemen — The ninth ordinary session of the Assembly, which ends to-day, has been better attended than any previous session; representatives of fifty countries have come from every quarter of the world to take part in the debates, to fulfil their obligations as Members of the League, and to contribute to the creation of that international life in which at long last the natural brotherhood of peoples may come to flower.

We had heard it said that the attention of this Assembly would be, as it were, dispersed over a variety of subjects, and that we should not be called upon to consider great problems which awaken passionate interest and the solution of which raises high the hopes of mankind. I myself have had occasion, during my tenure of this Chair, to say that it were well it should be so, that each session of the Assembly should mark a regular stage in the League's life, and that the slow progress of peace was unlikely to be troubled by any unforeseen obstacle, since it depended solely on steadfast labour and on our considered wishes and desires.

None the less the Assembly during its ninth ordinary session has accomplished a task so comprehensive in scope that it directly concerns all our countries. In some three short weeks you

have set an admirable example of systematic labour, well prepared and well conducted; you have examined all the work the League has done in the course of the past year; in many respects you have improved upon the achievements of the Advisory Committees of the League; you have laid the foundation for all the work of the coming months. I am happy to have this opportunity of thanking the Secretary-General and his assistants on your behalf for their unflinching help.

In this work that we have done all the Members of the League have taken their share. Some have less opportunity during the year than others to keep in direct contact with Geneva. But when they go from here they know that nothing will be done of which they have not been informed, and on which they have not freely expressed their opinions; and they know that next year they can give their views as to the results obtained, and indeed in many cases definitely sanction them.

Was I not right in saying that it is during this period when the Assembly is meeting that the pulsation of the League's daily life is regulated?

You all followed with interested attention, as I myself did, the general discussion with which we opened our proceedings; you heard speeches from this platform on various problems which in the past nobody would have dared to raise, which only became the subject of international negotiations at times of crisis and anxiety, but which to-day are constantly and vigilantly watched over by the League.

I feel that there is already a strong guarantee of peace in these new methods of international frankness, of freedom of judgment, of direct discussion between the countries concerned, in an Assembly whose unanimous desire is to mitigate antagonism and to remove causes of conflict.

From the general discussion I have also gathered a distinct impression that those differences of opinion concerning the organisation of peace and the rôle of the League and the Council which were so often manifest in the past — always clothed in courtesy and brilliantly set forth, but none the less apparent — have now been greatly attenuated. Identity of aims, and a common desire to attain those aims have meant that discussions as to methods have lost their acuity. Differences of opinion may still subsist, owing to the infinite diversity of the interests involved; but all Members of the League have now reached a measure of agreement with regard to the great problems of mutual assistance and the pacific settlement of international disputes, the study of which has already so greatly benefited the League.

I think I may express, on behalf of all the delegations present, the Assembly's legitimate satisfaction at the work accomplished by its First Committee. This Committee has taken up the drafts prepared by the Committee on Security, has welded them into a new, practical and flexible form, and has allowed the Assembly to hope that within the year the cause of arbitration and conciliation will have made further triumphant progress.

You will pardon me if, as the representative of one of the countries which have always championed such ideals, I have laid special and particular emphasis on these aspects of our work. I know they are a matter of equal concern to all nations here represented, and I am aware that the common effort to organise peace has already produced treaties of guarantee which are of valuable assistance to all the advocates of international harmony. In this domain also you have continued to work unremittingly, with a common sense of your responsibilities; for there is only one real way of securing peace, and all States Members of the

League, though naturally the means at their disposal vary, are devoting themselves to the same task with single intent and purpose.

In this general programme we may include the whole work of the Assembly. When the reports of the Second Committee were adopted, economic questions formed the subject of one of the most noteworthy discussions that have ever taken place within these walls. That discussion is evidence of the great progress made towards ensuring the welfare and concord of nations. The work of the other Committees too, whether political, technical, social or humanitarian, is of equal interest to all nations throughout the world.

Thus this Assembly has rendered sterling service to the cause of the League. We cannot but feel that international friendship and the confidence of mankind in that security of which it dreams and has been at such pains to conquer are growing stronger day by day. There has, it is true, been a certain measure of disappointment at the very time when new hopes were born; but the organs of the League will endeavour, with their great zeal and their sound judgment, to fulfil this year the promises they have held out. We all hope that, in conformity with the instructions you have given them, they may be able to submit to you next year valuable achievements in the sphere of the reduction and limitation of armaments, as foreshadowed in the Covenant, that charter of universal peace, that new body of law which all our countries have voluntarily undertaken to obey.

Moreover, as you are aware, outside the Assembly, but in the same atmosphere that governs its deliberations, important discussions and

negotiations have been taking place in that same spirit of mutual concession and conciliation which has presided over all our meetings.

May I venture to pay a tribute to the results already obtained by the League? But for these achievements, the statesmen who hold the destinies of all nations in their hands could never meet here year by year, speak from this platform and feel immediately that they were not alone, but could count upon the confident sympathy of other nations.

Ladies and gentlemen, having paid this tribute and expressed this hope, it now only remains for me to say that I trust that the efforts you are all about to make on behalf of peace and the League in your own countries will be crowned with success. Once again we shall all leave Geneva with unshakable faith in the future and in the conviction that already some change in the world has been made.

Too often, as a symbol of the past, the story has been told of how those men who desired to forget their quarrels and build together a tower that would reach to heaven had to abandon their task owing to the confusion of tongues. In these gatherings we have now learned to employ the language of tolerance and of international brotherhood. Thus the workers of our League may fearlessly build up the walls of the edifice, whose roof, piercing the clouds that have hung over the world since its beginning, will at last reach the light.

I declare the ninth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations closed.

The Assembly rose at 1.45 p.m.