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# Work of the Council Report by the Secretary-General to the

First Assembly of the League of Nations

Presented November 15, 1920

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## World Beace Foundation

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FOUNDED IN 1910 BY EDWIN GINN



The corporation is constituted for the purpose of educating the people of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destructiveness of war, its evil effects on present social conditions and on the well-being of future generations, and to promote international justice and the brotherhood of man; and, generally, by every practical means to promote peace and good will among all mankind.—By-laws of the Corporation.

It is to this patient and thorough work of education, through the school, the college, the church, the press, the pamphlet and the book, that the

World Peace Foundation addresses itself.—Edwin Ginn.

The idea of force can not at once be eradicated. It is useless to believe that the nations can be persuaded to disband their present armies and dismantle their present navies, trusting in each other or in the Hague Tribunal to settle any possible differences between them, unless, first, some substitute for the existing forces is provided and demonstrated by experience to be adequate to protect the rights, dignity and territory of the respective nations. My own belief is that the idea which underlies the movement for the Hague Court can be developed so that the nations can be persuaded each to contribute a small percentage of their military forces at sea and on land to form an International Guard or Police Force.—Edwin Ginn.

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## REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

#### TO THE

# FIRST ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL.

#### I. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE

#### 1. THE BESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL

The Council met for the first time in Paris on January 16, 1920, within six days of the ratification of the treaty of Versailles. The meeting was convened by the President of the United States in conformity with Article V of the Covenant.

The Council elected M. Bourgeois to the chair. It has been the practice of the Council, pending the establishment of the League at its permanent seat, to elect as President for each session the representative of the Member of the Council in whose country the session was convened. A list of the sessions of the Council with the questions considered is appended as an annex to this Report.

#### 2. THE FINANCES OF THE LEAGUE

The Council has approved the three first budgets of the League. The first budget covers the preliminary period of the work of the League from May 5, 1919, to June 30, 1920. The second budget covers the six months July 1 to December 31, 1920. The third budget covers the calendar year 1921. All three budgets were approved by the Council subject to ratification by the Assembly.

The Council has decided that the financial year of the League shall correspond with the calendar year. The Secretary-General has been instructed to present the budget of the League three months before the end of the financial year, and the accounts within four months following its termination. Under Article II of its rules of procedure, the Council undertakes to present the budget each year for final approval by the Assembly as soon as circumstances permit.

Accounts for the preliminary period ending June 30, 1920, have been

audited by the comptroller and auditor general of the British Treasury. The Council invited the British Government to audit these accounts in view of the fact that the Secretariat was established in London during the period covered by the first budget of the League.

The Council decided to communicate these accounts to all Members of

the League, and to publish them in the Official Journal.

Article VI of the Covenant provides that the expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League, according to the scale of assessment adopted for the Universal Postal Union. This scale of assessment, though it has necessarily been followed in drafting the first budgets of the League, seems hardly likely to prove satisfactory as a permanent arrangement. A technical committee, appointed from among the delegates of the International Financial Conference was accordingly asked to advise the Council on the principles of assessment which should serve as a guide in estimating the financial capacity of the contributory states. The committee was of the opinion that the best indices of financial capacity were population and net revenue. The Council during its session at Brussels decided to refer the question to the committee of the Assembly which will deal with financial questions.

Owing to the fact that the national Parliaments of Members of the League meet at different times, it is not equally convenient for all states to pay their contributions as soon as they fall due. The League may therefore be compelled to borrow money in order to meet its ordinary expenditure. The interest on such money has to be paid both by the Members who have paid and those who have not paid their contributions. This is clearly inequitable. The Council decided at Brussels to ask the committee of the Assembly which will deal with financial questions to make further study of the question.

Members of the League are now asked to make their payments in gold francs, and the second and third budgets of the League were drawn up on that basis.

The Council decided at Brussels that the salaries of the Members of the Permanent Secretariat, which had hitherto been paid in sterling, should be paid in gold francs at the rate of 20 gold francs to the £1 from the date of their arrival in Geneva.

#### 5. PREPARATIONS FOR THE ASSEMBLY

The Council telegraphed to the President of the United States on May 19 asking him, in virtue of the powers conferred upon him by Article VI of the Covenant, to convene the Assembly during the first fortnight of November. On July 12 President Wilson, in response to this invitation, summoned the Assembly to meet on November 15 in Geneva.

The Council adopted a resolution on August 9 to the effect that, pending the election by the Assembly of its president, the chair at the first meeting of the Assembly should be taken by the acting president of the Council.

#### 4. ACCESSIONS TO THE LEAGUE: THE CASE OF SWITZERLAND

There are under the Covenant three groups of Members or possible Members of the League:

- a. Signatories of the treaty of Versailles or of Saint Germain.
- b. States invited under the Covenant to accede within two months of the coming into force of the treaty of Versailles.
  - c. States whose admission is approved by the Assembly under Article I.

No difficulty has arisen with regard to the states in group a, and a separate report is being presented to the Assembly on the states desiring to be included in group c.

The Council was required to take an important decision with regard to Switzerland, a state belonging to group b.

Switzerland desired to have her military neutrality and the inviolability of her territory recognized as consistent with her membership of the League.

The Council considered the claim of Switzerland in the light of Article 435 of the treaty of Versailles, whereby the Members of the League, signatories of the treaty, recognize that the guaranties in favor of Swiss neutrality contained in the treaties of 1815 "constitute international obligations for the maintenance of peace."

The Council declared that the "perpetual neutrality of Switzerland and the guaranty of the inviolability of her territory as incorporated in the law of nations, particularly in the treaties and in the act of 1815, are justified by the interests of general peace and as such are compatible with the Covenant." It was understood, however, that Switzerland, while refusing to participate in military action or to admit the passage of foreign troops, fully recognized the duties of solidarity she was incurring as a Member of the League, particularly the duty under Article XVI of participating in any economic action taken by the League against a covenant-breaking state.

Stress was laid on the fact that the position of Switzerland was quite exceptional, and that the action of the Council was not, therefore, to be regarded as a precedent.

#### 5. THE REGISTRATION OF TREATIES

The purpose of Article XVIII of the Covenant is to insure publicity for international engagements, and to provide in future for a system of open

diplomacy. The Council has interpreted in the widest practicable manner the obligations of the League in this connection.

The Council has authorized the Secretariat to register all treaties, engagements, or acts establishing obligations between states, whether concluded before or after the Covenant, and it is hoped that even treaties concluded between parties neither of which is a Member of the League will be voluntarily presented for registration.

All Members of the League have been invited to conform with the stipulations of Article XVIII of the Covenant and the Secretariat has already begun to register the treaties presented.

#### 6. THE PERMANENT ARMAMENTS COMMISSION

A Permanent Armaments Commission has been constituted under Article IX of the Covenant to advise the Council on the execution of Articles I and VIII, and on military, naval and air questions generally. This Commission consists of one naval, one military and one air representative nominated by each of the powers represented on the Council. Any other Member of the League will be represented when a question affecting it is under discussion. The Commission is divided into three subcommissions, which deal respectively with military, naval and air questions. These subcommissions have established permanent Secretariats at the seat of the League.

The Commission assembled for the first time at San Sebastian, and held meetings during the eighth session of the Council. It met again during the tenth session of the Council at Brussels, and presented a report which the Council carefully considered.

The Commission has been asked to advise the Council on the following questions:

- 1. The use of poisonous gas in warfare:
- 2. The military, naval and air conditions to be accepted by states seeking admission to the League (par. 2 of Art. I of the Covenant);
- 3. The control of the traffic in arms and munitions (par. 3 of Art. XXIII of the Covenant);
- 4. The constitution and composition of the organization to be placed at the disposal of the League for the exercise of the right of investigation to be conducted under Article 218 of the treaty of peace of Versailles, Article 159 of the treaty of peace of St. Germain, Article 104 of the treaty of peace of Neuilly, and Article 143 of the treaty of peace of Trianon;

1"So long as the present treaty remains in force, Germany [as respects the military, naval and air clauses] undertakes to give every facility for any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary."

Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary "undertake to submit to any investigation," etc.

- 5. Preliminary inquiries to serve as a basis for proposals for the execution of Article VIII of the Covenant.
- 1. The Commission reported that the use of gas was a fundamentally cruel method of carrying on war, but that it would be useless to seek to restrict the use of gas in war by prohibiting or limiting its manufacture in peace time, or to prohibit laboratory experiments.

The Council condemned the use of poisonous gas in war and decided to propose to the Governments that they should consider what penalties might be imposed in case of necessity upon any nation taking the first step to infringe the rules of humanity by making use of it. It also decided to seek, with the assistance of competent scientists, effective methods of preventing eventually the manufacture of poisonous gas.

2. The Council noted recommendations and conditions concerning the military, naval and air forces of Armenia, Costa Rica, Esthonia, Finland, Georgia, Iceland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxemburg and Monaco-San Marino.

The Council was of opinion that these recommendations could for the moment be accepted subject to the understanding that the countries in question were prepared to accept any general scheme of disarmament which might be subsequently approved for all Members of the League. The Council further considered that the attention of the Assembly should be drawn to the necessity of a thorough preliminary examination before deciding upon the admission to the League of states whose geographical and political position made it impossible to decide definitely the extent of their forces.

- 3. The Council agreed that the establishment of a Central International Office for restricting the traffic in arms and munitions could not be usefully considered until the convention of St. Germain was in force.<sup>1</sup>
- 4. The Council agreed that each subcommission should request its delegates to obtain from their respective Governments opinions concerning the organization necessary to conduct the investigation authorized by Article 213 of the treaty of Versailles and analogous articles of the peace treaties so that the Commission might be perfectly informed on the question when it came up for discussion at its next meeting at Geneva.
- 5. The Commission informed the Council that it had decided to examine practical methods for obtaining rapidly, when the Council should decide to do so, all necessary information regarding armaments, and the

<sup>1</sup>Convention for the control of the trade in arms and ammunition, signed September 10, 1919, Article 5 of which provides:

"A Central International Office, placed under the control of the League of Nations, shall be established for the purpose of collecting and preserving documents of all kinds exchanged by the High Contracting Parties with regard to the trade in, and distribution of, the arms and ammunition specified in the present Convention."

principles on which future schemes for a reduction of armaments might be based. The Council noted this declaration and asked that it might at once be informed when the Commission desired to report any further progress.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE COUNCIL BY THE COMMITTEE OF INTERNATIONAL JURISTS AT THE HAGUE

The International Committee of Jurists at The Hague appended to its scheme for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice three recommendations which were considered by the Council during its session at Brussels.

The Committee in its first recommendation suggested that a conference on international law should be summoned, to be followed at fixed intervals by other similar conferences, to continue the work of the two Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907. The object of these conferences would be to fix and codify international law, to re-establish existing rules of international law affected by the events of the recent war, and to formulate and approve the necessary modifications.

The Committee suggested that a number of international organizations, namely the Institute of International Law, the American Institute of International Law, the Union Juridique Internationale, the International Law Association and the Iberian Institute of Comparative Law, should be invited to prepare draft plans for submission to the various Governments and to the conference for carrying out the work proposed.

The Council decided to propose that the international organizations abovementioned should be invited to consider what subjects might with advantage be included in the program of the conference.

The Council further decided that after they had received the views of the organizations abovementioned it would ask the Governments of the states Members of the League to inform it of their views as to the advisability of summoning the proposed conference, and to state what questions the conference should, in the opinion of the Governments, consider.

The Council, on receipt of the opinions of the Governments, proposes again to consult the international organizations with regard to the subjects which the Governments agree to submit to the conference, and to ask the international organizations for draft schemes to the Governments, and summon the conference.

The Committee of International Jurists in their second recommendation suggested that a High Court of International Justice should be constituted to try in future such crimes constituting a breach of international public order or against the universal law of nations as are referred to it by the Assembly or by the Council of the League. The Council decided to adopt the same procedure with regard to this recommendation as for the first recommendation. The international organization and the Governments would, in the same way, be consulted before any definite step could be taken.

The third recommendation of the Committee of International Jurists is not addressed to the League. It is proposed in this recommendation that the Academy of International Law, founded at The Hague in 1913, should be enabled to take up its duties as soon as possible beside the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Peace Palace at The Hague. The International Law Academy was set up by the Carnegie Foundation, and is furnished with a special curatorium. The Council decided to transmit this recommendation to the Assembly, to the Carnegie Foundation and to the curatorium.

The Council further decided that when the conference on international law comes together, as contemplated in the first recommendation of the jurists, it should be asked to consider and to determine the methods whereby the Permanent Court of International Justice may be given rights of jurisdiction without a previous special convention between the parties being necessary, apart from cases where the court possesses jurisdiction without agreement between the contesting parties by virtue of treaties which are now in force.

## 8. OBLIGATIONS OF THE LEAGUE UNDER ARTICLE XXII OF THE COVENANT (MANDATES)

The Council decided at San Sebastian to proceed as follows in fulfilment of the obligations incurred by the League under Article XXII of the Covenant:

(1) To request the Principal Powers (a) to name the powers to whom they have decided to allocate the mandates provided for in Article XXII; (b) to inform it as to the frontiers of the territories to come under these mandates; (c) to communicate to it the terms and the conditions of the mandates that they propose should be adopted by the Council following the prescriptions of Article XXII.

(2) To take cognizance of the mandatory powers appointed and to examine the draft mandates communicated to it, in order to ascertain that they conform with the prescriptions of Article XXII of the

Covenant.

(3) To notify to each power appointed that it is invested with the mandate, and, at the same time, to communicate to it the terms and conditions.

(4) To instruct the Secretary-General to prepare a draft scheme for the organization of the Commission of Control provided for by Article XXII, par. 9. The Council takes a wide view of the powers of supervision over mandatories intrusted to the League. The League must be satisfied that the mandatories make a good use of their powers, and that their administration conforms with the interests of the native population.

The Council instructed the Secretary-General, in drawing up the scheme for the commission of control provided for by Article XXII, 9, to have special regard to the necessity of setting up an absolutely impartial body. In particular the Council decided that this commission should contain a majority of members chosen from non-mandatory powers, and suggested that it might be well to frame a rule whereby no member of the Commission would vote upon a report of the state or empire of which he was a representative.

The Council again considered the mandates question during its session at Brussels and addressed further communications to the principal powers. It adopted, as a basis for further discussion, proposals for the constitution of the mandates commission drafted by the Secretary-General in accordance with the suggestions put forward at San Sebastian. In view of the importance of allowing as much time as possible to the principal powers the Council decided that it would defer the presentation to the Assembly of a report on this subject till the latest possible date.

## 9. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION—CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

The Council has recognized the International Labor Organization as constituted by the first Labor Conference held at Washington in November, 1919, and has affirmed the principle of a close co-operation between the International Labor Office and the Secretariat of the League.

The relations of the International Labor Office with the Secretariat are determined by Articles 398 and 399 of the treaty of Versailles. The International Labor Office is entitled to the assistance of the Secretary-General of the League in any matter in which it can be given, and the expenses of the Labor Organization are paid to the Director of the Labor Office by the Secretary-General, out of the general funds of the League. The Director of the Labor Office is responsible to the Secretary-General for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him, but the budget of the Labor Organization is approved by the Governing Body of the Labor Organization.

The Council approved an arrangement made by the Secretary-General under which certain services of the Secretariat were common to both organizations during the period when both bodies were located in London. The Council has also sanctioned an advance of £33,000 made by the

Secretary-General to cover the expenses of the Washington Conference and the establishment of the Labor Office.

#### 10. THE CO-ORDINATION OF INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS

In the autumn of 1919 a conference of statisticians which met in London on the invitation of the Secretary-General urged that steps should be taken by the League of Nations to promote the centralization and coordination of statistics.<sup>1</sup>

The Council, during its session at Rome, decided to appoint a Commission to advise what steps should be taken to this end.

The constitution of the Commission was fixed by the Council during its session at San Sebastian, and the Commission was summoned to meet in Paris on October 10.

The result of the work of the Commission was reported to the Council during its session at Brussels.

The Commission had been unable to agree unanimously upon the scheme to be adopted in the co-ordination of statistics for international purposes.

The Council noted the points on which unanimity had been reached by the Commission, and decided to forward to the Governments the reports of the Commission, drawing attention to the points on which there had been a divergence of opinion, and requesting their opinions with a view to further consideration of the subject.

## 11. SPECIAL REPORTS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE PRESENTED TO THE ASSEMBLY

The following subjects which would naturally fall within this section of the report on the work of the Council have been dealt with in special reports presented to the Assembly:

- 1. The organization and the work of the Secretariat.
- 2. Passports for the officials of the League.
- 8. The budgets of the League:
  - a. First and second budgets;
  - b. Provisional estimates for 1921.
- 4. The future method of apportionment of the expenses of the League.
- 5. The relations between, and respective competence of, the Council and Assembly of the League.
  - 6. Admission of states not mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

<sup>1</sup>See League of Nations, E. & F. I. Conference on International Co-operation in Statistics, August 14 and 15, 1919.

- 7. Plans for the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- 8. The establishment of a permanent organization to deal with communications and transit questions falling within the sphere of the League under the treaty of Versailles.
- 9. The constitution of a Permanent Economic and Financial Organization.
  - 10. The institution of a Permanent Health Office.
- 11. The relations of the Permanent Technical Organizations of the League with the Council and with the Assembly.
- 12. Mandates: Obligations of the League under Article XXII of the Covenant.
- 13. Preliminary measures for the execution of Article XVI of the Covenant (The Economic Weapon).
- 14. The appointment of a League representative to assist in the supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children.
- 15. The claim of India to be represented on the Governing Body of the International Labor Office.

#### II. POLITICAL DUTIES OF THE LEAGUE

#### A. Special Obligations Arising Out of the Treaty of Versailles

#### 1. THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG

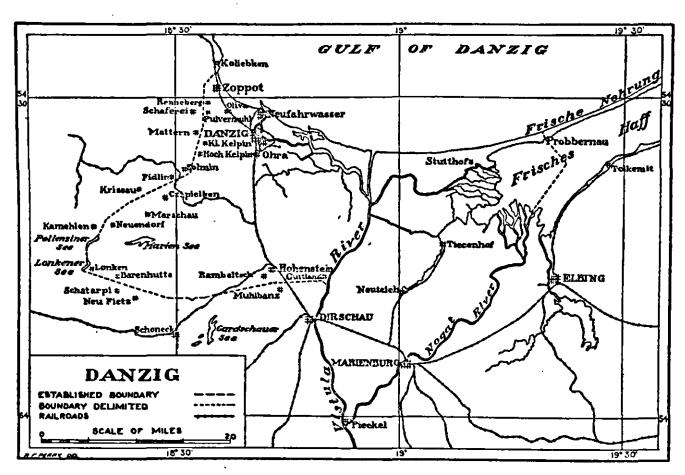
Paragraph 1 of Article 100 of the treaty of peace of Versailles provides that Germany shall renounce in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and titles over the City and Territory of Danzig as defined in the ensuing paragraphs of the Article.

Article 102 of the treaty of Versailles provides that the Principal Allied and Associated Powers shall establish Danzig and the territory defined in Article 100 of the treaty, as a Free City to be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

Article 103 provides that a constitution for the Free City shall be drawn up by duly appointed representatives of the Free City in agreement with a High Commissioner to be appointed by the League. The constitution, when drawn up, is to be placed under the guaranty of the League.

The High Commissioner is further intrusted under this Article with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the Free City concerning the treaty of Versailles and any supplementary arrangements or agreements.

Article 104 provides that a treaty, the terms of which are to be negotiated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, shall be



concluded between the Polish Government and the Free City in order to assure to Poland the exercise of the rights which she derives from this article within the territory of the Free City. This treaty is to come into force at the same time as the establishment of the Free City.

The principal powers, on the coming into force of the treaty of Versailles, appointed Sir Reginald Tower temporary administrator of Danzig.

In order to expedite the elaboration of the Constitution of Danzig the Council of the League, acting under Article 103, appointed Sir R. Tower High Commissioner of the League. Sir Reginald Tower has, thus, a two-fold office. He is temporary administrator of Danzig for the Allies, and as High Commissioner for the League he is responsible for carrying into effect the first part of Article 103. As High Commissioner for the League he has kept the Council of the League continuously informed on all matters relating to the preparation of the Constitution.

The Council, in appointing Sir R. Tower as High Commissioner, instructed him to arrange for the election of the representatives who were to draw up a constitution for the Free City on as broad and democratic a basis as possible.

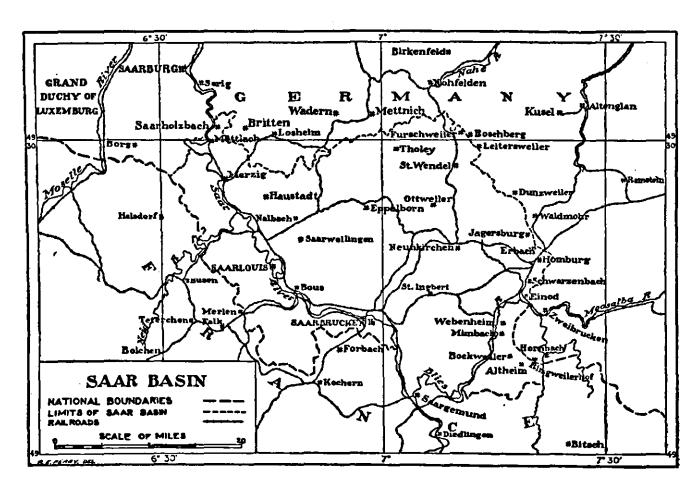
The Council subsequently approved a scheme submitted by Sir R. Tower for electing the representatives of the city. The Constituent Assembly met and drafted a Constitution. This Constitution was presented to the Council during its session at Brussels.

The Council had not, however, at that time had any opportunity of studying the treaty between Poland and Danzig as drafted by the Conference of Ambassadors. It was felt, moreover, that there were points in the Constitution which required careful examination. The Council, therefore, decided that the question of giving to the Constitution the guaranty of the League and of taking the Free City under the protection of the League should be postponed until its next meeting. It was decided at the same time that the Polish Government should be invited to send a representative to attend the Council in order to present the views of the Polish Government on the Constitution and that the Constituent Assembly should be asked to send a representative to Geneva when the matter was discussed in order to give the Council any information it might require.

#### 2. THE SAAR BASIN

Under Article 48 of the treaty of peace of Versailles the Council of the League has nominated three of the five members of the Saar Frontier Delimitations Commission.

The Council had further to nominate the members of the Governing Commission of the Saar under paragraphs 16 and 17 of Chapter II of the



Annex to Section 4, Part III, of the treaty of Versailles. The Commission was to consist of five members of whom one was to be French, one a native of the Saar and of whom three were to be natives of countries other than France and Germany.

The Governing Commission was constituted by the Council as follows:

French Member....M. Rault (President)
Saar Member....M. de Boch
Major Lambert
Count Moltke-Huitfeldt
Mr. Waugh.

Of the three members, natives of countries other than France and Germany, the first is Belgian, the second Danish, and the third a Canadian.

The Council subsequently appointed Dr. H. Hector to be Saar member of the Commission in place of M. de Boch, who resigned.

The Council decided that the French member of the Commission should be president in view of the special economic interests of France in the territory of the Saar and the close economic relationship which would have to be maintained between the Territory of the Saar and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

The Governing Commission of the Saar, as representing the League of Nations, has in accordance with the instructions of the Council, submitted regular monthly reports upon its administration and upon general conditions in the Territory of the Saar.

The Council has taken an important decision on the subject of petitions addressed to it by the inhabitants of the Territory of the Saar. It was realized that such petitions, if allowed to come direct to the Council, would impair the authority of the Saar Government. It was felt, on the other hand, that the Council ought to have knowledge of petitions addressed to the League. It was accordingly decided that petitions should not be addressed directly to the Council by individuals requiring redress, but that they should in all cases be addressed to the Saar Government, who, in turn, should forward them to the Council.

### S. EUPEN AND MALMÉDY

Under Article 34 of the treaty of Versailles, the League is required to decide whether the transfer to Belgium of the sovereignty of Germany over the districts of Eupen and Malmédy shall be definitive. The League is required to decide the question after the Belgian Government has communicated to it the result of a public expression of opinion held under the auspices of the Belgian authorities, and designed to give to the people

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of the districts an opportunity to record their desire to see all or part of the territory in question remain under German sovereignty.

During this public expression of opinion the German Government addressed to the President of the Supreme Council and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations a series of notes protesting that the Belgian Government was making it impossible for the people of Eupen and Malmédy freely to register their wishes. The German Government proposed that a Commission should be appointed by the League of Nations to supervise the consultation of the people in these districts.

The Council of the League took the view that the League had no right under the treaty to intervene in Eupen and Malmédy until the Belgian Government had communicated the results of the consultation of the people, and until the interval of six months prescribed by the treaty had elapsed.

The results of the public expression of opinion were in due course communicated to the Council by the Belgian Government. The Council decided that the arrangements made by the Belgian authorities for the public expression of opinion were in conformity with the spirit and letter of Article 34 of the treaty of Versailles, and, after having considered the German protests and the results reported by the Belgian Government, definitely confirmed the transfer of the districts to the sovereignty of Belgium.

The German Government protested against this decision in a communication addressed to the Secretary-General, in which it denied the competence of the Council to deal with the matter. The Council during its session at Brussels affirmed its competence under the Covenant and discussed the German protest.

The Council has also had to consider a protest from the German Government regarding an alleged breach of the treaty of Versailles by the Delimitation Commission charged with fixing the frontier between Germany and Belgium. The Council did not feel competent to take any action in the matter.

#### B. GENERAL DUTIES IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE AND JUSTICE

#### 1. THE PROTECTION OF ARMENIA

The Council of the League was notified by telegram on March 12 of a proposal put forward on behalf of the Supreme Council that Armenia should be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

The Council of the League, in its reply to the Supreme Council, expressed warm desire to co-operate in the establishment of an Armenian Republic upon a safe and independent basis. It was represented, how-

ever, that the League was not a state; that it had no military or financial resources; and that the Covenant of the League did not contemplate the exercising of a mandate by the League itself.

The Council suggested that the future of the Armenian nation would best be assured if a Member of the League or some other power could be found willing to accept a mandate under Article XXII.

The Council offered to inquire whether any Member of the League would accept a mandate for Armenia, provided the Supreme Council would assure to the Republic of Armenia the evacuation of the territories assigned to it under the treaty, secure to the republic free access to the sea, and provide for the defense of Armenian territory until it could be assured by other means. The Council of the League further asked the Supreme Council whether it would give a provisional financial guaranty to the independent Republic of Armenia on the understanding that the Council of the League would recommend the Assembly to put the finances of the republic on a sound basis by guaranteeing a loan from all states Members of the League.

The Supreme Council subsequently informed the Council of the League that it was asking the President of the United States whether the United States of America would accept a mandate for Armenia, and that it was further inviting him to arbitrate on the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and on the question of the access of Armenia to the sea. The Supreme Council undertook to communicate to the Council of the League President Wilson's reply, and to consider the matter further in close consultation with the Council of the League.

The Council of the League in a reply to this intimation of the Supreme Council on May 29, said that it was well satisfied with the solution of the Armenian problem suggested by the Supreme Council; but that, in the event of it being necessary to study the question further, it would be happy to know that the Supreme Council was prepared to examine the points previously submitted in order that some other power might be induced to accept a mandate. The Council of the League again declared that it was ready to do all in its power to assist the Supreme Council in assuring the future security of Armenia.

On September 20 the Council instructed the Secretary-General to ask the Supreme Council whether it desired the Council of the League to submit to the Assembly the proposals for assisting Armenia previously put forward, particularly as regards the financial guaranty to be furnished to Armenia by the Members of the League.

The Council has received several direct appeals from the Armenian Government. On May 13 the President of the Armenian Delegation in Paris had informed the President of the Council of the League of the

immediate danger to Armenia arising from the attitude of Azerbaidjan and a hostile concentration of Turkish nationalist troops. The Council of the League decided that this appeal should be forwarded to the Supreme Council of the Allies.

On October 6 and October 12 the president of the Armenian Delegation in Paris addressed renewed appeals to the Council of the League for assistance to meet a further attack by Turkish nationalist troops.

The Council did not feel that it could do more than forward the Armenian appeals to the powers which had signed the treaty of Sèvres. It accordingly forwarded these appeals to the heads of the Governments of the four powers represented on the Supreme Council, urging that the frontiers of Armenia should be defined and reminding them of its former offer to consult and collaborate with the Supreme Council in any action likely to insure the future security of the Armenian Republic.

#### 2. THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Council received on May 12 a telegram from the president of the Council of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, forwarding for consideration a number of recommendations to the effect that the provisions of the treaty of peace with Turkey for the protection of minorities in the Ottoman Empire should be placed under the guaranty of the League, and that the League should co-operate in their execution.

The treaty of peace with Turkey provides, inter alia, for the appointment of mixed commissions charged with important duties in connection with the indemnifying of persons belonging to the Turkish minorities who have suffered in their persons or their property from measures authorized by the Turkish Government during the war.

The Council of the League, in its reply to the Supreme Council, said it was prepared to nominate qualified persons as members of these commissions, on the understanding that the members so nominated would act under the control and responsibility of the high contracting parties to the treaty.

The Council could make no definite declaration regarding the minority clauses as a whole, or regarding their guaranty and execution, as at that time they had not been drafted in their final form.

The question of the protection to be afforded the Turkish minorities has since been the object of several communications between the representatives of the League and those in charge of the treaty.

The treaty with Turkey was signed on April 10, but has not yet been ratified. It prescribes that the Allied Powers shall determine in agreement with the Council of the League the measures necessary to guarantee the execution of the minority clauses.

#### 3. THE PROTECTION OF MINORITIES IN POLAND, AUSTRIA AND BULGARIA

The treaty between Poland and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, providing, inter alia, for the protection of persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, was ratified simultaneously with the treaty of peace of Versailles. Article 12 of this treaty provides that the stipulations of Articles 1 to 11 constitute obligations of international concern, and that they shall come under the guaranty of the League of Nations.

The Council on February 11 noted its obligations and consented to guarantee the stipulations of Articles 1 to 11 so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities.

## 4. THE RECIPROCAL EMIGRATION OF MINORITIES IN GREECE AND BUL-

Article 8 of the treaty concluded on November 27, 1919, between Greece and Bulgaria concerning the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of ethnical, religious or linguistic minorities in Greece and Bulgaria, provides for the nomination by the Council of the League of two members of the Mixed Commission intrusted with the execution of the treaty.

The treaty was ratified on April 9, 1920. On September 20, the Council provisionally approved the nomination of two persons, nationals of states disinterested in the questions with which the Commission will deal, and instructed its acting president to take such steps as were necessary for making final appointments.

The Council, in taking this step, recalled a decision, reached during its session in April, 1919, concerning the protection of minorities in Turkey, and, in consenting to nominate the two members of the Mixed Commission, formally stated that, in the absence of any material means for enforcing a decision, it must be understood that the members of the Commission would fulfill their duties under the authority and on behalf of Greece and Bulgaria.

The Council during its session at Brussels similarly noted and accepted its obligations under the treaty of peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria signed at St-Germain-en-Laye on September 10, 1919, and under the treaty of peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine on November 27, 1919.

It is right and the duty of the powers represented on the Council to call attention to any infraction or danger of infraction of any of the obligations toward minorities. Minorities may themselves petition or report to the League, but the Council is only competent to deal with the matter if one of its Members actually draws attention to it.

The Council has decided that the Secretary-General, in conformity with

the practice already adopted for all documents distributed for its information, shall forward all such petitions or reports to all Members of the League, a procedure which will insure publicity for any case that may arise.

The Council during its session at Brussels formally invited its members to draw the special attention of their Governments to the duties laid on the powers represented on the Council in connection with the protection of minorities.

#### 5. THE APPEAL OF PERSIA TO THE LEAGUE

Persia, whose territory had been invaded by Soviet troops, demanded that the Council of the League should be summoned in accordance with the provisions of Article XI. The Persian Government asked, on May 29, for a meeting of the Council, and the Council assembled on June 14.

The Council considered this appeal, not only with reference to Article XI, but also with reference to Article X of the Covenant. Under Article X "the Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." In case of such aggression, or threat or danger of it, the Council is to advise upon the means by which its obligations shall be fulfilled.

The Soviet forces were then established at Enzeli, and were said to be pushing forward into the interior. Meanwhile, negotiations were proceeding between the Government of the Soviets and the Government of Persia; and Prince Firouz, who sat as the member for Persia on the Council while this matter was under discussion, was also in correspondence with the Government of the Soviets. It was alleged in telegrams addressed by M. Chicherin to the Persian Government and in representations to the British Government made by M. Krassin, who was then in London, that the Government of the Soviets desired friendly relations with Persia, and that it had issued orders for the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Persian waters and Persian territory.

The Persian Government was, when the Council met, awaiting a reply from the Soviet Government to a telegram which had been sent to Moscow on June 12. In this telegram Persia had asked for conditions of peace which would effectually re-establish her territorial integrity.

The Council decided that, before advising further upon the means by which the obligations prescribed by the Covenant should be fulfilled, it should await the result of the negotiations then in progress between the Persian Government and the Soviet authorities. It explicitly recognized that the Persian Government had acted in the best interests of peace, and that it had rightly appealed to the fundamental principle of co-operation laid down by the Covenant.

## 6. THE DISPUTE BETWEEN SWEDEN AND FINLAND CONCERNING THE

The British Government requested that a special meeting of the Council should be summoned to consider the case of the Aaland Islands. The action of the British Government was based on the friendly right conferred on Members of the League by Article XI of the Covenant to bring to the attention of the Council any matter affecting international relations and threatening to disturb the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends. The case of the Aaland Islands then in dispute between Finland and Sweden appeared to fall within the scope of the article.

The Council dealt with the case under paragraph 4 of Article IV of the Covenant as a matter affecting the peace of the world, and applied as closely as possible the principles of Articles XII, XV and XVII.

During the seventh and ninth sessions of the Council at which the case was considered, M. Branting, the representative of Sweden, sat as a member of the Council under Article IV of the Covenant. M. Enckell, the representative of Finland, also attended the Council with the consent of Sweden, though Finland was not yet a member of the League.

At the seventh session of the Council the two parties each presented their point of view and supported it with various arguments.

Finland claimed that the case fell under paragraph 8 of Article XV of the Covenant, and argued that the questions submitted to the Council fell within the domestic jurisdiction of Finland and within the sphere of her sovereignty.

Sweden asked that a plebiscite should be held in the islands.

By the consent of both parties, delegates of the Aaland Islanders were admitted to present a declaration.

The Council observed that, if the Permanent Court of International Justice had already been established, the question whether the dispute between Finland and Sweden should be regarded as solely within the domestic jurisdiction of Finland under paragraph 8 of Article XV of the Covenant would naturally have been referred to that body.

In the absence of the Permanent Court, the Council decided with the consent of Sweden and Finland to ask for an opinion from a special Commission of three International Jurists appointed for the purpose.

The Commission was asked to answer the two following questions:

- a. Does the Swedish case as presented to the Council on the question of the Aaland Islands arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the jurisdiction of Finland within the meaning of paragraph 8 of Article XV of the Covenant?
- b. What is the present state of the international obligations regarding the demilitarization of the Aaland Islands?

Meanwhile, the Council appealed to both parties to do all in their power during the consideration of the case by the Council not to cause any aggravation of the existing position. M. Branting publicly read a declaration engaging the Swedish Government to undertake nothing calculated to increase the existing tension, and M. Enckell publicly stated that the Government of Finland would take into account the wishes expressed by the League of Nations.

The Commission of Jurists sat from August 3 to September 5. The conclusions of the Committee were as follows:

a. The defacto position which led to the dispute between Sweden and Finland arose at a moment when Finland had not yet acquired the character of a definitely constituted state. The dispute does not fall exclusively within the territorial sovereignty of Finland, and international law does not leave the question of the Aaland Islands to the exclusive competence of Finland. The Council of the League is competent to recommend any solution which it may regard as most equitable and expedient.

b. As regards the demilitarization of the Aaland Islands the stipulations of the Convention and Treaty of Paris of 1856 are still in force. Each interested state accordingly has the right to claim respect for these stipulations and whoever possesses the islands must conform to the ob-

ligations imposed by these stipulations.

The Council resumed the examination of the question of the Aaland Islands during its eighth session held in Paris in September.

The Council resolved on September 20 that the question "presented an international aspect, which brought its consideration within the competence of the League." It laid stress on the duties imposed upon it by Articles XI and IV of the Covenant in the interests of peace between nations, and declared itself "competent to make any recommendations which it might deem just and proper in the case."

It decided to appoint a Commission of Rapporteurs charged with the duty of "furnishing the Council, in the shortest time required for the necessary consultations, and having regard to the legitimate interests of all parties concerned, with a report which will enable it to frame a final or provisional settlement of the question and to establish conditions favorable to the maintenance of peace in that part of the world."

The two parties accepted this procedure. The representative of Finland, however, criticized the report of the jurists and made a formal statement to the effect that Finland reserved to herself the right to maintain that she possessed an exclusive competence to take a decision on the subject of a plebiscite in the islands.

The Council anticipated that, owing to the exceptional difficulty of the problem, a certain delay would be necessary before it was in a position to give a definite decision, and it asked the interested Governments to

avoid giving any cause for public irritation in Sweden, Finland, or in the islands, so long as the question remained sub judice.

The Council at the same time noted the special interest taken by Russia in the destiny of the Aaland Islands, and stated that it would naturally desire to hear the views of Russia on the subject, when she had emerged from the exceptional position in which she found herself.

Baron Beyens, a former minister of foreign affairs for Belgium, M. Calonder, a former President of the Swiss Federation, and Signor Maggiorino Ferraris, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, have been appointed members of the Commission of Rapporteurs. The Commission has already begun its preliminary studies.

The Asland islanders interpreted the conclusion of the jurists regarding the competence of the Council to mean that a plebiscite would at once be held in the islands to determine whether they should be attached to Sweden or to Finland.

The Council during its session at Brussels decided to address a letter to the islanders, explaining that this deduction must not be drawn from the report of the jurists, and that no forecast as to the future settlement of the dispute could have the slightest value until the Commission of Rapporteurs had supplied the Council with the information necessary to enable it to come to a definitive decision. The islanders were meanwhile asked to refrain from any irritating or provocative action. The two parties were informed of the dispatch of this letter.

#### 7. THE DISPUTE BETWEEN POLAND AND LITHUANIA

Prince Sapieha, the Polish minister for foreign affairs, informed the Council of the League by telegram on September 5 that the Polish Government desired the intervention of the Council in order to prevent war between Poland and Lithuania. The Lithuanian Government, in conformity with Article XVII of the Covenant, accepted for this dispute the obligations of a Member of the League and intrusted Professor Voldemar with full powers to give to the Council all necessary information. The Polish Government was represented by M. Paderewski.

The Polish representative stated that the danger of war arose from the presence of Lithuanian troops to the west of the provisional frontier assigned to Poland by the declaration of the Supreme Council of December 8, 1919.

The Lithuanian representative said that Lithuania had no knowledge of the frontier fixed by the Supreme Council and that under a treaty which it had concluded with the Government of the Soviets on July 12, another frontier had been partially determined. Under the treaty with the Soviets this other frontier was to have been completed by an agreement

to be concluded between Lithuania and Poland, and negotiations were proceeding at Kalvarya for the conclusion of peace between the two countries upon a permanent basis.

The Council was not asked to propose a final settlement of the dispute, but its immediate intervention appeared to be necessary in order to obtain a provisional acceptance by the two countries of a line of demarkation of the zones of occupation.

The most important factor in the problem was the presence within Lithuanian territory of troops of the Soviet Government.

The Lithuanian representative stated that the Government of the Soviets was prepared, according to a telegram of M. Chicherin of September 5, to evacuate the whole of the territory of Lithuania provided the Lithuanian Government could guarantee that the neutrality of Lithuania would be respected by Poland.

Acting upon these considerations the Council, by a resolution adopted in Paris on September 20, addressed an urgent appeal to the Governments of Lithuania and Poland to take immediately all necessary measures to prevent any hostile acts between their troops, and the representatives of Lithuania and Poland publicly undertook to recommend their Governments to act immediately in the sense desired.

The Council further proposed that the two Governments should bind themselves by the following mutual undertakings:

- (1) The Lithuanian Government adopts as a provisional line of demarkation, reserving all its territorial rights, and awaiting the result of its direct negotiations with Poland, the frontier fixed by the Supreme Council of the Allies in its declaration of December 8, 1919, and undertakes to withdraw its troops from the territory to the west of this line:
- (2) The Government of Poland undertakes, reserving all its territorial rights, to respect during the war now in progress between Poland and the Government of the Soviets, the neutrality of the territory occupied by Lithuania to the east of the line of demarkation above specified, provided respect for this neutrality be also secured from the Soviet authorities by Lithuania.

The Council declared that it was ready to appoint a Commission intrusted with the duty of insuring on the spot the strict observation by the interested parties of the obligations arising from their reciprocal undertakings. The French, Spanish and Japanese representatives on the Council were instructed to receive the replies of the two Governments and to afford them any assistance they might require.

The Commission of Control was appointed without delay, and was able to begin its work on the spot on October 4. The authority of the Commission was accepted by both parties, and the Commission was enabled to secure in the district of Suwalki the retreat of the Polish and Lithuanian

troops to a distance of six kilometers on either side of the line of December 8. By October 7 the Commission had succeeded in securing the acceptance of an armistice along the whole front, and an extension toward the east of the line of demarkation rendered necessary by the positions then occupied by the Lithuanian and Polish troops.

Meanwhile, the Committee of the Council kept in constant touch with the representatives of Poland and Lithuania, received their complaints

and intervened to secure the removal of grievances.

During this period the representatives of Lithuania in London and Paris addressed a series of protests to the Council against the continued advance of Polish troops across the line of demarkation to places never before in their occupation. These complaints culminated on September 27 in a request from the charge d'affaires for Lithuania in London that the Council should at once be convened under Articles XI and XVII of the Covenant to examine the position there created. The Secretary-General in answer to this request said that the situation was receiving the careful attention of the Acting Committee of the Council, and that a full session, if necessary, would doubtless be convened.

The position which had confronted the Council on September 20 was entirely changed by October 20, when the Council again considered the question in Brussels. In the first place, the Polish troops had driven the Soviet army from Grodno and from Vilna, and an armistice, with peace preliminaries, had been signed at Riga between Poland and the Soviet Republic. In the second place, on October 8 General Zeligowski, at the head of a division, had entered Vilna and proclaimed a government under the title of "The Government of Central Lithuania."

The Polish representative during the session at Brussels said that the Polish Government was not responsible for what had occurred. It had repudiated General Zeligowski, and had declared that he was acting as a rebel. The Polish Government could not intervene at Vilna, as General Zeligowski was at the head of a nationalist and patriotic movement, with which the Polish nation was fundamentally in sympathy. The Government claimed that the districts where General Zeligowski had assumed control would, if allowed to settle their political destiny, decide to become attached to Poland rather than to Lithuania.

The Council, having discussed the matter in the presence of the representatives of Lithuania and Poland, proposed that a public expression of opinion should be taken under the auspices and supervision of the League, whereby the inhabitants of the disputed territory east of the line fixed by the Supreme Council on December 8, 1919, might freely express their wishes on the subject of their attachment either to the state of Lithuania, the seat of whose Government was then at Grodno, or to Poland. It was understood that the Council would determine the extent and boundaries

of the territory in which the public expression of opinion would be held, and determine the method whereby it should be taken. It was further understood that the Council should decide what measures were necessary, before and during the public expression of opinion, to secure the withdrawal or disarmament of any troops in occupation of the territory in dispute, and that for this purpose the Council should have the right to control the roads and railways leading to the disputed territory or passing through it.

The Council asked the delegates of both parties to inform it within ten days of October 28 whether their Governments were prepared to accept these recommendations.

The Council also asked the delegates of both parties to give it forthwith in the name of their respective Governments a formal assurance to abstain from any act of hostility against each other, and to do all in their power to maintain peace. The delegates of Poland and Lithuania gave to the Council the assurances asked, and the Council duly noted them.

Meanwhile, the members of the Commission of Control remained intrusted with the duty of settling equitably any difficulties which might arise.

#### 8. THE APPEAL OF THE KING OF THE REDJAZ TO THE LEAGUE

The King of the Hedjaz addressed an appeal to the League in July against the arrest and imprisonment by the French authorities of certain members of the Administrative Council of Lebanon. He asked that a commission should be sent to Lebanon to investigate the facts.

Peace was not yet concluded between Turkey and the Allied Powers; and Syria, by international law, was still part of an enemy country within whose territory there subsisted a state of war. The Council held the opinion that the League had been created to maintain peace after peace had been established by the treaties, and it did not feel itself called upon to intervene.

The Council, therefore decided that it had no competence to deal with the matter, and forwarded the appeal to the French Government, abstaining from any comment on its merits.

#### C. Special Duties Accepted by the League

#### 1. THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY TO RUSSIA

The International Labor Organization had decided to send a commission of investigation to Russia to examine the labor position in that country. The Supreme Council thought it would be opportune to organize a more extensive inquiry into the conditions then prevailing in Russia under

the supervision of the Council of the League. The Supreme Council requested the Council of the League to take charge of the matter and the Council considered this request on March 12.

The Council decided to ask the Government of the Soviets whether they were prepared to give to the proposed commission of inquiry the necessary facilities for their work. Meanwhile, the Secretary-General was authorized to assist in the organization of the commission and of the secretariat of the commission.

The Soviet Government, in a wireless message dated May 10, agreed in principle to the admission into Russia of a delegation of the League, but alleged that it could not for military reasons admit at that time any delegation among the members of which there were representatives of nations actively supporting Poland in the Ukraine.

In a further telegram dispatched from Moscow, on May 25, M. Chicherin accused the League of having allowed full liberty to one of its members, namely Poland, to attack Russia in the Ukraine. He further drew attention to the attitude of other Members of the League who were assisting Poland by sending war material and military instructors. His message (which was incompletely transmitted) concluded, so far as could be ascertained, with a statement that for reasons of national security it was impossible for the Government of the Soviets to send a favorable answer to the request of the Council.

The Council of the League finally decided that these communications amounted to a refusal on the part of the Russian Government to receive the commission of inquiry, and the project was abandoned.

#### 2. THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

The decision to hold an International Financial Conference under the auspices of the League was taken at the second session of the Council, on February 13. The object of the Conference was to study the present international financial position, and to discuss remedies.

It was decided that the conference should be convened by a committee composed of members of the Council nominated by the president of the Council for the time being. It was hoped that the conference would be able to meet in May.

The preparations for the conference were intrusted to a Committee of Organization presided over by Jean Monnet, Deputy Secretary-General of the League. M. Monnet has acted for the Secretary-General in all matters relating to the Financial Conference. The Council subsequently appointed Gustave Ador President of the Conference.

Thirty-nine countries were represented at the conference. Invitations were issued to 37 Members of the League, and the Governments of Luxem-

burg, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania were also invited to send delegates to take part in the discussion, when matters concerning their countries were before the conference. The United States Government was invited to participate in the work of the conference.

It was throughout realized that the conference could not deal adequately with the existing financial situation unless Germany and her late allies were represented. Invitations were issued to and accepted by the Governments of Germany and Austria. An invitation was also addressed to Bulgaria.

It was further realized that it would be necessary for the conference to have exact information on the financial obligations of Germany under the treaty of Versailles. In this connection it should be noted that the Reparation Commission was invited to send a representative.

M. Bourgeois, who acted on behalf of the Council in all matters relating to the Financial Conference, endeavored from the first to impress upon the Supreme Council the importance of coming to an early decision regarding the German indemnity. It was hoped that the conference at Spa would be able to notify the Council of the League of its decisions in time for the conference, which had already been repeatedly postponed, to be held on July 23.

On July 14, however, M. Delacroix, President of the Supreme Council at Spa, informed M. Bourgeois that the Supreme Council was unable to give to the Council of the League any useful or precise indications as to the decisions which would be taken by the Allies in regard to the German indemnity. M. Delacroix subsequently telegraphed to Mr. Balfour, asking the League of Nations to postpone the International Financial Conference until after September 15.

The Supreme Council, in requesting this postponement, expressed the hope that it would be able to furnish the Council of the League before

September 15 with the information required.

The Council of the League during its eighth session at San Sebastian decided that the conference should, in any event, be held on September 25. It was decided that, if before that date the Supreme Council had failed to notify the Council of the League of its decisions, the conference should be instructed to confine itself to questions which were unrelated to the German indemnity.

M. Bourgeois had prepared a list of agenda for the conference from which all questions relating to the German indemnity had been omitted, and he proposed that the president of the conference should be instructed not to go beyond the limits of this restricted list. It was understood that, if before the opening of the conference the Supreme Council had communicated its decisions, the conference might be notified of them and the president of the conference might take them into account in dealing with the agenda of the conference and the method of its work.

Meanwhile the German Government was warned that the president of the conference had instructions from the Council of the League to exclude from deliberations all questions still under discussion between Germany and the Allies.

The conference met on September 24, 1920, and sat until October 8. The report of the conference was considered by the Council during its session at Brussels.

The recommendations of the conference have already been forwarded to all the Governments which participated. It therefore seems unnecessary to enumerate them in this report. Direct action by the Council was, however, necessary in one important particular. The conference recommended, inter alia, that an international organization should be formed and placed at the disposal of states desiring credit for the purpose of paying for their essential imports, and that for this purpose a committee of financiers and business men should be nominated forthwith by the Council of the League, in order to define the measures necessary to give particular effect to this recommendation.

The Council desired to establish this committee at the earliest possible date. Its decision regarding the constitution of an Economic and Financial Organization of the League forms the subject of a special report to the Assembly.

## III. Action of the League in the General Interests of Humanity.

#### 1. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TYPHUS IN POLAND

The Council during its third session adopted a resolution asking the International Health Conference, which was to meet in London toward the end of April, to submit to it plans of united official action for the protection of Poland and other countries lying to the west of Russia from the epidemic of typhus.

The Health Conference recommended that the Council of the League should appoint an executive commission to work in co-operation with the Polish authorities and the authorities of the countries likely to possess surplus materials, and with the League of Red Cross Societies.

Acting on these recommendations, the Council of the League appointed Kenyon Vaughan Morgan to be Chief Commissioner for the League, and Dr. Norman White to be Medical Commissioner for the collection, organization and dispatch of the necessary hospital units and staff. The Secretary-General was authorized to make any nominations which might be necessary to complete the Executive Committee,

After an investigation made on the spot by Dr. Norman White, the League Commissioners drafted a plan of co-operation with the Polish Ministry of Health and the Red Cross Societies.

The London conference stated that the campaign would have to be financed by the Governments, and not by the Red Cross Societies, whose means were limited. The total cost of the campaign was estimated at 3½ million sterling.

The Council decided that it would try to raise 2 millions sterling from the Governments and make a further appeal to private generosity through the League of Red Cross Societies.

The Secretary-General was authorized to appeal at once to the Governments of 28 states for contributions toward the £2,000,000 required, and Mr. Balfour, who was the representative on the Council intrusted with this appeal on behalf of the League, endeavored to obtain £250,000 for immediate use. He secured from the British Government a promise to contribute £50,000 to this preliminary sum, provided four other powers were also prepared to respond. Mr. Balfour thereupon appealed to the Governments of France, Italy, Japan, Spain and the Netherlands. France replied that she would contribute on the same conditions as Great Britain, but at the time of the Council meeting at San Sebastian no further definite contributions to the preliminary sum of £250,000 had been promised by the states addressed.

Dr. Vaughan Morgan meanwhile resigned the post of High Commissioner for the League in the absence of the funds necessary to start the campaign, and the Council asked Dr. Norman White to accept the post of Acting High Commissioner in his place.

The Council while at San Sebastian was informed that there was serious danger of a greatly increased epidemic of typhus in the autumn.

Mr. Balfour accordingly undertook to make a further appeal to the Governments, and urged his colleagues on the Council to do all in their power to make his appeal successful. Offers of contributions to the general fund of £2,000,000 were received from Belgium (£1,000), Greece (£10,000), Canada (\$200,000), Persia (£2,000) and Siam (£1,000). Poland has intimated that the annual credit of 800,000 marks allotted in the Polish budget to the campaign against typhus must be considered as the contribution of Poland. Austria has offered 100,000 crowns, and Germany a million paper marks. Germany stipulated that German experts should be associated with the work of the Executive Committee. The Council replied that it would hardly be possible to appoint to the Executive Committee the representative of any country not a Member of the League.

Mr. Balfour was obliged to inform the Council during its session at Brussels that many of the Governments to which he had appealed had

failed to reply, and that the funds required to begin the campaign had not yet been secured.

It was decided that the question must be considered by the Assembly, and that a mission composed of two eminent health experts and of the Medical Chief Commissioner for Typhus should start immediately for Poland in order to ascertain the precise extent of the problem, and to present a report to the Assembly.

#### 2. RELIEF IN CENTRAL EUROPE

On February 24 the acting president of the Council addressed a letter to the president of the International League of Red Cross Societies, urging it to organize an effort to deal with the ravages inflicted by disease upon the underfed populations of Central Europe.

The League of Red Cross Societies, in reply, said it was impossible for them to take up the matter until the Governments of the world had found the means to provide the necessary foodstuffs, clothing and means of transport, but that they would prepare plans for the further development of relief in Central Europe, and address a general appeal to all the nations of the world for the necessary materials, personnel and funds upon receiving an assurance from the League that the Governments of the world were prepared to render them the necessary assistance.

The Council of the League considered that, in view of the measures taken by the Governments represented on the International Committee for Relief Credits to assist the countries in question through the agency of this Committee it might safely assure the Red Cross Societies that there would be sufficient material available for carrying out the work which the Council had invited them to undertake.

A letter was accordingly addressed to the League of Red Cross Societies, expressing a hope that they would proceed with their plan and issue their appeal.

#### S. THE REPATRIATION OF WAR PRISONERS

On February 7 the Supreme Economic Council passed a resolution inviting the Council of the League to take measures for the assistance of prisoners of war in the territories under the sovereignty of the Government of the Soviets. Efforts to deal with the matter had already been made by various private and public bodies, notably by the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Red Cross Societies of Scandinavia, the American Red Cross Society, and the American Young Men's Christian Association.

In spite of these efforts, there still remained some 500,000 prisoners of war in Europe and Asia to be repatriated. In many cases these prisoners had been absent from their homes for from four to six years, and were

suffering severe hardship. It was calculated that there were some 250,000 prisoners in Russia and Siberia belonging to Central Europe.

The Council during its fourth session at Paris decided that Dr. Nansen should be invited to act on behalf of the Council of the League. He was authorized to negotiate with the Governments interested, to co-ordinate the efforts of the existing organizations, and to prepare plans. He was further invited to submit recommendations regarding the financial credits required for the work.

Dr. Nansen immediately began negotiations with the German Government, with the Government of the Soviets, and with all the Governments interested. He put himself in touch with the voluntary organizations which had hitherto been dealing with the question, and in particular with the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Dr. Nansen reported to the Council on the progress of his work during its sixth session held in London. He described in particular the arrangements which he had successfully made for the repatriation of prisoners through Narva and Björko across the Baltic. He stated that he hoped to repatriate some 60,000 prisoners over the Baltic before the winter.

Dr. Nansen also arranged for a scheme of repatriation through Vladivostok under an agreement which had been made between the German Government and the Government of the Soviets for an exchange of Russian prisoners in Germany against prisoners belonging to the Central Empires in Siberia. He also hoped to open another route for repatriation over the Black Sea for prisoners in Turkestan.

It would have taken some considerable time to raise money by private subscriptions to finance the work he had undertaken. Dr. Nansen had therefore addressed himself to the International Committee of Relief Credits in Paris and to the Governments represented on this Committee in the hope of obtaining immediate advances. He asked the League for its moral support in the negotiations he was pursuing with the various Governments, and in the appeal which he proposed to make for private subscriptions.

The Council addressed letters to the Governments of Esthonia and Finland, and to the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, thanking them for the services they had rendered, and sent a further letter to all the Governments concerned asking them to allow the necessary transit facilities. The Council also indorsed the appeal of Dr. Nansen to the Governments on the International Committee of Relief Credits.

Most of the Governments addressed have allocated funds for repatriation through the Committee of Relief Credits. Denmark has allotted £35,000; Norway, £35,000; the Netherlands, £45,000; the United Kingdom, £113,000; Sweden, £35,000; Switzerland, £48,000. France has promised £115,000 subject to certain conditions. Italy held out

hopes that it might contribute £65,000. The Netherlands and the United Kingdom have promised to furnish supplementary contributions of £10,000 and £113,000 respectively when the credits allotted by the various Governments through the Relief Credits Committee have reached the total of £635,000 (the supplementary contributions included). Dr. Nansen was thus enabled to proceed with his arrangements. He estimated that the schemes of repatriation actually being carried out would cost at least £850,000, and hoped to obtain from private sources the balance necessary to bring the sum obtained from the Governments up to the total required.

Dr. Nansen has addressed an appeal for private subscriptions to the British Red Cross, and the American Red Cross and the American Young Men's Christian Association.

By October 31, 158,000 prisoners had been repatriated over the Baltic.

Dr. Nansen had further taken steps to repatriate 8,000 prisoners via Vladivostok.

There still remains a great number of prisoners (estimated from 10,000 to 30,000) in Eastern Siberia, and some 20,000 prisoners who will have to be repatriated over the Black Sea.

Dr. Nansen remains confronted with serious difficulties in the repatriation of the prisoners who are still in Siberia, and the collection of the total funds originally asked for by Dr. Nansen is necessary if this work is to be carried to a successful conclusion.

During its sixth session, the Council received an appeal from Count Wrangel, who was representing Bulgarian interests in London, concerning the condition of the Bulgarian prisoners in Greece and Serbia. The Council authorized Dr. Nansen to make an unofficial inquiry into the facts, and to take any measures which appeared to him to be necessary. In consequence of Dr. Nansen's representations satisfactory arrangements were made by the Greek and Bulgarian Governments for a settlement of the question.

# IV. HELP GIVEN BY THE LEAGUE TO ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

The Council has, whenever an opportunity occurred, given its moral support to associations having for their object the development of international co-operation. During its second session the Council decided to send a representative to the General Conference of Red Cross Societies, which was shortly to meet in Geneva, and during its eighth session the Council decided that a letter should be sent to the president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, assuring the Committee that it

might count on the moral support of the League in any tasks resulting from the great war which it might undertake to perform.

The Council has granted a subscription of £1,500 toward the publication by the Union of International Associations at Brussels of the "Code des Voeux et Résolutions des Congrès Internationaux." The Council considered that the Union in publishing this code, was undertaking an enterprise which, in default of action by the Union, would have fallen within the province of the League itself, and have had to be undertaken by the Secretariat at increased cost and labor. The Council at the same time paid a tribute to the value of the work achieved by the Union of International Associations, and expressed full sympathy with its objects.

During its session at Rome, the Council decided to send to the Conference of the Federation of National Associations in support of the League of Nations, which was to be held at Milan in the autumn of 1920, a message of sympathy and encouragement.

# V. LIST OF THE SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE QUESTIONS CONSIDERED

#### FIRST SESSION

# Paris. January 16, 1920

#### Question considered:

1. Appointment of three members of the Saar Frontier Delimitation Commission.

#### SECOND SESSION

# London. February 11 to February 13, 1920

- 1. Rules of procedure for the Council.
- 2. Accessions to the League:

The accession of Switzerland.

The accession of Colombia.

- 3. The appointment of the Committee of Jurists to draft a scheme for the constitution of a Permanent International Court of Justice.
- 4. Obligations of the League with regard to Communications and Transit: The constitution of a Permanent Transit Organization, and the framing of draft International Transit Conventions.
- 5. Invitation addressed to the International Health Conference to study:
  - (a) The constitution of a Permanent International Health Organization.
  - (b) The campaign against typhus in Poland.

- 6. The appointment of the Governing Commission of the Territory of the Saar.
- 7. The appointment of a High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig.
- 8. The guaranty by the League of the clauses relating to Minorities in the Treaty between the Principal Allied Powers and Poland.
- 9. The representation of the League at the first meeting of the General Council of the Red Cross Societies.

## THIRD SESSION

## Paris. March 12 and March 13, 1920

- 1. The protection of Minorities in Turkey.
- 2. The protection of Armenia.
- 3. The Commission of Inquiry to Russia.
- 4. The Commission against Typhus in Poland.
- 5. Relief in Central Europe.

#### FOURTH SESSION

# Paris. April 9 to April 11, 1920

- 1. Requests for admission to the League: The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg and the Republic of Latvia.
  - 2. The registration of treaties.
- 3. The establishment of a permanent Economic and Financial Organization within the League.
- 4. The expenses of the International Labor Conference at Washington and of the establishment of the International Labor Office.
- 5. The authorization for Sir Reginald Tower to organize at Danzig the elections for the Constituent Assembly.
  - 6. The protection of Armenia.
  - 7. The protection of Minorities in Turkey.
  - 8. The repatriation of war prisoners.
- 9. Message of sympathy from the Council to the national associations in support of the League.

#### FIFTH SESSION

## Rome. May 14 to May 19, 1920

- 1. Rules of procedure for the Council.
- 2. The budget of the League. The allocation of expenses between Members of the League.
  - 3. The convening of the Assembly.

- 4. The Staff of the Secretariat of the League.
- 5. The Permanent Armaments Commission.
- 6. The appointment of an International Statistical Committee.
- 7. The relations of the Council and the Assembly with the permanent Technical Organizations of the League.
- 8. Co-operation of the League in the repression of the traffic in women and children.
- 9. The Administration of the Saar: Protest concerning the status of the Saar officials.
- 10. Eupen and Malmédy: Appeal to the League by the German Government.
  - 11. The protection of Armenia.
  - 12. The Commission of Inquiry to Russia.
  - 13. The preparations for the International Financial Conference.
  - 14. The campaign against typhus in Poland.

#### SIXTH SESSION

## London. June 14 to June 16, 1920

- 1 The convening of the Assembly.
- 2. Arrangements for the appointment of the members of the International Committee of Jurists (See Session 2, Item 3).
  - 3. The appeal of Persia to the League.
  - 4. The Commission of Inquiry to Russia.
  - 5. The repatriation of war prisoners.

#### SEVENTH SESSION

## London. July 9 to July 20, 1920

- 1. The convening of the Assembly.
- 2. Expenses of the High Court of Justice of the Territory of the Saar.
- 3. The question of the Aaland Islands.
- 4. The preparations for the International Financial Conference.
- 5. The campaign against typhus in Poland.

#### EIGHTH SESSION

# San Sebastian. July 30 to August 5, 1920

- 1. The finances of the League: Approval of the Second Budget.
- 2. The relations between the Council and the Assembly.
- S. The acceptance of new responsibilities by the League.
- 4. The report of the Committee of Jurists at The Hague (See Session 2, Item 3).

- 5. The preliminary measures necessary to give effect to Article XVI of the Covenant (The Economic Weapon).
  - 6. The transfer of the Secretariat to Geneva.
  - 7. Passports for officials of the League.
  - 8. The Staff of the Secretariat.
  - 9. The Permanent Armaments Commission.
- 10. The obligations of the League under Article XXII of the Covenant (Mandates).
- 11. The General Conference on Communications and Transit: Decision to hold the Conference at Barcelona.
  - 12. The Permanent Health Organization.
  - 13. The International Statistical Committee.
- 14. The claim of India to be represented on the Governing Body of the International Labor Office.
- 15. The payment of the expenses of the Saar Frontier Delimitation Commission.
- 16. The appointment of an International Committee of Jurists to present an opinion on the question of the Aaland Islands.
  - 17. The appeal of the King of the Hedjaz to the League.
  - 18. The preparations for the International Financial Conference.
  - 19. The campaign against typhus in Poland.

#### NINTH SESSION

## Paris. September 16 to September 20, 1920

- 1. The finances of the League.
- 2. Approval of contracts arising out of the establishment of the League at Geneva.
  - 3. Passports for officials of the League.
  - 4. The Governing Commission of the Saar: Resignation of M. de Boch.
- 5. Eupen and Malmédy: Definitive transfer of the sovereignty to Belgium.
  - 6. The protection of Armenia.
- 7. The inter-migration treaty between Greece and Bulgaria: The appointment of two Commissioners by the Council.
- 8. The question of the Aaland Islands: Examination of the report of the Committee of Jurists and decisions taken by the Council.
  - 9. The dispute between Poland and Lithuania.

#### TENTH SESSION

# Brussels. October 20 to October 28, 1920

- 1. The finances of the League:
  - (a) The third budget of the League.

- (b) The payment of the staff of the permanent Secretariat.
- (c) The distribution of the expenses of the League between its Members.
- (d) The cost of commissions appointed by the League.
- (e) Expenses of the Saar Basin Frontier Delimitation Commission.
- 2. Appointments to the Secretariat.
- 3. The First Report of the Council to the Assembly.
- 4. The report of the Committee of International Jurists on the Constitution of a Permanent Court of International Justice.
- 5. Recommendations appended to the Report of the Committee of International Jurists.
  - 6. The report of the Permanent Armaments Commission.
  - 7. The report of the International Financial Conference.
  - 8. The report of the Committee on International Statistics.
- 9. The Permanent Health Organization: Appointment of a temporary representative of the League to advise as to the execution of the resolutions regarding venereal disease passed by the Labor Conference at Genoa.
- 10. Communications and Transit: Passports and customs regulations for travelers, and passports for officials of the League.
- 11. Mandates: Obligations of the League under Article XXII of the Covenant.
  - 12. The Constitution of the Free City of Danzig.
- 13. Protest of the German Government against the decision of the Council making definitive the transfer to Belgium of the sovereignty over the districts of Eupen and Malmédy.
  - 14. Protection of minorities:
    - (a) Obligations of the League under the minorities clauses of the Austrian and Bulgarian peace treaties.
    - (b) The appointment of the Commission to supervise the reciprocal emigration of Greek and Bulgarian minorities.
    - (c) The general duties of the Council respecting minorities.
  - 15. Protection & Armenia.
- 16. Measures taken to appoint the Commission of Rapporteurs to advise the Council on the question of the Aaland Islands.
  - 17 The dispute between Lithuania and Poland.
  - 18. The campaign against typhus in Poland.
  - 19. The repatriation of war prisoners: case of the Rumanian prisoners.
  - 20. Amendments to the Covenant proposed by the Scandinavian states.
  - 21. Resolution presented by M. Tittoni concerning monopolies.
- 22. Resolution of the British Association of Moral and Social Hygiene demanding the suppression of all regulation of prostitution in mandated countries.

# STATUS OF REPARATION

N. B.—The League of Nations has no connection with this matter. The Reparation Commission is established by Part VIII of the treaty of Versailles, which assigns to it the duty of determining the amount of damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany; but the Supreme Council, consisting of the Allied premiers and ministers, and the Conference of Ambassadors, which sits ad interim, are the bodies which have assumed responsibility.

Allied loss and damage, which Germany is bound to repair, are listed in Part VIII, Annex I, of the treaty of Versailles. No bill of particulars respecting the amounts of these liabilities has been published, so that it is impossible to compute what percentage of reparation has been liquidated. There is a not unnatural difference between the parties as to the value of the commodities delivered.

It was announced by the Reparation Commission on October 28, 1920, that Germany had turned over 20,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds in accordance with the stipulations of Part VIII. Annex II, 12, c, 1, of the treaty of Versailles, as well as 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds as stipulated by Annex II, 12, c, 2. The bonds were issued by the German Treasury, signed by the Administrative Services of the German Debt, authorized by the German Financial Law of August 31, 1919. These bonds are subject to cancellation by way of reparation according to the details of Part VIII and Annexes of the treaty of Versailles. They constitute a part of the reparational system, and are assumed to be included in the total demands to be made upon Germany in conferences previous to May 1, 1921.

Respecting deliveries made by Germany the Reparation Commission

on January 23, 1921, issued the following statement:

"A year having passed since the treaty of Versailles became operative, it is interesting to take stock of the deliveries by Germany completed under the treaty as well as under the armistice convention. The following represent deliveries up to December 31 under the heading of reparations:

# "1. Reparations

# a. Deliveries

"Coal (including coke and lignite), estimated at 17,818,840 tons.

"Sulphate of ammonia, 19,000 tons.

"Steamers, sailing vessels, and trawlers, 2,054,729 tons gross.

"River craft and material, 38,730 tons.

"Live stock, 360,176 beasts.1

"Seeds, 6,802,588 kilos.

"Dyes and dyestuffs, 10,787,827 kilos.

"Pharmaceutical products, 57,823 kilos. "Rolling stock (locomotives), 4,571.

"Rolling stock (freight cars), 129,555.

"Motor lorries, 5.000.

"Railway material, 140,000 tons.

"Agricultural machinery, machines, and implements, 131,505.

"Submarine cables2:

Emden-Vigo: from the Straits of Dover to off Vigo;

Emden-Brest: from off Cherbourg to Brest:

Emden-Teneriffe: from off Dunkirk to off Teneriffe;

Emden-Azores: (1) From the Straits of Dover to Fayal; Emden-Azores: (2) from the Straits of Dover to Fayal;

Azores-New York (1): From Fayal to New York;

Azores-New York (2): from Fayal to the longitude of Halifax;

Teneriffe-Monrovia: from off Teneriffe to off Monrovia;

Monrovia-Lome;

Lome-Duala: from Lome to Duala;

Monrovia-Pernambuco: from off Monrovia to off Pernambuco; Constantinople-Constanza: from Constantinople to Constanza;

Yap-Shanghai, Yap-Guam, and Yap-Menado (Celebes): from Yap Island to Shanghai, from Yap Island to Guam Island, and from Yap Island to Menado.

"The above list does not include certain deliveries or cessions of a different kind, which either are, or are susceptible of, being credited to Germany, but for which figures are not yet completely determined: Public properties, and parts of debts in ceded territories, the Saar Basin, material abandoned after November 11, 1918, etc. Moreover, this list does not include deliveries or cessions from powers other than Germany as provided by treaties.

¹The total number deliverable under Part VIII, Annex IV, 6, of the treaty is 570,900. A German note announced that on November 15 live-stock deliveries had been made according to the terms of the treaty as follows: Horses, France, 105%; Belgium, 66%; cattle, France, 72%; Belgium, 72%; goats, France, 92.3%; Belgium, 83%; sheep, France, 100.2%; Belgium, 109%. (Le Tomps, November 21, 1920.)

\*Only those privately owned to be credited to reparation.

## b. Division

"At present the Reparation Commission has made the following division of deliveries made by Germany as reparation:

"Coal—France, 14,210,582 tons; Italy, 1,618,534 tons; Belgium, 1,401,-626 tons; Luxemburg, 588,098 tons.

"Sulphate of ammonia—France, 19,000 tons.

"Ships—Great Britain, 1,477,839 gross tons; France, 166,924 gross tons; Italy, 124,901 gross tons; Belgium, 15,831 gross tons; Japan, 28,678 gross tons.

"River craft and material—France, 36.730 tons; Belgium, 2,000 tons. "Live stock—France, 207,943 beasts; Belgium, 152,233 beasts.

"Seeds-France, 6,501,310 kilos; Italy, 200 kilos; Belgium, 301,078 kilos.

"Dyes and dyestuffs—United States, 1,300,143 kilos; Great Britain, 3,113,802 kilos; France, 3,172,632 kilos; Italy, 1,760,310 kilos; Belgium, 1,190,375 kilos; Japan, 250,062 kilos.

"Pharmaceutical products—Italy, 39,581 kilos; Belgium, 12,385 kilos; Japan, 5,855 kilos.

"Motor lorries—United States, 1,314; Great Britain, 1,242; France, 2,200; Belgium, 244.

"Rolling stock: Locomotives—France, 2,653; Belgium, 1,918. "Rolling stock: Freight cars—France, 63,658; Belgium, 65,897. "Railway material—France, 90,000 tons; Belgium, 50,000 tons.

"Agricultural machinery, machines, and implements—France, 109,932; Belgium, 21,573.

"The division of submarine cables intrusted by the Allied Powers to the conference of experts meeting at Washington has not yet been effected.

"Valuations have been made for the greatest part of the above deliveries. Certain questions of principle not having been solved, it still remains to establish from different points of view several systems of accounting from which a choice will eventually be made. The commission has, nevertheless, to declare that the figures recently published respecting deliveries by Germany amounting to more than twenty billions of marks gold, which this power is constrained to pay by virtue

British shipping lost as a result of the war is given as follows:

|                                | Tons gross | Value        |  |
|--------------------------------|------------|--------------|--|
| Steamers (direct war losses)   | 7,745,654  | £527,889,000 |  |
| Steamers (indirect war losses) | . 209.651  | 16,052,000   |  |
| Sailing vessels (indirect)     | . 121.021  | 2,463,000    |  |
| or requisition)                | , 440,949  | 88,512,000   |  |
|                                |            |              |  |

of Article 235 of the treaty, substantially exceed the real figures.<sup>1</sup> The principal items on which there is either uncertainty or considerable disagreement are public properties in ceded territories, shipping, Saar Basin, the material abandoned by the Germans after November 11, 1918, and a portion of the coal.

## "2. Restitutions

"Beside the deliveries credited to Germany, Article 238 of the treaty stipulates that this state is bound to restore objects of every nature, securities and cash, taken away, seized or sequestrated in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany and her allies.

"These restitutions of objects identified are entirely distinct from the deliveries dealt with above. Article 243 of the treaty provides that their value is not to be reckoned as credits to German reparation. The commission has recorded up to December 31, 1920, the following restitu-

tions for France and Belgium:

"Agricultural material—France, 13,546 machines; Belgium, 14—Total, 13,560.

"Industrial material—France, 184,161 tons; Belgium, 87,046 tons—Total, 271,207.

"Rolling stock: Locomotives—France, 13; Belgium, 394—Total, 407.
"Rolling stock: Freight cars—France, 6,031; Belgium, 12,897—Total,

18.928.

"Other categories of goods have also been restored, such as stocks, a certain quantity of personal property and objects of art."

# Delivert of War Matériel, November 11, 1918, to December 31, 1920

The reduction of the German military, naval and air forces by the Allies is, by the preamble of Part V of the treaty of Versailles,

1The Course referred to as printed in La Temps January 91 1001 area

| The patrice referred to as brinted in re-tembe, sentimera et. 1921.  |                |
|--|----------------|
| Millions of  | marks gold     |
| Railway material   | 1,500          |
| Landed interests (properties, concessions, interests, etc.) in the<br>territories taken from Germany, outside of Alsace and Lor- | 1,000          |
| raine, and ceded to Poland, to Denmark, to Belgium, to Japan, to China, and also in the plebiscite territories                   | 4,500          |
| Merchant shipping  | 7,300<br>1,300 |
| Coal   | 500            |
| German cables  | 90             |
| Nonmilitary booty of war   | 3,700          |
|  |                |

"in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations."

(Not credited to reparation; based on report of Marshal Foch, December 31, 1920)

| Cannon (complete)                   | 41,000    |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| Cannon (barrels)                    | 29,000    |
| Machine guns (complete and barrels) | 163,000   |
| Rifles                              | 2.800,000 |
| Airplanes                           |           |
| Airplane motors                     | 25,000    |

The German commissioner for disarmament of the population announced totals of arms, voluntarily delivered, purchased or confiscated up to January 10, 1921, apparently additional to the above, as follows:

932 cannon; 18,067 machine guns; 2,201,584 rifles and carbines; 78,325 revolvers and pistols; 85,616 hand grenades; 8,538 pieces of firearms; 246,357 pieces of machine guns; 312,905 pieces of rifles; and 4,624,189 cartridges. (Le Temps, January 15, 1921.)

The German army at the Armistice consisted of about \$,000,000 rifles. On January 29, 1921, the Germans claimed it had been reduced to 100,000 officers and men, but the Allies regarded the situation as unsatisfactory because of the existence of several organizations such as Civil Guards, Security Police, and the Bavarian Orgesch capable of military service.

# DISPOSITION OF THE GERMAN FLEET!

(Not counted toward reparation. All vessels broken up, unless indicated as incorporated [IN.] in the present owner's fleet.

(Forty capital and 144 other ships listed.)

Battleships—To Great Britain, 5—Baden, Helgoland, Posen, Rheinland and Westfalen. To Japan, 2—Oldenburg and Nassau. To France, 1—Thuringen. To the United States, 1—Ostfriesland.

Light cruisers—To Great Britain, 6—Nurnberg, Stettin, Stuttgart, Danzig, München and Lübeck. To France, 5—Emden, Königsberg (IN.), Regensburg (IN.), Stralsund (IN.), and Kolberg (IN.). To Italy, 5—Pillau (IN.), Graudenz (IN.), and Strassburg (IN.). To Japan, 1—Augsburg. To the United States, 1—Frankfurt.

Flotilla leaders—To France, 1—S. 113. (IN.). To Italy, 1—V. 116 (IN.).

Destroyers—To Great Britain, 39—S. 137, V. 128, V. 125, B. 98 (wrecked), G. 95, G. 92, V. 82, V. 81 (foundered), V. 73, V. 71, S. 54 (foundered) S. 51 (foundered), V. 44, V. 28, V. 26, S. 24, T. 197, T. 195, T. 193, T. 192, T. 189, T. 186, T. 184, T. 183, T. 182, T. 180, T. 179, T. 178, T. 176, T. 174, T. 173, T. 169, T. 166, T. 165, T. 164, T. 163, T. 161, T. 160, and T. 159. To France, 11—H. 147 (IN.), H. 146 (IN.), S. 139 (IN.), S. 135 (IN.), S. 134 (IN.).

Data from the London Times, October 12 and November 17, 1919.

S. 133 (IN.), V. 130 (IN.), V. 126, V. 190, V. 79 (IN.), V. 46. To Japan, 4—V. 127, V. 80, S. 60, and T. 181. To Italy, 2—B. 97 (IN.), S. 63 (IN.). To United States, 3—S. 132, G. 102, and V. 43.

Torpedo-Boats—All 50 boats allocated to Great Britain to be broken up, with the exception of six to be selected by Brazil and six by Poland from those at Rosyth, which after disarmament are being used for police purposes. On November 4, 1919, Brazil received the V.105, V.106, A.74, A.76, A.81, and A.93, and Poland the V.108, A.59, A.64, A.68, A.69, and A.80.

The auxiliary vessel Cyclops also broken up by Great Britain.

On June 21, 1919, 10 battleships, five battle cruisers, five light cruisers, and 28 destroyers of the interned German ships were sunk at Scapa, but the cruisers Nürnberg, Emden and Frankfurt, with several of the destroyers, were salved, and these are in the foregoing list.

# Disposition of the Austro-Hungarian Fleet (Not counted toward reparation)

Battleships (all broken up)—To Great Britain, 6—Erzherzog Ferdinand Max, Badenberg, Arpad, Hapsburg, Budapest, and Monarch. To France, 3—Prinz Eugen, Erzherzog Friedrich, and Erzherzog Karl. To Italy, 3—Tegetthoff, Zrinyi, and Radetzki.

Two cruisers, Sankt Georg and Kaiser Karl VI, allotted to Great Britain to be broken up.

Light cruisers—To Great Britain, 6—Admiral Spaun, Szigetvar, Aspern, K.U.K. Maria Theresa, Panther, and Leopard; all broken up. To Italy, 2—Helgoland and Saida. To France, 1—Novara. These three ships incorporated in their respective fleets.

Destroyers—To Italy, 15—Lika (IN.), Uszok (IN.), Triglav (IN.), Orgen (IN.), Cspel (IN.), Balaton (IN.), Tatra (IN.), Varasdiner (BR.), Huszar (BR.), Dinara (BR.), Velebit (BR.), Czikos (BR.), Turul (BR.), Uskoke (BR.), and Scharfschutze (BR.). To France, 3—Dukla (IN.), Reka (BR.), and Pandur (BR.). To Greece, 1—Ulan (IN.).

Torpedo-Boats—To Great Britain, 13—50 E., 51 T., 53 T., 55 T., 56 T., 57 T., 58 T., 59 T., 8, 9, 10, 14, and 18; all broken up. To Serbo-Czecho-Slovakia, 11—87 F., 93 F., 96 F., 76 T., 77 T., 78 T., 79 T., 69 F., 54 T., 60 T., 61 T.; all for police duties. To Greece, 7—98 M., 99 M., 100 M., 92 F., 94 F., 95 F., 96 F.; all for police duties. To Rumania, 7—82 F., 83 F., 84 F., 74 T., 75 T., 80 T., and 81 T.; all for police duties. To Portugal, 6—85 F., 86 F., 88 F., 89 F., 90 F.; all for police duties; and 91 F. To Italy, 6—52 T., 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; all broken up. To France, 4—13, 15, 16, and 17; all broken up.

The torpedo-gunboats all broken up; one by France, the remainder by Italy. Of the mining vessels, two allotted by Great Britain for breaking up and two to France for the same purpose.

This number completes Volume III of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Like Volumes I and II for 1918 and 1919, this volume will be immediately available in bound and indexed form. The price per volume is \$1.00. A subscription price of \$1.23 includes the current numbers of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS for one year and a bound volume at the end.

The first number of Volume IV, now in press, is a double number summarizing the proceedings of the first Assembly of the League of Nations, held at Geneva, November 15 to December 18, 1920. In order to preserve so far as possible the atmosphere of this historic first Assembly, the speeches of participants in the more important debates are freely quoted. Effort is made to give some account of the successive stages of the discussions, while resolutions finally adopted are carried textually. It is believed that the document will be of permanent value both to the general reader and the student of international affairs.