

THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS
AND
THE PRESS

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INFORMATION SECTION ✓

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

GENEVA

1928

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CHAPTER I.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE PRINCIPLE OF PUBLICITY.

IT was the clear intention of the founders of the League of Nations that it should mark the beginning of a new era in international relations; and it was equally clear that in their minds one of the essential conditions was a complete departure from the old methods of secret diplomacy. From the beginning, the guiding principle of the new organisation has been to give the widest publicity to its activities, and nowadays publicity as a rule means the Press. The League works in public — that is to say, in the presence of and with the Press. The Press and publicity are part and parcel of the general conception of the League of Nations, and this has involved the establishment of relations which are entirely novel as between an official organisation and the independent newspaper world.

This close and almost constitutional link between the League, the Press and general publicity, gave rise to new forms of co-operation and imposed upon the League various duties.

Whenever possible, the Press had to be admitted to League meetings. Arrangements had to be made for Press accommodation and methods had to be devised for contact with the representatives of the Press.

The League had to furnish the Press promptly and in suitable form with information on such meetings as were held in private, and on current League affairs. This required a system of written and verbal information. Besides providing journalists with the opportunity of following proceedings and of receiving prompt information about them, the League had to give the Press explanatory

material made necessary by the variety and complexity of the subjects treated.

In the same connection, the League had to pay attention to the provision of facilities necessitated by Geneva's rapid development as a world Press centre. This implied careful study of the professional and technical requirements of journalists in Geneva, and led to a natural and logical interest in the question of international Press work in general, as shown by the International Conference of Press Experts summoned by the League.

The League, however, had not only to consider its relations with the public through the Press, but it had also to get as far as possible into direct contact with public opinion. This was the origin of the League's own press, so to say: namely, a considerable number of reviews, pamphlets and articles, a literature of the League of Nations produced by its own journalistic services.

To reap the full advantage of this principle of far-reaching publicity, it was not enough for the League to endeavour to inform public opinion through the Press or by direct means; it had also to be itself informed on public opinion. This meant a close study of the Press and of all public manifestations in so far as they concerned the League.

The new feature of this varied activity is that it is entirely international in character. The League follows international public opinion and the international Press. The League and the departments that ensure contact with public opinion and the Press are internationally composed.

This pamphlet attempts to give a description of the methods adopted, as the result of eight years' experience, in this small but important part of the League's work.

CHAPTER II.

THE INFORMATION SECTION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SECRETARIAT.

THE recognition of the fact that co-operation with public opinion is one of the elements of the League of Nations led at the outset to the creation of a special department of the League Secretariat — namely, the Information Section.

The executive organs of the League are the Assembly and the Council, the Assembly meeting once and the Council at least four times a year. They are assisted by a permanent organisation, the League Secretariat, which is composed of officials, and divided into Sections corresponding to the tasks entrusted to the League by the Covenant and the Treaties. The Political Section deals with definitely political questions referred to the League; the Administrative Section with Minority Questions brought before the League in virtue of special treaties, and with Saar and Danzig questions referred to the League under the Peace Treaties; the Disarmament Section with the preparatory work for the reduction of armaments contemplated by the Covenant; and the Mandates Section with problems arising from the administration of mandated territories. The technical work of the League is performed by the Economic and Financial Section; the Section for Communications and Transit; the Health Section; the Social and Humanitarian Section, etc. The Information Section is an integral part of the Secretariat organisation, and is on the same footing as the other Sections. It is not an annex of the Secretariat, nor is it a Press bureau in the usually accepted sense of the term. It is an organic part of the Secretariat, closely bound up with the League work as a whole. In the same way as the other Sections deal with Minorities, Disarmament, Financial Questions, etc., the Information Section, which is

almost entirely composed of journalists, deals with League publicity and relations with the Press. Although its main work concerns the Press, it naturally keeps in touch with various associations, societies, congresses, educational institutes, etc. It is at the point of contact between the League and public opinion that the work of the Information Section lies, and the Section operates in this respect on behalf of the Secretariat, in constant co-operation with the other Sections. In cases where direct publicity is not possible, the Information Section endeavours to ensure publicity by indirect means. If a meeting must be private, a member of the Information Section attends it, and establishes, as far as possible, contact with the outside. If a League Commission meets outside Geneva, a member of the Information Section is generally present. Publicity in the League sense is international. To promote the co-operation of international public opinion, each member of the Information Section, in addition to his daily task of documentation and administrative and technical work, endeavours to maintain personal relations with national public opinion by means of frequent journeys to his own country and by an attentive journalistic study of general national tendencies. The League Secretariat has also created special offices of the Information Section in five different capitals — Paris, London, Rome, Tokio and, more recently, Berlin — for the purpose of giving information to journalists and others. A special system of liaison has been organised for Latin-American countries. At The Hague, the seat of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and at League meetings in other countries, members of the Information Section ensure a news service. A member of the Information Section remained in Vienna during the whole reconstruction period. Whenever it is appropriate that they should do so, representatives of the Information Section or, as the case may be, of other Sections, attend national and international meetings of interest to the work of the League, and members of the Section travel not only in their own, but also in other countries, for the purpose of promoting relations with the Press and public opinion.

It is impossible to describe in this pamphlet the work of the different members of any given Section of the Secretariat. For the comprehension of the varied work of the Information Section, it may be sufficient to state that its members are journalists by profession and have remained in touch with their former *milieu*, and that they constantly endeavour, with the assistance of their colleagues in other Sections, and in accordance with the general directions given by the Secretary-General, to develop and to improve all possible methods for the practical realisation of the principle of publicity in connection with the work of the League.

CHAPTER III.

PRESS ATTENDANCE AT LEAGUE MEETINGS.

THE most representative organ of the League of Nations is the annual Assembly, to which all States Members send delegates. All its discussions are public. During the session, which lasts from three to four weeks, representatives of the Press of the whole world sit in the Press gallery. The eight Ordinary Assemblies from 1920 to 1927, and the Extraordinary Assembly of March 1926, with its important political debates and occasional dramatic clashes of opinion, were attended by the Press of almost all countries. The Press takes part in the work of this world parliament just as it takes part in the work of any national parliament. But this world parliament is in reality a congress of Governments. Its meetings are diplomatic conferences in which members of Governments, Foreign Ministers, Prime Ministers, and sometimes Heads of State participate.

The permanent attendance of the Press as a matter of course at such diplomatic conferences and international debates is the new and characteristic feature of League proceedings. The publicity of the Assembly debates is not confined to the plenary meetings. The Assembly divides the items on its agenda between six important general committees, dealing with different groups of subjects, such as constitutional and legal questions, the technical organisations, disarmament, budget and administrative questions, social questions, and political questions. Contrary to the custom of many parliaments, the Press has been admitted since 1921 to all Committees, however delicate and difficult the subjects may be. The discussions of the Budget Committee, which dealt with some very difficult questions in September 1927, and those of the Legal and Disarmament

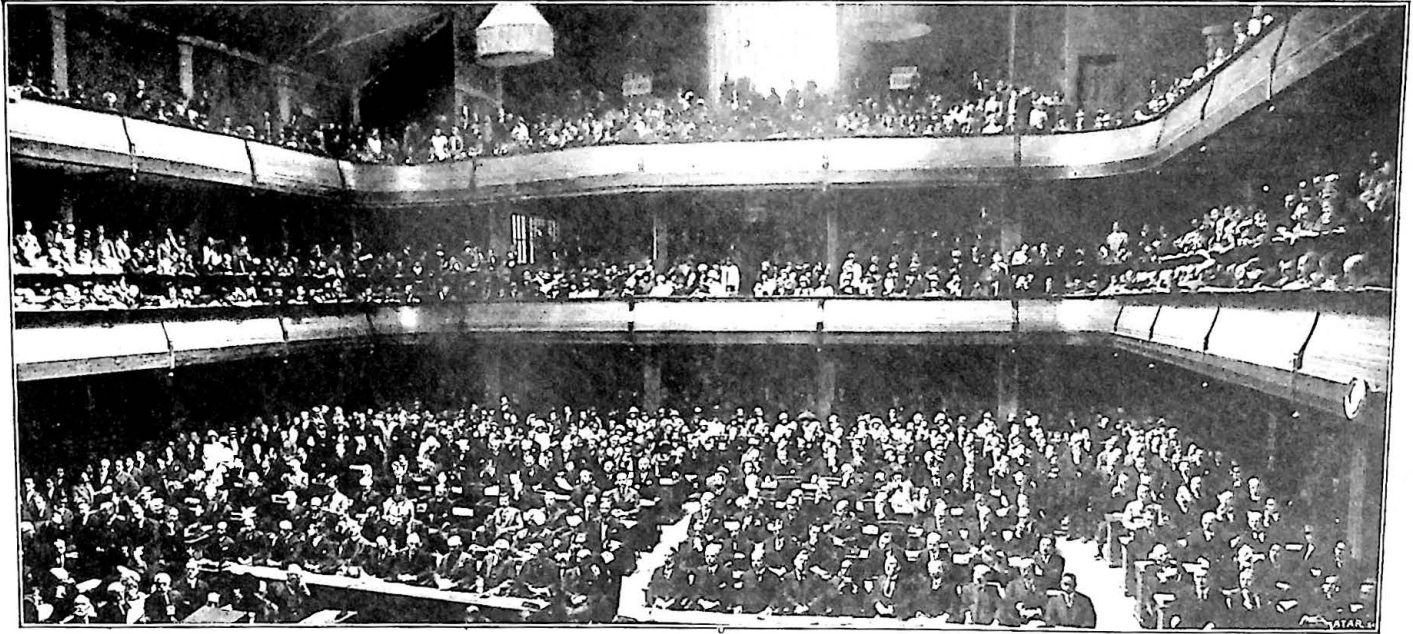
Committees, which, in 1924, drafted and discussed the Protocol, took place in the presence of journalists. The only private meetings are those of small sub-committees and drafting committees, which generally deal with technical details, appointments, and drafting questions, and in this case information on the essential facts is immediately forthcoming.

To the Council of the League the Covenant has assigned the principal executive powers. Its task, which is rather to take practical executive measures than to debate questions of principle, might seem to justify the exclusion of the public. But here too the principle of publicity has triumphed despite some hesitation at the beginning. The great majority of the meetings take place in public and, contrary to the widespread idea that the more important political problems are dealt with in private, the private meetings as a matter of fact deal generally with questions which are of small interest to the public, and which, in the nature of things, could not be dealt with in public — such, for example, as administrative matters and appointments. Looking back on the more controversial Council proceedings in its eight years of existence, it may be said that representatives of the international Press have been able to follow them from beginning to end. The more important phases of the Greco-Italian dispute regarding Corfu were open to the Press. The final discussions on the fate of the Protocol, coupled with preliminary exchanges which eventually crystallised in the Locarno Agreements, took place in public. The Council decision in the Anglo-Turkish dispute concerning Mosul was given in the presence of the Press; delicate negotiations concerning the Saar, serious differences of opinion concerning Danzig, complicated legal and political divergencies with regard to the Hungarian optants; in short, the proceedings concerning all political disputes of the last few years referred to the Council could be and were followed by the Press. It is impossible to deny that this method represents great progress, all the more so because it has not been without certain risks. Many criticisms in the Press have only been possible because the Press has been admitted

to follow the details of the proceedings, the difficulties and the compromises (this in a body whose vote must generally be unanimous). In brief, the Press in many cases has only been able to criticise because it has had the opportunity of seeing the proceedings in progress. It has been able to blame because it has been given the opportunity to blame. The value of the system has nevertheless been proved, and the cases in which the public are excluded are less frequent. In fact, it often happens that Members of the Council make a point of asking that the Press should be admitted, and the Council has come to regard public meetings as the normal practice. There is no difference between the procedure in public and in private meetings. The full significance and scope of such a radical transformation in political custom and procedure which has made it possible for a limited, diplomatic body of responsible statesmen of the great Powers so to co-operate with the international Press has not yet been sufficiently appreciated.

A great number of the duties which the Covenant has laid upon the League are performed by the so-called technical organisations — special committees whose work, which is prepared by the competent Section of the Secretariat, frequently leads to international conferences.

These are the Transit, Health and Economic and Financial Organisations. Other matters are dealt with by permanent advisory committees such as the Mandates Commission, the Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, the Committee on Traffic in Opium, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the Committee for the Codification of International Law. For the complicated question of Disarmament, there are the Committee of the Council, the Permanent Advisory Commission (an auxiliary organ of the Council) and similar organisations. Of late years it has been mainly in the hands of the newly created Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, to which has been added a Committee on Arbitration and Security. In nearly all branches of the League's constantly Extending work, it may again be said that it has invited



Press Gallery of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

the widest possible publicity. The discussions of the Opium Committee — occasionally very controversial — the delicate negotiations of the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, and certain meetings of the Mandates Commission are attended by the Press. The Preparatory Commission for the International Economic Conference and the Conference itself, with its three Committees and nine sub-committees; the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference (with the exception of the technical sub-committees whose debates were communicated *in extenso* to the Press), and the new Arbitration and Security Committee, all invited the Press to attend their meetings. The discussions of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, which have often been the subject of lively controversy in the Press, and certain important meetings of the Council, are striking examples of the fearless attitude of the League in the matter of publicity. Another, and perhaps more notable, example was the Committee for the Composition of the Council which met in May 1926, in Geneva, to examine the question of the enlargement of the Council and the creation of new permanent seats. On the proposal of one of its members, the Committee held its meetings in public, and the Press was thus enabled to follow the most delicate political and diplomatic debates.

In reviewing the eight years' history of the League, and the execution of the work contained in its original programme, the fulfilment of the stipulation requiring "open diplomacy" (to employ a popular phrase) must not be disregarded. It cannot be denied that, despite certain omissions and imperfections, this stipulation has been satisfied in a large measure by the Assembly, the Council and numerous other League organisations.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESS SERVICE AT LEAGUE MEETINGS.

IF the League had confined itself merely to admitting the Press to its meetings, it would have accomplished only part of its task. The variety of its work, which extends to all fields of international life — political, economic, financial, social, humanitarian, transit, military and legal — makes it necessary for Press representatives who attend the meetings to understand thoroughly the matters dealt with and to be able to form their independent judgments. Public opinion has not only to be informed; it has also to be encouraged to co-operate. The journalist must therefore have at his disposal the same material as the Government representative who speaks from the platform of the Assembly or who sits at the Council table or in the Commissions.

The following procedure has been adopted. Some time before the session begins, the agenda is placed at the disposal of the Press as soon as it has been officially communicated to Governments. The Information Section prepares special notes for the Press on all the points on the agenda, giving their origin, the present state of the questions, etc. Before and during each meeting, Press representatives receive all the material distributed — memoranda prepared by the Secretariat, observations of Governments, reports of the Assembly, Council, and committees, draft resolutions, reports of sub-committees, proposals, amendments, etc.

At the Assembly meetings, each Press representative has his own pigeon-hole in which the documents are deposited before and during the session. Half-an-hour after the close of the session, a complete verbatim report of the meeting is provided in the two official languages, English and French. At the Council meetings, the Press receives the material from officials of the Secretariat at the same time

as the Members of the Council, and verbatim reports of the speeches are posted up in the Press Room while the meeting is still in progress. A few minutes after the meeting there is a detailed official *communiqué* summarising the proceedings. The same method is adopted for Assembly committees, other League committees and conferences. Finally, the Information Section issues, before the close of the Assembly and other sessions, a summary statement of the results.

The main object of the distribution of material for discussion is to enable journalists to understand the proceedings; that of the verbatim report and the *communiqué* is to facilitate their technical work. This is particularly necessary when, as is more and more the case, various commissions sit simultaneously. The increasing work of the League has made it necessary, not only for the Assembly committees to sit at the same time, but for various other bodies also to hold their meetings simultaneously. There have been meetings of important permanent committees and conferences even while the Assembly and Council have been in session. Without the objective news service of the Information Section, it would in many cases be impossible for the Press to follow the proceedings. The International Economic Conference of May 1927 broke up into three committees, which, in turn, were divided into three sub-committees each. All the meetings were public and all took place at the same time. To facilitate the work of the Press, a summary of the speeches made in the nine sub-committees was posted up page by page in the Press Room during the meetings, in addition to the customary posting-up of the verbatim report. This made it possible for the Press to obtain immediate information on discussions which took place in different committees.

To form an adequate idea of this information service, it would be necessary to have detailed statistics of all articles, documents and printed matter, official reports and minutes, distributed by the Secretariat. But a few general figures may be of interest. During the Assembly of 1927, which lasted twenty-three days, 70 *communiqués*, 143 documents, and 22 verbatim reports of plenary meetings and 56 verbatim

reports of committee meetings were issued and posted up in the two official languages; altogether 2,165 roneographed typewritten pages. Eighty different documents were distributed to 871 outside addresses.

During the Council session of March 1928, which lasted six days and included ten meetings, 52 documents, 13 *communiqués*, the French verbatim report and the English verbatim report were distributed to the Press. It is clear that these methods of information entail a great deal of work for the League Secretariat. At the Assembly meeting, five officials place the documents in the Press pigeon-holes, and for the Assembly delegates and the Press 21 trained verbatim reporters take down the minutes, 14 shorthand-typists do the transcribing and a staff of 11 persons does the roneoing, duplicating and wire-stitching. Six members of the Information Section draft the official *communiqués* for the six Assembly Committees; they follow the meetings in the same way as the Press representatives, and dictate during the meeting a report which is roneographed and issued immediately after. Similar work is done at all other meetings. A member of the Information Section is specially detached to follow each committee meeting or conference.

The Distribution Department of the Secretariat plays an important rôle in the technical part of the work. This Department, which is little known to delegates and journalists, is the headquarters for the whole official despatch of documents. It is to this service that the secretaries of the commissions address their requests for the translation and duplication of documents connected with the debates. These requests are forwarded to the appropriate technical branches and the final completed document is rapidly issued by the Distribution Department. The whole day, and often well into the night, during both the larger and smaller meetings which now continue throughout the whole year, translators, typists, the Distribution Branch and the drafting officials of the Information Section are busily occupied. Night work is generally devoted to the duplication, printing and proof-reading of the numerous documents.

From the upper floor of the Secretariat, in which the Information Section has its quarters, and from the Annex, in which the typewritten work is done, typed and printed papers are transported by lift to the ground floor, whence they are despatched in small trolleys to the meeting-rooms. Secretariat officials distribute the documents and printed matter to the Press, post up the official *communiqués* and verbatim reports on the notice-board, or place the necessary documents on the tables in the Press Room.

The distribution of written material, necessary at public meetings, becomes indispensable when meetings are private. If the Council sits in private, an official *communiqué* on its decisions is issued immediately after the meeting. If the Mandates Commission decides not to meet in public, the official of the Information Section who attends summarises in a similar way the more important points and issues a *communiqué*. It is also becoming a fairly general practice for the chairmen of public and also of private meetings to meet the journalists in the Press Room, at the request of the Information Section, when verbal explanations complete the written material on the more important points on the agenda, and questions can be put. This leads to a point discussed in detail later on, namely, the verbal and personal relations between the League organisations and Press representatives.

CHAPTER V.

REGULAR OFFICIAL INFORMATION.

ALTHOUGH the public meetings of the League are the most characteristic feature of its work and organisation, they do not by any means represent its whole activity. It is often asked what is done in the intervals between the sessions. Apart from the fact that there are hardly any intervals between the sessions, and that sessions often overlap, there is a great deal of business apart from the actual meetings. In its regular work, the League Secretariat ensures the continuity of proceedings which, in a sense, reach their climax at League meetings. It is the Secretariat which prepares the meetings, or executes the decisions of various organs of the League. It is the Secretariat which receives information affecting activities of the League or connected with the League. The Secretariat undertakes enquiries and studies without which the various League organisations could not work. The co-operation of the Press in obtaining publicity on all these current matters is no less important than the attendance of the Press at the debates, and the organisation of a system of regular information was obviously as necessary for the League as for the Press.

A few examples of the subjects dealt with in this regular news service will probably suffice. It may be that a preparatory commission for a conference has left to its president the settlement of the date of its next meeting, and that the president has fixed this date. The Council may have decided to invite such and such a State to take part in a meeting. The States may accept the invitation or refuse it, giving their reasons. The report of the Saar Governing Commission may be received. The Council may be appealed to under Article II of the Covenant which provides for Council action when peace is threatened; such an appeal

is forwarded to the Members of the Council and may have very important consequences. Many other instances could be given, but these are four different examples of events which may arise between meetings and on which the League must give information to the Press if it is to be true to its principle of publicity. For the co-operation of public opinion, in the examples just cited, it is necessary that information should be given on the summoning of important conferences, that the public should know how the administrative work of the League is carried out in certain regions, that it should be informed of the relations between certain Governments and the League, and that questions concerning the League's vital duty of maintaining peace should not be kept secret. The policy of publicity has in fact been upheld in regard to these and other questions which are part of the daily life of the League. Its practical application has to be in a form suitable to the international character of the League itself, and suitable also to the international character of the Press to which such communications are addressed. A national Press bureau has generally to consider national interests only or the interests of the Government majority. The Information Section of the Secretariat has to be governed by the fact that it is an international official service, that it must be objective, that it cannot advocate any particular policy, and that its communications are addressed to the public of all nations. For similar reasons, the Information Section is also under greater obligations than any national Government offices to observe the principle of the equality of Press representatives belonging to different countries, which carries with it the necessity for uniform and simultaneous distribution of information.

From the first, the regular information service was based on the official written notice, the so-called *communiqué*. It is issued in the two official languages of the League and is a brief summary of facts, accompanied by the necessary explanations. This *communiqué* is drafted by the Information Section in co-operation with the competent Section. It is posted in the Press Room of the Secretariat, and

distributed by one of the League's messengers to the residences or offices of journalists living in Geneva. It is sent by post to those interested abroad. The *communiqué* is the original official form of League information. It is the cornerstone of the news service for the Geneva representatives of news agencies and daily papers, whose number is constantly increasing. There is, of course, no attempt to confine the news transmitted to the contents of the *communiqué*. Its purpose is to summarise the broad points of a question as a basis for individual and independent journalistic work. No one who examines the extraordinary diversity of messages sent from Geneva on any particular day to several hundred papers can fail to observe that it is possible for a single official communication, addressed to all at the same time, to be exploited in very different ways by different journalists. For the individual work of journalists of different nationalities attached to newspapers of various political tendencies, the *communiqué* of the Information Section is merely the raw material. This provision of the facts is indispensable for journalistic work, but it can never replace it and makes no attempt to do so. The *communiqué* is intended, not so much for publication by the newspapers, as for assistance to the journalists who work for the newspapers. It states facts. It does not discuss problems.

The work of the League, however, is not merely a record of facts; it is, to a great extent the solution of problems; and here again it was necessary to create a special system for the information of the public through the Press — namely, the specific article of the Information Section, that is to say, a somewhat less official exposition of questions referred to the League. Nevertheless, these articles must necessarily be concise, objective, international, and non-political; they explain questions which fall within the sphere of the various League organisations. Like the *communiqués*, these articles are intended for journalistic use and are drafted, as far as possible and within obvious limitations, from a journalistic point of view.

As already observed, articles explaining the agenda are issued before conferences, Council, Assembly and committee

sessions. At the close of the session during the final meeting, a note is issued summarising the decisions taken. The Information Section publishes an annual review of the activity of the League, and at the beginning of each month it issues an article on the forthcoming meetings. The official *communiqués* and semi-official notes, which constitute the main part of the drafting work of the Information Section, are completed by informal notices without any official character which may be of use for the Press — such as biographical notes, etc.

The Information Section also sees that all the more important documents received and issued by the Secretariat are communicated to the Press. For example, the observations of Governments concerning the Geneva Protocol, the German application for admission, the memoranda of Governments on security, etc., were communicated to the Press as soon as received. The circular letters which the Secretary-General addresses to Governments on the instructions of the Council are also issued to the Press. Finally, the Press representatives receive all publications of the League, in particular, those of the Information Section.

The system which has thus gradually been evolved guarantees the uniform and simultaneous distribution of information to the Press.

CHAPTER VI.

VERBAL INFORMATION.

IT was realised that, in addition to the methods already described, a system of verbal information and personal relations was required. The admission of Press representatives to public meetings naturally brought in its train the possibility of personal contact with delegates and officials. The members of the Information Section are able to assist in establishing personal relations between the Press and delegates, and it is part of their duties to put the Press in touch with members of other Sections of the Secretariat, especially with regard to technical subjects. As previously stated, the chairmen of certain commissions, when requested by the Information Section, give interviews in the Press Room of the Secretariat. This is frequently the case when the meetings are not public, and it is also becoming usual for the rapporteurs to receive the Press. This system of personal information has reached a stage of considerable development. It is the growing custom also for Government representatives to invite journalists of all countries to the Press Room or to their hotels in order to explain to them a proposal, a memorandum, or a policy pursued by their Government. Some delegates organise daily Press receptions at the principal meetings. These receptions are, as a rule, for the whole international Press, but sometimes for national journalists only. There are many opportunities, also, for conversations in the lobbies of the Secretariat.

In the Reformation Hall, where the Assembly sits, pending the construction of the new League buildings, there is a lobby to which delegates retire between the speeches and to which the Press representatives are admitted. There they meet Government representatives and gather impressions and information. These quite informal personal

relations become vividly apparent on the occasions of secret and limited negotiations between certain Government representatives or Council Members, which sometimes take place; either in the form of a consultation between the Council Rapporteur and two parties to a dispute, or, it may be, of conversations not strictly related to points on the actual League agenda. The Secretariat hall is crowded with journalists waiting eagerly to obtain information from Ministers as they come downstairs from a meeting on the first floor, and the Ministers submit with good humour to a rapid volley of questions, which may or may not be fruitful. There have been one or two memorable instances of this kind, and it has sometimes happened that *communiqués* have been issued on the responsibility of Ministers themselves, such as those issued at the Conferences before Germany's admission to the League, and not on the responsibility of the League as an organisation.

These personal relations with the Press are of importance in the intervals between the sessions. They form part of a regular system of information organised by the Information Section. The official *communiqués* and the official articles are rendered more interesting by verbal information furnished in informal conversation with the members of the Information Section who are at the disposal of all journalists. Without having a strictly official character, the object of this verbal information is, whenever possible, to explain the proceedings and the subjects concerned, and to answer questions. It is natural that the officials of the Information Section are in the first place at the disposal of their own countrymen, to whom they give in their own language information suitable to their own public and their own Press. But there are no water-tight national compartments; each journalist can meet officials of other countries and thus obtain a more international view of any question. It is hardly necessary to say that this system, with due regard to the international and national points of view, demands political experience, knowledge of the Press, and prudence. The principle by which it is governed may be summed up as follows: There can be no question of making any kind

of propaganda, not even for the League of Nations itself. The sole intention is by means of the simplest and most human method — the spoken word — to develop the principle of League publicity. The object of giving Press representatives an insight into the work, the duties, and decisions of League organisations is to aid the journalist's own understanding and judgment of such matters, and thereby the understanding and judgment of his readers. It is part of the general endeavour to interest public opinion as far as possible and whenever possible in the work of the League.

No attempt is made to suppress criticism; it could not in fact be done. Nor is there any discrimination between League supporters and League opponents. The League opponent has exactly the same right to all kinds of information as the League supporter. The facilities given are common to all journalists without distinction.

If, during the past years, the Press has succeeded in realising a sense of intimacy, so to speak, with the League of Nations, this is one of the most important results of the relations which have grown up between the League organisation and the Press. Journalists in Geneva can scarcely feel that they are outsiders standing aloof from the organisation. Rather are they conscious of co-operating in the work; of forming an organic part of the whole, in whatever political relation they may stand to the League. The Members of the League organisations do not in any way regard the Press as intruders, to whom their doors must be closed. On the contrary, they consider them as indispensable collaborators, an expression to which the Press is accustomed, but which in Geneva, at any rate, has a definite meaning and significance. These intimate relations between the League and the Press are a definite feature of an association in which League delegates, League officials and journalists dealing with League affairs work by different means towards similar ends. In their scale and character these relations are probably unique.

CHAPTER VII.

TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRESS.

JOURNALISTS are not expected to call for information only at fixed hours and then to disperse to their own offices to do their work. The greater part of their work is done in common and on the premises of the League. There they follow the official meetings; gather their information, receive their documents, write their messages, and transmit them by telegraph or telephone.

For this reason, the Secretariat had not only to provide information, but also to make technical arrangements.

The first and obvious task of the Information Section was to regulate the conditions of Press admission to the premises and public meetings of the League. This was not particularly difficult because League meetings were open to all *bona fide* journalists irrespective of their newspapers and their nationalities. It was therefore possible to reduce formalities to a minimum. The Information Section merely requires journalists to be properly accredited by their newspapers or agencies. Once the credentials are received and the journalist has presented himself, he is placed on the Distribution List for League documents and receives for each meeting a special card, with his photograph, which admits him to meetings and entitles him to all the Press facilities provided. This procedure is based on the assumption that journalists so accredited are in fact professional journalists working in the first place for the newspapers by which they are accredited.

The second and more difficult problem, which cannot be satisfactorily solved until the new League building is ready, is the provision of Press accommodation at League meetings. League debates take place once a year in the Reformation Hall (the Assembly) and at other times in the Secretariat (Council and committees). However unsuitable

the Reformation Hall may be in certain respects, the Press gallery on three sides of the Hall makes it possible to accommodate several hundred journalists. The acoustic properties are not very good, but have been improved by loud speakers. The arrangement of the Press galleries enables special seats to be reserved for journalists who have constantly to transmit detailed messages. The seats are raised above the hall and from all of them it is possible to obtain a fairly good view of the proceedings. All Press representatives receive a list of the delegates and a plan of the hall.

During the first years of the League, when there were neither so many committee meetings nor so many journalists at Council meetings, there was hardly any difficulty in accommodating the Press in the rooms at the League Secretariat. With the increase in the number of journalists and in the number and importance of meetings, and with the more general application of the principle of publicity, the task of the Secretariat became more difficult. The first step was taken when the Council left its smaller room in the middle of the ground floor for the long and narrow Glass Room, which runs through the garden almost to the lake, and has gradually come to be known as the Council Room. At the lake end of the hall, there is a platform with the horse-shoe Council table at which fourteen members now sit. Behind are the seats for the members of delegations and for Secretariat officials, and in the open space on the other side of the table are seats for the interpreters. In front of the dais, in the body of the hall, which was originally intended to accommodate 100 persons only, there are seats for 150 journalists. The first few rows, with writing tables, are allotted to representatives of the news agencies of all countries who have to transmit their messages while the proceedings are in progress. The other seats are numbered and allotted according to the alphabetical order of the newspapers. For each session, lots are drawn to determine the letter of the alphabet with which the distribution shall begin. Certain exceptions are made, in cases of deafness, etc., to this chance distribution, which is intended to avoid any suggestion of preferential treatment.

Similar measures are taken for committee meetings and conferences, but there are always the same difficulties. Every year anxious consideration is given to such questions as how to accommodate the Press, how to avoid preferential treatment, how to admit everyone and at the same time to enable work to be done in suitable conditions. A provisional settlement is invariably found, but final and satisfactory arrangements must await the completion of the new building.

The third and least difficult task consists in technical arrangements for the work of the Press and for the transmission of their messages.

During the Assembly meetings, the Reformation Hall contains, in addition to the lobby, an ante-chamber where each journalist has his own pigeon-hole for documents. There is a notice-board on which official communications are posted, together with the list of speakers for the various meetings. Close by, the Information Section has an office and rooms for the duplication of Minutes, which are distributed to the journalists immediately after the meeting. On the other side of the ante-chamber, there is a larger room containing ten telephone booths in which there are four telephonists of the Swiss Postal Administration in attendance. There is also a post and telegraph office and an office for wireless despatches.

In the League Secretariat, there is a Press Room on the ground floor at the end of the principal corridor and near the hall. There are telephone booths and, opposite, a post and telegraph office which is removed to the Press Room during big meetings. The telegrams despatched from the premises of the Secretariat are sent by pneumatic tube to the principal Geneva post office. The Press Room contains a certain number of typewriters and gives on to the terrace of the Secretariat garden, with a fine view of the lake.

All *communiqués* and other notices are posted in the Press Room. During the bigger meetings, the walls are covered with sheets of Minutes. The printed and duplicated matter is placed on the tables, and there is a complete collection of earlier *communiqués* and official notices for reference. Along

one of the walls there are lockers in which journalists can keep their documents and receive their correspondence.

The League library, which contains all League publications and numerous reference books, is not far from the Press Room. It is open to journalists, who may also use the Secretariat reading-room, where the principal newspapers are available. On special occasions, other rooms of the Secretariat are placed at the disposal of journalists; the annual meetings of the Association of Accredited Journalists, for example, are held in one of the committee rooms of the Secretariat.

These arrangements make it possible for journalists permanently resident in Geneva, and for those specially attending particular meetings, to work in reasonable comfort in a place where they can meet their colleagues, gather information, and exchange views.

The Press Room, to all intents and purposes, belongs to the journalists, and this *pied-à-terre* close to the League meeting rooms and in the office of the League Secretariat makes contact easy with proceedings with delegates and with officials. Journalists find in the Press Room the latest *communiqués*; there they receive all available material, reserve their telephone hours, write their articles, send their messages, go to the meeting-room or to some other part of the Secretariat and, a few minutes later, may prepare a further message without unnecessary loss of time. Secretariat messengers are in constant attendance at meetings and take telegrams for despatch to the Post Office so that, while a correspondent's message is being sent by pneumatic tube to the head telegraph office, he is able to continue his work without interruption.

The Information Section gives attention to the possibilities of cheaper rates and more rapid telegraphic and telephonic transmissions within the terms authorised by international agreements and by the courtesy of the Swiss Postal Administration. At the Assembly meetings and conferences, the Information Section publishes special notices explaining the various additional privileges granted. Journalists in Geneva can send Press telegrams during the



Press Room of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

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whole day and, as regards most countries, they enjoy, during certain hours of the day, priority for ordinary Press and urgent Press messages at the usual rates.

The League Secretariat has for some time been endeavouring, in agreement with the International Association of Journalists, to obtain the best possible technical arrangements in the new League building and the architects have received definite directions on the subject. It is proposed to have large writing-rooms with all modern appliances, private rooms, different Press rooms for current work and for the important meetings, improvements in telegraphic and telephonic arrangements, refreshment rooms, reading-rooms, newspaper kiosks, and, most urgent of all, accommodation for any likely number of journalists in the meeting-rooms. In the present circumstances, everything possible has been done to meet the requirements of the Press. The inconvenience from which journalists may occasionally suffer at overcrowded meetings is in many cases less than that suffered by delegates and Secretariat officials, and the fact that, at a time when there were differences of opinion on various points concerning the new buildings, all the authorities were unanimous regarding the necessity for the best possible accommodation for the Press, is a striking proof of the importance ascribed by the League to the co-operation of the Press.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE JOURNALISTS ACCREDITED TO THE LEAGUE.

THE principal League approach to international public opinion is through the newspapers and news agencies and, in particular, through their Geneva representatives — the regular and special correspondents. Although direct contact is promoted between the League of Nations and the Press by the despatch of material to newspapers, by the League offices in London, Paris, Tokio, Rome and Berlin and by the journeys of the members of the Information Section, it would obviously be inadequate without resident journalists in Geneva. By their work and presence, they ensure the normal publicity of the proceedings, give the necessary impulse to public discussion at large and enable diplomats to gauge the tendencies of public opinion. The horse-shoe Council table, with its opening turned towards the public and Press is, in some respects, symbolic.

When League headquarters were first established at Geneva, it seemed likely that the problem of publicity would be more difficult in that city than if the headquarters were elsewhere. It was naturally anticipated that the League's work would have a louder echo from a European capital, with its important papers and numerous national and foreign correspondents, than from Geneva, where there were, at first, only a few news agencies, and where it was possible to count on the presence of numerous journalists at important conferences only. It soon became evident, however, that the League itself was sufficient to attract the Press of all countries to Geneva, and that it was a distinct advantage for the League to have its seat in a city where its proceedings constituted the main event, and not one of the

many events of a capital. The journalists established in Geneva are there to specialise in League questions and to devote themselves to League work. The number of Press representatives of all nationalities attending the meetings gradually increased and a considerable number of regular correspondents took up their residence in Geneva to follow almost exclusively League questions. Thus, as there are League organisations, League delegates and League officials, it is now possible to speak of League journalists.

At the First Assembly of the League of Nations (Geneva 1920), 167 newspapers and 20 news agencies were represented. At the Second Assembly (1921), there were 175 newspapers and 17 news agencies. At the Third Assembly (1922), 204 newspapers and 14 agencies. At the Fourth Assembly (1923), 150 newspapers and 16 agencies. This number has risen enormously since the fifth Assembly in 1924, when the Foreign Ministers of the Great Powers attended for the first time and when the Geneva Protocol was drafted; at this Assembly, 263 newspapers and 22 news agencies were represented. The figures for the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Assemblies are, respectively, 268 newspapers and 24 agencies; 333 newspapers and 28 agencies; 289 newspapers and 30 agencies. At the Extraordinary Assembly of March 1926, when the admission of Germany was discussed for the first time, 224 newspapers and 25 agencies were represented.

In many cases, newspapers and agencies send several representatives. The Press attendance figures for the Seventh Assembly were 386, for the Eighth Assembly 344 and for the Extraordinary Assembly 272.

The newspapers and agencies represented at these meetings belonged to the following countries: Albania, Annam, Argentine, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Danzig, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Hungary, Ireland, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Netherlands, Norway, Persia, Portugal, Poland, Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam,

South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, United States, Venezuela. The International Esperanto Association, the Jewish Press, the Russian Press abroad and the Georgian Press were also represented.

For the proportional Assembly representation of the Press of the various countries, the following examples may suffice:

The German Press was represented at the:

1920	Assembly	by	6	newspapers	and	1	news agency
1921	"	"	7	"	"	1	agent
1922	"	"	5	"	"	1	agency
1923	"	"	4	"	"	1	"
1924	"	"	22	"	"	4	agencies
1925	"	"	28	"	"	4	"
1926	"	"	56	"	"	6	(admission of Germany)
1927	"	"	44	"	"	5	agencies:

At the Extraordinary Assembly of March 1926, convened to deal with the question of the admission of Germany, there were representatives of 47 German newspapers and 8 news agencies.

For France, the following figures may be noted:

1920	—	21	newspapers	and	5	agencies
1921	—	25	"	"	5	"
1922	—	26	"	"	3	"
1923	—	18	"	"	2	"
1924	—	37	"	"	2	"
1925	—	47	"	"	1	agency
1926	—	38	"	"	1	"
1927	—	33	"	"	2	agencies

and at the Extraordinary Assembly of March 1926, there were 22 newspapers and 2 agencies.

The figures for Great Britain are as follows:

1920	—	17	newspapers	and	3	agencies
1921	—	19	"	"	3	"
1922	—	26	"	"	2	"
1923	—	18	"	"	2	"
1924	—	27	"	"	3	"
1925	—	27	"	"	3	"
1926	—	38	"	"	3	"
1927	—	31	"	"	3	"

and at the Extraordinary Assembly, March 1926, 19 newspapers and 3 agencies.

The figures for Italy are:

1920	—	3	newspapers
1921	—	7	newspapers and 1 agency
1922	—	6	" " 1 "
1923	—	4	" " 1 "
1924	—	10	" " 1 "
1925	—	11	" " 1 "
1926	—	12	" " 1 "
1927	—	10	" " 1 "

and at the Extraordinary Assembly, 10 newspapers and 1 agency.

The figures for Japan are:

1920	—	7	Press representatives
1921	—	2	" "
1922	—	3	" "
1923	—	1	Press representative
1924	—	2	Press representatives
1925	—	2	" " including 1 agency
1926	—	3	" "
1927	—	2	" "

and at the Extraordinary Assembly, 2 agencies.

For the United States of America:

1920	—	19	Press representatives, including	4	agencies
1921	—	12	newspapers	3	”
1922	—	20	Press representatives	2	”
1923	—	14	”	2	”
1924	—	23	”	3	”
1925	—	23	”	4	”
1926	—	28	”	3	”
1927	—	19	”	2	”

and at the Extraordinary Assembly, 15 newspapers and 2 agencies.

For Poland:

1920	—	4	Press representatives		
1921	—	1	Press representative		
1922	—	6	Press representatives, including	1	agency
1923	—	3	”	1	”
1924	—	14	”	2	agencies
1925	—	16	”	2	”
1926	—	20	”	2	”
1927	—	12	”	2	”

and at the Extraordinary Assembly, 17 Press representatives, including 2 agencies.

For the Netherlands:

1920	—	7	Press representatives		
1921	—	7	”		
1922	—	8	”		
1923	—	8	”		
1924	—	11	”		
1925	—	10	”		
1926	—	9	”		
1927	—	12	”		including 1 agency

and at the Extraordinary Assembly, 4 Press representatives.

The following are the figures for the Council meetings from March 1927 to 1928 (the figures for the September session of 1927 are the same as those for the Assembly):

	Press Representatives	Agencies
<i>Germany.</i>		
March 1927	30	including 1
June 1927.	26	" 2
December 1927	27	" 4
• March 1928	29	" 5
<i>France.</i>		
March 1927	15	" 1
June 1927.	16	" 1
December 1927	17	" 1
March 1928	19	" 2
<i>Great Britain.</i>		
March 1927	9	" 3
June 1927.	11	" 3
December 1927	14	" 3
March 1928	12	" 3
<i>Italy.</i>		
March 1927	7	" 1
June 1927.	9	" 1
December 1927	9	" 1
March 1928	7	" 1
<i>Japan.</i>		
June 1927.	2	
December 1927	1	" 1
<i>United States.</i>		
March 1927	13	" 2
June 1927.	8	" 2
December 1927	12	" 3
March 1928	9	" 2

Poland.

	Press Representatives	Agencies
March 1927	6 including	2
June 1927	7 „	2
December 1927	9 „	1
March 1928	5 „	1

Netherlands.

March 1927	4	
June 1927	3	
December 1927	6	
March 1928	4 „	1

As regards other important meetings, mention must be made of the International Economic Conference, which was attended by Press representatives from the following countries and associations:

Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, Guatemala, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics; the Jewish Press, the Russian Press abroad and the Georgian Press.

There were altogether 213 Press representatives in attendance including 22 agencies.

Press Representatives.

Germany had	43 including	4 agencies
Great Britain	11 „	3 „
France	19 „	1 agency
Italy	7 „	1 „
Japan	7 „	1 „
United States	20 „	3 agencies
Poland	6 „	2 „
Netherlands	6 newspapers	

In some cases, one journalist is duly accredited by several papers; journalists accredited by one paper often work for several others. The agencies, although they generally have one representative, transmit news to thousands of papers in different countries. Certain news agencies of smaller countries have organised a special service through the Geneva office of the Swiss Telegraphic Agency. The general scope, therefore, of journalistic work is much wider than is shown by the above figures.

The hundreds of newspapers and Press associations represented at the Geneva meetings include the most important and most widely read papers of the world. The representatives include the leading journalists of all countries, and as it is more and more the custom for Foreign Ministers to come to Geneva, it happens more and more frequently that newspapers are represented by their editors-in-chief or foreign editors. It is no exaggeration to say that there are few journalists of first rank who have not attended at least one meeting in Geneva. Statistics prepared in the League Secretariat show that the number of individual journalists (mentioning each journalist once, however many meetings he may have attended) who have been to Geneva since the creation of the League up to March 15th, 1928, totals 1,400, belonging to more than 1,000 newspapers and periodicals from 51 countries.

The attendance of numerous foreign journalists at the Assembly and Council meetings is not, however, the chief feature of the co-operation between the League of Nations and the Press. Although it is extremely valuable to have an increasing number of Press representatives at League meetings, the essential requirement for such co-operation is that there should be a considerable number of resident journalists, continuously following all the work of the League and sending regular accounts to their papers.

In the early years, only a few agencies had permanent representatives in Geneva, and in general, the big dailies sent correspondents only for the Assembly. To-day there are 99 Press representatives permanently resident in Geneva.

These include the correspondents of 79 papers and 20 news agencies. The countries are represented as follows:

Argentine	1 newspaper		
Australia	1 news agency		
Belgium	2 newspapers and 1 agency		
Bulgaria	2 „		
Canada	1 newspaper		
Czechoslovakia . .	1 „		
Egypt	1 „		
France	10 newspapers		
Germany	17 „ and 4 agencies		
Great Britain . . .	8 „ „ 3 „		
Hungary	1 newspaper		
India	1 „		
Italy	2 newspapers 1 agency		
Netherlands	3 „ „ 1 „		
Poland		1 „	
Portugal	1 newspaper 1 „		
Roumania	3 newspapers 1 „		
Spain	3 „		
Switzerland	10 „ „ 2 agencies		
Turkey		1 agency	
United States . . .	6 „ „ 2 agencies		
Jewish Press	3 „ „ 1 agency		

The League has grown into an international Press centre, almost unique of its kind, from which hundreds of telephone messages, telegrams and newspaper articles are despatched daily. This is a result as much to the credit of the League as to the Press.

During the first Assembly, the resident journalists and those regularly attending the meetings formed themselves into an International Association. This Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations has always admitted to membership Press representatives from countries not members of the League so that its universality is therefore older than that of the League. It now counts 151 members from 21 countries. Its membership cards are signed by the

Secretary-General of the League, who commends the holders to the good offices of the authorities of all the States Members, and it is recognised by the Secretariat as the competent body representing the interests of League journalists. It is given all possible support by the Secretariat, and questions of importance for journalists in Geneva can be quickly settled in consultation with the Bureau of the Association, in the interest both of the journalists and of the Secretariat. The part played by the Association in developing League publicity has already been described in a general way in Chapter III of this pamphlet. The Council itself has sought the assistance of the accredited representatives of the Press and has taken account of their suggestions. The value of such co-operation has also been shown in other ways, as, for example, in the improvement of telephonic communications between Geneva and several States Members of the Council. The Association, which numbers prominent League delegates among its honorary presidents, organises during big sessions banquets which have become widely known on account of the fact that Presidents of the Assembly and the Members of the Council have delivered important political utterances on several of these occasions.

The work of the journalists in Geneva presents certain new features. In the first place, they have to specialise in League subjects as a whole. They have to be acquainted with disarmament, mandates, economic and financial problems, international law, etc., and, without being specialists strictly speaking in these particular subjects, they have to study them with much closer attention than the ordinary journalist. They have to specialise in treating problems all of which have an international bearing. They have to acquire an understanding of the play of international relations, which is facilitated by their opportunities of regular contact with journalists, delegates and officials from other countries. Certain qualities are obviously required for this work, not the least of which is a large measure of versatility.

The variety of the League's activities requires not only a trained journalistic mind, but also a well-developed

journalistic technique. The successful Geneva journalist must be conversant with all the branches of his profession. The League organisation is in itself a new technique, and the journalist, in adapting himself to it, has to bring to his task the qualities of a Parliamentary or Conference writer, a commentator, and a faithful interpreter to his countrymen of international diplomatic reactions if he is to fulfil his mission. It involves also wide experience in obtaining and correlating facts, and, with this, a certain amount of diplomatic skill. He works all the time in an atmosphere of keen competition and, as every journalist knows, this necessitates rapidity, resource and a thorough acquaintance with the quickest technical means of news transmission if he is to keep pace with the requirements of present-day conditions. In any case, the influence of his work on international relations cannot be exaggerated.

In considering the qualities thus required by journalists and the responsibilities laid upon them, it may be said that the co-operation between the League and the Press has resulted; not only in the production of a new diplomatic type, but also in the creation of a new journalistic type.

CHAPTER IX.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PRESS EXPERTS.

THE International Press Conference, which met in Geneva in August, 1927, after two years' preparatory work, is perhaps the most striking evidence of the League's interest in the international Press.

The Conference originated in a resolution adopted by the Assembly in 1925 at the suggestion of the Chilean delegate, M. Yañez, formerly a journalist, inviting the Council to consider the desirability of summoning a Committee of experts representing the Press of the different continents.

The object of the Conference, according to the Chilean proposal, was:

(1) To enquire into the means of ensuring more rapid and less costly transmission of Press news with a view to reducing the risks of international misunderstanding, and

(2) To discuss all technical problems the solution of which, in the opinion of the experts, would be conducive to the tranquillisation of public opinion in the various countries.

In the report which he presented to the Assembly supporting the suggestion, the Belgian delegate, M. Hymans, emphasised the fact that the League was not in any way trying to organise a semi-official press or to make propaganda.

"The Press", he added, "like all great powers, is rightly jealous of its independence. We must therefore approach the vast and delicate problem raised by this resolution with great circumspection. I wish to make it clear at the outset that the League of Nations does not wish to interfere in the affairs of the Press and will only interest itself in them if the journalists themselves consider that its assistance would be valuable."

M. Hymans added that, if the Council took action on the proposal, it would first have to organise a consultation with carefully selected experts, who would be absolutely free to express their opinion on the advisability of giving effect to the proposal and on the best method of doing so. The League, he said, could undoubtedly, in certain cases, do a great deal to promote co-operation between Governments and the Press; although an aggregate of private enterprises, the Press was frequently obliged to have recourse to Government services. It depended, in large measure, on Governments for the transmission of news by telegraph, telephone and radio-telegraph. Similarly, in every country it depended on national legislation for all questions connected with authors' rights, transport rates, etc. In directions such as this, the friendly assistance of the League might often exercise a useful influence.

The Assembly and the Council endorsed the proposal of the Chilian delegate and, on September 26th, the Council instructed the Secretary-General to enquire of the Press organisations of different countries whether they considered that a meeting of Press experts was opportune and what questions should be dealt with.

The Secretariat undertook a comprehensive enquiry, consulting 381 groups or individuals of thirty countries. The replies received made concrete suggestions which served as the basis for a provisional agenda. In March 1926, the Council decided that, in the opinion of the Press itself, the summoning of a Committee of Experts was opportune, and instructed the Secretary-General to draw up the agenda, with the help of three technical committees.

This was the beginning of the preparatory work, done by the Press itself. The usual League method was applied; that is to say that, as in financial or economic, legal or social questions, the preparatory work of the Conference was confided to experts. Three committees were appointed. The first consisted of representatives of sixteen news agencies in Europe, America and Asia including the so-called "allied" agencies and others, from both great and small countries. The second committee was composed of

the directors of sixteen European Press bureaux, whose duties made them acquainted with existing technical problems. The third committee consisted of European and non-European journalists with professional experience of journalism in foreign countries. Most of them had regularly attended the Geneva meetings and were thoroughly acquainted with League methods.

The first committee sat from August 19th to 21st, 1926, under the presidency of the Director of the Havas Agency, M. Meynot; the second was presided over by the Director of the Polish Press Bureau, M. Grabowsky, and sat from October 28th to 30th, 1926; the third met from January 24th to 26th, 1927, with M. Georg Bernhard, the German journalist, in the chair. These committees drew up a series of resolutions, recommendations, and questionnaires, on the basis of which the Information Section prepared an agenda which was approved by the Council in March 1927. At this session, the Council decided to summon the international conference on August 24th, 1927, and appointed as president Lord Burnham, then proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*. The Council rapporteur, M. Vandervelde (Belgian Foreign Minister), was to select the members of the Conference, in consultation with the Secretary-General.

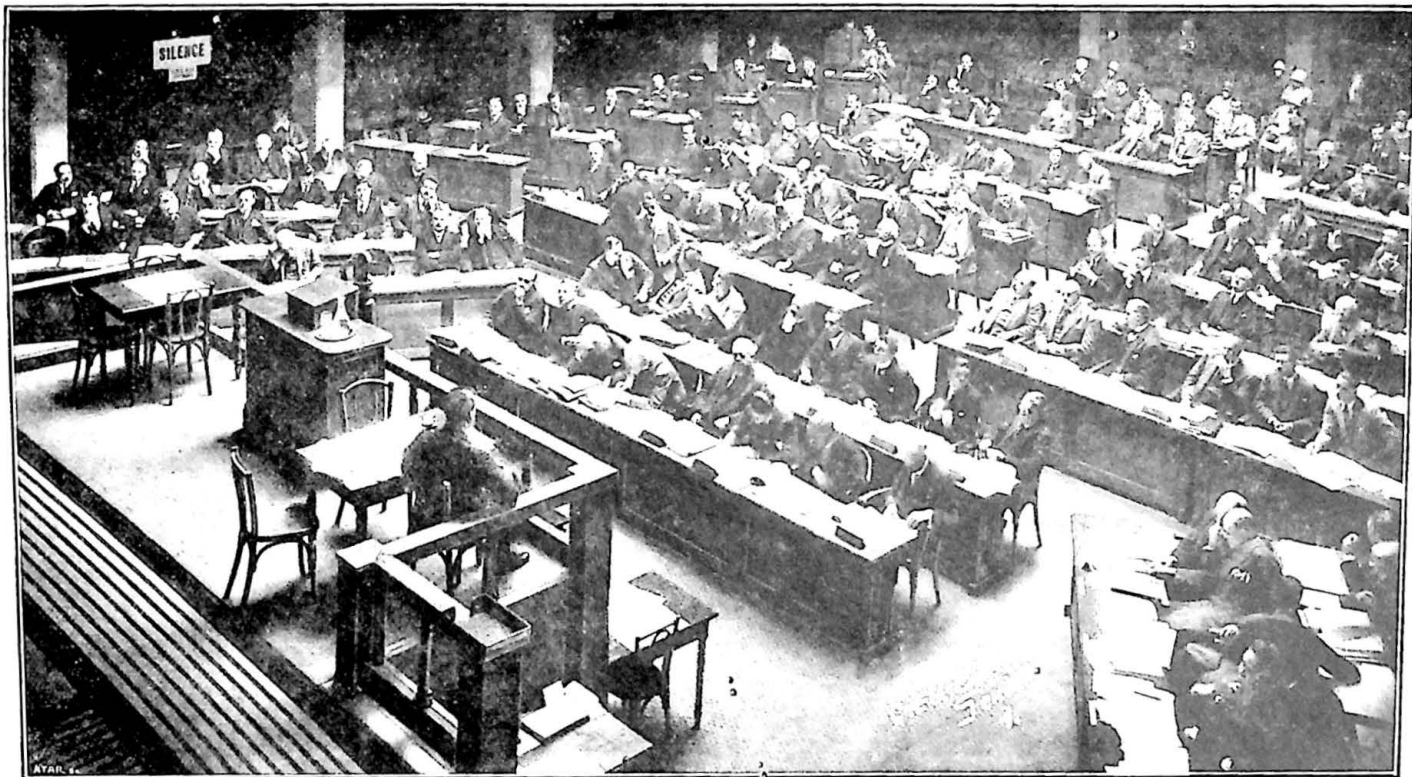
The principles guiding this selection were similar to those which had governed the composition of the three technical committees. The Conference included representatives of these three groups: namely, directors of news agencies, journalists and directors of Press bureaux, to which were added editors and proprietors of newspapers. The directors of Press bureaux whose collaboration on the preparatory work had been so valuable, but who could not be considered as actually members of the Press, were invited to the Conference in an advisory capacity, their role being an important one, as the application of any resolutions so far as they required Governmental action depended in a large measure on their co-operation. For this reason, invitations were addressed not only to the Press bureaux of smaller Powers, as in the case of the preparatory committee, but to the Press bureaux of all Governments.

The Conference was attended by 118 members, of which 63 were delegates, 35 technical advisers, 20 assessors from thirty-eight States and five continents. The debates lasted six days, from August 24th to 29th, and took place in public in the Reformation Hall. The secretarial work was organised by the Information Section. The object of the debates, in which national differences of opinion played no rôle whatever, was to promote the regulation of certain technical Press questions which, despite the complexity of certain problems, such as the protection of news, proved less difficult than had been contemplated.

At the banquet which took place at the close of the Conference under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General, the speakers were justified in describing the Conference as an event of outstanding importance in the history of the Press. In his closing speech, the President of the Conference, Lord Burnham, stated that the Conference had been in every respect free and unfettered and had deepened and enlarged the consciousness of the Press of its responsibility as trustee of public opinion.

The Conference adopted ten resolutions, which may be summarised as follows:

The first demands that the dissemination of Press news shall be assured as rapidly as possible and at moderate rates; the second asks for the authorisation of an appropriate code, at ordinary Press rates, for the despatch of Press news by wireless; the third stresses the importance of the improvement of telegraphic and telephonic communications between European countries and of telegraphic and wireless communications between European and non-European countries; the fourth asks for greater facilities for the transport of newspapers; the fifth recommends the more general use of postal subscriptions to newspapers; the sixth resolution, which was the object of protracted negotiations, concerned the protection of news. It condemned unfair competition as regards the publication of news, declared itself in favour of protection for non-published news, the abolition of preferential treatment as regards news from official sources and, in general,



International Conference of Press Experts.

the free circulation of all public news, subject to certain measures safeguarding the interests of the author of the news. The seventh resolution had numerous subdivisions on professional facilities, such as collective travel tours for journalists, schools for journalists, scholarships for journalists, double taxation of journalists living abroad, reductions of railway fares, passport visas for journalists, identity cards for journalists, guarantees regarding repressive measures against foreign journalists, equality of treatment for foreign journalists, etc. The preamble defines the sense in which these suggestions are put forward:

“The Conference does not ask for the granting or extension to journalists of any favour the acceptance of which would entail the risk of infringing the independence of the Press or the unbiased judgment of journalists.”

The eighth resolution characterised peace-time censorship as an obstacle to the exchange of international information, recommended that it should be promptly and definitely abolished and asked that, in any country where it still existed, its application should be subject to certain guarantees. The ninth resolution, with numerous subdivisions, dealt with the publication of tendentious news, expressed itself in favour of university courses for journalists and of the establishment in newspapers of a special heading on the work of the League of Nations, emphasised the rôle of the Press as regards moral disarmament, recommended regional Press understandings, and asked the Council to examine the possibility of regular Press conferences. The tenth resolution appealed to all participants in the Conference to promote the general interests of the Press in their newspapers in order to influence public opinion, and the Governments of their respective countries.

The general trend of these resolutions, which were often the result of long and complicated discussions, is embodied in a preamble which may, to some extent, be described as the Magna Charta of the International Press. After recalling the origin and character of the Conference, the preamble continues:

“This Conference expresses to the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations its appreciation of the importance attached to the work of the Press, of the opportunity for wide consultation so offered, and especially of the principle laid down by the Council and Assembly of the League that there should be no interference whatsoever with the independence of the Press ;

“Expresses the hope that the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations will give the necessary instructions to the various technical organisations of the League of Nations whose collaboration may be desirable for the execution of the technical resolutions of the Conference ;

“Trusts that the Assembly and the Council will maintain such contact with the progressive development of these problems that, if the various interests here represented express at a later date the desire of the Press for a further consultation or conference, they may again put the League’s technical facilities at the disposal of the Press ;

“Adopts the following programme in order that journalists may have every facility in residing, travelling, securing news and improving their professional equipment, and that news itself may be free at the source, *expedited in every possible way* in its transmission, protected before and after publication against unfair appropriation, and given the widest possible dissemination, to the end that the work of the Press may be made more effective in its responsible mission accurately and conscientiously to inform world public opinion and hence to contribute directly to the preservation of peace and the advancement of civilisation.”

A few days after the Conference, the Council met for its forty-sixth session, and the Assembly for its eighth session. At the Council meeting of September 2nd, the President of the Conference, Lord Burnham, was invited to explain its results to the Council and, on the proposal of the Belgian representative (M. de Brouckère), the Council adopted the following resolution :

“The Council :

“(1) Tenders its warmest thanks to the President, Lord Burnham, to all the members and experts who have attended the Conference, and to all organisations and persons who have assisted in the preparatory work ;

“(2) Requests the Secretary-General to ask the Organisation for Communications and Transit to continue, with the help of the Press groups interested, the technical study of the first group of resolutions adopted by the Conference of Press Experts ;

“(3) Adjourns to its December session consideration of the action to be taken on the other resolutions ;

“(4) Communicates to the Assembly the resolutions of the Conference, and requests it to include in the budget of the Organisation for Communications and Transit the supplementary credit necessary for the enquiries and other work entailed by these resolutions.”

At the same meeting, several members of the Council spoke in support of the resolution and, in general, referred to the League's relations with the Press. The German member, Dr. Stresemann, said politicians were aware of the importance of public opinion and knew how far it served to supplement their work, the Press either assisting in the pacification of the world, or doing just the reverse. He therefore considered it a good omen to have the Press co-operating with the League for the purpose of conciliation.

The French representative, M. Paul-Boncour, expressed satisfaction with the Conference's resolutions on the abolition of peace-time censorship and the publication of tendentious news. The Colombian representative, M. Urrutia, remarked that the international co-operation enjoined by the Covenant could sometimes be more effectually carried out by the co-operation of the Press than by the co-operation of Governments, for modern international life was no longer, as in the past, confined to relations between sovereigns or between States.

The Japanese representative, M. Adatci, expressed his pleasure at the adoption of the Japanese proposal on the question of tendentious news.

The British representative, Sir Austen Chamberlain, specially welcomed the resolution on moral disarmament, which he read as a promise of co-operation with the members of the Council and all men of goodwill in all parts of the world. The collaboration of the Press in that work was of equal consequence and might be of even greater influence than anything that statesmen could do.

The rapporteur, M. de Brouckère, expressed the hope that the results of the Conference would encourage the Press to persevere in its efforts.

The results of the Conference were subsequently considered by the Sixth Committee of the Assembly and

by the full Assembly, which, on the proposal of M. de Brouckère, adopted the following resolution:

“The Assembly,

“Noting the success of the Conference of Press Experts, conveying its thanks to the representatives of the Press for their collaboration;

“Expresses its satisfaction that the Council has considered the steps required for promptly giving the necessary effect to the resolutions of the Conference;

“Trusts that the technical organisations to which the Council has submitted a number of these resolutions will undertake as soon as possible the special enquiries relating in particular to the question of telegraphic and telephonic rates, the improvement of communications, the conveyance of newspapers, identity cards for journalists and visas for journalists' passports;

“Trusts that the Council, at its December session, will take the most suitable measures to enlist the sympathetic attention of Governments for the other resolutions adopted by the Conference in order that effect may be given to them; and

“Notes with satisfaction that the Council, taking into account the recommendation made by the Conference, has declared that, should it at some future time appear necessary and should developments in the technical international problems which affect the Press make it seem desirable to those concerned, it will in principle be willing to lend the assistance of the Organisations of the League for the study of these questions, and to organise a consultation or call a conference for this purpose.”

The Council, at its meeting on September 2nd, had referred to the League Committee on Communications and Transit the resolutions on telegraphic and telephonic rates, code telegrams, the improvement of communications and the despatch of newspapers, identity cards for journalists, etc., adjourning to its December meeting the consideration of resolutions calling for Government action, or action by the Press itself. These resolutions related to the more general use of postal subscriptions, the protection of news, professional facilities, peace-time censorship, the dissemination of tendencious news, moral disarmament, etc. The Council, at its December meeting, noted that these resolutions aimed at promoting peace and international co-operation, in accordance with the principles of the League, and that their application would contribute in a large degree to the removal of misunderstandings among

the peoples. In its resolution, it drew the attention of Governments to such Conference resolutions as called for action on their part, requesting them to inform the Secretary-General of any measures they might take.

The League Committee on Communications and Transit met from February 24th to March 2nd, 1928, when it dealt with the various questions referred to it. All questions on wireless and telegraphic and telephonic communications were sent to a special committee. This Committee, convened for May 22nd, and including several Press experts, ensures collaboration between the Press and the technical League organisations for the settlement of technical international problems affecting the Press. The Chairman and Secretary-General of the Committee were empowered to make a general study of Press facilities for communications between Geneva and the rest of the world in order to meet, as far as possible, the requirements of journalists. The request of the Association of Journalists accredited to the League for the establishment of a through wire from Geneva to London has already been satisfied, through the joint efforts of the British, French, and Swiss postal administrations and the Transit Committee. This new communication responds to the requirements not only of British journalists in Geneva, but also of those whose communications pass through London as a world centre. With regard to the question of the abolition of Customs formalities applicable to newspapers, the Transit Committee was of opinion that a special conference of experts should be summoned for the end of 1928 and should make definite recommendations to European Governments. Meanwhile, the Committee has asked Governments which levy special duties on the import of newspapers and periodicals to consider the possibility of abolishing them and to communicate to it the results of their examination. On the subject of the transport of newspapers by rail, the Committee decided to seek the opinion of various European Governments before December 31st, 1928, so that the Committee on Transport by Rail might study the question at the beginning of 1929; if this Committee considers it

desirable, a European Conference might be summoned to examine the various international measures necessary. Finally, the Committee requested that any countries which reserve the transport of newspapers and periodicals as a postal monopoly would consider whether this system could not be abandoned. Note was taken of the fact that the question of the air transport of newspapers would be discussed at the next conference of the Universal Postal Union.

The resolution on the reduction of railway fares was already referred to the International Railway Union. The Committee considered that the question of passport visas might be more easily dealt with by the competent Press associations of the various countries; the creation of an international identity card for journalists was reserved for special study.

The International Press Conference is thus shown to be not an isolated event but the starting-point of a series of practical enquiries by Governments, Press associations, League technical committees, international organisations, and conferences, in a general effort to meet the requirements formulated by the Press. The importance of this Conference is not confined to the practical side, for it has resulted in strengthening the relations between journalists of different countries and between journalists as a whole and the League bodies. Like so many other forms of international activity, the Press has become the object of practical League work; the problems of the Press have entered on the plane of organised international discussion. The Press Conference brought journalists from the Press gallery to the "floor of the house" and, through the President of the Conference, to the League Council table for the discussion of League of Nations problems.

CHAPTER X.

PERIODICALS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE newspaper Press is the League's chief intermediary for public opinion, but the League, of necessity, has its own publication service of periodicals, pamphlets and other volumes, which can be classified in two categories; one mainly for the official and administrative public, the other for the information of the public in general.

The monthly *Official Journal* heads the list of the League periodicals. It has been published from the beginning, in the two official languages, and has been completed by a considerable number of supplements — fifty-six to date. It contains the chief documents received or despatched by the Secretariat, the Minutes of all sessions of the Council, the Assembly, the Assembly Committees, etc. The *Official Journal*, which is the record of official proceedings, is necessary for League Delegations, Governments and Government offices, etc.; it is of obvious value for students of contemporary history.

The publication known as the *Treaty Series* (Treaties and International Engagements registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations) gives effect to Article 18 of the Covenant, which provides that "every treaty or international engagement entered into by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and, as soon as possible, published. No such treaty or international engagement is binding until so registered." In this Series, all treaties registered with the Secretariat are published in the original language, with an English or French translation if one of these languages is not the original. It constitutes one of the most complete collections of diplomatic instruments of the post-war period. Up

to April 30th, 1928, sixty-four volumes had been published, containing more than a thousand treaties.

The *Armaments Year-Book* gives effect to Article 8 of the Covenant, which provides that Members of the League shall exchange full and frank information on the scale of their armaments. It is published by the Disarmament Section of the Secretariat, the first volume having been issued in accordance with a Council resolution of 1923. Since then the annual volume of more than a thousand pages has been regularly published, containing precise data on the armies, navies, aviation, war industries and military budgets of fifty-eight States, including countries which are not Members of the League.

The *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* arises out of the League's economic and financial work. It is prepared by the Economic and Financial Section of the Secretariat on the basis of official information specially supplied each month by sixty-five countries and is a synopsis of the economic position of all the more important commercial States (statistics on coal, iron and steel production, foreign trade, price movements, cost of living, unemployment, gold reserves and note circulation, exchange and discount rates).

The *Monthly Epidemiological Report* is prepared by the Health Section of the Secretariat, and reproduces current official reports on the prevalence of notifiable diseases from many countries. The *Health Year-Book* of the same Section is a yearly summary of the communications sent in by the various national public health services, and gives a detailed survey of epidemics which have broken out during the year.

The *Quarterly Bulletin of Information on the Work of International Organisations*, published by the International Bureau Section of the Secretariat, is in some degree a consequence of Article 24 of the Covenant, which places under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties, subject to the assent of the parties; it provides for an exchange of information which has been extended to bureaux that have not been established by general treaties. The *Bulletin* contains

details of past and future international conferences and a bibliography of all publications concerning international organisations which have appeared during the preceding quarter. No. 22 of this series, which appeared in January 1928, gives information on thirty-six such conferences, including those of the Universal Postal Union, the Technical Press Federation, the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the International Commission on Air Navigation, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, the Union of International Affairs, etc. The bibliography of this number contains notes on forty-seven publications. The quarterly issue is completed by a *Handbook of International Organisations*, which appears every two years and is a full catalogue of all international associations.

The Paris Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which works under the direction of the League Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, issues a further series of publications; these include a *Quarterly Bulletin of University Relations*, a *Quarterly Bulletin of Scientific Relations*, *The Museion* (which appears every four months, and is prepared by the International Museum Office), and two monthly publications: *The Bulletin of the Information and Documentation Section*, and the *Bibliographic Bulletin of International Contemporary Documentation*.

All these periodicals, which arise more or less out of certain articles of the Covenant, deal with special questions and, in addition to their official character, are frequently of technical or scientific value.

During the Assembly, the League publishes two daily papers for Assembly delegates and journalists, and also for a wider public — *The Assembly Journal* and *Press Opinions*. The Journal has been issued since the First Assembly, and appears every day in English and French while the Assembly lasts. It is distributed each morning, before the beginning of the session, to delegates in their hotels and to journalists in the Press Room of the Reformation Hall. It contains the principal official communications, the programme and agenda of the meetings for the day, accounts of the plenary and committee meetings of the previous day, lists of the

members and bureaux of the Assembly Committees, of delegates, of Press representatives and of documents published and distributed during the Assembly, and official letters and telegrams, notices of official receptions; etc.

* Another daily paper that appeared during several Assemblies was *Press Opinions*, which gave extracts from the newspapers on the work of the Assembly and thus maintained contact between the Assembly and public opinion.

The International Economic Conference (May 1927) published a *Journal of the Economic Conference* on the same lines as the *Assembly Journal*

For information purposes, the League publishes its *Monthly Summary*, whose object is to furnish month by month an objective and concise account of the work of the League. The first number was published on April 15th, 1921, and, up to April 15th, 1928, 84 numbers and 9 supplements had appeared. At first, the average number of pages was about 20; it has now increased to 40 pages, and the number of copies printed has risen from 5,000 to 20,000 in six editions (English edition 8,100, French edition 3,850, German edition 2,600, Spanish edition 1,650, Italian edition 1,450, Czech edition 1,250).

The *Monthly Summary* of April 15th, 1928, containing an account of the League's work in March, deals with the following questions:

I. *Summary of the Month.*

II. *The Permanent Court of International Justice:*

1. Jurisdiction of the Danzig Courts. 2. Minority Schools in Polish Upper Silesia. 3. The Chorzow Factory. 4. The Franco-Swiss Free Zones. 5. External Status of the Members of the Court.

III. *Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments:*

1. Second Session of the Arbitration and Security Committee. 2. Fifth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. 3. Appointment of a British Member of the Joint Commission.

IV. *The Szent-Gotthard Incident.*

V. *Legal and Constitutional Questions:*

1. Collaboration of Brazil and Spain in the Work of the League.
2. Proposed Reduction of the Number of Council Sessions.
3. Powers and Duties of the Acting President of the Council.
4. International Engagements — (a) Registration, (b) Ratification of Agreements and Conventions concluded under the Auspices of the League.

VI. *Technical Organisations:*

1. *The Health Organisation* — (a) Technical Investigation in Latin America, (b) Interchange of Medical Officers of Health.
2. *The Economic and Financial Organisation* — (a) The Financial Committee, (b) The Financial Reconstruction of Bulgaria, (c) The Financial Reconstruction of Greece, (d) Meeting of the Economic Committee, (e) Conference for the Abolition of Export Prohibitions and Restrictions on Hides and Bones, (f) Preparation of a Statistical Conference, (g) Tariff Nomenclature.
3. *Communications and Transit* — (a) Twelfth Session of the Advisory Committee, (b) Jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube, (c) Supervision of the Execution of Article 107 of the Treaty of Lausanne.
4. *Intellectual Co-operation.*

VII. *Administrative Questions:*

1. Danzig.
2. The Saar.
3. Mandates — (a) Report of the Commission, (b) Communication to Iraq of the Convention of Freedom of Transit, and of the Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports.

VIII. *Protection of Minorities:*

1. Protection of Minorities in Upper Silesia.
2. Request for an Advisory Opinion by the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations.

IX. *Political Questions:*

1. Requests of the Hungarian and Roumanian Governments.
2. The Polish-Lithuanian Question.

X. *Social and Humanitarian Questions.*

1. Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.

XI. *Other Questions:*

1. The League Buildings.
2. The League Library.

XII. *Forthcoming Events.*

As may be gathered from this table of contents, it is possible, with the *Monthly Summary*, to follow all League proceedings, and this regular series in six language editions is a comprehensive collection of material on the activities of the League.

It is sent to the Foreign Ministries of all States Members, to all League of Nations Societies, to the Assembly and Committee delegates, and to numerous universities, libraries and newspapers.

The supplements to the *Monthly Summary* deal in greater detail with the main aspects of the League's work. They include special numbers on the Geneva Protocol, the Austrian and Hungarian reconstruction schemes, the Locarno Agreements, etc., and the ordinary numbers have given as annexes the Draft Conventions drawn up by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, the reports and resolutions of the International Economic Conference, the resolutions of all the Assemblies, etc., and Minutes of certain important Assembly debates. The December number contains a long account of the work of the League during the year.

With regard to League publications in volume form, distinction may again be drawn between those for official use, and those mainly destined for information purposes. Both classes are available for the general public. They cannot be enumerated here, but the complete list of the League's publications is given in French and English catalogues of 160 pages, to which monthly supplements are added.

All these publications are prepared by the competent Sections of the League Secretariat, and they all contribute to the publicity of the League's work.

For the information of the wider public, the Information Section of the Secretariat has prepared a series of pamphlets. These grey booklets, which rarely exceed 200 pages, deal with various branches of the League's work. The titles of the principal pamphlets are "The League of Nations — A Survey", "The Organisation and Constitution of the League of Nations", "The Permanent Court of International

Justice", "The Social and Humanitarian Work of the League of Nations", "The Mandates System", "International Co-operation", "The Protection of Minorities", "The Health Organisation", "The Political Activities of the League of Nations" (two volumes), "The Pacific Settlement of International Disputes" (2 volumes), "Communications and Transit", "The Economic and Financial Organisation", "The Saar and Danzig", "Disarmament and the Organisation of Peace", "The Financial Organisation and the Allocation of Expenses", "The League of Nations from Year to Year". Many of these handbooks, revised and completed at regular intervals, are published in a variety of languages, besides English and French, some of them in as many as seventeen.

The pamphlet "The League of Nations — A Survey" (January 1920 — December 1926) contains the following chapters:

Introduction — Character and Development; I. Political Disputes; II. The Work of Reconstruction; III. The Court and International Law and Treaty Publicity; IV. Security and Armaments; V. Health and Social Questions; VI. Other Tasks (Mandates, Minorities, Saar, Danzig, Intellectual Co-operation, International Organisations, Publications).

The first volume of the political pamphlet devotes chapters to:

I. The Aland Islands. — II. The Polish-Lithuanian dispute concerning Vilna. — III. The Upper Silesian question. — IV. The Albanian question. — V. The invasion of armed bands in countries bordering on Bulgaria. — VI. Hungarian optants. — VII. Eastern Karelia. — VIII. The Franco-English dispute concerning nationality decrees in Tunis and Morocco. — IX. Frontier questions. — X. The Italo-Greek dispute. — XI. Memel.

The second volume, with a map, contains chapters on the Mosul question, the Greco-Bulgarian conflict, the Hungarian optant question, Memel, the *Salamis* affair, etc.

The pamphlet "Constitution and Organisation" is an explanation of League membership, a commentary on the Covenant, a description of the organisations created to give effect to the stipulations of the Covenant, a short survey

of the League in action, a description of the financial administration of the League and, as an annex, the text of the Covenant and the list of the States Members. The newest of the series is "The League of Nations from Year to Year", which gives a systematic account of the League's work in 1927. This series will be continued, so that there will eventually be a collection of complete yearly records, each prefaced by a chapter summarising the main features of the League's work in the preceding year.

This collection of pamphlets, although in more or less popular form, is prepared with sufficient detail to be of use to those who specialise in certain subjects treated by the League. They are not propaganda, but information. Like the *communiqués*, they are and must be objective, and are addressed to an international rather than a national public. The various language editions are not special editions for different countries but translations of one single text.

The printing and sale of League publications is organised by a special Section of the Secretariat — the Publications Department — which disposes of a budget of about £ 52,000 (1927) for printing; during 1927 it published 12,000 documents with a total printing order of 1,700,000, excluding the publications of the International Labour Office and the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. The Department has a staff of thirty, and has so organised the League printing that during the important meetings the longest documents can be published overnight; speeches delivered late in the evening are contained in the *Assembly Journal* of the following day. For each document the Department publishes an index card on much the same lines as those of the Washington Library of Congress. It has sales agents in many countries, and the sale of League publications in America, England, Japan and Canada shows very fair returns.

A special branch of the Information Section is the Photographic and Film Department. There is an illustrated album containing 72 photographs, with English and French texts, and this will shortly be published in other languages. An exhibit with 28 photographic and statistical descriptions

of the League's work has been published in English and will shortly appear in French and German. The Information Section has also published a model lecture on the League's work, with 57 lantern slides. There is a steadily increasing collection of photographs, which include general views of meetings and buildings, groups, portraits, etc., and the Section has a collection of 280 lantern slides. Finally, the Information Section is giving an increasing attention to films. One of these, devoted to the seventh Assembly, is 270 metres long and takes twenty minutes to show, and another, of 350 metres, concerning the traffic in women, takes thirty minutes to roll off. A general film on the general work of the League is being prepared.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW "LEAGUE CIRCLES" ARE INFORMED.

THE preceding chapters have explained the relations established between the League and the Press, and the variety of the League's methods of supplying the Press with information.

This final chapter examines the means by which the League organisations are informed on public opinion and, more particularly, on what is written in the Press. Like all Government offices, the League Secretariat has special departments which keep it informed of articles on League subjects in newspapers or reviews.*

There is first of all a newspaper-cutting department. The number of cuttings on League subjects received daily varies from 800 to 3,500, and a striking proof of the growth of interest in the League is that, during the eight years of its existence, the average number of cuttings has risen from a thousand a month to a thousand a day. All cuttings are distributed to the Sections concerned, which make a careful study of them.

Secondly, there is the Daily Press Review of the Information Section, comprising 35 to 40 typewritten pages, which reproduces newspaper articles or extracts from articles dealing with the League. Two hundred papers are read daily. The review, being necessarily incomplete, is for internal circulation only. It is edited by the members of the Information Section, and the papers containing the articles quoted are carefully filed so that any official can refer to the original.

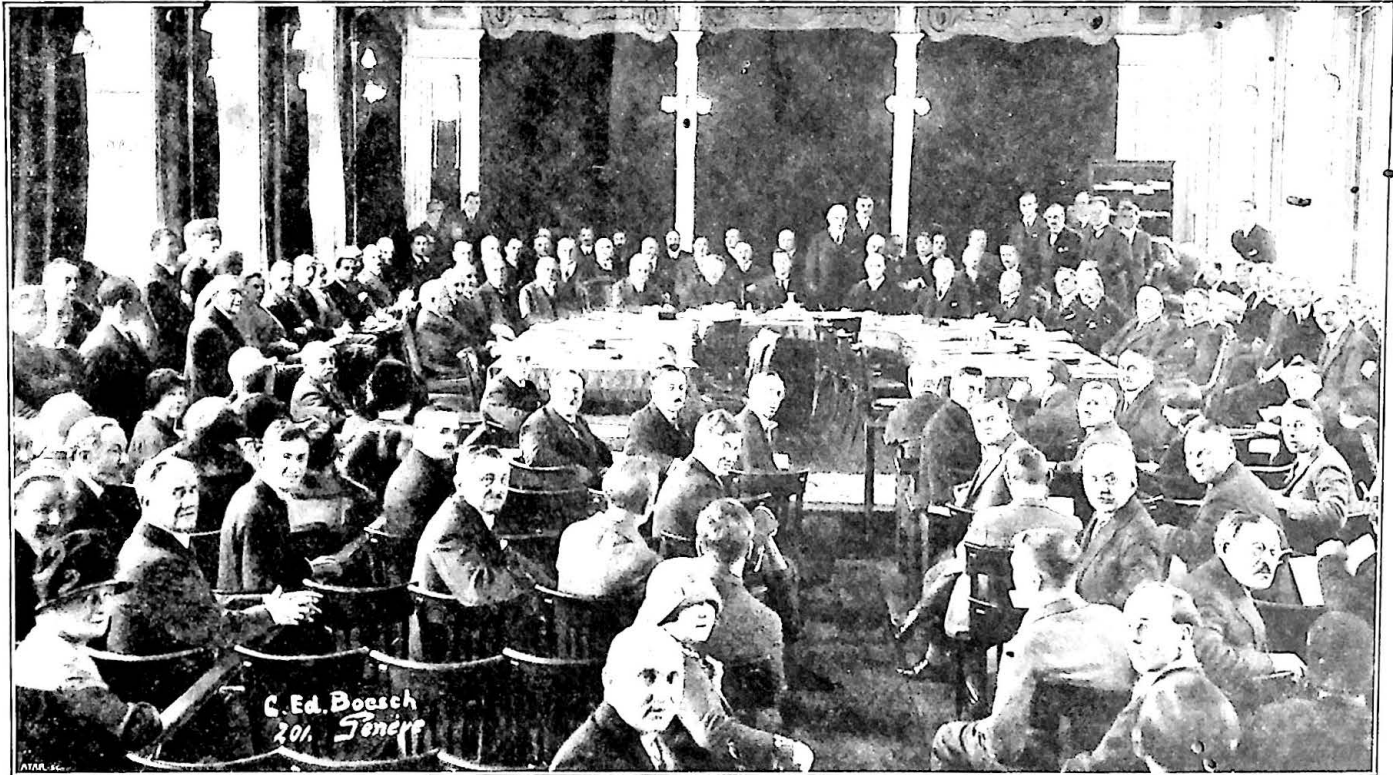
A similar summary compiled by the League Library gives a tabulated list of articles on the League published in

* The Secretariat reading-room contains the more important daily papers. The Library subscribes to 1,700 revues, from sixty-six countries.

the more important reviews of the world. This completes the Press Review of the Information Section and is important, as the scope of review articles is naturally wider than that of articles in the daily Press.

Of more consequence than this written information is the first-hand knowledge of the Press that Secretariat officials and League delegates acquire through daily contact with journalists. Statesmen working in the presence of journalists acquire an instinctive knowledge of public opinion. Delegates who organise Press receptions and meet the journalists are immediately able to gauge how their speeches or actions will be received by public opinion in the various countries. League officials who explain to the Press the daily work of the League are enabled by constant personal relations to form a fairly accurate idea of public opinion.

These are by no means the only beneficial results which the League reaps from its constant co-operation with the Press. Before the existence of the League, there were only national public opinions, expressed by the national Press, and there is still, with a few exceptions, no such thing as an international Press; it was impossible for the League to contemplate the artificial creation of an international Press destined for an international public opinion. At the same time, one result of the relations between the League and journalists has been gradually to create a kind of international or multi-national public opinion, whose influence is increasing. In the League organisations, at the Council, at the Assembly and in the commissions, it is sometimes possible to discern a common tendency, apart from various particular interests; similarly, with journalists, experience of international political life and the adoption of common methods of work seem to have created something approaching a common outlook; though most of the journalists work from a national standpoint, their professional relations and their community of interests gradually bring them into harmony with the common effort of the Council and the Assembly. It is this sort of *milieu*, this common interest in an international institution, to which the Press often alludes vaguely as *League circles* or *Geneva circles*. This expression, though



Meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. (In the foreground, members of the press.)

often misleading, does describe a world in which delegates, the Press and various other forces are brought to play on this new diplomatic experiment, and an attitude of mind in a special public of delegates, journalists and others collaborating in the work of the League.

With its headquarters in a comparatively small city, it seemed doubtful whether the League of Nations would be able to command the necessary publicity. This doubt no longer exists.