

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Official Journal

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT No. 44

RECORDS

OF THE

SEVENTH ORDINARY SESSION

OF THE

ASSEMBLY

TEXT OF THE DEBATES

GENEVA 1926

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TELEGRAM OF CONVOCATION

ADDRESSED BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,
ON BEHALF
OF VISCOUNT ISHII,
ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL

"I have the honour, in accordance with Rules 1 and 3 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the League of Nations, to summon the Assembly to convene at Geneva at 11 a.m. on Monday, September 6th, 1926.

K. ISHII."

AGENDA

OF THE

SEVENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY

ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1926.

Election of the Committee to report on the Credentials of Delegates.

Election of the President.

Examination and Adoption of the Agenda.

Nomination of Committees and Election of the Chairmen of the Committees.

Election of six Vice-Presidents.

Report on the Work of the Council since the last Ordinary Session of the Assembly, on the Work of the Secretariat and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly.

Consideration of the Report of the First Committee of the Special Assembly on the Request of the German Government for Admission to the League of Nations.

Proposals made by the Council after considering the Report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council appointed by the Council Resolution of March 18th, 1926.

Appointment of the Non-permanent Members of the Council.

COMMITTEE No. 1.

Consideration of the Proposals made by the Committee instructed to study the Question of the Composition of the Council as regards the Method of Election and Tenure of the Non-permanent Seats.

Pacific Settlement of International Disputes: Report by the Council on Proposals, Declarations and Suggestions made for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments: Report by the Council on the Progress in General Security brought about by the Conclusion of Conventions and Treaties.

COMMITTEE No. 2.

Report on the Work of the Economic and Financial Organisation, including the Financial Reconstruction of Austria, the Financial Reconstruction of Hungary, the Work of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, Establishment of Bulgarian Refugees, etc.

International Economic Conference: Report on the Work of the Preparatory Committee.

Report on the Work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit.

Report on the Work of the Health Organisation of the League.

Report on the Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

COMMITTEE No. 3.

Pacific Settlement of International Disputes: Report by the Council on Proposals, Declarations and Suggestions made for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments: Report by the Council on the Progress in General Security brought about by the Conclusion of Conventions and Treaties.

Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments: Report on the Work of the Preparatory Commission.

COMMITTEE No. 4.

Contributions in Arrears: Report by the Council.

Budget for 1927, including the Budgets of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Audit of Accounts for the Seventh Financial Period (1925).

Reports of the Supervisory Commission.

League Building Fund (Proportional Interest of Members).

Staff Provident Fund: Amendment to Article 6 of the Regulations provisionally made by the Council.

COMMITTEE No. 5.

Protection of Women and Children in the Near East: Report on the Work of Miss Jeppe and Dr. Kennedy for 1925-26.

Report on the Work of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.

Report on the Work of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People:

(a) Report of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children;

(b) Report of the Child Welfare Committee.

Conference on Russian and Armenian Refugee Questions: Measures taken by Governments to give effect to the Terms of the Arrangement concluded at the Conference.

COMMITTEE No. 6.

Conclusion of an International Convention on Slavery and Conditions analogous thereto.

In the course of the session, the following items were added to the Agenda:

Ratification of Agreements and Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Interpretation of the Preamble and of Articles 3 and 4 of the Convention.

Numbering of the Paragraphs of the Articles of the Convention.

Question of Alcoholism.

Mandates.

Work of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law.

Examination of Certain Questions relating to the Election of the Non-permanent Members of the Council.

Settlement of Armenian Refugees.

Reduction of Armaments.

Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War.

Cost of Living at Geneva: Report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee.

Extension to other analogous Categories of Refugees of Measures taken to assist Russian and Armenian Refugees.

Facilities for Journalists attending Meetings of the League at Geneva.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

DELEGATIONS AT THE SEVENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY

ABYSSINIA.

His Excellency M. Lagarde, Duc d'Entotto (Minister Plenipotentiary, Diplomatic Representative of the Ethiopian Empire accredited to the League of Nations, High Counsellor).

Special Delegation :

His Excellency le Dedjazmatch Guetatcheou (Minister for the Interior).
Lidj Makonnen Endelkatchou.

Assistant Delegate :

Kantiba Gabrou.

Substitute :

Ato Tasfae (Secretary to the League of Nations Service at Addis Abeba).

Secretary and Interpreter :

Ato Woldé Guorguis.

ALBANIA.

His Excellency M. Ilias Vrioni (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and London).

His Excellency Dr. Djemil Dino (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).

AUSTRALIA.

The Hon. J. G. Latham, C.M.G., K.C., M.P. (Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Australia).

The Right Hon. Sir Joseph Cook, P.C., G.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London).

Mr. A. G. Manning, M.P. (Member of the House of Representatives, Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia).

Substitutes :

Sir Arthur Rickard, K.B.E., F.R.G.S.

Miss Freda Bage, M.Sc.

AUSTRALIA (*contd.*)

Experts :

Major E. G. Casey, D.S.O., M.C.

Mr. M. C. Boniwell (Department of the Attorney-General, Commonwealth of Australia).

Secretary :

Major O. C. W. Fuhrman, O.B.E. (Secretary to the High Commissioner in London).

AUSTRIA.

His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador).

His Excellency M. Emeric Pfügl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

His Excellency M. Leo Di Pauli (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Swiss Confederation).

Assistant Delegate :

Dr. Marcus Leitmaier (Legal Adviser).

Secretary :

Dr. Franz Matsch.

BELGIUM.

His Excellency M. Emile Vandervelde (Minister of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. Louis de Brouckère (Senator, Professor at the University of Brussels).

M. Fr. van Cauwelaert (Member of the House of Representatives, Burgomaster of the City of Antwerp).

M. P. E. Janson¹ (Member of the House of Representatives, former Minister for National Defence, former President of the Order of Advocates at the Brussels Court of Appeal).

Assistant Delegate :

M. Henri Rolin (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Assistant Delegate and Secretary :

M. O. Louwers (Colonial Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

¹ During M. Vandervelde's stay at Geneva, M. Janson acted as substitute delegate.

BRITISH EMPIRE.

The Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G.,
M.P. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).
The Right Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood,
K.C. (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster).
Sir Cecil James Barrington Hurst, G.C.M.G.,
K.C.B., K.C. (Legal Adviser to the Foreign
Office).

Substitutes :

The Right Hon. the Earl of Onslow, C.B.E.
(Under-Secretary of State for War).
The Right Hon. E. Hilton Young, D.S.O.,
D.S.C., M.P.
The Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, D.B.E.

Experts :

Vice-Admiral Aubrey Smith, C.B., M.V.O.
(Admiralty).
Commander M. A. Hawes, R.N. (Admiralty).
Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, G.C.B. (Board of
Trade).
Sir Malcolm Delevingne, K.C.B. (Home Office).
Sir George Buchanan, C.B., M.D. (Ministry of
Health).
Colonel A. C. Temperley, C.M.G., D.S.O. (War
Office).
Mr. H. F. Batterbee (Dominions Office).
Mr. E. Rowe Dutton (Treasury).
Mr. G. F. Steward (Press Officer).
Group-Captain W. F. Macnece, C.B.E., D.S.O.
(Air Ministry).
Squadron-Leader F. P. Don (Air Ministry).
Mr. R. G. Somervell (Ministry of Labour).

Secretary-General :

The Hon. Alexander Cadogan, C.M.G. (Foreign
Office).

Secretaries :

Mr. W. St. C. H. Roberts, M.C. (Foreign
Office).
Mr. V. Cavendish Bentinck (Foreign Office).

Private Secretaries :

Mr. W. Selby, C.B., C.V.O. (Private Secretary
to Sir Austen Chamberlain).
Mr. J. Chamberlain (Private Secretary to Sir
Austen Chamberlain).
Mr. E. C. Henty (Private Secretary to Viscount
Cecil).
Major C. Montague Johnstone (Private Secre-
tary to Lord Onslow).
Mr. C. Carr Bosanquet (Private Secretary to
Mr. Hilton Young).
Mr. H. Llewellyn Smith (Private Secretary to
Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith).

BULGARIA.

His Excellency M. Athanase D. Bouroff
(Minister for Foreign Affairs).
His Excellency M. Vladimir Molloff (Finance
Minister).

BULGARIA (contd.)

Substitute :

M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne,
Permanent Representative of the Bulgarian
Government accredited to the League
of Nations).

Secretary :

M. Dimitri Naoumoff (Secretary at the Lega-
tion in London).

CANADA.

The Right Hon. Sir George E. Foster, G.C.M.G.,
P.C., LL.D. (Senator, Member of the King's
Privy Council for Canada).

The Hon. Philippe Roy, C.P., M.D. (former
Senator, Member of the King's Privy
Council for Canada, Commissioner-General
in France).

Sir Herbert Brown Ames, K.B., LL.D. (Member
of the Canadian Parliament, 1901-19; former
Financial Director of the League of Nations).

Substitute :

Mr. Walter A. Riddell, M.A., Ph.D. (Dominion
of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the
League of Nations).

Secretary :

Miss M. M. Clark (Secretary to the Dominion
of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to
the League of Nations).

CHILE.

His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Ambas-
sador at Rome, former Prime Minister,
former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Armando Quezada (Envoy
Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
in Paris, former Prime Minister, former
Finance Minister).

Substitute and Secretary-General :

His Excellency M. Jorge Valdes-Mendeville
(Minister at Berne, Head of the Permanent
Secretariat accredited to the League of
Nations).

Secretaries :

M. Ernesto Bertrand-Vidal (First Secretary
of Legation).
M. Jorge Saavedra (Second Secretary at the
Embassy in Rome).

CHINA.

His Excellency M. Chao-Hsin Chu (Envoy
Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
at Rome, former Senator, former Private
Secretary to the President of the Chinese
Republic, former Professor at the National
University of Peking).

His Excellency M. Wang King-Ky (Envoy
Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
in Brussels, Professor of History of Treaties
between China and Foreign States at the
National University of Peking).

CHINA (contd.)

Secretary-General:

M. Tchang Gui-Tong (Secretary-General of the Permanent Office of the Chinese Delegation to the League of Nations).

Expert:

Dr. Hiu Nientseng (First Secretary of Legation).

Legal Adviser:

M. Macrae Moir.

Secretaries:

M. Su-Seng Koo (Secretary of Legation).
M. Lohoai (Secretary of Legation).
M. Chen Ting (Secretary of Legation).
M. R. Paotchung Fang (Secretary of Legation).
M. Shu-Seng Chu, B.C.S. (Attaché of Legation).
M. C. N. Lou (Attaché of Legation).
M. Shen Pen-Chiang.
M. Bo-Jan Chu, LL.B.
M. Roland Ouang.
M. C. Q. Lim, LL.B.

COLOMBIA.

His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

His Excellency Dr. Esteban Jaramillo (former Finance Minister, Senator, Professor of Economics and Public Finance at the University of Bogota).

Substitute and Secretary:

M. Efrain Gaitan-Hurtado (former Chief of the Diplomatic Section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, First Secretary of Legation at Berne).

CUBA.

His Excellency M. José M. Cortina (Senator, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin and Vienna).

His Excellency M. Orestes Ferrara (former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor of Public Law at the University of Havana).

Substitutes:

His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanck (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).
M. Ramiro Hernández Portela (Counsellor of Legation).

Expert:

M. G. de la Campa y Cuffi (Chargé d'Affaires).
Dr. Domingo F. Ramos (Professor of General Pathology in the School of Medicine of Cuba).
M. A. Mencia y de Armas.

CUBA (contd.)

Secretary-General:

His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanck (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

Secretary:

M. Guillermo Cacho Negrete.

Attachés:

M. Ramón Román (Attaché at the Secretariat of State).
M. José Sanchez-Arcilla y Garcia (Attaché at the Secretariat of State).
M. Guillermo de las Cuevas (Consul).
M. A. Otero (Attaché of Legation).
M. Julio C. del Castillo.
Dr. Francisco Pérez de la Riva.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

His Excellency Dr. Eduard Beneš (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency Dr. Stephan Osuský (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

His Excellency Dr. Kamil Krofta (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin).

Substitute:

His Excellency Dr. Ferdinand Veverka (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Secretaries:

M. Václav James Hyka (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
M. Josef Chmelař (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
Dr. Miroslav Lokay (Secretary of Legation at Berne).
M. Arnošt Heidrich (Secretary of Legation at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).
M. Karel Trpák (Attaché at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

DENMARK.

His Excellency Count C. Moltke (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Herluf Zahlé (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration).

M. F. Borgbjerg¹ (Minister for Social Affairs, Member of Parliament).

M. Laust Moltesen (Doctor of Philosophy, Member of Parliament).

Substitutes:

His Excellency M. Andreas Oldenburg (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Government Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

¹ During M. Moltke's stay at Geneva, M. Borgbjerg acted as substitute delegate.

DENMARK (contd.)

M. Peter Munch (Doctor of Philosophy, former Minister for Defence, Member of Parliament).

M. Holger Andersen (Member of Parliament).

Mlle Henni Forchhammer (President of the National Council of Danish Women, Member of the Central Administration of the International Council of Women).

Secretary :

- M. Pierre Oesterbye (Director of the Parliamentary Archives).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.

Dr. Tulio Franco y Franco (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, Rome and Brussels).

Secretary :

M. S. E. Paradás.

ESTONIA.

His Excellency Dr. Friedrich Akel (Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Head of State, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

General Johan Laidoner (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, President of the Committee for Foreign Affairs and National Defence, former Commander-in-Chief of the Estonian Army).

M. Auguste J. Schmidt (Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretary :

M. Oskar Öpik (Chief of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

FINLAND.

His Excellency M. Emile Setälä (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Carl Johan Alexis Enckell (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and Brussels, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Rafael Waldemar Erich (Former Prime Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate of Finland accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes :

His Excellency M. Eino Rudolf Woldemar Holsti (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tallinn, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. Väinö Voionmaa (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Helsinki).

M. Hugo Valvanne (Secretary of Legation).

Secretary-General :

M. Hugo Valvanne (Secretary of Legation).

FRANCE.

His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. Paul-Boncour (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister, President of the Higher Council for National Defence).

M. Jules Pams (Senator, former Minister).

Substitutes :

M. Henry de Jouvenel (Senator, former Minister).

M. Louis Loucheur (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister).

M. François Labrousse (Senator).

Assistant Delegates :

M. Léon Jouhaux (Secretary-General of the General Labour Confederation).

M. Marcel Plaisant (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Joseph Barthélemy (Professor at the Faculty of Law in Paris, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Serot (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Paul Bastid (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. René Cassin (Professor at the Faculty of Law at Lille, Honorary President of the Union of the Mutilated and Former Combatants).

Experts :

M. Fromageot (Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Peycelon (Director of the Official Publications of the French Republic).

M. Jean Réveillaud (Vice-President of the Council of the Seine Prefecture).

M. René Massigli ("Maître des Requêtes" to the Council of State, Secretary-General of the Conference of Ambassadors).

M. Gerdolle (Chief of Section at the Ministry for Commerce).

M. Louis Aubert ("Agrégé" of the University).

M. Hesnard (Press Attaché accredited to the Embassy at Berlin).

M. Bourgois (Consul, French Delegate on the Advisory Committee for the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs and on the Traffic in Women and Children Committee of the League of Nations).

Colonel Réquin (Delegate on the League of Nations Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions).

Captain Deleuze (Assistant Delegate on the League of Nations Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions).

Commander Lucien (Assistant Military Delegate on the League of Nations Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions).

Secretary-General :

M. Clauzel (Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the French League of Nations Office).

FRANCE (*contd.*)

Assistant Secretary-General :

M. Amé-Leroy (Consul, Assistant "Chef du Cabinet" of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

GERMANY.

Dr. Stresemann (Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Reich).

Dr. von Schubert (Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Dr. Gaus (Ministerial Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes :

Count Bernstorff (Member of the Reichstag, Ambassador, unattached).

Dr. Breitscheid (Member of the Reichstag).

Professor Dr. Kaas (Professor of Theology, Member of the Reichstag, Canon).

Baron von Rheinbaben (Member of the Reichstag, former Under-Secretary of State).

Experts :

Dr. Pünder (Under-Secretary of State).

Dr. Weisliann (Under-Secretary of State).

Dr. Kiep (Ministerial Director).

Herr Schäffer (Ministerial Director).

Admiral von Freyberg.

Dr. von Dirksen (Privy Councillor).

Dr. Søhring (Privy Councillor).

Dr. von Bülow (Privy Councillor).

Dr. Fuehr (Privy Councillor).

Frau Dr. Bäumer (Ministerial Councillor).

Dr. Mayer (Ministerial Councillor).

Herr Karlowa (Ministerial Councillor).

Lieutenant-Colonel von Boetticher.

Herr Aschmann (Consul-General).

Herr Poensgen (Consul).

Secretary :

Dr. Boltze (Councillor of Legation).

GREECE.

His Excellency M. D. Caclamanos (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

His Excellency M. S. Polychroniadis (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Belgrade).

M. Vassili Dendramis (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the Secretariat of the League of Nations).

Expert :

M. Mantzavinos (Director of the Accounting Department at the Finance Ministry).

Secretary-General :

M. F. Pipinellis (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretary :

M. J. Papayannis.

GUATEMALA.

Dr. Francisco A. Figueroa (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

M. Rafael Pinéda de Mont (Legal Adviser at the Legation in Paris).

HAITI.

His Excellency M. Alfred Nemours (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris).

HUNGARY.

His Excellency M. Louis Walko (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

General Gabriel Táncoz (former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency Count Alexandre de Khuen-Héderváry (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary).

Assistant Delegates :

M. Paul de Hevesy (Resident Minister accredited to the League of Nations).

M. Georges de Barcza (Counsellor of Legation).

Secretary-General :

M. Zoltán Baranyai (First Secretary of Legation).

Secretaries :

M. Antoine Ulcin (Secretary of Legation).

M. Ervin de Vladár (Secretary of Legation).

M. George de Lukács (Secretary at the Finance Ministry).

INDIA.

Sir William Henry Hoare Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, former Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India).

Colonel His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir (former President of the Legislative Council of the Punjab).

Substitutes :

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, K.C.I.E. (Member of the Governor's Executive Council, Madras).

Sir Edward Maynard des Champs Chamier, K.C.I.E. (Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, former Chief Justice of the High Court of Patna).

Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick (Puisne Judge of the High Court of Patna).

Secretary :

Mr. P. J. Patrick (India Office).

Assistant Secretary :

Mr. R. W. Wright (India Office).

Private Secretary to Sir William Vincent :

Mr. W. D. Croft (India Office).

INDIA (contd.)

Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala :

Sirdar Muhabbet Rai.

Private Secretary to Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir :

Mr. Sleem.

IRISH FREE STATE.

Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Mr. Ernest Blythe (Finance Minister).

Mr. Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt. (Member of Parliament, former Minister of Education).

Substitutes :

Mr. Michael MacWhite (Representative of the Irish Free State accredited to the League of Nations).

Mr. Daniel A. Binchy, M.A., Ph.D. (Professor of International Law at the National University of Ireland).

Substitute and Secretary :

Mr. Joseph P. Walshe (Secretary-General at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

ITALY.

His Excellency M. Vittorio Scialoja (Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Dino Grandi (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

His Excellency Count Lelio Ronin-Longare (Senator, Ambassador).

Assistant Delegates :

His Excellency Marquis Giuseppe Medici del Vascello (Minister Plenipotentiary) (First Class).

His Excellency General de Marinis Stendardo di Rigigliano (Senator, Honorary Minister Plenipotentiary) (First Class).

His Excellency M. Stefano Cavazzoni (former Labour Minister, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

The Hon. Ernesto Belloni (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

The Hon. Fulvio Suvich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Albert Lutrario (Italian Delegate on the Permanent Health Committees in Paris and of the League of Nations).

M. Massimo Pilotti (Member of the Court of Appeal).

Captain Fabrizio Ruspoli.

Count Manfredi Gravina.

Special Adviser :

Professor Alberto Franz Labriola.

ITALY (contd.)

Secretary-General :

Count Luigi Orazio Vinai-Gigliucci (Counsellor of Legation).

Secretaries :

M. Giuseppe Biondelli (Consul).

Count Ettore Perrone di San Martino (Secretary of Legation).

M. Carlo Bossi (First Consular Commissioner).

M. Pellegrino Ghigi (Vice-Secretary of Legation).

M. Alberto Nonis (Vice-Consul).

Dr. Guelfo Zamboni (Attaché of Legation).

JAPAN.

His Excellency Viscount K. Ishii (Ambassador to France, Senator, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Japanese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations).

His Excellency M. Minétoirô Adatô (Ambassador to Belgium, Vice-President of the Institute of International Law, Member of the Imperial Academy of Japan, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration).

His Excellency M. Mutsuzo Nagai (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Sweden).

Substitutes :

M. Isaburo Yoshida (Counsellor of Embassy in London).

His Excellency M. Naotake Sato (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Poland).

His Excellency M. Yotaro Sugimura (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Japanese Office accredited to the League of Nations).

Experts :

Dr. M. Tsurumi.

M. T. Aoki (Representative in London of the Bank of Japan).

M. S. Matsuyama (Commercial Secretary at the Japanese Embassy in London).

M. S. Inoma (Secretary at the Ministry of Transport).

M. S. Kusama.

Secretaries :

M. T. Miyake (First Secretary of Legation at The Hague).

M. U. Usami (Secretary of Embassy).

M. S. Sato (Secretary of Embassy).

M. T. Suzuki (Attaché of Embassy).

M. K. Tsutsui (Attaché of Embassy).

M. T. Sato (Attaché of Embassy).

M. K. Nihro (Attaché of Embassy).

M. T. Tsukamoto (Attaché of Embassy).

M. S. Kadowaki (Attaché of Embassy).

M. T. Tamaki (Attaché of Embassy).

LATVIA.

His Excellency M. Willis Schumans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).

His Excellency M. Fridrichs Vesmans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

M. Charles Duzmans (Permanent Representative accredited to the League of Nations).

Secretary :

M. Peter Welps (Secretary to the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

LIBERIA.

His Excellency Baron Rodolphe Auguste Lehmann (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute :

M. Nicolas Ooms (First Secretary of Legation in Paris).

LITHUANIA.

His Excellency M. Venceslas Sidzikauskas (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin).

M. Bronius K. Balutis (Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Oscar V. de Milosz-Milasius (Resident Minister, Honorary Counsellor at the Legation in Paris).

Secretary :

Dr. Juozas Sakalauskas (Secretary of Legation).

LUXEMBURG.

His Excellency M. Joseph Bech (Minister of State, Prime Minister).

His Excellency M. Emile Reuter (Honorary Minister of State, President of the Chamber of Deputies).

M. Gaston Diderich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Burgomaster of the City of Luxemburg).

Substitute :

M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva).

Secretary-General :

M. Albert Wehrer (Doctor of Law, Attaché at the Department for Foreign Affairs).

NETHERLANDS.

His Excellency Jonkheer J. Loudon (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Professor at the University of Leyden).

NETHERLANDS (contd.)

His Excellency Count F. A. C. van Lynden van Sandenburg (Doctor of Law and Political Science, former Government Commissioner in the Utrecht Province, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States-General, Grand Chamberlain of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands).

Substitutes :

M. Joseph Limburg (Doctor of Law, Member of the Council of State, former President of the Order of Barristers at The Hague, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States).

M. J. P. A. François (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam).

Expert :

M. W. G. van Wettum (Government Adviser for International Opium Questions).

Secretaries :

Mme. C. A. Kluyver (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Baron F. M. van Asbeck (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Director of the General Secretariat of the Government of the Dutch Indies, Extraordinary Professor at the High School of Law at Batavia).

M. H. J. D. Doorman (Chancellor of Legation).

NEW ZEALAND.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bell, G.C.M.G., K.C. (Member of the Executive Council, former Prime Minister and Attorney-General).

The Hon. Sir James Parr, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner in London, former Minister for Education and Justice, former Postmaster-General) (1920-26).

Secretary :

Mr. C. A. Knowles.

Private Secretary to Sir Francis Bell :

Mr. J. S. Hunter.

NICARAGUA.

Doctor Antoine Sottile (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

His Excellency M. Tomas Francisco Medina (Minister in Paris, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

NORWAY.

Doctor Fridtjof Nansen (Professor at the University of Oslo).

M. Carl Joachim Hambro (President of the Storting).

M. Benjamin Vogt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

NORWAY (contd.)

Substitutes:

Dr. Christian L. Lauge (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union).

Mme. Marthe Larsen Jahn.

M. Jacob Worm-Müller (Doctor of Philosophy, Professor at the University of Oslo).

Expert:

M. Frede Castberg (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretary:

M. R. B. Skylstad (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PANAMA.

His Excellency Dr. Eusebio A. Morales (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Minister for the Interior, Professor of Law at the Panama National Faculty of Law, Finance Minister).

His Excellency M. Guillermo Andreve (former Minister for Education, Minister Plenipotentiary in Colombia).

PARAGUAY.

Dr. Ramon V. Caballero (Chargé d'Affaires at Paris).

PERSIA.

His Highness Prince Arfa (Ambassador, former Minister for Justice, Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

His Excellency Abolghacem Khan Amid (former Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Minister at Rome).

Substitute:

Dr. Edmond Privat (Adviser to the Delegation).

Substitute and Secretary:

M. Mohamed Khan Chayesteh (First Secretary of Legation at Berne).

Attaché:

M. Mohamed Ali Khan Scheybany.

POLAND.

His Excellency M. Auguste Zaleski (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. François Sokal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

His Excellency M. Henri Strasburger (Minister Plenipotentiary, Commissioner-General of the Republic of Poland at Danzig, former Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes:

M. Joseph Chacinski (Member of the Diet).

M. Jean Debbski (Vice-Marshal of the Diet, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee).

POLAND (contd.)

M. Thadée Jackowski (Director of the Political Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

His Excellency M. L. Stanislas Patek (Minister Plenipotentiary, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. Mieczyslas Niedzialkowski (Member of the Diet).

M. Stanislas Posner (Senator).

Professor Michel Rostworowski (Dean of the University of Cracow, Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague).

M. Eustache Rudzinski (Member of the Diet).

Secretary-General:

M. Thadée Gwiazdowski (Adviser to the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

Legal Adviser:

M. Léon Babinski (Counsellor of Legation, Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Experts:

M. Mirosław Arciszewski (Counsellor of Embassy in Paris).

M. Titus Komarnicki (Doctor of Law, Ministerial Counsellor).

Lieut.-Colonel Stanislas Kunstler (Doctor of Law, Head of the League of Nations Department of the Army General Staff).

M. Stanislas Lepkowski (Doctor of Law, Ministerial Counsellor).

M. Anatole Muhlstein (Counsellor of Legation in Brussels).

M. Charles Potulicki (Doctor of Law, Honorary Attaché to the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

M. Marjan Szumlakowski (Ministerial Counsellor).

M. Adam Tarnowski (Head of Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Secretaries:

M. Edouard Cros (Doctor of Law, Head of the Press Bureau and Information Service of the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

M. Paul Czerwinski (Secretary of Legation).

M. Sigismond Graliński (Doctor of Law, Member of the Polish League of Nations Office).

M. Paul Morstin (First Secretary of Legation).

M. Stanislas Mycielski (Attaché of Legation).

PORTUGAL.

His Excellency Dr. Bethencourt Rodrigues (Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Minister in France).

His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Minister Plenipotentiary in charge of the League of Nations Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PORTUGAL (*contd.*)

His Excellency General Alfredo Freire d'Andrade (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Governor of Mozambique).

His Excellency Dr. Antonio Maria Bartholomeu Ferreira¹ (Minister in Switzerland).

Substitute and Secretary-General :

Dr. R. Y. Rodrigues (former Minister, former Governor of the Colonies).

Secretaries :

Dr. A. Rodrigues Pereira (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. Henrique Rezende Dias de Oliveira (Attaché at the Legation at Berne).

M. Antonio Augusto Gomes d'Almeida (Attaché at the Legation at Berne).

ROUMANIA.

His Excellency M. Jean Mitilneu (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco (Professor at the University of Bucharest, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations, former Finance Minister).

His Excellency M. Nicolas Petresco Comnène (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

M. D m tre Negulesco² (Deputy-Judge at the Permanent Court of International Justice, Professor at the University of Bucharest, Associate Member of the Institute of International Law).

Special Delegate :

His Excellency M. Constantin Contzesco (Minister Plenipotentiary, Roumanian Delegate on the European Danube Commission and on the International Danube Commission).

Substitutes :

Mlle H l ne Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Academy).

M. Sextil Puscariu (Professor at the University of Cluj).

M. B. Catargi (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Experts :

M. Alexandre Zuceanu (Roumanian Delegate on the Reparation Commission).

M. C. Raileanu (Engineer, Inspector-General at the Ministry for Transport).

M. Vardala (Engineer, Inspector-General at the Ministry for Transport).

General Toma Dumitresco.

Colonel Lazare Radulesco.

M. Nicolas Diano (Counsellor of Legation, Director of the Press Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

¹ During Dr. Rodrigues' stay in Geneva, M. Ferreira acted as substitute delegate.

² During M. Mitilneu's stay in Geneva, M. Negulesco acted as substitute delegate.

ROUMANIA (*contd.*)

Secretary-General :

M. Michel Arion (Counsellor of Legation).

Assistant Secretary-General :

M. Edmond Ciuntu (Secretary of Legation, Director of the Permanent Secretariat accredited to the League of Nations).

Private Secretary :

M. Alexandre Cantacuzino (Secretary of Legation, Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

SALVADOR.

His Excellency Dr. T. Gustavo Guerrero (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France and Italy).

KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES.

His Excellency Dr. Momtchilo Nintchitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. St phan Raditch (former Minister for Education).

His Excellency Dr. Lazare Markovitch (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, former Minister for Justice).

Substitutes :

His Excellency Dr. Miloutine Yovanovitch (Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

His Excellency Dr. Georges Djouritch (Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

Assistant Delegates :

M. Ranslav M. Avramovitch (Engineer, former Assistant Minister at the Ministry for Transport).

Dr. Youraj Krnyevitch (former Under-Secretary of State).

Experts :

M. Pavle Karovitch (Director of the Press Bureau at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Dr. Alexandre Voukchevitch (Chef du Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs).

M. Voukachine Givotitch (Chief of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Expert and Secretary-General :

M. Constantin Fotitch (Counsellor of Legation).

Secretaries :

M. Douchan Georgevitch (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Ilia Novakovitch (Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

M. Tony Szirmai (Attach  of Legation).

M. G. Antonievitch (Attach  of Legation).

Press Attach  :

M. Vladimir Bogdanovitch.

SIAM.

His Highness Prince Charoon (Minister at Paris).

His Highness Prince Vipulya Svastivongs (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm).

Acting Secretary :

Khun Prasirt Maitri (Attaché at the Legation in London).

Attachés :

Nai Thawin Arthayukti (Attaché at the Legation in Paris).

M. R. Smaksman Krisdakara (Student Attaché at the Legation in Paris).

SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Jacobus Stephanus Smit (High Commissioner in London).

Mr. Seymour Jacklin.

Secretary :

Miss Magdalena Kuhn.

SWEDEN.

His Excellency M. Jonas Eliel Löfgren (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency Baron E. T. Marks von Wurtemberg (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, President of the Svea Court of Appeal).

Doctor J. L. Widell (Senator).

Substitutes :

Baron A. Th. Adelswärd (former Finance Minister).

His Excellency Doctor T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo).

M. J. A. Engberg (Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Mme. Anna Bugge-Wicksell (Master of Law).

Expert and Secretary :

M. E. C. Boheman (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Press Service :

M. C. O. Johansson (First Secretary of Legation).

Secretary :

Baron H. G. Beck-Friis (First Secretary of Legation).

SWITZERLAND.

His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Vice-President of the Federal Council, Head of the Political Department).

Colonel Beat Henri Bolli (Member of the Council of States).

M. Emile Louis Gandard (National Councillor).

Substitute :

M. Walther Burckhardt (Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Berne).

Experts and Secretaries :

M. Daniel Secretan (First Secretary at the Section for Foreign Affairs).

M. P. Widmer (Secretary at the Section for Foreign Affairs).

URUGUAY.

His Excellency M. Juan Carlos Blanco (Minister for Foreign Affairs).

His Excellency M. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Representative of Uruguay on the Council of the League of Nations).

His Excellency M. Benjamin Fernandez y Medina (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid).

Substitute :

His Excellency M. Enrique Buero (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne).

Secretary-General :

M. Adolfo Sienra.

VENEZUELA.

His Excellency M. César Zumeta (former Minister for the Interior, former Senator, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome).

His Excellency M. Diógenes Escalante (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London).

His Excellency M. C. Parra-Pérez (former Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission to the Swiss Federal Council, Chargé d'Affaires at Berne).

Secretary :

M. S. Gonzalez Rincones (former Secretary of the Legation in Paris, former Secretary at the Special Plenipotence accredited to the Swiss Federal Council).

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY

President :

His Excellency Dr. MONTCHILLO NINTCHITCH
(Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).

Vice-Presidents elected by the Assembly :

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN (British Empire).

M. BRIAND (France).

Viscount ISHII (Japan).

M. SCIALOJA (Italy).

M. FIGUEROA (Guatemala).

Baron LEHMANN (Liberia).

Vice-Presidents ex officio as Chairmen of Committees :

M. MOTTA (Switzerland).

Mr. FITZGERALD (Free State of Ireland).

M. VILLEGAS (Chile).

M. TITULESCO (Roumania).

M. MENSENDORFF-POULLY-DIETRICHSTEIN
(Austria).

M. de BROUCKÈRE (Belgium).

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations :

The Hon. Sir James Eric DRUMMOND.

The President and the twelve Vice-Presidents constituted, with Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, the General Committee of the Assembly.

In addition, the Assembly, in a resolution dated September 8th, 1926, decided to appoint Dr. URRUTIA (Colombia), the Chairman of the Agenda Committee, as a member of the General Committee.

TEXT OF THE DEBATES

FIRST PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 6th, 1926, at 11 a.m.

CONTENTS :

1. OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.
Speech by M. Beneš, Acting President of the Council.
2. COMMITTEE ON THE CREDENTIALS OF DELEGATES.
Election of the Committee.

1. — OPENING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

M. Beneš, delegate of Czechoslovakia, Acting President of the Council, took the Chair.

The Chairman :

Translation: Ladies and gentlemen — It is to the delegate of Czechoslovakia that falls the great honour of opening the meetings of the seventh session of the Assembly of the League of Nations and of inaugurating its work. I am proud of this honour, and it will remain for me an unforgettable memory, particularly as the present Assembly will without doubt be of outstanding importance both in the history of the League and in that of European politics in general.

In opening this first meeting, I do not wish to dwell too much on the difficulties of the moment. You are as familiar with them as I am, and we shall have to deal with them during our discussions. But I shall also refrain from sounding a note of triumph, or of "official optimism", regardless of existing obstacles, which we can hardly hope to surmount without difficulty.

I do not wish to indulge to excess the optimism which must inspire all those who work for the advancement of the League and who desire through it to contribute to the maintenance of world peace; neither will I attempt, on the other hand, to ignore the obstacles which daily beset our path. At the same time I will not give way to the misplaced pessimism or accept the unjustifiable criticisms of the sceptics, who are rarely

capable of any solid achievement in our distracted society or of leading humanity a step forward in the path which leads to a better future. I merely desire, in accordance with what has already become a tradition, to give a brief outline of what the League has accomplished, directly or indirectly, during the last twelve months. We shall all realise that, while it has not brought about a radical change in the present difficult conditions of political, social and economic life, the work it has done in the past year has nevertheless been very considerable. It constitutes a step forward in the evolution of Europe and it furnishes a proof that the path we have chosen is leading, despite all, to a progressive and comparatively rapid improvement of the world of to-day.

The struggle in which we are engaged is a hard and difficult one; but it holds out promise of success and of final victory, and we all realise that this victory can only come slowly and at the cost of great sacrifice.

You have before you the report on the work of the Council and of the measures taken to execute your decisions of last year. Who can study it without being struck by the growing amplitude of the League's work, by the fresh responsibilities it is constantly assuming, and by the ever greater services it is rendering to the cause of peace? May I therefore be allowed to recall in a few words the League's activities during the year 1925-26?

Broadly speaking, these activities may be divided into three categories. The first comprises the work of the technical and advisory organisations of the League and of the Council, particularly in economic and financial matters and social and humanitarian undertakings. In this connection it may be pointed out that, since the last Assembly, Committees have sat at Geneva every month to consider problems of the most varied kinds.

On two occasions, the League has held general Conferences, technical conferences in connection with the Transit Organisation, for the purpose of reducing the numerous formalities which,

particularly since the war, have hampered commercial relations. One of these Conferences, which dealt with certain technical points concerning inland navigation, was a European conference, while the other was world-wide. The latter dealt with one of the most irritating of the minor problems of the post-war period — that of passports. In order to remove the most vexatious formalities, forty States sent representatives, who agreed upon a number of conclusions.

In this connection I should like to draw the attention of all delegations to the fact that it is their duty, once they have returned to their own countries, to see that effect is given to the decisions taken at Geneva. I am fully aware that our Parliaments, which are often overburdened with work, are obliged to take questions in their order and to postpone, sometimes for too long, the ratification of the international instruments signed at the seat of the League. We must not forget, however, that in the sphere of international conventions the reserve and caution displayed by the League have sometimes been judged excessive, that the draft conventions it has drawn up refer to technical questions which it is in the interest of all to have finally settled, and that it has always made every effort to simplify the mechanism of international exchange without detriment to individual interests.

I feel bound to say that, from the point of view of the conventions drafted by the technical committees, by the Economic, Transit, Health and Opium Committees and by our Disarmament Committees, the situation is not very satisfactory. Indeed, the further progress of our technical work would be a matter of some difficulty if this situation did not improve. The action of our experts and even of our Governments would run the risk of being thwarted if, owing to the non-ratification of these instruments, it were deprived of the groundwork provided by established conventions; and, knowing your desire to have these conventions put into force, I am convinced that you will convey my appeal to the proper quarter and that it will be heard in all your capitals.

In the past year the League has continued its efforts to improve international relations in the various technical spheres with the assistance of the most qualified representatives which our administrations possess. To realise this, it is sufficient to glance at the list of tasks undertaken by the Economic and Financial Organisation: the draft Agreement on the Abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions; investigations on economic crises and unemployment; on false Customs declarations; on unfair competition; on double taxation and tax evasion; on the measures to be taken to prevent the issue and circulation of counterfeit currency. This enumeration outlines the work of to-morrow, of the economic rapprochement which is essential if peace and international co-operation are to be established on solid foundations.

In this connection we have, as you know, undertaken an ambitious task, the preparation of an International Economic Conference. A Committee has met, the composition of which ensures that every type of interest will be represented and defended. It comprises a list of experts, chosen from among the most competent. It has already drawn up a rough programme of the investigations which must be made before the Conference itself is convened. The organisations of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and other international organisations immediately set to work on this task. The Committee has sketched the main outlines of the

enquiry which they must pursue. Once in possession of these data, the Committee will be in a position, at its next session, to single out the chief points of the industrial, agricultural and commercial problems to be submitted to the Conference. The latter will therefore only meet to consider these vital and complex problems after it has been given a clear, precise and limited agenda. It will therefore be able to reach its conclusions with a full knowledge of the facts.

Meanwhile we must not omit to lay stress on the progress achieved by the League of Nations in the work of European reconstruction, which has now been pursued for some years with the success that you know. The thorough enquiry conducted last year in Austria by two eminent economic experts appointed by the Council, Mr. Layton and Professor Rist, showed that the economic difficulties suffered by Austria in common with so many other countries do not threaten to compromise the work of financial and monetary reconstruction. The financial stability of the country is now established on a solid basis. The two League experts at the same time indicated the best methods to be adopted to enable the results of financial reconstruction to develop and to become the source of an economic prosperity which will enable Austria, in cordial co-operation with all her neighbours, to play in full freedom that part in the European community which is hers by right. Our Commissioner-General, M. Zimmerman, having concluded his task, has been able to take up other work, and I am sure I shall be voicing the feeling of the Assembly in expressing to him our deep gratitude.

The thanks of the Assembly are also due to Mr. Smith, who has devoted himself with such conspicuous success to the work of financial control in Hungary, and whose exceptional qualities of tact and thoroughness have won for him the affection and esteem of all with whom he has come in contact. Before his departure Mr. Smith had the satisfaction of learning that the Financial Committee had recognised the excellent results of the budgetary supervision which he had been called upon to exercise, and that the Council had itself undertaken to deal with the question of the utilisation of the balance of the reconstruction loan.

Since the last Assembly, other examples have demonstrated the value of international action in financial matters and the assistance which can be rendered by your Council in this connection, among them being those of the Danzig Municipal Loan, the enquiry into the position of the Free City undertaken by the Financial Committee, the continuation of the work of the Greek Refugees Settlement Commission with the help of the loan, and the preparation of a loan for the settlement of the Bulgarian refugees. Such have been the principal contributions made by the League in the course of the year to the great work of European reconstruction; the cause of peace cannot fail to be greatly benefited thereby.

Thus the economic, financial and humanitarian activities of the League have continued unchecked. While adding to this list the work undertaken for the benefit of the Armenian refugees and for the protection of children, I should also mention that the first institution of the League of Nations in the Far East — our Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore — has begun operations. In this field also the League is pursuing its task with conspicuous success.

Finally, when reading the report of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, you will certainly be struck by the increasing interest which its work arouses. It was only right that the work of peace

undertaken by the League should extend to intellectual matters. Fortunately, thanks to the initiative of the French Government, means were found to enable the eminent scholars on our Committee to translate their decisions into realities. In the near future, through the generosity of the Italian Government, they will be endowed with a new instrument of work. The results of these welcome acts of generosity are already becoming apparent. Assistance is arriving from all sides. Of their own accord, scholars all over the world, taught by a long experience of disinterested work, have come forward with suggestions to save their colleagues loss of time, to complete the process of international co-operation in the sphere of letters and science and to secure in that field the final triumph of the great principle of division of labour. National Committees have been established in almost all countries. They are working with redoubled energy; a kind of intellectual League of Nations is spreading its organisation into all countries.

As you see, gentlemen, one of your main preoccupations of last year, namely, to ensure continuity in this slow, steady, fruitful and constructive work, which it lies with the League of Nations to perform, has been given all possible consideration by your Council and by the advisory and technical Committees which you placed at its disposal.

As regards the second class of questions on which the League is permanently engaged — I refer to the regular work done by the League and the Council in the sphere of daily political relations between States, the settlement of any disputes which may suddenly arise between Members of the League and, lastly, special questions like minorities and disarmament — substantial results have been attained this year.

In this connection, I would remind you, in the first place, of the final settlement of the very delicate question of Mosul. It was included in the agenda for 1925, when we were all gathered in this same hall. Several months of work were needed before the Council could arrive at a solution. That solution was adopted after lengthy reflection, after the pros and cons had been weighed and after the report by the Commission of Enquiry which was sent to the disputed territory had been carefully studied. A valuable opinion by the Permanent Court of International Justice, the new tribunal of the nations, enlightened the Council on the legal aspect of the question. The Council finally gave a unanimous award, which seemed to it fair and which it surrounded with all possible precautions in the interests of the populations concerned.

It was certainly not without a deep sense of its responsibilities that the Council took its final decision. Its satisfaction was therefore great when it learned that the two parties in the case, animated by a spirit of conciliation which cannot be too highly praised, had concluded an agreement between themselves to apply the award given. At its last session the Council took note, with what pleasure you may imagine, of the arrangement concluded between Turkey and Great Britain. All that is now wanting is the logical conclusion, which I hope Turkey will shortly enable us to supply. We shall all be delighted if the opportunity is given to us to welcome her among us as a Member of the League.

Another case, of a different kind but perhaps no less serious, came before the Council quite recently. This was the dispute which arose on the frontiers of two Members of the League, Greece and Bulgaria. I am quite convinced that unavoidable circumstances forced both Governments into that difficult situation, which found its solution in Paris before the Council of the League. This is proved

by the readiness with which they acceded to the suggestions we made to them.

Those, gentlemen, are powerful assurances for the future, firm pledges of agreement and understanding. These hopes receive strong confirmation, if you read through the report of the Council now before you and if you examine the work of the League on minority questions. Formerly oppressed, the sport of international ambitions, these minorities are to-day assured of free development within the States to which they belong. Further, you will find in that report positive and remarkable results concerning the administration of certain territories, the exchange of populations, the delimitation of frontiers, conciliatory action of all kinds, the work of the Mandates Commission on behalf of native populations, etc.

It is with the same intention of political pacification that the League of Nations is pursuing its work on disarmament. Last year you suggested the idea of two great conferences of world importance — the Economic Conference, of which I spoke just now, and the Disarmament Conference.

No one can be surprised that the preparations for such vast enterprises are not yet complete.

Ever since its creation, the League of Nations has, in virtue of its Covenant, been concerned with the problem of disarmament. Pessimists may find that these six years of effort have yielded very meagre results. That would be a harsh and an unjust judgment. Naturally, we should all like to be much further advanced than we are, but, if we glance back at the road we have travelled, we see that in spite of everything we are appreciably nearer our goal. The problem of armaments is nothing less than the expression of the political, social and, above all, psychological state of the world. The progress made towards pacification during the last six, and particularly during the last two, years will, I am sure, bring the first positive results within our reach at an early date.

There is no doubt that even now the disarmament problem cannot be solved in its entirety. What we propose is to accomplish a first stage and to arrive at an initial international agreement on the limitation of the preparations for war, however restricted this limitation may be, though we all hope that it will be as little restricted as possible. No one can fail to realise its importance, or to grasp the fact that nothing since the agreements concluded last year at Locarno would be more likely to improve international relations.

More perhaps than in the case of any other Conference, it is important here not to approach the final act too heedlessly but to make all the requisite preparations, and, as far as possible, to reconcile in advance the important interests at stake. That is the work of your Committees, which know well that the failure of an ill-prepared Conference would amount to a catastrophe. The chief of these Committees has drawn up a programme of all the technical difficulties to be solved. It has had the co-operation of Germany and of the United States of America. For the study of this programme it established comprehensive bodies of technical experts, which set to work immediately. They will shortly be able to give us the result of their work. It will then rest with the political representatives on the Preparatory Commission to draw the conclusions and to elaborate a draft agreement for submission to a general conference.

When this Conference meets, the League of Nations, thanks to the resolutions which you are going to adopt, will have made further progress towards that universality to which you have always aspired.

I thus come to the last class of questions with which our League has been occupied during the past year. These are for the moment the most important, because they touch upon current questions of European and even world policy, and because their settlement aims at the reconciliation of the great European nations which took part in the Great War, and at ensuring for a long time to come the security and peace of a very large part of the world. I refer to the important international event known as the Locarno Agreements, which, apart from their great international political significance, are of decisive importance to the League of Nations, because they are bound up with the entry of Germany into our League.

In September of last year, M. Painlevé, at that time President of the Council, in opening the Assembly, informed it that its previous work for the organisation of peace was on the point of bearing fruit and that, although it was not possible to put in force immediately the regulations which the Assembly had drawn up the previous year in drafting the Geneva Protocol, at least the principal European nations, guided by its spirit, were about to conclude between themselves a system of guarantee pacts and arbitration conventions which would define the pacific obligations of the Covenant of the League. He thus emphasised the extreme importance for the future of peace of the year which was to elapse before our present meeting. It is no exaggeration to say that all diplomatic negotiations, at all events in Europe, since the last Assembly, have turned in the direction of the League of Nations.

You are all familiar with the events to which I refer. Hardly had you separated last year when a number of European Powers, those who had been most closely engaged in the Great War, met at Locarno to conclude the agreement and treaty of arbitration, of which you will indirectly decree the coming into force this week. Although the Conference of Locarno was held outside the League of Nations, the work accomplished there was none the less inspired by its influence.

M. Briand, President of the Council, made the following statement in October last during our Paris session :

"Under the inspiration of a resolution voted by the last Assembly, which gave us great encouragement, we have pursued the limited, but nevertheless important, work of Locarno If the negotiations of Locarno have been crowned with success, it is due to the fact that from beginning to end we took the utmost care to conduct those negotiations in the spirit of the League of Nations and of its Covenant. It is because we were guided by all the previous work of the League of Nations that we were able to attain our ends."

Sir Austen Chamberlain, who so largely contributed to the success of this great work of peace, has on various occasions emphasised its historic importance. Other statesmen who took part in it — M. Mussolini and M. Scialoja, M. Vandervelde, M. Stresemann and M. Luther, Polish statesmen and political circles in Czechoslovakia — all these, without over-estimating the value of what had been done, have borne testimony that the Treaties of Locarno mark a definite stage in the political history of Europe.

But for the existence of the League, the Treaties of Locarno would, as you know, be a dead letter. They are, in fact, no more than an application of the Covenant, all the provisions of which they scrupulously respect. They are also the outcome of the great effort made by the fourth and fifth sessions of the Assembly for the organisation of

peace. Your long discussions, which were the necessary preliminary to the elaboration of a draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance and subsequently of a draft Protocol, have borne fruit. Although it has not proved possible to give to the brilliantly conceived and highly effective legal formulas which you devised that universal application which was your desire, at least we have been able to apply them in a restricted field, as you had indeed foreseen.

The Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol contemplated the conclusion of partial agreements carefully linked to the Covenant of the League, in conformity with its provisions, and placed under the guarantee of the Council. The most original of these treaties which could be conceived was concluded last winter at Locarno. It bound together the belligerents in the late war. It is in no way reminiscent of the alliances of a former day, which aimed at establishing a false security by means of a balance between groups of Powers, secret alliances which only too frequently masked ambitious and warlike intentions.

I think I may state from this platform, without fear of contradiction, that the negotiators of Locarno were true to the new spirit created by the Assembly of the League, a spirit which it personifies and which has been acclaimed here in moments of unforgettable enthusiasm by all the representatives of civilised nations. Those negotiators also took into account the importance which you so rightly attach to the progress of conciliation and arbitration. I know that no policy could be more popular with you and that it will, in particular, meet with the approval of the Republics of Latin America, which have already pursued this path so long and whose wish it has been that their youthful strength, their powers of expansion and their future should develop along the lines of arbitration and justice.

Provision is made as between all the signatories of Locarno for the whole series of pacific procedure : commissions of conciliation, arbitration, Court of Justice, Council of the League of Nations.

But there is more than this. As a result of the powerful impulse given by the last two sessions of the Assembly, a remarkable movement has begun in the political world. In response to the Assembly's recommendation, the States Members of the League throughout the world are in process of inaugurating among themselves a vast new political system based upon the principle of conciliation and arbitration. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this evolution, of this new procedure instituted by the nations for the settlement of their disputes. What valuable assistance will be given to Governments by this appeal to conciliation which will make it possible for them to obtain a hearing by organisations at once competent and impartial, and thus to justify the concessions indispensable to a good international understanding !

I am well aware that this system is not yet perfect, that there are certain gaps and that failures may occur, but the voluntary action of various States during the last few months, in conjunction with the supreme guarantee afforded, more especially in political matters, by the appeal to the Council of the League of Nations, provides the most complete system that has yet been inaugurated for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

I now come to the events of the last few days, which are occupying us all at this moment.

Marked by the auspicious events to which I have just referred, the first months following the last session of the Assembly encouraged

the belief that Germany would be speedily admitted into the League of Nations. You are all aware of the events which made it necessary for us to wait until to-day in order to reply to the request which Dr. Stresemann submitted on February 10th last.

To solve these difficulties, the Council constituted a Committee, the members of which were assisted by the representatives of several other States and of Germany herself. The report of this Committee will shortly be in your hands. It has taken account, not only of the obstacles which faced the special session of the Assembly in March, but of the work done by the First Committee during previous years.

This question of the organisation of the Council arose in almost the very earliest days of the League. You know the controversies to which it led in the Council, when the question of new permanent seats was raised in 1921, and, later, when the question came before the Assembly, which has thoroughly studied the rules for the election of the non-permanent Members. A certain impatience may perhaps have been aroused by the length of these discussions; nevertheless we cannot but congratulate ourselves upon them to-day, since the reorganisation of the Council may further facilitate the solution of the grave problems with which you are faced.

The new Committee has taken account of the Assembly's wishes, and has drawn up rules for election based directly upon those which you had laid down. It has taken account of certain opposition that made itself felt, and with which the Assembly will no longer be faced, thanks to the welcome ratification of the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant, a ratification at which we all rejoice, while realising the heavy responsibility which it lays upon this Assembly.

Thus our Committee has given elasticity to the proposed system by according to the Assembly facilities for re-electing States, if it so desires, when their mandate has expired. It has wisely limited this right to a small number of States. Thus the two tendencies which have manifested themselves in the past are reconciled, and I hope that in this way further difficulties may be avoided in the future. We should perhaps have one day regretted it if we had drawn up too rigid a plan. The one submitted to you, which will now serve as the basis of your discussions and upon which you will be asked to pronounce freely in your sovereign independence, seems to me to hold out prospects of a unanimous and speedy agreement.

Accordingly, I think that the difficulties with which we were faced in March will no longer arise, and that to-morrow we shall have the satisfaction, first of welcoming a new Member in our midst, and, secondly, of satisfying certain legitimate claims by other States. In the interests of world peace, international understanding and European reconciliation, we may congratulate ourselves upon this happy event. I venture already from this platform to extend a cordial welcome to the new Member of the League.

Is it possible that this expected agreement and the entry of a great European Power into the League may be saddened by decisions which would result, to our sorrow, in the departure from among us of some of the States which are dearest to us? I have not yet lost all hope. For six years the Assembly has attempted to give such proofs of wisdom, breadth of view, justice and equity that no one should misunderstand the import of the decisions which you will take. We are all anxious to accord the largest possible share, their rightful share, to all civilisations, old and new, to all forms of culture, to all those inestimable riches contributed—out of their long past, through the virtues of their race and through their future also—by those Members of the League of Nations

which have communicated to us their desires and aspirations in the course of the year.

I am fully aware that two important States, both Members of the Council, which for six years have worked on the League with the utmost devotion in the cause of peace and international understanding, and which through their distinguished representatives have rendered incalculable service to the League, have taken decisions which are profoundly saddening to us all without exception.

May I be allowed, as President of the Council, to appeal to-day, with less authority, indeed, than that with which you will certainly soon appeal but with the same confidence of heart, to their noble sentiments, to their pride even, which will, I am sure, prevent them from abandoning their part in the responsibilities which fall upon us all, to their generosity, and to their spirit of international friendship?

I declare the seventh session of the Assembly of the League of Nations open.

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

The Chairman :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — In accordance with Article 5 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the Committee to report on the credentials of delegates should be elected by the Assembly in order that it may submit its report without delay.

This Committee should consist of eight members.

M. Motta (Switzerland) :

Translation : I have the honour to propose the following list of eight members to form the Committee on Credentials.

The list I am about to read is composed according to the alphabetical order of States, and I beg the Assembly's indulgence for my boldness in making this proposal. My object is solely to expedite the progress of our work.

I accordingly propose the following delegates as members of the Committee on Credentials :

M. Vladimir MOLLOFF (Bulgaria).
M. Wang KING-KY (China).
M. DE AGÜERO Y BETHANCOURT (Cuba).
General Johan LAIDONER (Estonia).
M. Joseph BARTHÉLEMY (France).
H.H. the Maharajah of KAPURTHALA (India).
Count BONIN-LOGARE (Italy).
Baron LEHMANN (Liberia).

The Chairman :

Translation : Are there any observations in regard to this proposal? Does any member wish to propose any other candidate? If there is no opposition I declare the proposal adopted.

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

The list proposed by M. Motta was adopted.

The Chairman :

Translation : The Committee on the Credentials of Delegates which has just been elected will meet at 3 p.m. to-day at the offices of the Secretariat, Room D.

The next meeting of the Assembly will take place at 4.30 o'clock this afternoon.

The Assembly rose at 12 o'clock noon.

SECOND PLENARY MEETING

Monday, September 6th, 1926, at 4.30 p.m.

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

M. Beneš, delegate of Czechoslovakia, Acting President of the Council, in the Chair.

The Chairman :

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

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

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

Translation : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen — The Committee appointed by the Assembly to report on the credentials of delegates met to-day at 3.30 p.m. at the Secretariat of the League of Nations. I was elected Chairman and was entrusted with the duty of drawing up the report.

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

Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, India, Irish

Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Salvador, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

The Committee considers that the representatives of these States Members are duly accredited.

The following States Members have not accredited delegations to this Assembly :

The Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Honduras, Peru and Spain.

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

The Chairman :

Translation : I beg to thank the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials for his report.

Has anyone any observations to make on the conclusions of the report ?

The conclusions of the report were adopted.

4. — ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SEVENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The Chairman :

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

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

I call upon M. Motta, delegate of Switzerland, and a former President of the Assembly, and His Excellency Prince Arfa, delegate of Persia, a former Vice-President, to act as tellers.

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

The Chairman :

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

The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting	48
Absolute majority	25

M. Nintchitch (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) has received 42 votes.

I have therefore the honour, according to the Rules of Procedure, to announce that M. Nintchitch, first delegate of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, is elected President of the Assembly.

I am sure that I am voicing the feelings of all delegates present in congratulating my friend

M. Nintchitch on the display of goodwill shown to him by this Assembly in electing him President.

All of us here know the great merit and high qualifications of this statesman of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. First as Professor of Finance and Political Economy, then as Minister of Finance and Commerce and, for several years since the war, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, he has proved himself a talented, practical and clear-headed statesman. At home and in dealing with neighbouring States he has pursued a policy of reconstruction and consolidation, always in conformity with the principles of the Covenant of the League. For several years past he has taken part in the work of our Assemblies and Committees, of which latter he has more than once been elected Chairman.

It is unnecessary to say more. You all know our new President and you know that your choice is an admirable one. I am especially glad to be able to add to the general congratulations my personal sentiments of friendship towards a man with whom, since 1920, I have worked in close intimacy and in a spirit of friendship, loyalty and, above all, devotion to the work of European peace.

I call upon M. Nintchitch to take the Chair of the Assembly.

M. Nintchitch took the Presidential Chair.

5. — PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

M. Nintchitch (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), President of the Assembly :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — I beg to thank you for the great honour you have just done my country, for indeed it is on my country and not on myself that your choice has fallen.

I am sure that to-day's vote will cause profound emotion in my country, which, having experienced all the trials and horrors of war, is all the more resolutely attached to the League of Nations, the guardian of peace and of civilisation.

I am especially proud to be presiding over this seventh session of the Assembly. The task it has before it will leave an indelible mark upon our history. Despite the difficulties through which the League has just passed, it will emerge from this Assembly stronger than ever before.

We trust that the clouds which have darkened our horizon during these past few months will clear. The presence of yet another great nation among us in the near future should give us full confidence. A new guest is about to enter our house. In welcoming that guest, as we shall to-morrow, we all have the conviction that those of our friends who are absent on that great occasion will soon return to us. The solemn act which will take place within this building a few days hence will certainly resound throughout the world.

For those peoples who are watching us and who are still in doubt, there could be no more convincing testimony, no more moving appeal to come and join us in our work of peace and universal collaboration.

In the region of Europe from which I come, this robust faith in what I do not hesitate to call the noblest of human institutions is an absolute necessity. For centuries war has ravaged this part of our continent. If we are to believe in peace, if we are to defend its sacred cause, we must feel that all peoples are animated by the same desire. Pessimists who sometimes indulge in the vain intellectual pastime of belittling the League of Nations and announcing its approaching ruin do not

realise the painful effects which such thoughtless words may have in certain countries of Europe which, having known war only too well, sometimes find it difficult to believe that it will never break out again.

If we are firmly resolved to maintain peace, we must proclaim aloud our conviction that it will henceforth be inviolable. Many statesmen come here to these annual Assemblies for the renewed encouragement and faith which they require to enable them, on returning home, to pursue the sometimes difficult task of conciliation, moderation and peace.

During the seven years of its existence, the League of Nations has rendered eminent services to mankind, which was so sorely tried by the war. It is preparing to render it fresh services, but, even apart from the beneficent action which it exercises by direct means, its very existence is sufficient in itself to imbue the peoples with a new and hitherto unknown spirit.

I wonder what relations would exist, but for the League of Nations, between the peoples who through the war seemed fated to be for ever pitted one against another. If the work of moral reconciliation has already made such progress, it is to the League that this is due.

Lastly, is it not highly significant that we should find so many eminent statesmen, bearing the heavy responsibility of power in their own countries, coming quite naturally to meet each other at Geneva every year at this time, moved by a common desire to settle quarrels and bring about the reign of harmony and goodwill among the peoples? How many misunderstandings which might have led to disastrous consequences have been dissipated through such personal contact? How many serious problems have found their solution at Geneva? Yet there are superficial and malicious minds which affect to believe that we are wasting time on mere academic discussions.

Such are the auspices under which the work of this Assembly opens. In your committees, and in this hall too, you will deal with the whole work of the League. You will have to define the programme for the coming months and to give to the representatives of all the countries assembled here guiding principles which they will gladly take back with them and defend and carry through to ultimate triumph, for the welfare and glory of that great community of peoples, the League of Nations.

6. — QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL : LETTER FROM THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL COMMUNICATING THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL ON SEPTEMBER 4th, 1926

The President :

Translation : Before asking you to take a decision regarding the agenda for the session which is before you, I think I should communicate to you the following letter, dated September 6th, which I have just received from the Acting President of the Council :

"I have the honour to communicate to you, and to ask you to be good enough to transmit to the Assembly, the attached resolution, which the Council, after taking note of the report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council, adopted at its meeting held on September 4th.

(Signed) BENEŠ
Acting President of the Council."

The resolution reads as follows :

"The Council, taking note of the resolution proposed by the delegate of France and passed by the special Assembly of March 1926 — which resolution reads as follows :

"The Assembly,

"Regrets that the difficulties encountered have prevented the attainment of the purpose for which it was convened,

"And expresses the hope that between now and the ordinary September session of 1926 these difficulties may be surmounted so as to make it possible for Germany to enter the League of Nations on that occasion";

"And, acting in pursuance of the wish expressed in that resolution :

"1. Approves the report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council ;

"2. In consequence and in virtue of the powers which it derives from Article 4 of the Covenant decides upon :

"(a) The appointment of Germany as a permanent Member of the Council upon her entry into the League of Nations ;

"(b) The increase in the number of the non-permanent seats to nine ;

"3. Recommends to the Assembly the approval of these decisions ;

"4. Commends to the favourable consideration of the Assembly the proposals made by the Committee as regards the method of election and tenure of the non-permanent seats."

The Assembly will note that this communication concerns Item 12 of the agenda. I would propose, therefore, that the Assembly should decide upon the action to be taken on this communication when I submit to it suggestions relating to that item of the agenda.

If there is no objection, I declare this proposal adopted.

The proposal was adopted.

7. — AGENDA : EXAMINATION AND ADOPTION.

The President :

Translation : In order to save time, and if no delegation asks for a vote, I propose that the Assembly adopt the agenda *en bloc*, that is to say, the questions contained in the document distributed to the Assembly, under Numbers 1 to 22 (Annex 1, document A.2.(1) 1926).

With regard to the supplementary list of items distributed after May 1st, 1926, I propose that the Assembly should take a separate decision in each case.

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

The proposal was adopted.

The first item on the Supplementary List is as follows :

Conclusion of an International Convention on Slavery and Conditions analogous thereto.

If there is no objection to the inclusion of this question, it will be entered as Item 23 of the agenda. (*Assent.*)

The second question on the Supplementary List is as follows :

Conference on Russian and Armenian Refugee Questions : Measures taken by Governments to give effect to the Terms of the Arrangement concluded at the Conference.

If there is no objection to the inclusion of this question, it will be entered as Item 24 of the agenda. (*Assent.*)

The third question on the Supplementary List is as follows .

Staff Provident Fund : Amendment to Article 6 of the Regulations provisionally made by the Council.

If there is no objection to the inclusion of this question, it will be entered as Item 25 of the agenda. (*Assent.*)

If there is no objection, I shall consider the agenda of the seventh session of the Assembly as adopted in the form proposed.

The agenda was adopted.

8. — CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES.

The President :

Translation : In accordance with precedent, the first matter to be decided by the Assembly is the constitution of its Committees. Before the General Committee of the Assembly can be established, the Committees must have elected their Chairmen, as the Chairmen of the Committees, together with the six Vice-Presidents elected by the Assembly, form the General Committee of the Assembly.

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

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

If there is no objection, I shall consider these proposals adopted. (*Adopted.*)

As the Assembly has accepted these suggestions, the Secretariat will supply the delegations with forms on which to enter the names of their delegates and substitutes to sit on each Committee. As soon as these lists have been collated, each Committee will meet to elect its Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The Assembly can then proceed to elect the six Vice-Presidents, who, with the Chairmen of the Committees, constitute the General Committee of the Assembly.

9. — AGENDA COMMITTEE : APPOINTMENT.

The President :

Translation : As was done at previous Assemblies, I would suggest that a small Committee of seven members should be appointed to examine the question of the inscription of new items on the agenda.

If the Assembly agrees, and if there are no proposals by delegations concerning the names of the members of this Committee, I would venture to put forward the following list :

M. DINO	(Albania),
Viscount CECIL	(British Empire)
M. URBUTIA	(Colombia),
M. NEMOURS	(Haiti),
M. GRANDI	(Italy),
M. BECH	(Luxemburg),
Prince CHAROON	(Siam).

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

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

The President :

Translation : I think that the simplest procedure would be for the President, as usual, to submit suggestions concerning the distribution of the items on the agenda among the Committees.

I should first like to submit a proposal concerning Item 11 of the agenda :

Consideration of the Report of the First Committee of the Special Session of the Assembly on the Request of the German Government for Admission to the League of Nations.

And Item 12, which is as follows :

Such report or proposals as the Council may decide to make after considering the Report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council appointed by the Council resolution of March 18th, 1926.

With this last question might be coupled the letter and resolution which the Acting President of the Council forwarded to me and which I have just read. We noted that this communication concerned Item 12. I think the Assembly will agree that it would be well to place the General Committee, as soon as constituted, in a position to submit proposals so that the Assembly may decide upon the procedure to be followed as regard both Items 11 and 12 and the various paragraphs of the resolution communicated by the Council.

If there is no objection, I shall consider that the Assembly has accepted my proposal to submit these various questions to the General Committee for previous examination. The General Committee will meet as soon as constituted, and I will in due course communicate to you the results of its examination.

The proposal was adopted.

I propose that the other items on the agenda should be distributed as follows :

Items 13, 14, 15, 16 and 19 might be dealt with by the Second Committee ; Item 20 by the Third Committee ; Items 10, 21 and 25 by the Fourth Committee ; Items 9, 17, 18 and 24 by the Fifth Committee ; and Item 23 by the Sixth Committee.

With regard to Items 7 and 8, I think I shall be interpreting the opinion of the Assembly in proposing the allocation of these questions to the First and Third Committees, which would decide which parts of the questions they should respectively examine.

If the Assembly accepts my proposals, the various items on the Agenda will be distributed among the Committees as follows :

First Committee : Certain aspects of Items 7 and 8.

Second Committee : Items 13, 14, 15, 16 and 19.

Third Committee : Item 20 and certain aspects of Items 7 and 8.

Fourth Committee : Items 10, 21 and 25.

Fifth Committee : Items 9, 17, 18 and 24.

Sixth Committee : Item 23.

Do any delegations wish to make observations on the distribution of work which I have proposed ?

If there is no objection, the arrangement is adopted. (*Assent.*)

In order that the Committees may proceed without delay to the election of their respective Chairmen, I would propose that they should meet to-morrow morning at the Salle de la Réformation in the following order :

First Committee, 10 a.m. ; Second Committee, 10.20 a.m. ; Third Committee, 10.40 a.m. ; Fourth Committee, 11 a.m. ; Fifth Committee, 11.20 a.m. ; Sixth Committee, 11.40 a.m. (*Assent.*)

Dr. Nansen, first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Nansen (Norway) :

I do not know what the reason is, but I have not been able to hear a word of what has been said. I would ask that we should be supplied as soon as possible with a record of the decisions taken to-day, because we do not know them. Perhaps nothing very important has been decided — I hope not — but important things may have been said which have escaped our attention, and I do not think that we can be quite bound by them now, as we do not know what has happened. I propose that we receive as soon as possible a record of the decisions taken to-day.

The President :

Translation : I will note this remark, which has to do with a notorious defect in this hall, namely, its poor acoustic properties.

There is only one real remedy for that defect, and that is to build a new hall. In the meantime, as my voice does not carry sufficiently, I think that those of my colleagues who understand English — and the delegate of Norway is one of them — might listen to the interpreter, whose voice is more powerful than mine and who can certainly be heard quite well as a rule.

To return to Dr. Nansen's proposal, we will, as usual, proceed as rapidly as possible with the distribution of the report of this meeting.

I would avail myself of the opportunity provided by the Norwegian delegate's observation to request the members of the Assembly to be good

enough to remain silent. This might counteract to some extent the defective acoustics to which he referred.

The Assembly rose at 5.50 p.m.

THIRD PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 7th, 1926, at noon.

CONTENTS :

11. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.
12. VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.
Election of six Vice-Presidents.
13. PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES.
Communication by the President.

President : M. NINTCHITCH.

11. — ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES

The President :

Translation : The following is a list of the Chairmen elected this morning by the Committees :

<i>Committees</i>	<i>Chairmen</i>
No. I.	M. MOTTA (Switzerland),
II.	Mr. FITZGERALD (Irish Free State),
III.	M. VILLEGAS (Chile),
IV.	M. TITULESCO (Roumania),
V.	M. MENSENDORFF-POULLY- DIETRICHSTEIN (Austria),
VI.	M. DE BROUCKÈRE (Belgium).

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

The President :

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

Under Rule 21, paragraph 3, of the Rules of Procedure, this election takes place by secret ballot.

I call upon M. Mensdorff (Austria) and M. Villegas (Chile) to be good enough to act as tellers.

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

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of States voting	46
Voting papers valid	46
Majority required	24

The analysis of the voting is as follows :

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN (British Empire)	44	votes
M. BRIAND (France)	43	"
Viscount ISHII (Japan)	43	"
M. SCIALOJA (Italy)	42	"
M. FIGUEROA (Guatemala)	29	"
Baron LEHMANN (Liberia)	24	"
M. BECH (Luxemburg)	18	"
M. SETÄLÄ (Finland)	11	"

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure, I have the honour to declare the following delegates Vice-Presidents of the Assembly : Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, Viscount Ishii, M. Scialoja, M. Figueroa and Baron Lehmann.

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

The President :

Translation : In order to avoid loss of time, I propose that the Committees should meet this afternoon at the offices of the Secretariat in the following order :

The First, Second and Sixth Committees at 4.30 p.m.

The Third, Fourth and Fifth Committees at 6 p.m.

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

Finally, I suggest that the General Committee should meet at 3 o'clock this afternoon in the Secretary-General's office.

As we have now come to the end of the agenda, I will close the meeting.

The Assembly rose at 12.35 p.m.

FOURTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 8th, 1926, at 10 a.m.

CONTENTS :

14. REQUEST OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL.
Proposals of the General Committee of the Assembly.
15. APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE AS A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.
Communication by the President.
16. COMPOSITION OF THE FINNISH DELEGATION.
Communication by the President.

President : M. NINTCHITCH.

14. — REQUEST OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND QUESTION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL. PROPOSALS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

Translation : There has been distributed to the delegations a document¹ containing the proposals which the General Committee decided to submit to the Assembly concerning Questions 11 and 12 on the agenda and the Council's resolution of September 4th communicated to the Assembly at its meeting on the afternoon of September 6th.

The proposals of the General Committee are as follows :

"The General Committee of the Assembly proposes that there should be a plenary meeting of the Assembly on Wednesday, September 8th, at 10 o'clock, with the following agenda, which comprises Questions 11 and 12 on the agenda of the Assembly :

" 1. Consideration of the report of the First Committee of the special session of the Assembly on the request of the German Government for admission to the League of Nations.

" 2. Consideration of the resolution adopted by the Council on September 4th, 1926, in regard to :

(a) The nomination of Germany as a permanent Member of the Council.

(b) The increase to nine of the number of non-permanent seats on the Council.

" 3. Consideration of the proposals made by the Committee instructed to study the question

of the composition of the Council as regards the method of election and tenure of the non-permanent seats.

"The General Committee proposes that the Assembly should determine, in accordance with Rule 14, paragraph 2, of its Rules of Procedure, to decide on Items 1 and 2 on the above agenda without reference to a Committee.

"The General Committee proposes that Question 3 on the above agenda should be referred to the First Committee with the request that a report on the subject be presented to the full Assembly at the earliest possible date.

"The General Committee has asked M. Motta, delegate of Switzerland, to present its proposal to the Assembly."

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

M. Motta (Switzerland) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The General Committee of the Assembly has entrusted me with the task of giving you a verbal report on the proposals which I have the honour to submit to you on its behalf.

My task, though perhaps not difficult, is extremely delicate. I therefore feel that I should at the outset claim your indulgence and your sympathy.

With your permission I will divide my report into two parts. I will first deal with certain questions of procedure and then briefly with the fundamental question involved.

As regards procedure, the General Committee suggests that you should employ the most direct and expeditious means of attaining our object. It asks you to consider the matter yourselves without referring it to one of the Committees. It is true that under the Rules of Procedure all matters coming up for decision by the Assembly should first be considered by one of the Committees. Rule 14, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure, however, lays down that the Assembly, by a majority of two-thirds, may take up and debate any subject directly, that is to say, without referring it previously to one of the Committees. We ask you to make use of this power. We ask this because the usual procedure would seem in this case to be unnecessary. The summary procedure would rather seem to be called for in the circumstances.

If the employment of the summary procedure were in any way to interfere with the liberty of the Assembly, the General Committee would not have made this proposal. Indeed, we consider that the complete liberty and authority of the Assembly are necessary for the discussion of questions of principle which are raised.

¹ Document A. 49. 1926.

There are three things to be considered. First, the admission of Germany to the League; secondly, the granting to her of a permanent seat on the Council, in ratification of the unanimous decision already adopted by the Council itself; and, thirdly, the simultaneous increase of the number of non-permanent, *i.e.*, elective, seats from six to nine.

The first of these questions is more than ripe; it is much over ripe. The First Committee of the special session of the Assembly held in March presented on March 11th a unanimous report proposing the admission of Germany to the League. The Rapporteur was the first delegate of the British Empire, our distinguished colleague, Sir Austen Chamberlain. You all know how the March Assembly was prevented from completing the task for which it was convened.

The allocation of a permanent seat on the Council is one of the conditions laid down by Germany in submitting her request for admission to the League. It is obvious that these two questions — admission to the League and the allocation of a permanent seat — must be considered *pari passu*.

The third point in the proposals submitted to you is, as I have said, the increase in the number of non-permanent seats on the Council.

The President of the Council, who gave the General Committee all necessary explanations at its meeting yesterday, stated that in the intention of the Council the allocation of a permanent seat to Germany and the increase from six to nine in the number of non-permanent seats constituted two inter-locking actions. The resolution therefore forms a single whole.

If the two questions had had to be separated, it was by no means certain that the necessary unanimity would be obtained in the Council. It is not, therefore, possible, speaking politically, to refer to a Committee the question of the non-permanent seats without referring to it the other two questions at the same time.

I would point out that these two questions are quite distinct and should not be confused; I refer to the question of the increase from six to nine in the number of non-permanent Members of the Council and that of the rules to be applied by the Assembly in the election of these non-permanent Members.

This last question is referred to the First Committee, which will give it most careful consideration and will shortly present its report with its proposals.

To sum up: the immediate procedure is indicated, but this will not interfere with the Assembly's liberty of discussion. I hope you will accept the General Committee's views.

I have still a few remarks to make on the fundamental question involved. This forms the second part of my report. I will be as brief as possible.

The admission of Germany to the League has, in my opinion, always been a vital necessity. This feeling has been strengthened year by year. It is no longer questioned by anyone. That is one of the most striking proofs of the great impulse which the establishment of the League of Nations gave to ideals of peace, conciliation and arbitration.

The admission of Germany to the League will realise one of the dearest wishes of the Swiss people, which I have the great honour to represent here among you. I venture to add that I humbly rejoice no less on this account.

The allocation of a permanent seat to Germany is one of those ideas which have in public opinion the force of elementary truth. Whether it is right or not that the Covenant should *de jure* grant permanent seats to great Powers is an open question.

The discussion of this subject, although closed to-day, may perhaps be resumed at some more or less distant date. The pros and cons of the question are very evenly balanced.

I am not so devoid of all sense of political reality as to ignore the full weight of the reasons that militate in favour of permanent seats, but it is none the less true that the theory of permanent seats is not altogether in conformity with democratic doctrines as we conceive them or with the theory of equality among nations.

However, I do not propose to discuss that question to-day. This is neither the hour nor the place for such a discussion. It is obvious that if the great Powers are given permanent seats, Germany, being beyond all doubt a great Power, could not, cannot, enter the League except upon the condition that she also obtains a permanent seat on the Council.

The question of the increase in the number of non-permanent seats, however, is another matter. I am prompted to make this observation by my sense of justice and equity in debate. This question may be, indeed has been, the subject of much controversy. I realise only too well the reasons which militate both against an increase in the number of the non-permanent seats and against an excessive increase in that number.

The great honour of presiding over the Committee on the Composition of the Council fell to me. I considered it my duty, since that Committee was in a position to examine all the aspects, all the facets, of the problem, to indicate what, in my view, were the reasons against an increase.

There are two reasons which I do not propose to dwell upon or to develop particularly, but which I wish to indicate in order to show you that the problem before us has been considered in the necessary atmosphere of calm and tranquillity.

One of the reasons against increasing the number of the non-permanent seats is the danger lest the Council, were it to become too large, should be tempted to assume too great a measure of power, with the result that the Assembly would suffer—though quite unintentionally as far as the Council was concerned—a loss of prestige and authority.

If—as I trust will be the case, and as I urge you to decide—the number of permanent seats is increased, we shall have to see that the Assembly's sovereignty remains inviolate, for we must never forget that it is in the Assembly, especially when unanimous, that the pulse of the world beats.

The second reason is that an unduly large Council might, in view of the rule demanding unanimity, be hampered or handicapped in its working and actions.

These are, I think, the two principal reasons which may reasonably be adduced against an increase in the number of the non-permanent seats and, in general, against too large a Council.

But there are also weighty, and at the present time—in my opinion—conclusive, reasons in favour of an increase.

When I say that these reasons are conclusive, I must admit that I too have had to make an effort of mind and conscience—as I trust every delegate will do—to weigh and decide, with a full knowledge of the facts, the reasons which conscience and mind show to be conclusive.

The chief reason in favour of the increase is that we must in future strike a more equitable balance between the interests of the different continents. Latin America has no permanent seat, and you know that it has not been possible

to satisfy the desire expressed by one of the Latin-American States. Since this continent has no permanent seat, it seems only fair that we should be generous towards it in the allocation of non-permanent seats, and this is the reason why first the Committee, and then the Council, proposed, and are now proposing to you, to give three non-permanent seats to Latin America.

The experience of past years, moreover, has shown us how painful it was for the Assembly to vote each year a recommendation addressed to itself, inviting it to take into account the big geographical divisions of the world, and each year to find it morally impossible to fulfil the obligation it had thus imposed upon itself. Thus, one of the largest Asiatic States was unable to gain election to the Council, though we all thought at the time that she ought in fairness to be represented there.

The second reason for increasing the number of non-permanent seats is the necessity for reconciling the principle of rotation, by which all, or almost all, the States of the Assembly will one day be able to take their seat on the Council, with the need which may exist, which does exist, and which has existed, as we all realise, to take into account the political exigencies, the meritorious services and the aspirations of certain States in particular circumstances.

That is why the Committee and the Council, while proposing to increase the number of non-permanent seats, have also recommended greater flexibility in the system of rotation by providing, subject to a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, for exceptions to the rule by which a State whose period of re-election to the Council has come to an end is no longer re-eligible.

Finally, the third reason which, apart from all purely academic theories, militates in favour of increasing the number of the non-permanent seats, the reason which statesmen regard as conclusive, is that it was imperative to put an end to the crisis. If for this purpose it was necessary to sacrifice some preferences, some opinions, some views, it was impossible, if we were to find a solution, to refuse to make the necessary sacrifice on the altar of the common weal.

There is a proverb which may be aptly quoted here: *primum vivere deinde philosophare*. The question of the best constitution for the Council could be discussed to the end of time, but the best solution will always be that which obtains the unanimous suffrages of the Assembly.

The goodwill and the spirit of conciliation which prevailed in the Committee and later in the Council will, I hope, I trust, I beg of you, prevail in the Assembly also. This will be a historic day. Discussion of internal organisation will cease for a time, and the League will be able to devote its energies to the concrete tasks that await it — international collaboration in every field, the codification of law, the development of pacific methods for the solution of disputes, disarmament. To-day will be a day of reconciliation and justice. The work of Locarno that prospered in the sunlit little city to which I am so deeply attached — since it is one of the jewels of my homeland, the little Canton of Ticino — will at length be fully and effectively safeguarded for all time.

From my student days I call to mind some lines of the poet Lucretius. They occur in his great poem *De Rerum Natura*. At the opening of the poem Lucretius invokes the Goddess of Love and Life:

“Terrible the sufferings of Rome from war, but the sky at length has cleared.”

“*Placatumque nitet effuso lumine coelum.*”

For many years past the sky of Europe has been overcast with grief and darkened with the lowering clouds of anxiety. May God in His goodness at length restore to us, through the medium of the League of Nations, the quickening sun of peace and justice!

The President:

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

M. Loudon (Netherlands):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The General Committee of the Assembly, adopting the resolution of the Council, proposes that, in conformity with the second paragraph of Article 14 of the Rules of Procedure, we should now agree to take a decision on Items 1 and 2 of the agenda of the present meeting without first referring them to a Committee of the Assembly.

As regards the first question, namely, the admission of Germany to the League, there can be no objection, since her admission was unanimously voted by the Committee of the special session of the Assembly appointed to examine the matter in March of this year.

Nor shall I, in the present circumstances oppose the adoption of the second item. I should, however, be lacking in frankness if I did not declare that in my opinion, despite what has just been said by the Rapporteur, M. Motta, it is a mistake to link the question of a permanent seat on the Council for Germany — which no one, as we all know, has any desire to refuse — with the question of an increase in the number of non-permanent seats, a matter on which opinions are divided.

I consider that such a procedure amounts to forcing the Assembly's hand, and that even if we agree to it as an exceptional measure, with the sole object of avoiding fresh complications, the Assembly has a right, and indeed is morally bound, to express its profound disappointment.

I did not come to this platform to raise objections; I realise too well the difficulties with which we are faced. At the same time, those of you who were present at the meeting of the third session of the Assembly on September 25th, 1922, will not be surprised to hear the delegate of the Netherlands declare himself opposed to the principle of an increase in the number of Members of the Council. On the occasion to which I refer, we alone voted against the proposal for an additional two seats. My late colleague, Professor Struycken, explained the reasons for our vote in the following terms:

“The solidarity and collective responsibility of the Council will diminish.”

And his concluding words were:

“If this year we admit a radical transformation of the principal organ of the League . . . by reason of the aspirations of political groups . . . what guarantee have we that . . . every year the composition of the Council will not be determined in accordance with the ephemeral state of affairs at the moment?”

The Assembly ignored his arguments, and by 14 votes to 1 (that of the Netherlands delegation) increased the Members of the Council by two. The suggestion now before us is that it should be increased by no less than four!

In the space of four years, therefore, we shall have increased the number of seats from eight to fourteen. Consider what danger this involves for the League, for the maintenance of a proper balance between the Assembly and the Council, for that unanimity, which is so necessary in the Council! Consider what difficulties may arise

whenever it becomes necessary to convene the Council suddenly, if some political question calls for immediate decision!

These objections were clearly set forth in the Committee of Fifteen; the Minutes of its proceedings show how forcibly M. Scialoja, M. Sjöborg and M. Le Breton opposed any further extension of the Council. M. Scialoja's concluding words were: "The smaller the increase the better; best of all would be no increase at all."

Nevertheless, the opponents of the scheme, acting in a spirit of conciliation and desirous of amending the rather painful situation which arose out of what has too often been called the "crisis in the League", have finally agreed on the proposed compromise, by which the number of non-permanent seats is raised to nine.

The Netherlands delegation will adopt the same course, and for the same reasons. We desire to state, however, that we still maintain all our previous objections to the extension of the Council. If it were feasible, we would even urge that the number of non-permanent seats should again be reduced to four, the number existing up to 1922, even if our country itself were never to have a seat on the Council; for as I declared with the most profound conviction at the Assembly in March of this year, the spirit which should, in my opinion, animate the League — but which, as we have seen to our regret, does not always do so — should place the interests of the community above the *amour-propre* of individual Members.

The Netherlands delegation, constrained by circumstances, is thus prepared to support this further proposal to increase the number of non-permanent seats. We accept it as a temporary expedient, with the sole object of surmounting the difficulties which have arisen.

Having said so much, we now proclaim our satisfaction — a feeling which is, I know, shared by the whole Assembly — that this day should witness a further step in the application of that principle of universality so essential to the evolution of the League by the admission of another great Power — Germany — and that this proposal should be passed not merely by a majority, but by the unanimous vote of the Assembly.

The President:

Translation: Dr. Nansen, first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Nansen (Norway):

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Norwegian Government is very happy that we have at last come so far, that there is a very near prospect of Germany entering the League and taking her proper place amongst its Members. That the prospect of this happy result is so very much better now than it was even in March, is due to the work of the special Committee on the Composition of the Council. Our Government recognises that immense difficulties have been overcome by that Committee and that it has deeply changed the situation for the better by its well-ordered debates and by the methods of publicity which it has brought to bear on all the aspects of the question.

We are also convinced that the proposal of the General Committee of the Assembly, which is now before us, is inspired by the desire to settle this question as soon as possible, to end this unhappy period and to open the way for the League to proceed with its proper work of reconstruction. No one can be more anxious than the Norwegian Government and the Norwegian delegation that this should be achieved at the earliest possible moment.

Having said this, I am, however, bound to say that my Government has the gravest misgivings about some parts of the proposal. These misgivings arise from the fact that during all the past difficult period there have been serious departures from the proper constitutional methods of the League. Of the lamentable events in March, I need say nothing. Everybody in this hall regrets them as much as we do and, if we have learnt nothing from them, our bitter disappointment will have been in vain. Yet even now part of what has been done and certain of the proposals made do not seem to us to be quite constitutional.

For instance, on Saturday last the Council decided to grant a permanent seat among its Members to a State which was not a Member of the League. We rejoice in that decision on every ground except one. We believe that it was not consistent with the strict terms of Article 4 of the Covenant and on the grounds of constitutional principles alone, therefore, we regret that it could not have been done otherwise.

Similarly, we deeply regret the proposal of the General Committee of the Assembly that the questions of the permanent seat and the increase in the number of the non-permanent seats are linked together and that they should both have been dealt with without the usual reference to a Committee. For our part, we have to admit that the explanation given in this connection does not appear conclusive. The explanation given just now by the Rapporteur, that the permanent seat on the Council might not be given to Germany unless this Assembly raised the number of non-permanent Members to nine, surprised us, and we sincerely hope that it may be based upon some misunderstanding. We deeply deplore that these two questions, being thus linked together, prevented us from voting freely on them separately as we desired.

We entirely agree with every word of the views which have just been expressed by our honourable colleague, the delegate for the Netherlands on this subject. Ever since the beginning of the League, the granting of a permanent seat to Germany has always seemed to practically every Member of the League as right and inevitable.

The increase in the number of the non-permanent Members is an entirely different matter. It is a new proposal which no one ever heard of until a few months ago and of which most of the Members of the Assembly have only had formal notification this morning. It is a proposal which we consider to be of vital importance for the future of the League. A similar proposal for an increase from four to six was discussed for weeks in the First Committee and in Sub-Committee before it was adopted by the full Assembly.

This new proposal, which is infinitely more serious, because it increases the size of the Council to the unwieldy number of fourteen, we are now asked to accept without any similar discussion, and without any chance of debating the matter on its merits. I wish to emphasise that only fifteen Members out of fifty-five have had any opportunity of expressing an opinion on this particular proposal, whether in the special Committee, which the Council set up, or in the Council itself, or by written communication. Forty Members of the League have had no opportunity until this morning, of expressing their views, and yet we are asked to accept this very serious increase without any time for consideration and practically at sight. We understand the reasons of those who urge this procedure, but we nevertheless feel that it involves an infringement of the full liberty of the Members of the Assembly and that, if it were accepted as a precedent, it

might constitute a very serious menace to the future working of the League.

I will not develop other points on which I might dwell. We do not propose to move any counter proposal; we do not propose to take any action which will prevent a rapid solution of the problem or which will disturb the full harmony which ought to mark the entry of Germany into the League.

We only want to make this declaration, and we want it to be considered as the most solemn protest we can make against any form of unconstitutional procedure. We desire, finally, to make a fervent appeal to the Members of the Council, and to other leaders of the League, to uphold with scrupulous care the sound and constitutional methods which have proved satisfactory in the past and to help in every way to safeguard the rights of the Assembly which is and must be the supreme organ of the League, and thus to build up its authority and prestige. We make this appeal because we are absolutely convinced that only these methods can create the true League spirit of co-operation and confidence which is vital to its future success.

The President :

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

M. Löfgren (Sweden) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — After what has been said by the Rapporteur and by the previous speaker, I have only to make a declaration in order to express the views of my Government and of the Swedish delegation on the question now before us.

It has been proposed by the President that the admission of Germany to the League, the granting to Germany of a permanent seat on the Council, and the question of increasing the number of the non-permanent Members from six to nine — all these questions should be treated as one question and should not be referred to a Committee. I feel bound, on principle, to join in certain reservations already made to this procedure, although I do not wish under the present circumstances to ask for a division on the question.

I also respectfully submit that the granting to Germany of a permanent seat on the Council has, as a matter of procedure, no material connection with the creation of new non-permanent seats. The admission of Germany as a permanent Member of the Council has, from the outset, been made an integral condition of her membership and has thus been known to all the Members of the Assembly and has in fact, if not in form, been already agreed to by all of us here present.

On the other hand, the creation of three new non-permanent seats has hitherto not been considered in any way. This question, moreover, is in its turn intimately connected with the regulations proposed by the Committee, regulations which are entirely within the sole competence of the Assembly.

It is true that certain countries, like my own had the privilege of studying the whole of this problem in the Committee appointed by the Council. While loyally collaborating for the purpose of reaching an agreement, we have thus had the opportunity of expressing our serious doubts as to the wisdom of the proposed increase in the Council and of formulating the conditions which we for our part felt bound to attach to the acceptance of a scheme which we considered fraught with certain dangers for the future development of the League. While now agreeing to the proposed extension of the Council, we do this for the purpose

of saving the League from what is, perhaps, the gravest crisis that has occurred in its short existence.

In my view, however, all the other Members of the League who have not been members of the Committee should not have been deprived of their right and freedom to deliberate on this vital problem in accordance with the ordinary procedure of the League. I feel, therefore, that, whereas the question of Germany's permanent seat on the Council, which is universally accepted, could be decided at once, the question of the increase in the number of the non-permanent seats should have been referred separately to a Committee together with the proposed regulations.

I venture very respectfully to think it a mistake, when dealing with a problem of this magnitude, not to have had sufficient confidence in the political judgment of the Assembly to enable it to treat the question laid before it by the Council in accordance with its ordinary procedure.

In conclusion, I express the fervent hope that the present exception which has been made in the ordinary procedure of the Assembly will not be considered as a precedent for the future.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly has before it the proposals submitted by M. Motta on behalf of the General Committee of the Assembly. Before asking you to take a decision on the procedure to be followed in regard to these proposals, I would remind you that the General Committee suggests that one of them — the third — should be referred to the First Committee, which will be asked to report on it. The third proposal reads as follows :

“Consideration of the proposals made by the Committee instructed to study the question of the composition of the Council as regards the method of election and tenure of the non-permanent seats.”

I think the Assembly will agree that there is no objection to the reference of this resolution to the First Committee without further formality.

Question 3 was referred to the First Committee

As regards the first proposal made by M. Motta on behalf of the General Committee, the Assembly must decide first of all whether it desires to discuss it forthwith.

If no one wishes to speak, I declare that, in accordance with Article 14, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure, the Assembly, without taking a vote, unanimously decides to discuss this proposal immediately. (*Assent.*)

The Assembly having decided upon the immediate discussion of the first proposal submitted by M. Motta, I will now read the following draft resolution :

Subject to the approval of the Council resolution mentioned in Point 2 of the agenda of the present meeting, the Assembly approves the report of the First Committee of the special session of the Assembly on the request of the German Government for admission to the League of Nations.

According to the conclusions of the report, therefore, the Assembly will now have to take a decision regarding the admission of Germany to the League of Nations.

Under the second paragraph of Article 1 of the Covenant, the Assembly must take its decision on this admission by a two-thirds majority.

The vote will be taken by roll-call. The name of each delegation will be called out, and one of its members will answer either "yes", "no", or "I abstain from voting". The result of the vote will be duly registered and announced.

(The vote was taken by roll-call.)

The President :

Translation : The result of the voting is as follows :

Number of States voting : 48.

All the delegations have voted in favour of the admission of Germany to the League.

I therefore proclaim that Germany is admitted to the League of Nations by a unanimous decision of the Assembly.

I think we may congratulate ourselves upon the step that has just been taken. It vindicates those who, last March, never lost heart despite the difficulties which we all deplored—difficulties which could not have been foreseen and which may always arise to stop any great measure of progress.

By this vote we have accomplished one of the most necessary and at the same time one of the most difficult and important tasks with which the League has been faced—one, too, which is of momentous importance for its future. I feel sure I shall be voicing the unanimous feeling of the Assembly in expressing my joy, my very justifiable satisfaction, at the step which the Assembly has just taken, and also in expressing the hope that the representatives of Germany will take their places among us as soon as possible.

I will now ask you to take a decision on the second draft resolution proposed by M. Motta on behalf of the General Committee of the Assembly.

The draft resolution reads as follows :

The Assembly approves the proposals put forward by the Council in its resolution of September 4th, 1926, regarding :

(a) *The nomination of Germany as a permanent Member of the Council ;*

(b) *The increase in the number of non-permanent seats, which shall be brought up to nine.*

In accordance with the second paragraph of Article 4 of the Covenant, the Assembly is asked to approve the Council's proposals by a simple majority.

The second paragraph of Article 4 of the Covenant reads as follows :

"With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose representatives shall always be Members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council."

If there is no objection, I will at once proceed with the roll-call for the second proposal. The vote will be taken in accordance with Article 20 of the Rules of Procedure.

Dr. Nansen (Norway) :

Is it decided that we are not to refer the matter to a Committee ?

The President :

Translation : That has already been decided. We voted for immediate discussion. The roll-call will now be taken.

(The vote was taken by roll-call.)

The President :

Translation : The result of the vote is as follows :

Number of States voting : 48

All the delegations voted in favour of the resolution.

I therefore declare that the second resolution has been unanimously adopted.

The Assembly having approved the Council's proposals by the necessary majority, the conditions laid down in the second paragraph of Article 4 of the Covenant have been fulfilled. Accordingly, Germany is now included among the Members of the League which are permanently represented on the Council, and the number of Members of the League to be elected by the Assembly for representation on the Council has been raised to nine.

15. — APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE AS A MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : At its meeting yesterday, the General Committee decided to follow last year's procedure and propose that the Chairman of the Agenda Committee should be appointed a member of the General Committee of the Assembly.

If there is no objection, I shall regard this proposal as accepted. (*Assent.*)

16. — COMPOSITION OF THE FINNISH DELEGATION: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : I have just received from the Finnish delegation a letter informing me that, in accordance with the first paragraph of Article 6 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, M. Hugo Valvanne will act as a substitute delegate for Finland.

The Assembly rose at 12.5 p.m.

FIFTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 8th, 1926, at 4 p.m.

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President : M. NINTCHITCH.

17. — MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL: COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : Before we begin the agenda, I wish to communicate a decision taken by the General Committee at yesterday's meeting concerning the maintenance of order in the Assembly Hall. This decision has been published in the Assembly Journal, but I think that, in view of its importance, it would be well to have it read here. It is as follows :

“Decision of the General Committee of the Assembly.

“1. The ground floor of the Assembly Hall, except the reserved seats at the back, is intended exclusively for delegates, substitute delegates, experts, advisers, secretaries and members of the Secretariat. The public or members of the families of the persons mentioned above will not be admitted to this part of the hall.

“2. In conformity with the practice followed in national Parliaments, no applause will be allowed in the galleries reserved for the Press and for the public.”

I will accordingly draw the attention of the public to the necessity of abstaining from any sort of manifestation. The interest that everyone takes in the work of the Assembly is quite understandable, but, however interested it may be, the public has no right to display its feelings. This might interfere with the work of the Assembly. I think everyone will understand this and will in future abstain from any public manifestation.

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

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the discussion of the report to the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of

Nations on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly (Annexes 2, 2(a) and 2(b), documents A.G. and 6(a) 1926).
Count Moltke, first delegate of Denmark, will address the Assembly.

Count Moltke (Denmark) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In addressing you for the first time, I should like at the outset, on behalf of the Danish Government, to give this illustrious Assembly, the distinguished persons composing it and the League which we are all here to serve, an assurance of our feelings of cordial fraternity, profound respect and unshakable confidence in the work which is being done.

Even though at the outset we could legitimately express our confidence in the League's work, and even though these expressions of confidence have, despite passing difficulties, been justified by the course of events in the first years of the League's existence, yet it seems to me that, in this last year especially, its development has shown many hopeful signs.

I make no claim to draw up a balance-sheet of the great work accomplished by the League in any particular period of its existence, but in looking through the report on the work of the Council, which is the subject of to-day's discussion, I cannot pass over in silence certain aspects of its work which perhaps display these reassuring signs in the brightest light.

May I refer to the solution of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute in October of last year ? The dispute broke out on October 19th. Nine days later the incident was closed, the menace to peace which it involved was averted, thanks to the authority which the League and the Council already possessed, thanks to the prompt action of the Council and the highly commendable goodwill displayed by the two Governments concerned, which constituted, as the report says, an example — I might say an admirable example — of the conduct which might be expected of Members of the League of Nations between whom some incident has arisen which threatens the peace of the world. This peaceful solution set up a new jurisprudence, as was so aptly pointed out on that occasion by the Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain.

I would mention, too, the settlement of the Mosul affair. I do not propose to go into the details of that important question. I simply desire to remind you of the great and beneficial endeavours made by the Council to conciliate the claims of the parties concerned, the important advisory opinion given on November 21st, 1925, by the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the agreement concluded directly afterwards between Great Britain, Iraq and Turkey, an agreement desired and welcomed by every friend of peace.

I wish also to consider for a moment the importance of the auspicious event in which we took part this morning—the admission of Germany as a Member of the League. We have spoken hitherto of certain reassuring features, but we now have every reason, I think, to rejoice profoundly on the occasion of this event, so long awaited, so full of promise for the future. We extend a cordial welcome to this new Member, who will take among us the place that awaited her and was due to her. The entry of Germany, a vital necessity for the development of the League in accordance with the principles forming the basis of the Covenant, gives us reason to view with confidence the outcome of our policy of reconciliation and co-operation. It also signifies a further step towards the aim upon which our hopes are set—the universality of the League.

Apart, however, from its direct action in any given matter, the League exercises a further influence by reason of its fundamental qualities, its very existence as an instrument of good, its permanence and its receptivity to ideas which serve the great cause of peace. The fact that during the last few years the League has occupied a preponderating and increasing part in the proceedings of the Parliaments of the States Members deserves attention. Of even greater significance is the fact that these proceedings have served to bring the work of the League to fruition in those States themselves, just as the individual work of those States or groups of States in this or that domain of the policy of international understanding serves to bring to fruition the ideas on which the League is based. Reflex action of this nature is of the highest importance. It finds, and has found from the very beginning, ground prepared for its beneficent influence in the conditions arising out of the permanence of the League. Formerly, Conferences were held; sometimes their purpose was attained, but sometimes they proved abortive, or the situation remained uncertain or unsolved. The merit, the incontestable merit, of the League, is that its voice has always been heard urging the same principles during the seven years which have elapsed since its foundation.

Even when a proposal has not been adopted in its original form, it has been possible to continue the discussion and to resume the thread, thanks to the experience acquired. Many ideas and principles incorporated in proposals which have not been fully carried out still persist and govern our proceedings. In other words, there has been no backward step. We have behind us a record of patient, laborious and persevering work, of work calculated to consolidate this immense foundation and to reduce the sceptics to silence.

Ladies and gentlemen, I spoke just now of the individual work of the States in the cause of peace. I would remind you in a few words of what Denmark has done during the past year, in pursuance of our traditional policy and in entire conformity with the principles laid down by the League.

On September 25th, 1925, the Assembly passed a resolution calling the attention of States Members of the League to the desirability, from the point of view of their security, of concluding particular conventions for arbitration or for the judicial settlement of disputes.

The purpose of this resolution was to emphasise not only the great importance of the conclusion of such conventions for the contracting States themselves, but also the indirect support which they afford to joint international efforts designed to promote the great objects set forth in the Covenant of the League, objects which may be

summed up in the formula: arbitration, security, reduction of armaments.

I have always regarded the means advocated in the resolution of September 25th, 1925, as highly beneficial. It has the advantage, among others, that it enables each State to show by its actions that it is prepared to take its share in the realisation of these lofty aims. Hence the Danish Government took immediate advantage of the opportunity provided by this resolution to effect a drastic revision in its system of arbitration treaties.

Denmark was one of the first countries to adhere to the arbitration movement, and has always been ready to conclude conventions of this nature on the widest bases. I would venture to remind you that the Treaty of February 12th, 1904, between Denmark and the Netherlands, is the first Arbitration Treaty free from reservations which has ever been concluded. It goes so far as to open the door to all who desire to give their adhesion and proclaims the intentions of the contracting States in the frankest possible manner by laying down in the simple terms of Article 4 that :

“Non-signatory States may accede to the present Convention. Any State which desires to accede thereto shall notify its intention in writing to each of the contracting States.”

As a result of the Assembly resolution of September 25th, 1925, the Danish Government has, during the past year, carried on negotiations with a number of States with the object of concluding conventions on compulsory arbitration. As regards Denmark's relations with the countries of northern Europe and with Poland, Germany and France, these negotiations have already led to concrete results. I wish to acknowledge from this platform the frank and loyal co-operation we have received from all the Governments mentioned, which have helped us along the road that leads to right, justice and mutual confidence.

The object of the Danish Government, which is continuing its negotiations with other countries with a view to completing treaties of compulsory arbitration without any reservation, has been to give the widest application to the resolution — already mentioned — of the 1925 session of the Assembly. My country hopes that, by its efforts, it has contributed, however humbly, to the general progress. We are glad to know, however, that we are not alone in this work and that other countries on all sides are animated with the same desire. Here, on the hospitable soil of Switzerland, let me also recall the services rendered in this respect by the Government of the Swiss Confederation, and the courage and perseverance it has displayed in concluding many similar conventions with countries which are prepared to follow a similar policy of confidence.

A big movement in favour of compulsory arbitration has been set on foot. We welcome it with all our heart as a great boon for the contracting States and as a powerful aid in the realisation of the work which the League has taken in hand under the formula of “arbitration, security and reduction of armaments”.

May I, in conclusion, call to mind a saying of one of the founders of the League, that great American, the late President Woodrow Wilson, at a time when he cherished, with his whole heart and mind, that idealism which contributed so much to the creation of the League. The President was then on a visit to his mother's little native town in England. After divine service in the little village

church he addressed the congregation. In his speech the following passage will be found, which I venture to read first in English and then to translate into French :

"It is from quiet places like this all over the world that the forces are accumulated that presently will overpower any attempt to accomplish evil on a great scale. It is like a rivulet that gathers into the river and the river which goes to the sea. So there come out of communities like these streams that fertilise the conscience of men, and it is the conscience of the world we now mean to place upon the throne."

I can imagine no finer distinction for a nation, for a people, for a State, or for a Government, than to be counted among the rivulets or the rivers — it matters little which — that in the course of years will have contributed the most towards fertilising, by their purity and limpidity, the conscience of the world to which Mr. Wilson referred — that new conscience which has so often been mentioned by speakers in this Assembly as the indispensable condition for the success of our work.

Guided by such ideals, Denmark wishes to continue her co-operation in a spirit both of purity and of perseverance. It is her wish, ladies and gentlemen ; it is also a promise.

The President :

Translation : M. Urrutia, delegate of Colombia, will address the Assembly.

M. Urrutia (Colombia) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — May I be permitted, now that the Assembly has under consideration the great work achieved by the Council and the Secretariat, and also the general interests of the League, to express to you the deep regret felt by the Colombian delegation at the decision of Brazil to leave the League, and again at the absence of Spain from the present session of the Assembly.

I can assure you that the regrets I have just expressed are shared by all delegations to the Assembly from the American continent. There is no country in America which does not maintain close and cordial relations of friendship with Brazil ; some of these countries, like my own, are united to Brazil not only by bonds of geographical propinquity and by common interests, but also by kindred traditions and ideals of international justice and fraternity.

Brazil has invariably endeavoured to extend her relations with her sister Republics on the basis of respect for right and in a pre-eminently pacific spirit. Who will ever forget the lofty proposals which the great Lusitanian Republic laid before the Second Hague Peace Conference, proposals which were voiced by the eloquence of Ruy Barbosa ? Who can forget the brilliant co-operation of Brazil in the work of the League ? Within the League, Brazil has ever and always striven to extend the dominion of right in international relations.

Spain, too, has given invaluable assistance to the League. The void caused by her absence from this Assembly is keenly felt and regretted by all, but it has a special significance for and causes a particularly deep regret among the delegations from countries of the same race and tongue.

Bound to Spain by indissoluble moral ties, these countries share her pride in her glorious past and in the inestimable contribution that she has made, in the course of her wondrous history, to the work of civilisation and human progress.

Let us trust that the places we see empty to-day will not remain so indefinitely. Let us fervently hope that the League will find the means of ensuring its universality, which is the indispensable condition for its development. Let us pray that, by a strict observance of the principles of the Covenant and by a continuous endeavour to realise the ideals underlying it, the League will soon acquire sufficient moral power to attract all nations to itself and to create between them and itself spiritual bonds strong enough to withstand any future vicissitudes or emergencies such as those which deprive us to-day of the presence of Spain and Brazil.

The President :

Translation : His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala, delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

His Highness the Maharajah of Kapurthala (India) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. — Before I address myself to those aspects of the work of the League which are of special interest to India, I wish to offer you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Indian delegation to this Assembly and in my personal capacity as a ruling Prince of India, my most sincere and respectful congratulations on your election to preside over the work of this session.

This is not the first occasion on which an Indian Prince has had the honour of addressing the Assembly of the League. Among my predecessors Their Highnesses the Maharajah Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the Maharajahs of Bikanir and Patiala have been privileged, as members of other Indian delegations, to tell you something of the awakening of interest and sympathy among the Governments and the masses of India for the ideals and work of the League.

It may not be out of place to mention that India, with its vast area and population composed of peoples of different races and creeds speaking languages which are as entirely different in different parts of the country as, for instance, Portuguese is from Russian or Swedish from Greek, can more appropriately be called a sub-continent ; two-fifths of this entire Indian peninsula and one-fifth of its population are ruled by the Indian Princes and chiefs, under the suzerainty and the protection of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The principal ruling Princes are absolutely independent as regards the internal administration of their States. The British Indian Law is not in force in their territories, nor can the Indian Legislature legislate for them, and the High Courts of Justice in British India have no jurisdiction over their subjects.

I and my brother Princes keenly feel the honour and responsibility of being included among the representatives of India at the Assembly of the League. We are glad, as practical administrators conversant with the day-to-day problems of government, to be allowed the opportunity of bringing our personal experience to the common stock and sharing in your important deliberations.

I feel, and have no hesitation in declaring, that we Indian Princes, as rulers of our people, have better opportunities of diffusing the knowledge and the aims of the League — i.e., universal peace and harmony and mutual co-operation for the welfare of humanity on the basis of equality of nations — amongst our people and from there to the remotest corners of the Indian Empire than others who are differently placed *vis-à-vis* ourselves.

With the spread of education and the knowledge and experience gained by travel in foreign countries, to which the people of India are now beginning to apply themselves, India is awakening to a spirit of nationalism and, with its own traditions and ideals and the friendly guidance and assistance of the British Government, I sincerely hope it will one day, not in the far-distant future, achieve its glorious goal and will become a united nation and self-governing country, in all its rights and privileges, like its sister dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa, and prove a jewel of outshining splendour in the Commonwealth of nations forming the British Empire.

India is well aware that it has been essential for the League hitherto to devote its main energies to solving the grave problems left behind by the Great War. We have watched with interest the unceasing efforts of the Council and the Assembly to devise some means of promoting the great ideals of security, arbitration and reduction of armaments and its zeal in pressing forward schemes for the economic and financial reconstruction of those countries most heavily stricken during the aftermath of the war.

India, though geographically far removed from the main scenes of these activities, has been privileged also to take some share in these endeavours. Several of my countrymen have been associated in the work of League organisations directed to these objects. Among those now so engaged I may mention Sir Jagadis Bose, of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation; Sir Muhammad Rafique, of the Committee for the Codification of International Law; and Sir Atul Chatterjee, of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference.

But the League has also undertaken other tasks imposed upon it by the Covenant in which India has a more direct interest and in which it has played a more conspicuous part. I speak of the international work in labour and social questions. India has been represented on the Governing Body of the Labour Organisation since 1923 as one of the eight chief industrial countries of the world. Her representatives have taken an active part in the discussions at the International Labour Conferences; they have also attended other important international gatherings organised by the League. Among these I may cite the Conferences on Transit and Communications, Customs, Passports, Opium, Traffic in Women and Children and Traffic in Arms. As a result of India's participation in this work, twelve important international conventions concluded under the auspices of the League have been ratified on her behalf, apart from the special labour conventions, concluded through the International Labour Organisation, which she has also accepted.

To give effect to these conventions, a number of legislative and administrative reforms have been enacted in British India. Our recent labour legislation has included the Indian Factories Act and the Indian Mines Act, which limit weekly hours of work in accordance with the Washington Labour Convention, 1919, and secure to miners the twenty-

four hours weekly rest-day in accordance with the Geneva Labour Convention, 1921.

Social legislation in India, to implement the ratification by India of the Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, has included important amendments of the penal law devised to protect the community, and particularly minors, more effectively against sexual crime. Much has also been achieved for the protection and welfare of children by administrative measures and the devoted work of private organisations. Opportunity will arise to speak more in detail on these matters during the discussion in Committee.

The discussions at Geneva on opium and dangerous drugs have produced administrative changes resulting in the progressive restriction of the cultivation, internal consumption and export of opium, and also providing for the exchange with other countries of information designed to check the illicit drug traffic. I may here remind the Assembly that India has now decided to reduce its exports of opium by a fixed annual proportion during the next ten years so that this export trade will be absolutely extinguished, save for medical and scientific purposes, in ten years.

Turning to the health work of the League, I am glad to tell you that India is closely co-operating with neighbouring countries to promote the work of the League Epidemiological Bureau at Singapore, and officers and doctors of her Medical Services are collaborating with European scientists in research into the cause of diseases which specially menace the East.

The Indian States in some cases are at present ahead of British India in social and educational advancement. In my own State, for instance, education is making rapid strides both for boys and girls. It is compulsory in some parts, and the compulsion is being gradually extended to other parts of the State. English, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit languages are taught, and since a few years the French language has also been introduced in the lower and higher classes, but mine is the only State in India where this language is taught.

Modern hygienic methods, sanitary improvements and electric light are established in the State. The municipalities are given powers to elect their own Presidents, and a representative Assembly exists for examining and discussing the budgets, for suggesting fresh legislation, and for advising my Government on social, agricultural and other administrative points. Marriage is unlawful among juveniles and laws prohibiting children smoking are in force. Central and provincial committees have been formed for maternity and child welfare, and philanthropic societies organised by educated people are doing useful work for humanity, which I think is the best beginning of the aims and objects of the League.

At the risk of wearying you I have ventured to recapitulate these facts about India's share in the League work in order to show you that her activities in this field have not been lacking. Distant as we are from the centre of League policy at Geneva, the obligations undertaken for my country by its representatives who signed the Covenant at Versailles have been brought home to the Governments and peoples of India in all directions, particularly in matters affecting social and industrial life.

On the other hand, India is a country with its own ancient civilisation and traditions, of which it is intensely proud and which, in many respects, it regards as in no way inferior to the more material

civilisation of the West. It is also a deeply religious and, in many respects, conservative country, to which many of those theories and principles which have emerged from the rapid industrial, social and political development during the last hundred years in Europe are entirely foreign.

Nor are the circumstances of India in other respects analogous to those of modern industrial nations of the West; in many cases, social and industrial problems in India must be dealt with on different lines, though we have accepted and carried out the greater part of the reforms in domestic and industrial life recommended from Geneva. It is for this reason that I feel justified in inviting you, on behalf of the Indian delegation, to consider whether in the future more particular attention should not be paid by the League to the conditions and problems special to Asia.

All of us desire that the influence and authority of the League throughout the world should be as universal as the authors of the Covenant intended. If this object is to be achieved, the decisions and policies adopted at Geneva must be truly international, they must take more account of the differences existing in mankind due to climate, traditions, civilisation and history, and must be conceived in a form which can be applied with allowance for those differences and with equally beneficial results to all parts of the world.

To us in India some of the proposals made by League organisations have seemed to be too narrowly drawn on European models. In other cases, they appear to encroach on the internal authority of the various Governments in India. My predecessor, the Maharajah of Patiala, uttered a word of warning last year relating to certain schemes both in the social and economic spheres which His Highness and his colleagues considered unsuitable, in their present form, for adoption in India. I will not detain the Assembly by any detailed discussion of these proposals, as such an examination can more properly be made wholly in the Committee. But I ask the Assembly seriously to consider what practical demonstration can be made to the peoples of India for whom I speak, what direct evidence can be offered to make them realise that their interests are appreciated and considered at Geneva as of equal importance with the interests of the West. Unless and until India is convinced of this, it will be impossible to secure for the work of the League that whole-hearted interest and co-operation which is essential for the success of its great task.

May I in particular cite one direction in which the assistance and sympathy of the West would be highly valued by all Eastern people, namely, the prevention of epidemic disease? Here is a problem on which the health and happiness of the highest and the humblest equally depend, and if the League can promise the collaboration and assistance of countries more fortunately situated than the peoples of Asia in their daily contest with plague, cholera and other similar diseases, the cause of the League would, in my judgment, be greatly advanced in the East, and the value of the great work done would be more widely felt and known, not only amongst the millions of India, but throughout Asia. Members of the Indian delegation will refer in greater detail in Committee to the methods by which this great duty of the League may be promoted.

It only remains for me to assure you, Sir, that my colleagues and I are eager to do our share in furthering the work of the League and in making

its beneficent influence as comprehensive and world-wide as possible, and it is to this end that our suggestions and criticisms will be directed.

The President :

Translation : Prince Arfa, delegate of Persia, will address the Assembly.

Prince Arfa (Persia) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—This is the sixth time that I have come here to state the Persian view of the work of the League of Nations during the preceding year. The League has no need either of flattery or disparagement. It requires only justice and truth. With these two principles in mind I will now proffer my thanks and also my criticisms.

First, I would express my thanks. You all know that, pending its full political development, the League has already rendered great services in the domain of international co-operation in health matters. Persia is profoundly grateful for it.

The East is afflicted by a terrible and persistent scourge, malaria. In response to our appeal, the League of Nations sent us an eminent specialist, Dr. Gilmour. Immediate results have been obtained from Dr. Gilmour's visit and from his enquiry and report. He recommended the draining of the marshes which are poisoning certain parts of Persia. He made proposals to the Health Section of the League of Nations for the training of Persian specialists. Dr. Cheikhe, who was appointed by the Persian Government for this work, came to Geneva, and, supplied with the necessary instructions from the Health Section, made a tour in Europe for the purpose of experimental study. His report has made a great impression, and the Persian Government is about to undertake the draining of the marshes with the aid of technical experts whose assistance has already been secured. Thousands of human lives will thus be saved.

The East is also afflicted with another scourge, opium. This matter has been discussed for six years at Geneva from every point of view, but no adequate reduction has yet been made in poppy cultivation throughout the world. At the Geneva Conference, Persia submitted a memorandum demanding that the evil should be attacked at the root. America agreed with us and proposed that a Commission of Enquiry should be sent to Persia. The League of Nations granted 100,000 gold francs, the Rockefeller Foundation 150,000 francs, and the Persian Government undertook to defray the entire housing and feeding expenses of the members of the Commission, who were its guests throughout their stay in the country. Every facility was granted to them in carrying out their task.

The report of the Commission will shortly be submitted to you. If it is favourably received and Persia is thus aided in replacing the cultivation of the poppy by some other crop, many more thousands of lives will be saved, not only in Persia, but throughout the world.

On behalf of my Government I warmly thank the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat for these two acts of beneficence.

I would like to have stopped here, but in relation to political events, justice and truth force me to utter a few less optimistic words. Only this

morning some members of the Assembly showed regret at the apparent tendency in the League to set aside the Assembly in favour of the Council and its Committees. This is a great danger here.

The Council must not be transformed into a State within a State, that is to say, an assembly within the Assembly. Those countries, great or small, which in future will form the Council must remember that they hold their seats not in order to represent first and foremost their own interests, but, in brief, as representatives chosen by the Assembly to defend the common welfare and the transcendent interests of the whole community.

For this reason, the principles of geographical representation and of rotation must be seriously applied. A Council composed of fourteen members from which Islam and the great Asiatic civilisations were excluded would give rise in the East to greater disappointment and graver doubts than a Council of eleven. No handle must be given to those critics who refuse to see in the League anything but a new form of domination by some nations over the remainder.

We proclaim here the absolute equality of races and peoples of whatever colour, religion or importance. The League of Nations can only work effectively for peace by keeping this equality in view. Privileges, exceptions, combinations and attempts at domination have always been the cause of those wars which have exhausted our poor world.

Finally, there is a point to which we attach great importance, namely, Article 10 of the Covenant. Three years ago we opposed any change in the fundamental meaning of this essential article of the Covenant. To-day the Council has been largely increased, and this fact will give rise to certain difficulties in summoning it in an emergency. At the least, its decisions must, in case of need, be prompt.

The Protocol failed to find favour in the eyes of many Governments, but it did give us one thing, a thing which would have particularly facilitated the rapid and effective action of the Council in the event of conflict—I refer to the definition of the aggressor, namely, the State which refuses arbitration.

We should be grateful and even reassured if the members of the new and enlarged Council would tell us that this definition will guide their attitude at its table, should any Member of the League be threatened by a more powerful Member.

Since we have not yet been able to bring about disarmament, let us at least attempt energetically to promote the principle of arbitration, and to secure the acceptance in practice of a definition which has received the approval of the Assembly.

The President :

Translation : M. Franco, delegate of the Dominican Republic, will address the Assembly.

M. Franco (Dominican Republic) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — As a representative of one of the youngest and, from the material point of view, one of the weakest States of the New World, I do not propose to weary you with high-sounding but empty words. Nevertheless, the importance of the subject with which we are dealing compels me to take my place upon this tribune of the nations and put before

you in a few words the actual thoughts and feelings of this Latin-American people, which, in the course of its long-suffering and heroic existence, has given so many proofs of its devotion to international institutions.

The work of the League appears to the whole world as deserving of the profoundest gratitude and the highest admiration. No one doubted but that the realisation of the dream of Emeric Crucé and de Saint-Pierre would constitute the climax in the history of international relations. An examination of the efforts made and the work accomplished during the first few years of the life of this international organisation justifies the highest hopes on the part of those who truly desire to put an end to the anarchy of sovereignties. This anarchy, which has been falsely described as proceeding from the fundamental idea of the equality of States, means in actual fact the destruction and negation of that principle, without which civilised life would be impossible; for civilised life depends upon an international spirit of respect and justice, confidence and sacrifice.

The noble spirit of the League thus serves to keep ever-present in our minds the duty which unites us, and which, to quote a well-known author, consists in realising that the best way of serving the interests of the States represented is not to set those interests one against another, but to conciliate them as far as possible in the supreme general interest, the satisfaction of which never fails to conduce to the well-being of each member of the international community.

Thus it is undoubtedly essential, if the spirit to which I have just alluded is to prevail and extend its influence, that we should eliminate as far as possible any tendency on the part of States or their representatives to vie with each other in the pursuit of honours. To the Dominican Republic the supreme honour has always consisted, and will always consist, in being and remaining a loyal and esteemed Member of the League.

It is in this spirit, ladies and gentlemen, devoid of all ambition and all pretensions, that I now turn to examine that vital and difficult question — the composition of the Council of the League.

It is an open secret that the crisis through which the international organisation first established in 1919 has just passed owed its origin to certain claims to a permanent seat on the Council involving an increase in the number of such seats. I would mention at this point, in order fully to explain my thought, that, examined strictly from the point of view of the theory of international law, the constitution of the Council as laid down in the Covenant of the League is contrary to the principle of the equality of States, which forms the very basis of modern international law. It is obvious that, viewed in this light, the existence of permanent Council seats, constituting the exclusive and individual property of the Powers described as "having general interests", is entirely contrary to the fundamental principles upon which the Covenant itself was supposed, and was stated, to be based.

I would add, however, that the other States were moved by a sense of the realities of international politics to accept, at all events provisionally, circumstances which arose out of the facts of everyday life. This is not a tribute to brute force. Nor does it represent an honour accorded to the powerful, or the abandonment of a right to certain States; it is a sacrifice designed to destroy once and for all the mischievous conception of absolute sovereignty and to inaugurate an era

of order in the liberty of States corresponding more nearly to the present facts of international interdependence.

In a word, we agree and I still agree, so far as may be necessary in view of existing realities and necessities, to a position whereby the Powers which, at the time of the drawing up of the Covenant, were regarded, though wrongly, as Powers "with general interests", may acquire or retain the privilege of a permanent seat on the Council of the League. It remains for us therefore to respect the existing situation, provided that the States enjoying this privileged position are worthy and continue to be worthy of it. Our actual life and *a fortiori* the progress of this international organisation make this an imperative necessity.

Having said this, I now desire to proclaim from this platform, over which the mighty spirit of Bolivar and Washington seems to hover, that we must resolutely oppose the creation of further privileges, since these would constitute a violation of the international spirit and of international law without even the justification which exists in the case to which I have referred. There must

not be, there cannot be, any further granting of honours within the League. •

The democratic principles which lie at the root of our American institutions and constitute the essential characteristic of the peoples of the New World make it incumbent on us to support the proposal whereby the number of non-permanent seats on the Council would be increased as far as the normal working of that body permits, and all States, by a fair system of rotation, would be given the same rights and opportunities.

We hereby declare ourselves unreservedly opposed to the creation of new categories among the States Members of the League. •

Thus, we boldly sacrifice our cherished desires to the claims of international law, to the reign of an international spirit, to the protection of the League and to the gradual realisation of our ideal. We close our ears, burden our hearts to the poignant call of blood and of the past, and heed only the call of a loftier duty and of the higher claims upon our gratitude and devotion.

The Assembly rose at 6.10 p.m.

SIXTH PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, September 9th, 1926, at 10.15 a.m.

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

The President :

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

Sir George Foster, delegate of Canada, will address the Assembly.

Sir George Foster (Canada) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Yesterday this Assembly had the pleasure of listening to speakers from middle Europe and far-off India, from the small islands of the West Indies and from the continent of South America. It is not therefore unfitting that a voice should be heard from a not unimportant part of the American continent which comprises the large and populous countries extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Pole.

Sometimes in our discussions it would almost seem as though in describing this area the word "America" was entirely appropriated to our friends of the United States of America. I may be permitted this morning to make a mild protest against that assumption and to assure you that there are others in North America who do not fly the flag of the United States.

I am not for a moment proposing to answer for all that portion of North America which lies north of the Gulf of Mexico, but I am here to state that the ideals and the purposes of the League of Nations are supported within these limits by a population of more than 10,000,000 Canadians who are in absolute sympathy with those aims and purposes. Moreover, I do not think I should be outside the truth were I to say that the overwhelming majority of the 120,000,000 people of the United States are heart and soul in unison with the ideals of the League in its aspirations for world peace and its hatred of aggressive war.

It is, I think, very appropriate that, at the opening of the Assembly each year, sufficient time should be given, as is now being done, to a review of the whole field of work which is being carried on by the League. During this time we may profitably examine the past, we may as profitably take stock of the present, and we may take common counsel regarding the future work of the League.

I call to mind that I was a member of this Assembly during its first session in 1920. Since that time I have not had the pleasure of participating in the actual work of the Assembly at Geneva, and I see a strong and vivid contrast between the field of work covered in 1920 and that covered by the League to-day.

In 1920, the League of Nations was but an infant in swaddling clothes. Seven years have passed, and that infant has grown to a lusty, strong and virile young manhood. In the early days there was a feeling of extravagant optimism on the part of a few, of doubt and scepticism on the part of others and of active opposition on the part of many. Seven years have proved that the idea of the League has emerged into this era of our world history as a great, a beneficent and an enduring organisation. It may not have fulfilled all the hopes of its most ardent supporters, but it is equally true that it has disproved the scepticism and fears of those who were doubtful or hostile. I do not think it can be said with truth to-day that there are, in any quarter of the wide world, thoughtful and serious-minded people who are in doubt as to the good work that the League has done and as to the work which it may do in the future if properly and wisely conducted.

We have had trials and disappointments; but what organisation of any merit has not had its trials? The League has grown in strength, in purpose and in power by the very fact that it has experienced difficulties, that it has faced them, has triumphed over them and continued victoriously upon its course. I am not one who fears trials. While we do not court them in connection with the work of the League, they bring out the virtue, strength and power of the organisation.

Our first great disappointment in connection with the League of Nations was that we were deprived from the beginning of the active co-operation of the United States of America. Many a sceptic and doubter said that the absence of the United States of America from the League of Nations spelled its failure. They said that without the United States of America it would be impossible for the League to do effective, continuous and progressive work. Yet in spite of that we have continued, we have done progressive work and we have made our way forward step by step. And we have done all that with the sympathetic co-operation of the United States of America.

It is true that nationally the United States of America does not belong to the League, but it is equally true that among the population of that country there are millions upon millions of individuals whose sympathetic hearts and minds are running parallel with our own in their approbation of the great work of the League. We are therefore not without help and comfort from that quarter. To-day, after seven long years, this Assembly has before it a proposal from that great country with a view to its entrance into and its co-operation with the Permanent Court of International Justice. I earnestly hope that this proposal may be consummated in due time.

To the north of the United States of America the Dominion of Canada, with its population of 10,000,000, is completely in sympathy with the work of the League.

Having met and survived our first disappointment, we have encountered other and serious difficulties which we have succeeded in leaving behind us. Grave and perplexing differences had to be faced in carrying out the treaties and obligations of the League. The troubles in Silesia and Lithuania were met with patience and with prudence, and the days of bitterness and strife have been succeeded by a period of co-operation and friendly fellowship.

Then came the incident of Corfu — a sudden and sharp test. In this connection, once again the sinister doubt was expressed that the League might here meet its great crisis and might fail to overcome it. But the spirit of the League prevailed again and triumphed over the older war spirit; to-day that difficulty has faded into the past, and its solution has given us added strength and power from the fact that it was met, and met successfully.

Then there is the problem of disarmament, which is the primary object of our League of Nations. The solution of this problem still lies in the future — may be in a distant future — when the nations of the world are no longer weighed down under the crushing burden of armament expenditure and war waste, when the resources of the nations, released therefrom, may be used for the works of peace and development. First, the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was put into concrete form. It did not meet the case and was succeeded by the Protocol, and in that Protocol the League of Nations reached the high-water mark of its ideals — arbitration for the settlement of disputes, security as the result of that arbitration, instead of war for the settlement of disputes, and disarmament following upon the security gained through the medium and by virtue of the principle of arbitration. That, I say, was the high-water mark, the lifting high of the ideals of the League of Nations before a waiting world. From this position the League of Nations has not retreated and does not propose to retreat.

It was not, however, found possible immediately to adopt the Protocol, but the agreements of Locarno, which followed in direct sequence, adapt the principle and substance of the lofty declarations in the Protocol and apply them in a practical and prudent manner. Thus proceeding from the smaller to the larger, from the lesser to the greater, by a system of agreements and arbitration, and as a result of the security and disarmament thereby evolved, the League will achieve the thorough and complete fulfilment of its high ideal.

In this way, through successive trials, the strength, virtue and power of the League of Nations have been demonstrated, have been appreciated and are to-day acknowledged by the whole world.

Many milestones of success and of progress have been erected in the seven years which have passed. There was first the constitution of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the fulfilment of a wish which had long existed in the world. To-day, that institution is a beneficent and efficient agency in the working economy of the League of Nations. Secondly, there have been the strong and notable achievements of the League of Nations concerning economic and financial matters. Who among those who have followed the history of the work of the League in this connection has not been struck by the prudence and wisdom of its methods — and by the success with which they have been attended — in a reconstructed Austria, a restored Hungary, and in Greece, which, in its dire necessity, could find no help from any other source but found

it in the admirable dispositions of the League of Nations?

These and many other facts which might be mentioned form an imperishable testimony to the beneficent work of the League of Nations in the most important field of financial and economic reconstruction in a world which has been so torn and injured by the disastrous war. So I might pass from one to another of the successfully progressive stages of the work of the League of Nations up to the present time. The memory of a bitter March has not yet altogether faded from the minds of the lovers and partisans of the League of Nations; but the failures of that bitter March have already been overtaken and met by the milder atmosphere and the more pleasant reflections of the month of September.

And so to-day we trace a record of trials, of difficulties successfully overcome, and of marked achievements which have taken their place in the world's history as agencies with which it will not be possible hereafter to dispense. It is very useful at a time like this to review the past and to take from it the strength to which we are entitled as a result of the progress made. It is our duty to do so. It is also our duty to renew our vows.

I may say, speaking as one coming from a far distant country separated from the centre of the activities of the League, but which follows them—as millions of our people do—with sympathy and intense interest, that we have complete faith in the ideals and in the purposes of the League, that we gather strength from its record in the past, that we feel a growing confidence in the present situation, and that we look forward to the future with unabated optimism.

But let us to-day again renew our vows. In the first flush of a new situation, marked by a great heart and a great purpose, enthusiasm mounts high and optimism takes its loftiest place. Then come the prosaic and difficult hours of everyday work when ideals must be somewhat blurred and when optimism must be a little diminished—hours which the stern realities of life and the weakness of human nature bring to an organisation and to a cause. In these hours we must go back to the old ideals—that the peace of the world is what brings us together, the attainment of a future when war shall cease and good-will shall rule the whole world.

Each of the fifty-six nations which belong to the League must again review and burnish its ideals, knowing that before it there is much yet to be accomplished through many a weary mile of progress, work which will test our patience and resources to the uttermost, but which, if followed with calm persistency and strength and with a faith which will not be denied, will bring this old world of ours sooner or later out from the fogs and miasma of war and the bitter trials which follow in its wake into the sunlight and clearness of a peace in which good-will and brotherhood shall reign the whole world over.

Now, Mr. President, just one word more before I conclude. I have already said that it is the duty of this League every now and then—and no occasion is better than when the annual Assembly of the League of Nations meets—to renew its vows in the spirit in which those vows were taken seven or eight years ago, and to consecrate itself anew to the high cause of peace and good fellowship in the world. I want to say in this connection that we must sedulously cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice in a great world cause; that, in a prudent and moderate degree, self-interest must give way to the general interest; that personal ambitions, racial ambitions, and national ambitions, while

having their due place and power amongst the nations of the world, must bear in mind that they are a part and parcel of the world aggregate and that there must be due subordination of ambitions of that kind to the purposes and work of the League.

Most, if not all, of our difficulties have arisen (as difficulties generally do arise) from mistakes made in the past. How well we see that exemplified in the work of the League during the past year. If no mistakes had been made in the past years, we should not have been confronted by the circumstances of March 1926; if no mistakes of a similar nature are made in the future, we shall not experience similar difficulties in the future. We must remember that the League of Nations has introduced a new principle and new methods into international dealings before which, and in the carrying out of which, the old practices of the past diplomacy must take a subordinate place and largely disappear from the scene of action. I hold that the League of Nations should respect itself and its interests and maintain that self-respect and those interests against all comers.

There need be no unhealthy rivalry between the Council and the Assembly; they are too intimately related for that. I do not say that there has been rivalry before; I do not say that there will be rivalry in the future. But each of us must, as Members of the League of Nations, remember that there must not be rivalry between the Council and the Assembly and that both of them, just as they have worked together harmoniously in the past, must continue to work harmoniously in the future.

To this end, I say that the Assembly should maintain its essential independence and its essential rights as a body, which is built up directly and freshly from the different nationalities which give it substance and form, and that it must keep that self-respect and that independence and the liberties which thereby belong to it. I do not say that there is any disposition in other quarters to infringe or trespass upon those rights, but so long as we hold them prudently, hold them firmly and hold them as essential to an organisation working for peace and good-will in the world, the better we shall be prepared therefor.

The League of Nations is an organisation which must not bend either to the cajolery or to the menace of interested Powers. It must be conscious of its own rights, mindful of its own purposes; it must keep them in mind and not deviate from them to the tenth part of an inch, merely because some outside body or Power attempts either to menace or cajole it. We must have faith in the inherent virtue and power of our organisation; if outside parties say: "Unless you do so-and-so, we cannot come in with you", or, being already in, "we cannot stay with you", regard must first be had to our own League purposes and ideals. If we can accommodate ourselves in such a way as to bring that Power in, or retain it when in, well and good; but if that is impossible, without prejudice to our work, we can only part with regret, in the hope that we may meet again in a more reasonable atmosphere. Fidelity to our principles and reasonable self-respect can demand no less.

One last thought. What we need as the groundwork and foundation of the League of Nations is wide instruction, regarding its purposes and principles, in those fundamental and primary areas where that education can alone be successfully effected. You may send your 165 delegates here year after year; you may pass your resolutions and carry on your work from Assembly to Assembly and from Council session to Council session; you will make a certain progress in educative

work but you will not thereby arrive where it is necessary for this League to arrive if it is to be a continuous, growing and successful power in the world. We must get into the homes, to the firesides, into the schools where the young mind is being taught and eagerly imbibes its principles for later action, into the colleges and the universities. Into these areas we must penetrate; we must get there and stay there, animated by a feeling that years of patient and constant effort, unmitigated in their ardour and their persistence, must be cheerfully and faithfully spent in order that at last we may familiarise our whole generation, in the home, the school and the college, with our principles and our ideals. If we can have one full generation of teaching, of precept and of sympathetic instruction, the League of Nations will be firmly based upon a broad foundation in every Member nation, and then, and then only, will the League of Nations rest upon a foundation which will justify the strongest hope and the highest optimism for its future.

The President :

Translation : Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I think that anyone who looks at the report on the work of the Council will be struck by one characteristic more than by any other, namely, by the immense extent of the ground it covers. It deals with subjects of the most varied character, from a serious international dispute between Greece and Bulgaria to proposals for the reform of the calendar and the fixing of the Feast of Easter. It deals with the traffic in opium, with commercial arbitration, with the provision of swimming baths for children, with the codification of international law and with the reduction and limitation of armaments, apart from the very serious matter of the reconstruction of the composition of the Council.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it would be quite impossible to attempt, even if it were useful, any review of activities so widely extended as these, and in the observations which I am about to address to the Assembly, and which, I trust, will be brief, I propose to confine myself to certain very practical and serious points without attempting to make, even if I were capable of doing so, an emotional and eloquent oration.

In the first place, may I say one word on the very important topic of the codification of international law. As you know, the Assembly appointed a Committee — I think it was two years ago — to deal with that subject, and on the very first page of the report on the work of the Council an account is given of the activities of the Committee. I cannot help feeling that, though we are very grateful for that account as far as it goes, we should like to know rather more about the actual procedure of the Committee, the lines upon which it has proceeded, and whether its activities show any prospect of success or achievement in the near future. I do not intend to submit a motion on the matter, but I venture very respectfully to suggest that the First Committee of the Assembly should consider whether it ought not to make some enquiry into the activities of that Committee, since, in many parts of the world, the codification of international law is regarded as one of the most important possibilities of the League.

The next observation I desire to make arises not only from the report itself but from the exceedingly

interesting opening address made by M. Beneš in his capacity as Acting President of the Assembly. You will remember that he then called attention to the importance of the ratification by the Governments of Conventions concluded or suggested by Conferences called under the auspices of the League or by the League itself.

May I quote three sentences from his speech ? He said :

“In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of all the delegations to the fact that it is their duty, once they have returned to their own countries, to see that effect is given to the decisions taken at Geneva.”

Then a little later on he adds :

“I think I am bound to say that, from the point of view of the Conventions drafted by the technical committees, by the Economic, Transit, Health and Opium Committees and by our Disarmament Committees, the situation is not very satisfactory. Indeed, the further progress of our technical work would be a matter of some difficulty if this situation did not improve.”

This is a matter which was brought to the attention of the British Government by certain important commercial interests. They pointed out that it was discouraging to those all over the world who were interested in commerce and industry if admirable Conventions were drawn up by or under the auspices of the League and then months and even years elapsed before those Conventions were brought into effect. The result was, as they pointed out, a gradual diminution in the belief in the efficiency of the League and also the creation in the commercial and industrial world of that uncertainty which is, perhaps, the chief enemy of industrial and commercial prosperity. It was from that document that I obtained figures stating that, as regards eight Conventions dealing with these commercial subjects, there had been fifty-five signatures and only twenty-three ratifications; the result was, of course, that the Conventions had not come into force.

A more elaborate examination of the subject has revealed facts like the following: that to the Convention on International Waterways, which was concluded no less than five and a-half years ago, there were twenty-seven signatures and only eleven ratifications, and as regards the Protocol for the Mutual Recognition of Arbitration Clauses in Commercial Contracts — one of the most useful and, as I venture to think, important commercial achievements of the League — there were twenty-seven signatures and only twelve ratifications. I venture very respectfully to state to my colleagues that we should do well to devote some of our energy to finishing what we have so well begun, even before and in preference to undertaking new responsibilities and work.

These remarks do not apply only to the commercial sphere. The Convention on the Traffic in Arms has not been ratified by a single one of the Powers which signed that Convention; thirty-one have signed it and thirty-five Powers have signed the Protocol dealing with the employment of gas in warfare which is attached to that Convention. As regards the Opium Convention, in which I take some personal interest because I happened to be one of the representatives of my Government at the Conference which drew it up, though there have been thirty-four signatures there have been so far only six ratifications, which — I may perhaps be pardoned for remarking — all come from the British Empire.

I therefore venture to propose that we should adopt the following resolution — or at any rate send it for consideration by a Committee :

“The Assembly :

“Observing with regret that many Conventions and agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations have remained ineffective or have only come into force after undue delay owing to the difficulty experienced in securing a sufficient number of ratifications by the signatories ;

“Desires to call the attention of the Governments of all States Members of the League to the necessity for taking all measures in their power to facilitate and expedite the ratification in all cases of Conventions and agreements signed in their name ;

“And decides to invite the Council of the League to examine the possibility of appointing a Committee to consider whether any general understanding could be promoted that would secure rapid and, if possible, simultaneous action by signatories of such Conventions and agreements.”

I come now to the last topic on which I desire to say a few words to the Assembly and which is a topic of some delicacy and difficulty.

On more than one occasion recently, questions have been raised concerning what is and what is not the proper sphere of activities of the League of Nations. This is an exceedingly difficult subject and one, I think, of very great practical importance. If you turn to the Covenant, you will see that the object of the League of Nations is to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, and the Assembly and the Council are told that they can deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League affecting the peace of the world. I think everyone will agree that those indications of the sphere of action of the League are necessarily and properly, as I think, rather vague in their terms.

Different opinions may well be held as to what are proper subjects for international co-operation. Some subjects, of course, are quite clear. The question of armaments is obviously international, and one which affects the peace of the world. For many years — for a hundred years or more — the slave trade has been regarded by everyone as an international matter, and, as a consequence, slavery also, since it will never be possible to put an end to the slave trade unless an end is put to slavery.

Labour conditions, I agree, do not constitute a matter with which this Assembly deals directly, for they fall within the competence of the International Labour Office; but here, again, it is obvious that the conditions of labour in one country have an important repercussion on the conditions of labour in another, and that this matter therefore is one which quite properly calls for international consideration. Broadly speaking, the same is true of all hygienic matters. Bad health conditions in one country affect or may affect the health of its neighbours and, through its neighbours, all the countries of the world.

These topics, and there are many others, are evidently within the sphere of action of the League as requiring international co-operation, and with regard to which international co-operation can certainly be beneficial. Outside these matters, however, there is a very large number of others which, by gradations, are further and further away from the international sphere and more and more nearly approach the national sphere of activity of individual countries.

Very early in the history of the League it was said that, broadly speaking, the ordinary educational policy of each country was a matter for that country and that country alone to settle. Personally, I thought at the time, and still think, that this is too broad a proposition, and that there are, at any rate, some aspects of education which are unquestionably international, as, for instance, the proposal which we have adopted at this Assembly on more than one occasion that it is desirable that the youth of the world should be instructed in the principles and activities of the League of Nations. No doubt when we come to the subject I mentioned just now — the provision of swimming baths — it seems very difficult to attribute any special international aspect to the provision of swimming baths in the different countries. On the other hand, there are problems which excite immense sympathy in the minds of every one of us, such as the case of neglected children, the case of cruelty to animals, but regarding which it is, at any rate in my mind, somewhat doubtful whether they could justly be brought within the sphere of international action.

This is not an academic question, and I will explain in a moment why I think it is of great importance for the League and for its prosperity. I have no cut-and-dried remedy. I am going to move a motion merely asking that the matter be considered. If it were possible to lay down principles with greater precision, it might be that it would be desirable to set up some kind of machinery, some kind of Committee of Referees, to which, on the application of any country, a special subject might be referred for advice on the question whether it was of an international character or not.

Certainly, as far as I personally am concerned and as far as my Government is concerned, we have no desire whatever to restrict or to diminish the legitimate activities of the League. On the contrary, I have always preached (and there is nothing in my present position which prevents my continuing to preach) that the greater the activity of the League, the greater will be its success, provided, of course, it really confines itself to international action. I am not in the least afraid of its doing too much international work. On the contrary, I would go further and I would say that as a broad principle (and without dealing with any specific cases) I believe it would be desirable to concentrate at Geneva, as far as it can be done, all the official international action taken in the world.

The existence of a number of international authorities and a number of international organisations is, in itself, a bad thing and cause, as I know from what people have said to me, disquiet and uncertainty amongst those who are affected by their activity. The more we can concentrate international action at Geneva, the better I shall be pleased. But I do say, with great emphasis, that it is important that we should confine ourselves to really international action and that we should not be led by any argument, however powerful and however specious, to extend our activities beyond the international sphere.

I say this for two main reasons. In the first place, if we extend our sphere of action too widely, there is a danger that we may obscure, in the public mind, the chief objects for which the League of Nations exists. We exist to secure — and let us never forget it — international co-operation making for the peace of the world. It is a tremendous and august task, and one which we shall find will strain the whole powers of every one of us if we are to accomplish it properly. Do not let us allow ourselves for one moment to be diverted from or to be weakened in that task by any appeals to deal

with matters which do not contribute to that supreme object.

Secondly — and this is the most important observation — we are faced with a very delicate task. In some respects we are bound to infringe and impinge upon national sovereignty; that is essential and is involved in the very existence of the Covenant, the very existence of an agreement that we will, in certain respects, submit ourselves to international restriction and agreement. It is of the utmost importance that, since we have to do this, since we have to run the risk of rousing national feelings against us, we should not do so unnecessarily or for reasons which are less than the supreme reason of the maintenance of peace and good relations between the nations of the world, because by so doing we may give occasion to our enemies to blaspheme and to add difficulties to our already difficult task. I am convinced that the future of the League depends very largely upon this.

How far can we enlist in the work of the League that immensely powerful motive amongst men, the motive of patriotism and national feeling? There is no essential contradiction between the League of Nations and patriotism of the most burning character. What is essential is to create in the breasts of the patriots of the world (who, after all, comprise some of the noblest of the human race) a new object and a new purpose for patriotism, namely, to excel in the work of peace and to ensure the prosperity of their own nation through the prosperity of humanity at large.

I venture, therefore, to move the following resolution:

"The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee to consider and report what questions are and what are not within the sphere of action of the League within the meaning of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, especially with reference to the questions which are now being dealt with by the organs of the League or are proposed to be so dealt with."

The President:

Translation: The Assembly has before it the draft resolutions submitted by Viscount Cecil on behalf of the British delegation. These documents will be printed and distributed to the delegations before the Assembly decides upon the action to be taken. This decision will be taken at the close of to-morrow morning's meeting.

M. Guerrero, delegate of Salvador, will address the Assembly.

M. Guerrero (Salvador):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — For all who have closely followed the work of the League since its foundation, it is most reassuring to note the continual progress it has made.

Conducted systematically, with precision and with a true comprehension of the growing requirements of mankind, its activities have been gradually extended to all questions of a moral, political, economic or legal character which are of international interest.

The report presented by the Council to this seventh ordinary session of the Assembly gives a very accurate idea of the wide scope of the work accomplished during these last few months. The work of the Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law, that of the technical organisations, that of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission — to quote only a few examples — would be sufficient to preserve intact the hope and faith which the different nations have placed in the League.

It seems inconceivable that the manifold activities of this institution should be, as it were, brought to a standstill by an obstacle so difficult to surmount, so tremendous that in very truth the whole fabric has been shaken by it.

The peril, ladies and gentlemen, must be resolutely faced. The only real remedy for a situation which has become so serious is "the salt of truth", to quote the text so aptly cited by the eminent Archbishop who preached the sermon at the opening of this Assembly.

For this, however, everyone must be allowed to speak his mind freely and in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, in an atmosphere of trust, disinterestedness, loyalty and devotion to the common weal; and, in so doing, must be cleared in advance of the charge of adding to the complications of the situation by destroying the more or less elastic and provisional compromises by which diplomacy endeavours to circumvent difficulties — and only too often fails to overcome them.

May I be permitted, then, in virtue of this right of freedom of speech, to indulge in a few brief observations on the supremely important question now before the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly?

Our League, which has been in the throes of a crisis since the beginning of March, has in the course of a few months experienced numerical and material losses and, most serious of all, a weakening of prestige. Two great States have withdrawn their valuable collaboration. Such are the facts. Let us now trace their origin.

One of the most eminent of men, one whose consummate worth and authority dominate this Assembly — I speak of M. Briand — declared in March that the League was suffering from "growing pains". Much as I admire the opinions of our eminent colleague, I am, to my regret, unable to agree with him here, and I would venture to point out that his diagnosis has never been confirmed, and that there is nothing to suggest the likelihood of its being confirmed in the future. If it were merely a matter of growing pains, all we should have to do would be to let the League develop in its own way, leaving it to time to effect a cure. Unhappily, the roots of the evil lie deeper. The League is suffering from a congenital defect, a malformation dating from its very birth.

To extirpate the germ of the evil, we must strike at its root. We must not be afraid to attack the Covenant of the League, lest Article 4 should have the effect of destroying that principle of equality among the States Members which forms the very basis of the League's existence.

What justification is there, in the present state of the comity of nations, for a situation in which the equality imposed by the Covenant on all Members of the League in regard to sacrifices, obligations and undertakings has no counterpart in absolute equality from the legal point of view?

But there is no need to dwell on this constitutional defect. It is known to all; it may have been of use at the outset, when the Covenant was first drawn up, but it has since cost us the abstention or withdrawal of the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Spain, three nations unsparing in their devotion to the work of peace and solidarity on which our aims are set. This, I fear, may be only a beginning. This list, already of appreciable length, may become longer still if we persist in our error and fail to apply the drastic remedies that are called for now that the situation has been considerably aggravated by the events which have followed in such swift succession since the special session of the Assembly in March.

It is never too late to mend. Nothing is yet lost if only we hasten on the work of readjustment that is to restore to the League the true equilibrium and the vigour essential to the accomplishment of its task. That task, I am glad to say, appeared to be proceeding most satisfactorily, but it has so far only been sketched in broad outline, and for its accomplishment, the unity of all the Members of the League — including those who have felt it their duty to absent themselves for a time — is a necessity so absolute as to constitute a *sine qua non*.

Let us admit, then, that the League, in following the path laid down for it in the Covenant, has strayed from its true aims.

It is obvious that the solution adopted by the Council is not calculated to eradicate the evil. On the contrary, it increases the evil, since it amounts simply to a widening of the inequality already existing between States. The time is past for expedients which may serve to deliver us from one difficulty but will not prevent us from falling into another.

Desperate diseases require desperate remedies. Since the hour of sacrifice has sounded, let us accept sacrifice willingly rather than wait until it is imposed upon us by the irresistible force of events.

Let us consider who should make this sacrifice. It certainly should not be the States which, when war had laid Europe in ruins, resigned themselves, solely in the cause of peace, to a situation at variance with their democratic principles. Those States have already given their full quota of sacrifice.

The States which should make the great sacrifice are those for whose benefit there was created under the Covenant the situation that has brought about the present crisis — a crisis which, I would add, will assuredly be followed by others. I refer to the voluntary renunciation of permanent seats on the Council.

By this I am simply suggesting the only means — impossible of immediate fulfilment, perhaps, but not impracticable in the future — of settling the crisis in the League once and for all; and, in my opinion, this crisis cannot be solved by one of those provisional compromises to which modern diplomacy too often has recourse.

The President :

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

M. Hambro (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Norwegian Government is in cordial sympathy with those feelings of gratitude for and content with the progress of the League of Nations and its growing competence in settling international disputes, which have already been so eloquently expressed in the addresses delivered by the delegates of various nations. I can only add to their words of appreciation that my Government has followed with special interest the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice and has decided to renew for another period of ten years its acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction according to Article 36 of the Statute of the Court.

There is one part of the work prepared or accomplished by the League during the past year to which the Norwegian Government attaches the highest importance. I refer to the work so successfully begun by the special Committee for the Codification of International Law. This is a practical work of far-reaching influence tending to restrict the possibilities for international friction and to help and further international knowledge and understanding of the separate usages, traditions and laws of every country. I was glad to hear the illustrious delegate of the British Empire (Viscount

Cecil) emphasize so strongly the work of this Committee. We congratulate the Committee on having started with the study of the important questions concerning territorial waters, because these questions have been waiting for international examination and touch the interests and problems of most States.

If I have a few remarks to make concerning the work of the Committee, it is not in a spirit of criticism but with a view to making the results of this important examination as complete and satisfactory as possible. I do it with the highest regard for the learned Rapporteur of the Committee whose authority we all recognise, and whose works on these questions we have studied with profit, and I do it with all due respect for the members of the Sub-Committee who have worked so thoroughly and successfully.

There are, however, countries which are not represented on the Committee, countries for whose very existence the questions concerning territorial waters are of the utmost importance, and foremost among such countries is Norway, with a longer and more broken coastline than any other European country and with a history from time immemorial indissolubly bound up with the sea and the gifts of the sea. The northern parts of Norway would hardly be habitable without the fisheries, and about 90 per cent of the population of these parts of the country are wholly or partly dependent on the territorial waters for their living. These questions, therefore, are followed with the closest attention in Norway and with the conviction that they cannot be studied exhaustively from a lawyer's point of view only. It is necessary to study them also hydrographically, geographically and historically in order to understand the established rights of centuries, rights that cannot be infringed upon and which for a great proportion of the population of Norway represent a question of existence or non-existence.

The Norwegian Government is not at present prepared to frame any proposals, but would ask the Council and the special Committee to consider earnestly and sympathetically whether it would not be advisable and save time and trouble if countries particularly interested in such questions as fall under the examination of the Committee were given the opportunity to participate even in the preparatory work of codification.

This reflexion leads me to the problem of the composition of the Committees of the League in general and more especially of the permanent Committees.

In the opinion of the Norwegian Government, it would be natural to distribute the seats on those Committees more evenly among the Members of the League, if possible, under a system of rotation similar to that which was unanimously recommended for the elections to the Council by the Assembly in 1922 and 1923. The Norwegian Government attaches considerable importance to the carrying out of these recommendations, which ought already to have been made effective, and sincerely trusts that the Members of the Council will always act in the most scrupulous way upon the resolutions and recommendations of the Assembly, bearing in mind that the seats on the Council have been given them in trust by the Assembly in order to respect and uphold the wishes and the rights of the Assembly.

I was glad to hear the same views expressed so openly by the delegate of Persia yesterday, and I have listened with the greatest interest to the address delivered this morning by the delegate of Salvador. It follows from these remarks that the Norwegian delegation will support any attempt to make the system of elections more just and

in accordance with the repeatedly expressed opinions of the Assembly, and will try to counteract any attempt to create a new and more marked classification of States. It will do this in the hope that it will not prove necessary to establish an instrument for the protection of minorities in the Assembly, and in the hope that all the actions and activities of the Assembly will be inspired by a spirit of confidence and openness, of independence and fearlessness, which will steadily grow stronger, and that the necessity or the temptation to sacrifice convictions on the altar of unanimity will occur more rarely. We are happy to find in the general report of the Secretariat ample proofs that such hopes are not unfounded.

20. — REFERENCE TO THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF QUESTIONS DEALING WITH THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS : DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

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

Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — What I have to say does not bear on the subject under discussion, but refers to a matter which concerns the Third Committee.

The Secretariat has distributed to the delegations document A.32, consisting of extracts from documents A.6 and A.6 (a) (Annexes 2, 2 (a)), that is to say, the Report and Supplementary Report to the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly on the Work of the Council, on the Work of the Secretariat and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly.

This document contains all the requisite information to enable the Third Committee to discuss the questions placed on the Assembly's agenda under Item No. 20; these questions have already been referred to that Committee by a decision of the Assembly.

It would, however, be desirable for the Third Committee to be in a position to discuss other sections of this important document. I accordingly propose that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :

"The Assembly decides to refer to the Third Committee all the portions of the Report and of the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat which deal with the reduction of armaments."

We have also received document A.47, containing the resolution adopted by the Council on September 4th, 1926, in regard to the preliminary draft Convention on the Control of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War, prepared by the Committee of Enquiry and the Committee of the Council and submitted by the latter Committee to the Council.

Under this resolution the Council refers to the Assembly, for information, the preliminary draft already mentioned. It would accordingly be proper to refer document A.47 to the Third Committee, as it contains all the necessary information on the subject.

I propose, therefore, that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :

"The Assembly decides to refer to the Third Committee M. Beneš' report (approved by the Council on September 4th, 1926) on the draft Convention for the Control of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War, and the documents attached thereto."

I have no doubt that the Assembly will agree to adopt these two draft resolutions.

The President :

Translation : Jonkheer Loudon, on behalf of the Netherlands delegation, has just submitted two draft resolutions for the reference of certain questions to the Third Committee. These draft resolutions will be printed and distributed to members of delegations, so that I shall be able, at the close of to-morrow morning's meeting, to ask the Assembly to take a decision on them.

The Assembly rose at 12.30 p.m.

SEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 10th, 1926, at 10.30 a.m.

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21. — CREDENTIALS OF THE GERMAN DELEGATES: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

The President :

Translation : The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials will read the report and submit the

decisions of the Committee on the credentials of the German delegation.

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

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Committee instructed by the Assembly to examine the credentials of delegates met to-day at 10 o'clock in the Salle de la Réformation to examine the credentials of the German delegates to the Assembly.

The Committee has examined the credentials of the delegates of Germany signed by the President of the Reich and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. This document having been found in good and true form, the Committee considers that the delegates of the German Government to this Assembly have been duly accredited.

The President :

Translation : If nobody has any remarks to make, I will declare the conclusions of the report of the Committee on Credentials adopted.

The conclusions of the report were adopted.

The President :

Translation : The conclusions of the report being adopted, I invite the German delegates to take their seats.

(The German delegates took their seats in the Assembly.)

22. — WELCOME TO THE GERMAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — My rôle as President to-day is an easy one, since I have but to voice the unanimous sentiments of the Assembly in extending a warm welcome to the German delegates who have just taken their place amongst us.

This event is, for the League of Nations, both happy and memorable in a twofold sense.

In the first place, it marks a new step towards that universality to which the League is inevitably progressing, despite difficulties which we hope are only temporary.

Secondly, the essential object of the League is the maintenance of peace, and the admission of a great European Power is a happy omen for the peaceful future of the continent which has suffered most from war.

We have therefore the double good fortune to see the accomplishment of an act for which the League has never ceased to hope, and to see in it the prelude of new successes in its mission of peace. The preparations for this happy event were made last year, and this year, too, both within and without this hall, but its achievement was made possible by the will of this Assembly when it expressed its opinion, the day before yesterday, with a unanimity the symbolic importance of which will be plain to all.

I am glad to see Germany take her rightful place amongst us as a great nation desirous of supporting our work for international security and understanding.

In extending a cordial invitation to the distinguished representatives of Germany to take part in our work, I welcome their presence as a new pledge for the success of international collaboration in the cause of peace.

Dr. Stresemann, first delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Stresemann (Germany), speaking in German :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The President of this High Assembly and the President of the Council of the League of Nations have been good enough to accord Germany a joyful welcome on her entry into the League. In addressing you from this platform I feel it my first duty to express Germany's thanks to these two gentlemen and to the Assembly. Allow me at the same time to express our gratitude to the Swiss Government, which is now extending its traditional and generous hospitality to Germany as a Member of the League of Nations.

More than six years have passed since the League was founded. A long period of development was thus necessary before the general political situation rendered it possible for Germany to enter the League, and even in the present year great difficulties have had to be overcome before Germany's decision could be supplemented by the unanimous decision of the League. Far be it from me to revive matters which belong to the past. It is rather the task of the present generation to look to the present and to the future. I would only say this, that, although an event such as Germany's entry into the League is the outcome of a long preliminary process of development, yet that very fact constitutes perhaps a surer guarantee of its permanence and of its fruitful results.

To-day Germany enters a circle of States to some of which she has for decades been attached by unbroken ties of friendship, whereas others were allied against her during the Great War. It is surely an event of historical importance that Germany and these latter States are now brought together within the League of Nations in permanent and peaceful co-operation. It is a fact which indicates more clearly than any mere words or programmes that the League of Nations may in very truth be destined to give a new direction to the political development of mankind. Civilisation would be exposed to grave dangers indeed at the present time if the nations could obtain no assurance that they would be able to perform in peaceful and untroubled co-operation the tasks which their destiny has assigned to them.

The catastrophic events of a terrible war have recalled the conscience of mankind to a consideration of the tasks which confront the different nations. In many countries we have witnessed the ruin of whole classes of the population, who are not only valuable, but intellectually and economically indispensable to the life of the nation. We are beholding the birth of new forms of economic life, and the disappearance of older ones. We see how economic life is overleaping the old national boundaries and creating new forms of international co-operation. The old economic situation of the world had no statutes, no programmes, to guide its co-operation. This co-operation was based on the unwritten law of the traditional exchange of goods between the different continents. It must be our task to restore that exchange. If we really desire the economic development of the world to proceed undisturbed, we shall not obtain that end by erecting barriers between the countries, but rather by bridging over the gulfs which hitherto have separated the different national economic systems.

But there is something which far transcends in importance all material considerations, namely, the souls of the nations themselves. There is just now a mighty stirring of ideas among the nations of the world. We see some nations that adhere to the principle of self-contained national unity and reject international understanding, because they do not wish to see all that has been developed on the basis of nationality superseded by a more general conception of humanity. Now I hold that no country which belongs to the League of Nations thereby surrenders any of its national individuality. The Divine Architect of the world has not created mankind as a homogeneous whole. He has made the nations of different races; He has given them their mother-tongue as the sanctuary of their soul; He has given them countries with different characteristics as their homes. But it cannot be the purpose of the Divine world-order that men should direct their supreme national

energies against one another, thus ever thrusting back the general progress of civilisation. He will serve humanity best who, firmly rooted in the faith of his own people, develops his moral and intellectual gifts to the utmost, thus overstepping his own national boundaries, and serving the whole world, as has been done by those great men of all nations whose names are writ large in the history of mankind.

Thus the ideals of nationality and of humanity may unite on the intellectual plane, and they may similarly unite in pursuit of political ideals, provided that there is the will to make common progress in this field.

The political outcome of these ideals is a moral obligation on the part of the different countries to devote their efforts to peaceful co-operation. This moral obligation also applies to the great moral problems of humanity. No other law should be applied to their solution than that of justice.

The co-operation of the peoples in the League of Nations must and will lead to just solutions for the moral questions which arise in the conscience of the peoples. The most durable foundation of peace is a policy inspired by mutual understanding and mutual respect between nation and nation.

Even before her entry into the League, Germany endeavoured to promote this friendly co-operation. The action which she took and which led to the Pact of Locarno is a proof of this, and as further evidence there are the arbitration treaties which she has concluded with almost all her neighbours. The German Government is resolved to persevere unswervingly in this line of policy, and is glad to see that these ideas, which at first met with lively opposition in Germany, are now becoming more and more deeply rooted in the conscience of the German people. Thus the German Government may well speak for the great majority of the German race when it declares that it will wholeheartedly devote itself to the duties devolving upon the League of Nations.

During the past six years the League has already taken in hand a substantial portion of these tasks, and has done most valuable work. The German delegation does not possess the experience which the members here assembled have acquired. We believe, however, that, as regards the new work which lies before us, the subjects dealt with first should be those in which the individual nations can do most by combining in joint institutions. Among other institutions which the League has created, we have in mind the World Court, which is the outcome of efforts made to establish an international legal order.

Furthermore, the efforts made towards disarmament are of particular importance for the consolidation of organised international peace. The complete disarmament of Germany was stipulated by the Treaty of Versailles as a preliminary to general disarmament. It is to be hoped that practical steps will be taken to further this general disarmament, and thereby furnish evidence that the lofty ideals of the League of Nations already contain within them the seeds of a great positive force.

Germany's relations to the League are not, however, confined exclusively to the possibilities of co-operation in general aims and issues. In many respects the League is the heir and executor of the Treaties of 1919. Out of these Treaties there have arisen in the past, I may say frankly, many differences between the League and Germany. I

hope that our co-operation within the League will make it easier in future to discuss these questions. In this respect mutual confidence will, from a political point of view, be found a greater creative force than anything else. It would, indeed, be incompatible with the ideals of the League to group its Members according to whether they are viewed with sympathy or with antipathy by other Members.

In this connection I reject most emphatically the idea that the attitude hitherto adopted by Germany in matters concerning the League of Nations has been dictated by such sympathies or antipathies. Germany desires to co-operate on the basis of mutual confidence with all nations represented in the League or upon the Council.

The League has not yet attained its ideal, which is to include all the Powers of the world. Germany's entry into the League does, it is true, constitute an important step towards its universality. But we desire at the same time to express our deep regret that Brazil has manifested her intention to withdraw from it. We regret this more particularly because we believe that if the League is to be world-wide, one continent alone should not have a predominant influence within it. Furthermore, we share with the other Members of the League the firm hope that we may retain the valuable co-operation of Spain. We are convinced that the appeal which has been addressed to Spain by all the Powers will reveal to that great country and its people how detrimental it would be to the high ideals of which Spain has been a leading champion if she were long absent from Geneva at this time.

Universality alone can protect the League against the danger of using its political forces for other purposes than in the service of peace. Only on the basis of a community of all nations, without distinction and on a footing of perfect equality, can mutual assistance and justice become the true guiding stars of the destiny of mankind. Upon this foundation alone can that principle of freedom be set for which nations and individuals alike are constantly striving. Germany is firmly resolved to found her policy upon these lofty ideals. To all the nations assembled here we can apply the words of that great thinker who said that we belong to a generation which strives from darkness towards the light. It is our fervent hope that the tasks of the League may be fulfilled on the basis of the noble conceptions of peace, freedom and unity. So shall we draw nearer the ideals to which we aspire, and it is the firm resolve of Germany to assist wholeheartedly in that task.

The President :

Translation : M. Briand, first delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Briand :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—I sincerely thank my colleagues on the General Committee of the Assembly for having allowed the delegate of France to follow the distinguished representative of Germany on this platform, to welcome the German delegation on its entry into this Assembly and to assure you that we are resolved to collaborate with that delegation, cordially and sincerely, in the work of international pacification. My colleagues on the General Committee doubtless realised—and I thank them for it—that the presence of the delegate of France on this platform at this moment, after the eloquent and lofty words

which you have just heard, would perhaps do something to emphasise the character of this occasion and make clear its significance, its consequences and all the hopes which the peoples of the world rightly centre in it.

Those who indulge in irony and detraction at the expense of the League of Nations, who daily cast doubt upon its soundness and time after time proclaim that it is doomed to perish, what will they think if they are present at this meeting? Is it not a moving spectacle, and a specially ennobling and comforting one, when we think that only a few years after the most frightful war which has ever devastated the world, when the battlefields have hardly ceased to reek with blood, the peoples, the same peoples who were hurled in combat against each other, are meeting in this peaceful Assembly and are expressing to each other their common will to collaborate in the work of world peace?

What a renewal of hope for the nations! From this day on how many mothers will look at their children without feeling their hearts contract with fear.

Peace for Germany and for France. That means that we have done with the long series of terrible and sanguinary conflicts which have stained the pages of history. We have done with the black veils of mourning for sufferings that can never be appeased, done with war, done with brutal and sanguinary methods of settling our disputes. True, differences between us still exist, but henceforth it will be for the judge to declare the law. Just as individual citizens take their difficulties to be settled by a magistrate, so shall we bring ours to be settled by pacific procedure. Away with rifles, machine-guns, cannon! Clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace!

Countries do not go down to history as great solely through the heroism of their sons on the battlefield or the victories that they gain there. It is a far greater tribute to their greatness if, faced with difficulties, in the midst of circumstances in which anger all but drowns the voice of reason, they can stand firm, be patient and appeal to right to safeguard their just interests.

Gentlemen of the German delegation, our nations need give no further proof of their strength or of their heroism. Both nations have shown their prowess on the battlefield, and both have reaped an ample harvest of military glory. Henceforth they may seek laurels in other fields.

For many months now Dr. Stresemann and myself have been working together at the same task. He had every confidence; so had I. I do not regret that confidence; I trust that he also will have no occasion to regret it. With the help of a man whose noble and generous spirit and sincerity are known to you all — I refer to my colleague and friend the first delegate of the British Empire, Sir Austen Chamberlain — we have worked together. We needed all our courage in our endeavour to reach a goal which was then so distant. As the crow flies, Locarno and Geneva are not far distant, but the road between them is by no means easy. It has to pass round many obstacles, and since we all admire faith when it moves mountains, we should certainly feel pride in the faith that has brought the Lake of Locarno so near to the Lake of Geneva.

If at the outset we had allowed ourselves to lose heart; if, influenced by the expressions of doubt, hesitation and mistrust emitted by some in our countries, we had gone no further, all would have been at an end. Far from taking a further step towards peace, the seeds of renewed mistrust would have been sown between countries already divided.

I have perhaps the right, speaking from this platform, to feel a special pride in having taken part in to-day's manifestation, for I have the great satisfaction of seeing in it the outcome of a personal effort — although that, of course, is a small matter — and above all I foresee that there will henceforth be no possibility of a repetition of the terrible events which we have witnessed in recent years.

Before we could arrive at the stage we have reached to-day, certain difficult problems had to be settled by means of private negotiations. In point of fact, these negotiations were recommended by previous Assemblies, which displayed remarkable political insight and realised that, unless certain *rapprochements* were made outside the League of Nations, unless certain concessions could be obtained from both sides, unless certain conversations could be held in preparation of solutions to be submitted to you, the task we were jointly pursuing would never be accomplished.

At the last Assembly, we came very close to the danger-spot. I am glad now that at the time I had no doubt of the final result and that it was I who caused the special Assembly to adopt the motion which enabled the German representatives to leave Geneva in the certainty that morally Germany's application had been unanimously accepted by the Assembly.

In the interval we discussed matters, and we prepared for settlements by conciliation. This kind of work, I hasten to add, does not partake of the true spirit of the League of Nations. In the League everything must be done in public and in collaboration with all the nations belonging to it. I can now proclaim, in the certainty that I shall not be contradicted by my friends, that in future it will no longer be necessary to resort to proceedings of this nature.

All the Members of the League of Nations, great and small, without distinction, must collaborate with a view to attaining the objects laid down in the Covenant.

If, during these difficult times through which we have passed, some of you have felt perhaps that it was our intention not to admit you to a share in our decisions, let me assure you that you have been mistaken. No one is more firmly resolved than the delegates of France that, in future, the work of the League shall be done in the light of day and with the collaboration of all its Members.

I have no fault to find with the remarks made by the representative of Germany concerning his conception of collaboration with us on the League. As far as the delegate of France is concerned, I may say that the German delegation can be sure of finding in him a loyal collaborator.

The fact that we are both present in this Assembly and that, on the plane of the ideal, we can hold communion with one another does not destroy existing obstacles. Such obstacles still exist, as you, Sir, so tactfully indicated. Of this fact I am fully aware. Dr. Stresemann and I, each in our respective countries, are in a position which enables us to perceive those obstacles, and the mere fact that he has left the Wilhelmstrasse and I the Quai d'Orsay, to meet here in the fair city of Geneva, does not mean that these difficulties have disappeared through the goodwill manifested in our words.

It is sufficient, however, if both of us, voicing the deep-rooted feeling in our countries — and I can assure you that it is the feeling of my country — have the will to meet these various difficulties.

firmly resolved to settle them by conciliatory means. That is enough to prevent any dispute between us from becoming an armed conflict.

It is especially those peoples who have not always been in agreement who have most need of the League of Nations; for, if it is true that there may be some divine plan whereby the nations are prevented from making war on one another, Dr. Stresemann will readily agree that, during the long years of the past, this plan has been singularly disregarded. I should like to see it applied from to-day onwards, and you may be sure that I will do nothing to prevent it. I simply wish to say this: If you are here as a German and only as a German, and if I am here as a Frenchman and only as a Frenchman, agreement will not be easy. But if we come here, not forgetting our respective countries, yet as citizens sharing in the universal work of the League, all will be well, and we shall attain spiritual communion with our colleagues in the atmosphere peculiar to Geneva.

You said, Sir, that you were inexperienced. That will not be for long. You possess intuition, the statesman's supreme quality — this your speech has clearly proved — and you have the sensitive perception which enables you to realise the spirit of the League.

I have often arrived at Geneva, or in some other town where the Council of the League was sitting, with the helpless feeling of being at grips with problems impossible of solution and confronted with the comments of the Press and of politicians which sometimes serve to render them still more obscure. On such occasions, I have often said to myself that we were certain to separate without coming to an agreement or finding a solution. But a solution has always been found, because, directly we were seated opposite one another, under the ægis of the Covenant, infected by the spirit of the place, ennobled in one another's eyes by our great purpose, realising the moral responsibility which weighed upon us not only toward our individual nations but the whole world, we readjusted our minds, we made a supreme effort, and at the most critical moment, just when a solution appeared to be escaping us for ever, we were able, by a kind of miracle which I will not attempt to explain, to reach an agreement, to the amazement of all and particularly of those who perhaps had not desired the success of our endeavours.

But such a result could only be attained upon one condition, which I am now going to put before you. It is a condition which applies no less to myself than to you all, for I, like any other statesman, am not strong enough to resist committing the kind of error which I have in mind. I have in the past been guilty of many such errors, and I trust that what I am going to say will be received not as advice but largely as a confession.

There are two spirits in which delegates may come to Geneva: the objective spirit and the fighting spirit. If the League takes on the semblance of a kind of tourney; if, under the stimulus of polemical debates or actuated by an overheated sense of national pride, we come here as champions to fight, with the desire to gain the perilous successes of prestige, then all will be in vain. Victories of prestige bring no result save in appearance. Think of the havoc they have wrought in the past! Prestige stimulates the imagination, aggravates selfish interests, urges States to feverish demonstrations of national pride and incites them to oppose their statesmen, who then lose the guiding rein of reason and the power to find moderate solutions. It is impossible for statesmen, under such conditions to work in a spirit of conciliation.

They face one another like wrestlers in the ring, with their peoples eagerly looking on and asking which is going to throw the other. That is the spirit of war; it is a spirit which must not exist — least of all in the League.

For my part I promise to do my best to avoid bringing this spirit here, and I count on the intelligence, the pacific intentions and the lofty sentiments of the German delegates to do the same.

If we are egged on against each other, if we are urged in interviews and speeches to oppose each other, we must put aside all such temptations; let us thrust them far from us! That is the road of blood, the road of the past, covered with the dead, the road of mourning, of destruction and disaster. It is not our road.

Henceforth our road is to be one of peace and progress. We shall win real greatness for our countries if we induce them to lay aside their pride, if we persuade them to sacrifice certain of their own desires in the service of world peace. This sacrifice will not diminish, it will increase their prestige.

When Europe has regained its economic and moral equilibrium, when the peoples realise their security, they will then be able to cast away the heavy burdens imposed by the dread of war, they will be able to work together to improve their respective positions. There will arise at last a European spirit which will not be born of war, and will for that reason be nobler, loftier and more worthy of admiration.

It is for us to make this effort. It is easy to blame the peoples, but it is generally their leaders who are to blame. It is they who should know how to control themselves, who should have a proper understanding of events and should always interpret them in a spirit favourable to efforts of conciliation.

Arbitration! That word is now at the height of its prestige and its power. Arbitration treaties are increasing; nation after nation is promising to abjure war and to accept intermediaries. All these undertakings are building the path of peace; all are permeated with the spirit of the League; and for that reason all nations should devote themselves heart and soul to the League's defence. It should be sheltered from all attacks and placed above all other considerations.

With the League goes Peace! Without it, the menace of war and blood from which the peoples have suffered too long!

This day should be commemorated with a white stone. The words of collaboration which Germany and France have just exchanged in a like spirit of sincerity should be marked with a white stone — and I for one will never change the colour of that stone.

And now, apologising for having presumed upon your patience so long, may I say that the League has to-day, by the entry of Germany, made another step towards its object — universality? Although this is a cause for rejoicing, our joy is dimmed by the fact that two great nations of the League are no longer with us.

I endorse your remarks both as regards Brazil and Spain. These two great countries were deeply imbued with the spirit which animates us all. They have rendered many services to the League in difficult circumstances. It is therefore not surprising that even our joy at to-day's event should be tinged with regret at their absence. But we do not give up hope, and I am deeply convinced that soon we shall see the representatives of Spain and Brazil among us once again.

The League is not going back; its future will be one of constant expansion. To-day it has taken

one step forward; to-morrow it will take another. Our presence, both yours and ours, is of deep significance.

I am glad to have been able to take part in this event. It will, I am sure, take a great place in history. It is for us to ensure that no rash move on the part of any of us will endanger the hopes of the peoples of the world.

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — Sharing as I do the deep emotion with which you have listened to the last two speakers, I am convinced that the Assembly will wish me to convey our thanks to Dr. Stresemann and M. Briand and to assure them that their sincere and touching words have reached our inmost hearts.

It was indeed a moving spectacle to see the delegates of Germany and France mount the same platform, animated by the same desire to proclaim their deep faith and unshakable conviction in the future of the League!

Their words, I am convinced, will prove a determining factor not only in the work to be accom-

plished here, but also in the whole future of this great international association.

Sir Austen Chamberlain (British Empire) :

I beg to move that the speeches which you, Mr. President, have addressed to us from the Presidential chair and the speeches of the honourable representatives of Germany and France be printed verbatim in the Assembly Journal.

The President :

Translation : I take your applause to mean that the Assembly has adopted the proposal of the first delegate of the British Empire.

I think that, in view of the deep emotion we have all experienced, it would be inopportune to continue the discussion of the agenda at this morning's meeting. I propose, therefore, to adjourn until this afternoon. (*Assent.*)

The Assembly rose at 12.15 p.m.

EIGHTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 10th, 1926, at 3.30 p.m.

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- Adoption of the Draft Resolutions proposed by the Netherlands Delegation.

25. RATIFICATION OF THE AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE PREAMBLE AND OF ARTICLES 3 AND 4 OF THE COVENANT.

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President : M. NINTCHITCH.

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

The President :

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

The Hon. J. G. Latham, first delegate of Australia, will address the Assembly.

The Honourable J. G. Latham (Australia) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In the first place I desire, on behalf of Australia, the country which I have the honour to represent, to associate myself with the sentiments expressed this morning on the occasion of the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. This morning a great step was taken towards the universality of the League — a step which many have said was impossible. It has, however, been accomplished. The unanimous desire to receive Germany into the League is inspired by the faith and the hope that Germany will work with the other Members of the League for the accomplishment of the ideals for the promotion of which the League was formed.

Many will remember that during the war in France millions of men and women looked forward to peace and happiness *après la guerre*. In the words of M. Briand this morning : "Plus de guerres". It is the greatest hope of mankind to-day that this statement may prove to be true. The events of this Assembly, marked as they have been by the surrender or sacrifice of certain ambitions in order to attain unanimity, in order to reach an agreement, help to justify the hope that the statement of M. Briand, supported as it was by the statement of the representative of Germany (a statement which is also a prophecy), may be realised in the world of fact as well as in the realm of aspiration and hope. The possibility of attaining the ideals of the League depends in the judgment of most, if not all, who are present here to-day upon the League pursuing its work in accordance with the principles for which it stands.

It is difficult, after the events of this morning, to return to the ordinary work of the day, but that I conceive to be the proper duty of those who are here representing their countries upon the League. I therefore make no apology for resuming the debate upon the work of the Council and of the Secretariat during the past year.

The report before us is a record of useful activities constituting an effective reply to any persons who would suggest that the League is not worthy of support. I propose to deal briefly this afternoon with three subjects only. In the first place, I propose to say something on the subject of the International Economic Conference. Secondly, I propose to make a small practical suggestion which I venture to hope may facilitate the work of the League. Thirdly, I propose to make some remarks upon the question of disarmament and certain associated subjects.

The peoples of Australia are very interested in the proposal to hold an International Economic Conference. They regard it with interest, but also, I am bound to say, with some degree of concern. I refer to this question in order that, if there be any misunderstanding, it may be dispelled in the interests of the League and of the Members of the League.

In the first place, it is necessary to understand exactly what the present position is. This matter was initiated by a resolution of the Assembly passed on September 24th, 1925, which remitted to the Council the question of the desirability of holding an International Economic Conference. That resolution did not itself determine that a conference should be held, but it left the convening of the Conference under the auspices of the League to be a matter for subsequent decision by the Council. The Council then considered the matter and passed a resolution appointing a Preparatory Committee for the purpose of preparing and collecting such economic information as would be useful if the Economic Conference were held. There was, however, no definitive decision of the Council to hold a conference, and there has not been, I venture to suggest, an authoritative description by the Council of the nature and the scope of the Conference which it is proposed to hold.

It is true that the Economic Committee which reported to the Council had a very definite idea of both the nature and the scope of this Conference, because in its report the Committee made the following statement :

"In response to the request made to it in connection with the composition of the Preparatory Committee, the Economic Committee desires to point out that the membership of such a body must depend essentially upon the nature, composition and aims of the Conference itself.

"The Economic Committee has accordingly assumed that the Conference would consist of persons having commercial, industrial, and economic qualifications, who would be appointed by, but not responsible to, their Governments, and whose object in meeting would be to discuss matters with complete freedom and not to draw up conventions.

"On this assumption the Economic Committee considers that the composition of the Preparatory Committee as proposed by the French Government answers, on the whole, to the duties allotted to that Committee and to the nature of the proposed Conference. The Committee feels, however, bound to offer the following observations :

"It desires to emphasise its entire agreement with the view taken in the French memorandum

that the members of the Preparatory Committee should not be regarded as Government delegates. It also thinks that any members of technical organisations of the League who may take part should sit as experts and should not be hampered by instructions from the technical organisations to which they belong, though they would, of course, keep those organisations informed of the progress of the Preparatory Committee's work."

Again, in taking its decision, the Council approved the report of the Rapporteur, which contained the following statement :

"One point in respect of which there appears to be unanimous agreement, and on which I feel sure it is essential to insist, is this. It would seem that the Conference is not to have a strictly Government character and that it is not to be composed of responsible delegates invested with full powers for the conclusion of conventions; it is intended rather to organise a general consultation in the course of which, as at the Financial Conference at Brussels, the various programmes and doctrines may be freely exposed without the freedom of discussion being restricted by any immediate necessity to transform the conclusions of the Conference into international engagements.

"The Council will, in any case, have to consider this point before taking a definite decision as to the convening of the Conference after receipt of the Preparatory Committee's report, but I have thought it necessary to mention it at once since it may be an important factor in determining the scheme of work of the Preparatory Committee itself".

The particular point which I desire to make is this — that the Council has not yet taken any decision upon these questions and, in view of the nature of the provisional recommendations of the Preparatory Committee, it is important that the Council should arrive at that decision as quickly as possible.

There is a certain fear that the Conference may feel itself entitled to make recommendations, upon which the League may be asked to take action, regarding questions many of which are essentially domestic in character; it is very desirable, therefore, that the Council should, as soon as possible, make a declaration upon the scope and nature of the suggested Conference.

Reference to the list of matters which the Preparatory Committee has under consideration as potential subjects of enquiry shows that they include, among others, questions of tariffs, the question of protection and free trade, more particularly the question of preferential tariffs, selling organisations, State trading, bounties, the organisation of internal trade and commerce in relation to the utility of middlemen and similar subjects, and various questions affecting migration. I venture to ask, therefore, for the consideration by the Council at an early date of the scope and nature of the Conference.

In the meantime, information upon these problems will be collected and it may be that matters will be allowed to drift in such a way that it will be assumed that all these problems are to become subjects of enquiry by the League of Nations.

Upon a number of the matters to which I have referred, political opinion within the various countries of the world is acutely divided, and I suggest that it would be an error for the League to hold a conference of such a character that the League would run the risk of becoming associated with one side or the other in any form of domestic controversy.

The work of the League, as Viscount Cecil suggested yesterday afternoon, is marked out for it, and it is in the true interests alike of the League and of the world that it should, whilst doing that work, confine itself to the legitimate functions which it has under the Covenant.

To make a complete study of these questions would occupy many years, because the conditions and circumstances in every country vary greatly. In Australia, before we impose a protective duty, the matter is sent for enquiry to a Tariff Board, and sometimes many months are occupied in examining a single industry. In the same way, we have a Development and Migration Commission, which is charged with the duty of considering the economic development of the country. In this case, again, the problems will undoubtedly occupy a considerable time in detailed study before action can be taken.

I venture, therefore, to ask for a definite decision upon the nature and scope of the Conference, in accordance with the principles that the Conference should be a conference of experts as recommended by the Economic Committee, that it should not be a conference of representatives of Governments as such, and in accordance with the further principle that the League will best serve its own interests, and therefore the interests of the world, by avoiding domestic questions which are not truly international in character.

I come now to a relatively small matter upon which I desire to make a practical suggestion for action by the League. There is no formal document in the world to which reference is so frequently made as the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Covenant is now presented in a form which is unsuited for ready and convenient reference. Some of its articles are lengthy and contain many paragraphs. Article 15, I think, contains ten paragraphs; Article 22 contains nine. My suggestion is that it would facilitate reference to the Covenant and would, accordingly, in some measure facilitate the work of the League if the paragraphs of the articles were numbered. I therefore propose that the First Committee be requested to consider and to report to the Assembly upon the desirability of numbering the paragraphs of the articles of the Covenant in all copies of the Covenant published by the League. This is not, I conceive, an amendment to the Covenant; a direction to the printer of the League's publications will be sufficient. I suggest, however, that it ought to be done and by the proper authority.

Finally, I wish to speak shortly on the subject of disarmament. Disarmament is one of the principal objects of the League. If the League fails to achieve results in this direction, it is difficult to see how it can effectively attain its object of securing peace.

It is the general view, at present, that the subjects of arbitration, security and disarmament are inseparably linked together and that no one of them can be solved unless the others are simultaneously solved. At this Assembly these questions are again under consideration. The League has already explored — unfortunately without success — the possibility of general agreements such as those embodied in the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance and in the Protocol. In view of the failure to secure general assent, new methods of approach are being utilised.

I venture to make two observations upon this aspect of the matter. In the first place, all lawyers are familiar with the distinction between substantive law and the law of procedure. Procedural law merely provides the means for administering substantive law. It is substantive law which

actually defines and specifies the rights and duties of those persons who are subject to the law. I suggest that arbitration belongs not to substantive law but to procedural or adjective law. Arbitration is merely a method of ascertaining facts, of declaring and of enforcing rights, which rights are derived from some other source than the arbitral procedure itself — that is to say, arbitration, speaking generally, operates as a means of procedure within a system of law, that system of law defining the rights and duties to which it is the function of the arbitrator to give effect. There are some special instances in which individuals agree that they will submit their differences to arbitration without any insistence upon legal right, so that the matter is simply left to the discretion of the particular arbitrator. In this case, everything depends upon his knowledge, impartiality and fairness. The effect of this procedure is that the matter is removed from the realm of law to that of the opinion of an individual or individuals. There are obvious objections to such a process, or rather there are obvious limitations of the utility of such a procedure in the case of important differences, especially when they involve questions of policy or of national aspiration.

What, then, is required? Something more than arbitration as a procedure is required. What is required is either a system of law or the making of agreements between nations. That system of law or those agreements will define rights and duties, and then there is an appropriate sphere for the exercise of the functions of an arbitrator. Accordingly, among the most important subjects with which the League may properly concern itself, a function which it is seeking to discharge, is the problem of the codification of international law. This is one of the fundamental questions upon which, I suggest, the future of the League depends; in particular, the effectiveness of any system of arbitration depends upon something of this character.

The second observation which I make upon arbitration is this. There are certain dangers attached to the institution of a system of arbitration in which the arbitrator, instead of applying a law derived from another source than himself, or interpreting and applying an agreement made by the parties, is left to act according to his own view of the case. The effect of such a procedure is that the arbitrator, instead of administering any form of law or applying any agreement, really makes a law, and we have found in Australia that when a body is set up for the purpose of determining industrial disputes without any rules being laid down as to the law according to which they are to be determined, the result is that, in order to invoke the jurisdiction of the tribunal, a dispute is created. We do not want to get into a similar position in international affairs, and the mere establishment of a tribunal for the settlement of international disputes incurs the risk of the creation of disputes in order that an appeal may be made to the jurisdiction of the international tribunal. In such a case the claimant has nothing to lose and may gain something. This, again, is another reason for the development of a complete system of international law and for the making of further agreements between the representatives of the nations.

A final word upon disarmament itself. The Preparatory Commission has prepared a questionnaire which attacks the problem of disarmament in analytical detail. No one will deny either the importance or the relevance of the issues raised, but what must strike any student of the report is the remarkable complication, the

extraordinary complication, of the problem, and the difficulty, amounting, I should think, in some instances almost to impossibility, of securing any general agreement upon the answers to the questions proposed. I mention, by way of illustration, Question V (a) from the questionnaire, which is in these words :

"On what principle will it be possible to draw up a scale of armaments permissible to the various countries, taking into account particularly population, resources, geographical situation, length and nature of maritime communication, density and character of the railways, vulnerability of the frontiers and of the important vital centres near the frontiers, the time required, varying with different States, to transform peace armaments into war armaments, the degree of security which, in the event of aggression, a State could receive under the provisions of the Covenant, or of separate engagements contracted towards that State."

That is one question out of seven. On reading these questions, we begin to wonder whether, if disarmament is to await a general agreement upon the answers to these questions, it is within the sphere of human vision. These questions, with their balancing and opposing consideration, remind me of the dialectical discussion upon the subject of whether to marry or not to marry, to be found in a famous French classic. The risks of an unfortunate marriage are so great if they are really thought out that the truly reflective man or woman would have missed all opportunities for marriage if he or she insisted upon fully accomplishing the process of reflection, and yet we do marry and we do take the risks. Surely, in the case of disarmament, something can be done, even if the whole problem in all its aspects cannot be completely solved.

I hope that the Chairman of the Preparatory Commission will be able to make some reassuring statement to the Assembly upon this subject before it rises. The Treaty of Locarno, which we now hope is to come into effective operation, goes far to promote security in a large area of Europe. The peoples of the world await a definite step towards disarmament. The problem, ladies and gentlemen, is urgent. It cannot wait; it cannot be postponed indefinitely. Action depends upon the Governments of the peoples. I venture to appeal to the representatives of the Governments not to lose the opportunity by over-elaboration of discussion even of very necessary and relevant questions. Those who are prepared to lead the way on this question by action, in addition to discussion, will earn and fully deserve the undying gratitude of mankind.

The President :

Translation : A draft resolution has been submitted to the General Committee by the Australian delegation. The text will be published in the Assembly Journal so that Members may consider the action to be taken on it at the next meeting.

M. Ramek, delegate of Austria, will address the Assembly.

M. Ramek (Austria) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The report of the Council of the League, which is on the agenda for discussion, gives us, by the variety of the subjects handled, an accurate picture of the complex and splendid work accomplished by the League of Nations.

The reconstruction of Austria, which has just been brought to a successful conclusion, is an

integral part of this work and attaches my country to the League more than most by ties of sincere gratitude.

Further, I note with keen satisfaction that the Council has succeeded in completing its work by solving the very difficult questions of organisation which arose during the year.

From the bottom of my heart I extend a very cordial welcome to the new Member of the Assembly, for Germany and Austria are peopled by one and the same race. The entry of Germany should mean a powerful reinforcement of the League, which, by the reconstruction of Austria, has shown how great is the vital force engendered by the united efforts of the nations.

In this solemn hour I would evoke the memory of those great leaders of mankind, of all civilised nations, who have worked together throughout the centuries to build up those ideas which are gradually assuming practical shape before our eyes. It cannot, I feel sure, imply any depreciation of the merits of the others if I single out by name one of the most illustrious sons of the country which has to-day taken its place in this Assembly.

I would recall those noble flights of genius which are scattered throughout the work of the great philosopher Kant. When designing the plan for his League of Peace, Kant saw on the horizon the outline of this noble institution, the League of Nations. The scaffolding erected by this prince of thought and other kindred minds in other countries was too far in advance of the political thought of the age. Their ideas had no practical result, but they have survived, championed and nurtured by devoted and persevering men throughout the world until that decisive hour when, after the disasters of the war, they took on lasting and solid shape in this city of Geneva.

The new League of Nations, like all human work, could hardly lay claim to perfection; it could not attain its ideal of universality, nor has it done so even to-day. The eastern and the western wings of our great building are still missing, but the central structure is now firmly set on its foundation. It can weather any passing storms that may arise, and is unshakable for all time.

The deep emotion we have felt should, I am sure, impel us to offer our thanks to all who have bent their efforts to the reconciliation of the nations and so paved the way for the historical event we have witnessed to-day.

It is with sincere joy that we warmly welcome the new Member of this Assembly.

As I have already stated, the advent of Germany must strengthen all that is sound and vital in the League. The principal source of its strength must, however, be confidence in the future — the very life-blood of the great League of Nations — that splendid confidence which has brought us through to this memorable day and which is alone capable of leading us to greater and ever greater heights of perfection for the good of mankind.

The President :

Translation : Viscount Ishii, first delegate of Japan, will address the Assembly.

Viscount Ishii (Japan) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Since the beginning of the year the League has had to deal with a particularly difficult question — the reorganisation of the Council. This time the evil came from within, and just as a physician, even the highest in the land, can seldom treat himself with ease, so the crisis through which the League has passed was full of incident and attended by moments of anxiety.

The League has invariably proved successful in solving the problems — sometimes of a delicate and difficult nature — with which it has been confronted during the past six years. We are happy to note that it has succeeded once again in overcoming a great difficulty, thus proving to the world that by goodwill and a spirit of sacrifice a satisfactory solution can always be found.

It is a matter of deep regret, however, from the point of view of the universal extension of the League, that one of the great Latin-American republics should have announced its intention of withdrawing from our counsels. Public opinion in Japan has been profoundly impressed by the retirement of this great and friendly Power, which has contributed so brilliantly to the work of the League. We fervently hope that her absence will not be more than temporary.

It is a matter of no less regret to me that Spain, whose co-operation in the work of the League has been so greatly appreciated, should, as it appears, have the intention of withdrawing from all active part in our work. We trust most sincerely that she will reconsider her decision at an early date.

To turn to Germany, I desire, on behalf of the Imperial Government and the Japanese nation, to offer her my hearty congratulations on her entry into the League with a permanent seat on the Council.

If, from the purely legal point of view, the Treaty of Versailles restored peace between the belligerents, Germany's entry into the League may be said to mark the happy re-establishment of political peace between former enemies. The Locarno agreements restored order in Europe, and now the participation of the Reich in this great institution will effectively assist in the work of general stabilisation throughout the world. With Germany's entry into the League, the spirit of suspicion and antagonism will give place to a spirit of trustful and brotherly co-operation, and with this new circumstance the League's work will become more normal and regular, more solid and durable.

Now that the incident of the organisation of the Council is happily closed, we must devote ourselves untiringly to ensuring the development of the League along sound lines.

Suggestions have been advanced from various quarters with regard to its future. One of these contemplates the establishment of several Leagues on a continental basis, the head organisation at Geneva being retained as a co-ordinating and recording centre. All international questions would thus be referred to these new continental Leagues. In my opinion, this suggestion should be put aside. There is the danger that, with several continental Leagues in existence, misunderstanding, suspicion, competition and even intrigue might gradually develop. Inter-continental difficulties, should they arise, would be the more alarming in that they would cover a far wider field than difficulties between individual States. Continental bodies of the kind proposed, instead of contributing to world peace, would give rise to grave perils and new antagonisms.

In general, groups formed on a continental basis or on the basis of religion or race are, in our opinion, by no means to be encouraged, since they would necessarily have a sectarian or regional tendency, however praiseworthy their original purpose.

True world peace can only be achieved after every barrier erected upon continental, religious or racial considerations has been broken down.

I am firmly convinced that the task of the League is to conciliate and bring into harmony the various sentiments and interests existing in the different parts of the globe, and to facilitate and promote cordial co-operation between the different States, the different continents and the different races. If our faith in the League is unshakable, it is because the League, instead of dividing mankind, seeks to unite it; it is because the Covenant constitutes a great charter of international concord between the civilised peoples of every continent.

In conclusion, I wish to proclaim my conviction that our one aim and purpose should be to consolidate, expand and intensify on sound and general lines the development of the League and its organisation as it now exists at Geneva.

It is in this spirit that Japan, the Japanese Government and the Japanese people will devote themselves loyally to the work of the League, proud to join hands with all their friends in Asia, Europe and America.

24. — REFERENCE TO THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS : ADOPTION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : May I remind the Assembly of the proposal I made, at the end of yesterday's meeting, in regard to the draft resolutions submitted by the Netherlands and British delegations. These drafts have been published in the Journal of the Assembly and have also been specially distributed to delegates, so that you have now had an opportunity of becoming familiar with them.

I also said that I should submit at the end of today's meeting the necessary suggestions in regard to the action to be taken on those draft resolutions.

I will first remind you of the terms of the resolutions submitted by the Netherlands delegation. They read as follows :

1. "The Assembly decides to refer to the Third Committee all the portions of the Report and of the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat which deal with the reduction of armaments."

2. "The Assembly decides to refer to the Third Committee Mr. Benet's report (approved by the Council on September 4th, 1926) on the draft Convention for the Control of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War, and the documents attached thereto."

I propose that the documents mentioned in these resolutions should be referred to the Third Committee.

If no one has any objection, I shall regard this proposed motion as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

25. — RATIFICATION OF THE AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE PREAMBLE AND OF ARTICLES 3 AND 4 OF THE COVENANT : REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA COMMITTEE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE BRITISH DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : We now come to two draft resolutions submitted by the British delegation, the first of which reads as follows :

“The Assembly :

“Observing with regret that many Conventions and Agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations have remained ineffective, or have only come into force after undue delay, owing to the difficulty experienced in securing a sufficient number of ratifications by the signatories ;

“Desires to call the attention of the Governments of all States Members of the League to the necessity for taking all measures in their power to facilitate and expedite the ratification in all cases of Conventions and Agreements signed in their name ;

“And decides to invite the Council of the League to examine the possibility of appointing a committee to consider whether any general understanding could be promoted that would secure rapid and, if possible, simultaneous action by the signatories of such Conventions and Agreements.”

The second draft resolution submitted by the British delegation is as follows :

“The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee to consider and report what questions are and what are not within the sphere of action of the League within the meaning of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, especially with reference to the questions which are now being dealt with by the organs of the League or are proposed to be so dealt with.”

In accordance with custom, I propose that these two draft resolutions should first be referred to the Agenda Committee, which will perhaps be good enough to meet as soon as possible and offer suggestions as to the action to be taken in regard to them.

If no one has anything to say, I shall regard my proposal as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

The Assembly rose at 5.5 p.m

NINTH PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 14th, 1926, at 3.30 p.m.

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President : M. NINTCHITCH.

26. — MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL : COMMUNICATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : Before turning to the agenda of the meeting I should like to read you the following communication.

The General Committee, at its meeting held on the morning of September 13th, discussed various measures to help the President to maintain order during the plenary meetings of the Assembly.

In particular, the General Committee desired that the attention of the Assembly should again be called to its previous decision, which was brought to the notice of the delegations through the Assembly Journal.

This decision, as you know, was to the effect that the floor of the Assembly hall should be exclusively reserved for members of delegations or of the Secretariat, and Press representatives, photographers and the public would in no case be admitted. This rule applies, therefore, to relatives and friends of delegates, and the General Committee wishes to appeal to delegates to see that it is scrupulously observed.

Further, in order to maintain silence during the speeches and to allow freedom of movement during the translations, I should like to submit to the Assembly the following suggestions, which, if they meet with approval, will assist me in my difficult task of maintaining order:

1. Between the end of a speech and its translation, an interval of one or two minutes will be observed to enable anyone who does not wish to listen to the translation to leave the Assembly Hall.

2. The doors of the press and public galleries will be kept strictly closed, except during the interval between two speeches or between a speech and its translation.

3. The attendants will be instructed to check conversation and movement amongst members of the public during speeches and translations.

If no one has any remarks to make on these suggestions, I will take it that they have the approval of the Assembly and I will have them published in the Assembly Journal.

The proposals were adopted.

27. — INTERPRETATION OF THE PREAMBLE AND OF ARTICLES 3 AND 4 OF THE COVENANT. RATIFICATION OF THE AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THE BRITISH DELEGATION.

The President:

Translation: The first item on the agenda is the report of the Agenda Committee on the draft resolutions submitted by Viscount Cecil on behalf of the British delegation. The report is as follows:

"The Agenda Committee met on September 11th, 1926, under the Chairmanship of H. E. M. Urrutia.

"It has examined the two draft resolutions which have been sent to it following the decision of the Assembly taken at the meeting of September 10th, 1926.

"After this preliminary study, it was unanimously decided to propose to the Assembly to refer to the First Committee the following draft resolution:

"The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee to consider and to report what questions are and what are not within the sphere of action of the League of Nations within the meaning of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, especially with reference to the questions which are now being dealt with by the organs of the League or are proposed to be so dealt with."

"On the other hand, it was unanimously decided to propose to the Assembly to refer to the Sixth Committee the following draft resolution:

"The Assembly:

"Observing with regret that many Conventions and Agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations have remained ineffective, or have only come into force after undue delay, owing to the difficulty experienced in securing a sufficient number of ratifications by the signatories;

"Desires to call the attention of the Governments of all States Members of the League to the necessity for taking all measures in their power to facilitate and expedite the ratification in all cases of Conventions and Agreements signed in their name;

"And decides to invite the Council of the League to examine the possibility of appointing a Committee to consider whether any general understanding could be promoted that would secure rapid and, if possible, simultaneous action by the signatories of such Conventions and Agreements."

If no one has anything to say, I will ask the Assembly to vote on the Agenda Committee's proposals.

The proposals were adopted.

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

The President:

Translation: M. Bouroff, first delegate of Bulgaria, will address the Assembly on the Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat.

M. Bouroff (Bulgaria):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — My sole motive in addressing this Assembly is the imperative duty of expressing my country's gratitude to the League of Nations.

Among the many problems relating to peace for which the League has found a solution, there are two which are of particular concern to Bulgaria. These two questions are dealt with in the report of the Secretariat. The first is the frontier incident which occurred at Petritch in October, and which might have entailed serious complications. Within the brief space of a few days, the League of Nations, by its pacific intervention and thanks to its great moral prestige, succeeded in averting the dangers involved and in liquidating the consequences of the incident, thereby earning the deep gratitude of the two countries concerned and reaffirming not so much its moral prestige — which was already great enough — but its efficacy in action.

A few months after this beneficent intervention on the part of the League, Bulgaria requested your assistance in the solution of another problem of a social, political and financial nature, namely, that of the Bulgarian refugees.

The refugees, who, after a succession of wars, left their homes and fields and crowded into Bulgaria, in most cases without any means of subsistence, still constitute to-day a very heavy burden on the country and are the cause of serious disturbance in its social and political life. This horde

of human beings, uprooted from their native soil and subjected to many a cruel ordeal, forms a favourable ground for subversive propaganda. Poorly nourished, even more poorly housed and clothed, and living in lamentably unhygienic conditions, they fall an easy prey to sickness and suffering of every kind. They yield an abundant harvest to the scythe of Death. Industry is as yet so backward in Bulgaria that their temporary settlement in our cities has led to a decline in wages and an increase in unemployment, and this fact further complicates the labour problem of the country.

The ordinary resources of the State being found inadequate to remedy the position, a foreign loan was imperative for the final settlement of the refugees, since their settlement was both essential for themselves and salutary for the State. In the circumstances in which she found herself after many wars, Bulgaria was unable to conclude a foreign loan without assistance. She was unable to furnish the necessary securities, her entire resources being pledged for reparations. Only the intervention of the League could smoothe out her difficulties and render a loan possible. She confidently solicited your intervention. At the beginning of May this year we addressed a petition to the League, and at the beginning of June a favourable solution had been found as regards the principle of the question involved, while, in the course of its present session, the Council has unanimously agreed to grant the loan for which we asked. We have to-day at our disposal an advance of £400,000 for the needs of the refugee settlements, pending the receipt of the loan as soon as conditions on the financial market permit of its flotation.

It is the bounden duty of a country which, within a brief space of time, has had the rare good fortune of experiencing on two separate occasions the beneficent and effective intervention of the League, to proclaim its deep gratitude towards this organisation and its abiding faith in the efficacy of its action and in its future.

Let others criticise or doubt; the Bulgarian delegate cannot. He can only solemnly declare that Bulgaria is firmly resolved to adhere to a policy based on the pacific ideal of the League and to contribute, within the measure of her limited resources, to its ever-ennobling work.

The expression of our gratitude would be incomplete if I did not also offer our thanks to the permanent organisations of the League. I have had the opportunity of working with the members of the Secretariat in circumstances of great perplexity and intricacy, and I have come to recognise the lofty idealism, combined with untiring perseverance and a full sense of reality, that they bring to the accomplishment of their task. To them, too, I tender my country's deepest thanks.

I do not, however, wish to leave the impression that our confidence in the League and our devotion to it are due to our gratitude alone. My belief in the future of this great family of organised nations rests on deep-seated reasons of a general nature. The League is the living embodiment of the peoples' undying wish for a fuller measure of justice and equity and, above all, for the consolidation of the benefits of peace. So long as common sufferings and warring interests exist, so long as there are questions which can only be solved effectively by international collaboration, so long as there is danger of armed dispute, so long will the need for and the usefulness of the League be felt in an ever-increasing degree. There will still be difficulties to be faced and crises to be met, but if an organisation has the power of life, the difficulties it encounters, so far from enfeebling it, only steel and strengthen it.

But to my mind the surest guarantee of the future development of the League is the fact that, though conceived in the chancelleries of diplomacy, it has become the work of the nations themselves, and its vigilant guardian is the conscience of the world.

Let us, then, have the faith that creates and the optimism that engenders action. Let us ever have present in our minds the unforgettable memories of that historic day, September 10th.

As I listened to the eloquent words, so pregnant with sincerity, ripe reflection and active goodwill, spoken by the distinguished representatives of Germany and France, I was profoundly moved, and I realised that a change had come over the world, that it had turned towards international collaboration and a belief in the brotherhood of man. Let us follow the example of concord and self-denial set by these two great nations; let us express to them our heartfelt gratitude for pointing out to us the true path.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have done. I share the unanimous regret of the Assembly at the withdrawal of Brazil and Spain, two great countries which are devoted to the cause of peace, and I trust that circumstances will permit them to reconsider their decision at an early date. I have only to tender to you once more the deepest thanks of the Bulgarian nation and Government and solemnly to reaffirm their unshakable resolve to co-operate loyally and untiringly in the League's work of peace.

The President :

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

Jonkheer Loudon (Netherlands) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have no desire to waste the Assembly's time, but I wish to draw your attention to certain sections in the Council's report which call for special mention.

The first point concerns a legal question in which the Netherlands delegation took a special interest at previous Assemblies, namely, the report of the Special Committee of Jurists referred to in the Council's resolution of September 28th, 1923.

At our instance, the Assembly had addressed a request to the Council, with which the latter complied by its resolution of September 26th of last year instructing the Secretary-General to invite the Governments which might find in the report of the Special Committee of Jurists points requiring elucidation, or which might have other comments to make on the report, to inform the Secretariat with a view to a possible examination of the matter by a committee to be appointed by the Council.

We find on page 7 of the Council's report that twenty-one Governments replied to this invitation. Their notes have been printed and published.

I do not propose to go into the details of their replies. It is sufficient to say that the observations they contain refer mainly to the coercive measures mentioned in the fourth question submitted to the jurists, most of the Governments being ostensibly preoccupied by the question of such measures.

One of these Governments writes :

"In reality, coercive measures described as not being acts of war... may constitute a grave danger for the security of the smaller States... it is essential that an individual State should not be allowed to take the law into its own hands and presume upon that inequality of strength which must always subsist between States."

Several Governments consider coercive measures to be incompatible with the fundamental principles of the League, that they represent the imposition of the individual will by means of force, and that, in the absence of any criterion for determining their legality or illegality, it is hardly possible to decide in what circumstances or in what form they should be permitted. Assuredly, the intentions of the Government responsible for such measures would not settle the question, and, as one of the Governments points out, measures which take the form of the violation of territory are inadmissible as being incompatible with Article 10 of the Covenant.

In addition to the question of coercion, there are other points which also give rise to doubts.

In short, the replies communicated to us by the Council prove that, after studying these questions, many Governments are still not satisfied and desire additional explanations.

The Council considers, however, that there would be no practical advantage in attempting to carry the matter further by appointing a new committee which would reconsider the answers given by the Special Committee. It is of opinion that the five questions examined are general questions of interpretation of the Covenant and of international law which cannot be authoritatively or finally settled by a report from such a Committee.

While I regret that the Council proposes to forgo the re-examination suggested in the resolution of September 26th last, and although I am unable to share the Council's somewhat optimistic opinion that, since all the Governments have had an opportunity of expressing their opinion, the essential object has been attained, I recognise that it would be difficult to arrive at a practical solution of the problems under consideration by appointing a new committee to reconsider the jurist's replies, although the object is rather to throw further light on these replies than to formulate fresh replies to the same questions, as stated in the Council's report.

The Netherlands delegation will accordingly not insist for the moment on the procedure which it had proposed. We consider it, however, to be the duty of the Assembly to take special note of the assurance given by the Council that it will not fail, if necessary, to take into consideration the observations received from so many Members of the League. This official assurance constitutes a definite undertaking.

In my country great interest and sympathy have been manifested in the work of the Committee of Experts engaged in studying the question of the progressive codification of international law. If I might be allowed to submit an observation on this work, I would urge that, for the time being, attention should be concentrated on questions of special urgency for which the preparatory studies have reached a point at which codification has become a practical possibility. We all know that the preparation of international conferences requires time. If the Committee of Experts would confine itself, for the moment, to questions which are of primary importance and are now ready for codification, we should, I think, arrive more rapidly at definite results.

It would, moreover, be expedient, in order to avoid any chance of overlapping, to leave on one side questions which have already formed the subject of special international conferences, such as the Brussels Conference on Maritime Law, the Berne Conference for the Protection of Industrial Property and Literary and Artistic Works, the Hague Conference on Private International Law and, lastly, the Pan-American Conferences.

In his instructive speech last week, Lord Cecil said that the Assembly was entitled to demand fuller information concerning the work of the Committee of Experts. He expressed the wish that the First Committee of the Assembly might enquire into the activities of the Committee for the Codification of International Law. I venture to go a step further and to put before you a resolution referring to the First Committee the report of the Committee on International Law. It is surely desirable that the First Committee should take official note of the experts' work, in view of the fact that the Committee, over which M. Hammarskjöld presided with such distinction, is the outcome of an Assembly resolution.

Before passing to another question, I beg to inform the Assembly that the Netherlands Government recently renewed for a period of ten years its adherence to the compulsory clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court.

Many centuries of wide experience as a colonial Power give the Netherlands a special interest in the mandates problem and the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission. I have on several occasions drawn the attention of the Assembly to the good work done by this Commission and also by the mandatory Powers, work which has been acknowledged in the Council's reports. This year's report, too, shows how important the work of the Mandates Commission has been. Its duty is to maintain a general supervision over the administration of the mandated territories in accordance with the resolutions taken by the Council at San Sebastian in 1920 on the report of M. Hymans. It has also to supervise the moral and intellectual welfare of the inhabitants of the mandated territories. This is a difficult and often delicate task. The Commission is careful to avoid giving to its work of supervision any character of interference. Its work deserves, I am sure, the whole-hearted approval of the Assembly.

I now turn to the great question of disarmament. The reduction or limitation of armaments is the problem most exercising public opinion throughout the world. It is the great object of Article 8 of the Covenant. As has been said by a notable English writer, Noel Baker, it is the beginning of the demilitarisation of human society, which since 1860 has flung itself at an ever-increasing pace into the fatal and, from every standpoint, destructive competition of armaments. We all feel that this is one of the most difficult problems to solve, because of its very close connection with security.

This year we are no longer engaged in the discussion of appropriate methods. The preliminary work for what is called an International Conference on Disarmament, that is to say, the progressive reduction and limitation of armaments, has been begun and, I venture to assert, is well in hand. The Preparatory Commission has been working since May 18th, 1926. You have read in the Council's report that at the outset the Commission set up two Sub-Commissions, one to deal with the military, naval and air aspects of the problems referred to it, the other to study their non-military aspects. These problems are also set out in the Council's report in the form of a questionnaire, with the instructions added by the plenary Commission.

It is obvious that these Sub-Commissions, and particularly the Military Sub-Commission, have a very arduous and intricate task before them.

The science of disarmament is still new and it opens up a variety of prospects, many of them very remote. It deals with some exceptionally thorny questions.

During the summer, the Military Sub-Commission has achieved a great deal of work in two long sessions, each lasting several weeks. It will resume work at the end of this month, as soon as the Secretariat, which is at present fully occupied with the Assembly, is again able to give its indispensable assistance.

The Sub-Commission has finished a large part of the work entrusted to it, which consisted chiefly in elucidating and defining the technical military aspect of the questions involved, with a view to the preparation of an agreement on the reduction of armaments.

The task of the non-military Sub-Commission is to consult such bodies or persons as it may consider proper regarding the points in the questionnaire. At its first meeting it referred certain questions for an opinion to the Commission which was set up by the Council under the name of the Joint Commission and which consists of representatives of the Economic and Financial Organisations of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. This Joint Commission has been given the power to call in other experts.

I will not go further into details, nor can I foretell the date on which the Preparatory Commission, of which I have the honour to be President, will have finished its work.

That work requires great deliberation and is extremely intricate, but it is being carried on assiduously and in a spirit which does honour to the League and displays a fixed determination to succeed.

Can anyone say, dare anyone say, ladies and gentlemen, when we consider these achievements, when we consider the admirable work of the Secretariat, of the different organisations of the League, of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the numerous committees of the League; when we consider the very notable work of the Council, which by its tact and rapidity of decision has settled disputes that had already given rise to bloodshed, dare anyone say, I repeat, that within the seven short years of its existence the League of Nations has not justified its creation?

What is the opinion of "those who indulge in irony and detraction", to quote the admirable words of M. Briand at the memorable meeting of September 10th, when, barely seven years after the most frightful of wars, the enemies of yesterday are expressing to each other their will to collaborate in the work of world peace?

If I am not mistaken, it is not so much the chief detractors of the League who require to be convinced of its soundness as the indifferent and lukewarm, who say, with a shrug of the shoulders and a smile of compassion: "Yes, this League of Nations is all very well, but how can you expect to change human nature?"

Change the fighting instinct of men? We should not attempt to do so, nor should we try to minimise the noble sentiment of patriotism, as was so ably pointed out the other day by Viscount Cecil. What we need to-day is to accustom men and nations, led by their Governments, to reflect on the unhappy results, for victors and vanquished alike, of having recourse to arms for the settlement of disputes. Such is the moral disarmament which the League of Nations has in view.

We have just made an immense advance towards universality. We have greeted with enthusiasm the advent of Germany amongst us. We listened — and I can vouch for many of us — with tears in our eyes, our hearts and minds alike stirred, to the eloquent speech of M. Briand in reply to the lofty words of the first delegate of Germany.

Latterly, it is true, and in particular last Saturday, we have had great disappointments. Two

Members of the League have, for reasons which it is not for me to discuss from this platform, considered it necessary to withdraw from the League. This is regrettable, no doubt, but you will agree, I am sure, that it can in no way weaken the great Geneva institution. Our work here, with its ever-increasing ramifications throughout the world, is sufficiently strong to withstand without a tremor a few passing shocks.

Let us not exaggerate in words the importance of this work. Let us rather work as much as possible in silence. Those nations which have left us will soon realise, without our telling them, that the League, despite its youth, is indispensable to the common life of the nations.

The President :

Translation : I now have to lay before the Assembly the following draft resolution, submitted by Jonkheer Loudon on behalf of the Netherlands delegation :

"The Assembly decides to refer to its First Committee the section of the Secretary-General's report dealing with the work of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law."

This text will be printed and distributed to the delegations in the Assembly Journal. At a future meeting, I will submit suggestions to the Assembly concerning the action to be taken on the draft resolution. (*Assent.*)

Dr. Nansen, the first delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Nansen (Norway) :

Ladies and gentlemen — I would like, first of all, to express our gratitude to M. Briand for the remarks which he was good enough to make in his epoch-making speech the other day on the subject of the future working of the League. I need not say that we welcome very warmly his assurance that publicity and co-operation among all the Members of the League are to be the basic principles of its constitutional methods. I am sure you will forgive me if I refer very briefly to one or two other points of the same nature.

The first relates to the desire expressed in certain quarters that the work of the Assembly should finish at a fixed date, to be decided upon very shortly after the Assembly has opened and even before the debate on the Secretary-General's report is finished.

I need not say that we desire as ardently as anyone that there should be no waste of time and that the meeting of the Assembly should not be unduly protracted. On the other hand, it seems to us of the greatest importance that there should be no undue haste, but that full time should be given for the adequate discussion of the grave and complicated matters which we have come here to consider. The whole work of the League during the next year depends in great measure upon the decisions taken by the Assembly. This year we have to deal with many questions affecting the whole future of the League. It is essential, therefore, that we should avoid the mistakes into which undue haste may cause us to fall. From much that I have heard I know that, in this matter, I am only expressing the opinion of many delegations.

The same is true, I believe, as regards the second point which I wish to mention. It relates to the conduct of the present debate on the report of the

Secretary-General. There are many members who consider this debate to be a most important part of the work of the Assembly. Those who hold this opinion cannot but regret that it should have been thought necessary to interrupt the debate in order to press on with such haste with the work of the various Committees. They understand, of course, the special circumstances of the present case. Nevertheless, they regret that we should still be discussing here in general terms the work which the Council and the Secretariat have been able to perform during the past year, while at the same time, before our general survey has been completed, the Committees have already gone a long way into the detailed programme of the work for the coming year. We hope, therefore, and I am sure that on this point I am speaking for many of my colleagues, that the special practice of this year will not be a precedent for the future.

I attach more than usual importance to our general survey this year, because I believe that the course of events in some matters which have been dealt with during the past twelve months should afford very valuable guidance and encouragement to the present Assembly. In saying this, I have in mind one question to which the Government of Norway attaches great importance. I refer to the question of disarmament. I have received special instructions to raise this question in the Assembly. The Norwegian Government believes that the solution of this problem is of vital importance to the successful working of the League. I fully agree with what was so eloquently said upon this matter by the honourable delegate for the Netherlands.

A year ago, after considerable debate and with much hesitation on the part of some Members of the Assembly, it was agreed to invite the Council to set up a special committee to prepare a concrete programme for a Disarmament Conference. A committee was set up, and, happily, the full co-operation of Germany and the United States of America was obtained. Our Government regrets that on this important Committee there is not a larger representation of States which, owing to their geographical position, are free from the burden of great armaments, and which, therefore, are in a specially favourable position to contribute towards a constructive programme. Nevertheless, they think that a good start has been made in the difficult work of preparing a scheme for the reduction and limitation of armaments of all kinds. They are very happy that this start has been made and hope that the Committee will press on with all speed. If there is even a chance that from the work of this Committee there should result a real solution of this very difficult problem, I think it should encourage the Assembly to go forward without fear or hesitation in fulfilment of all its great international tasks.

I now pass to a subject which is dealt with at great length in the Secretary-General's report. I refer to the administration of mandated territories for which the League is responsible. Here, again, I associate myself entirely with M. Loudon's eloquent description of the work done during the last year.

I venture now to propose a resolution similar to those which I have put forward in previous years, the purpose of which is to secure the consideration by the Sixth Committee of questions relating to mandates. The debates in previous years have been very valuable and I am sure the Assembly will agree that the practice is one that should be continued. I therefore propose the following resolution :

"The Assembly :

"Following the precedent already established in previous years ;

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

I now come to the principal matter to which I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly, namely, the question of the settlement of the Armenian refugees. Many members of the Assembly will remember the prolonged debate which we had on this subject in the Fifth Committee a year ago. Perhaps I may briefly refer to the subsequent development of the question set out in the Secretary-General's report.

The Fifth Committee last year agreed that the schemes put forward for the settlement of the Armenian refugees deserved the most serious consideration. They agreed that only in the Republic of Erivan could they hope to see a national home for the Armenian people. They agreed that the Armenian people had undergone sufferings so terrible that they had a very special claim upon the interest and support of the whole civilised world, and there were few of them who did not feel that the promises made by many Members of the League constituted a moral and political obligation of the strongest kind. On these general grounds, they urged the Council to set up a Special Committee to study the technical realisation of the plans for settlement and national reconstruction which had been proposed.

This Committee was duly appointed by the Council and included among its members distinguished citizens of Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy. The Committee held a number of meetings during the course of the year and sent to Armenia two representative experts, one of whom was a highly qualified British engineer. As the result of the investigation which the experts made and the preparatory work done with the Armenian Government, the Committee came to the unanimous conclusion that the plans prepared for irrigation and other works and for settlement in general were, from the technical point of view, absolutely sound. As regards this part of the task, therefore, the Committee may be said to have been completely successful, and, if the necessary funds had been available, the carrying out of the scheme could have been begun at once with the certainty of the best results. But, unfortunately, in connection with the second part of the task, the raising of the necessary funds, the Committee was confronted by the greatest difficulty. It had hoped to be able to raise a loan of the same kind as those raised for Greece and Bulgaria. To this end, it obtained certain important guarantees for a loan from the Armenian authorities and the State Bank.

Unfortunately, owing to circumstances into which I need not enter, the Financial Committee of the League did not find it possible to recommend the issuing of a public loan without additional guarantees of a different kind. I need not remind the Assembly that I had hoped and believed that such guarantees would be forthcoming from Governments of the Western Powers and that they would agree to establish for the Armenian loan a system of divided responsibility similar to that set up for the Austrian reconstruction loan, which had such a striking success.

For some time these hopes received great encouragement. The Governments of France, Italy and Germany had all given promises of a guarantee of a part of the loan under certain conditions, and other Powers had promised that they would consider the proposal favourably if the great Powers were ready to take action.

I should especially like to express my gratitude to the French Government for having been the first to make such a conditional promise. Unfortunately, its condition, which was that the British Government should also participate in the collective guarantees, could not be fulfilled. For reasons which seemed to the British Government conclusive, it felt unable to carry out the policy to which some members of the Government, including the Prime Minister, had previously given their warmest support.

The Assembly will understand how bitter is the disappointment of the Armenian people and their friends that, after coming so near to the guarantees which would have brought this plan into practical effect, they have nevertheless been compelled to witness the failure, or rather, as I trust and believe, the postponement of their hopes.

But it is not my purpose to go over this ground again. What has happened has happened. I want rather to make a new appeal to the Governments to consider afresh the present situation as it actually exists. I do not ask for their help in any specific form. I do not now put forward any concrete proposals to which they might have some great objection. I only wish now to beg them to take a new and generous view of the tragic destiny of the Armenian people, of the sufferings which they have endured for so many centuries, of their blood-stained history, of the promises which they have received, and of the future to which they can look forward.

I beg them to think for a moment what the history of the Armenian people has been. During the past twelve months, I have spent a great part of my time in studying the story of the Armenian people, and I have been forced to the conclusion that no people in recorded history have endured misery and maltreatment in any way comparable to that through which the Armenians have passed. I cannot attempt to give even the briefest sketch of the heartrending horror of this story. I would not dare to evoke again the picture of what happened to them in the years 1915 to 1918 and even afterwards right on to 1922. I would not care to describe the nerve-shattering terror and the nameless infamy of the appalling pilgrimage of death which the historians will call the Reportations, when innocent victims — men, women, greybeards and tiny children — perished not by hundreds, not by thousands but by hundreds of thousands, and with every circumstance of savage torture. They were beaten, they were killed, they were sold, they were driven on till they starved to death.

Here was a people with intense national feeling, with a remarkable history of achievements in bygone days, with the finest gifts of intellect and practical capacity, a people who had made — though few of us here may know it — a great contribution to the mediæval culture from which our modern civilisation is in so great a part derived — here was this people in a few years almost wiped out or scattered to the winds. And yet the surviving remnant of this people, with a tenacity and a national patriotism which no one can sufficiently admire, is now making, with desperate courage, another valiant attempt to build up a new national home.

The Republic of Erivan is nothing less than a home to Armenians of every class and every party in whatever land they may now be. Whether they be for the present Government or not, whether they be rich or poor, they look not to Syria, not to Anatolia, not to South America, but to Erivan, the land at the foot of the eternal snows of Ararat, as the place where the destiny of their nation must in future lie. There year by year they are striving to build up a new community, a political and social system which is Armenian through and through.

Slowly they are gathering together by tens and by hundreds their destitute brothers who had found a temporary refuge in foreign lands, and they are sending them, with such funds as they can privately contribute, to the Armenian State of Erivan. In Erivan itself they are going forward. Since I described the country to the Assembly as I saw it a year ago, great changes have taken place. Distress has been considerably reduced, production of all kinds has been increased, the whole condition of the country has steadily improved.

I now want to beg the Governments who lead the League to find some means by which they can help the Armenian people in the gallant effort they are making. Compared with what the Armenians have previously been led to hope, how small a thing it is that they now ask, how infinitesimal the sum of money which is required to realise these schemes. A million and a-half pounds sterling among the civilised peoples of the world; can we not find this sum to pay so great a debt — a debt of honour and of pity that lies on all mankind? This sum, divided amongst us all, should be for us a trifling thing, but to the Armenians it means very much indeed, for if we can but find it, it will give them new hope and new courage in the struggle for a national existence in which they are engaged. It will be a pledge to them that mankind has not forgotten the sufferings they have endured. It will be another great step forward in the reconstructive work to which the League has so profitably set its hand. It may yet be that, by some means which we do not now foresee, we shall secure the kind of loan for which we had previously hoped. It may be that we must turn to new sources and use different methods to achieve our ends.

However this may be, I cannot, for my part, abandon hope that a definite result can be achieved, and I must therefore press on until every possible way has been explored. I appeal, therefore, to the Assembly not to close the door on any path by which the goal may be attained, and I appeal to the representatives of the great and generous-hearted peoples who are gathered here to think again whether there is no way in which their help may yet be given and in which their great collective burden of responsibility may be discharged. If they will conjure up before their minds the tragic story on which I base the urgent appeal that I have made, I cannot but believe that even yet they will find this way.

The President :

Translation : On behalf of the Norwegian delegation, Dr. Nansen has just put the following motion to the Assembly :—

“The Assembly :

“Following the precedent already established in previous years ;

“Decides to refer to the Sixth Committée the annual reports of the mandatory Powers, the

reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission, and all other documents dealing with the mandates question which have been distributed to the Members of the League since the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly."

The motion will be printed and communicated to Members of the Assembly in the Assembly Journal. I will submit at a later meeting a proposal on the action to be taken on this motion. If there is no objection, I shall regard my proposal as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

M. Mitilineu, delegate of Roumania, will address the Assembly.

M. Mitilineu (Roumania) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — In mounting this platform to address you I cannot but feel a certain emotion, especially after the memorable and impressive meeting held last Friday. This is my first appearance among you as representative of Roumania, and I am anxious to reaffirm once again the devotion felt by my country for the League of Nations. In saying so, I am not using the meaningless expressions of conventionality; I am giving utterance to a genuine and deeply-felt sentiment.

Roumania is anxious and eager for peace above all things. She observes treaties and the obligations and rights which they entail for her. Hence she regards the consolidation of the League and the extension of its influence to all parts of the world as the surest means of attaining universal pacification. She regards this sacred union of all the peoples, this common endeavour of all the nations of the world, as the realisation of a universal aspiration for an atmosphere of peaceful work and the tranquil development of international relations.

And so we may trust that the day is not far distant when all the peoples will be united here in a common ideal and bound by identical feelings of brotherhood.

We trust that we shall witness the return of those who have left us and that our appeal will be heard by those who are not yet here. That day will be heralded with joy by Roumania. Roumania — let me to-day solemnly repeat it once again — is still prepared, behind the shelter of the frontiers she now possesses, to sign a pact of non-aggression with all her neighbours without distinction.

Eager to collaborate on the closest and most loyal terms, Roumania reaffirms her sentiments of lively admiration and sincere friendship for this illustrious Assembly.

29. — QUESTION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF NUMBERING THE PARAGRAPHS OF THE ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT: REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA COMMITTEE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly will remember that at its last meeting the Hon. J. G. Latham, first delegate of Australia, submitted to it the following draft resolution :

"That the First Committee be requested to consider and to report to the Assembly upon the desirability of numbering the paragraphs of the Articles of the Covenant published by the League."

This text has been published and communicated to the Members of the Assembly through the Assembly Journal.

You will also remember that at the time I asked your permission to suggest at a later meeting what action we should take in regard to this draft resolution.

I now propose that it be referred to the Agenda Committee, and I will ask that Committee to be so good as to meet as soon as possible and submit its conclusions.

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

30. — INCLUSION OF THE QUESTION OF ALCOHOLISM IN THE PROGRAMME OF WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: PROPOSAL OF THE DELEGATIONS OF FINLAND, POLAND AND SWEDEN.

The President :

Translation : I have just received a communication submitted jointly by M. Setälä, first delegate of Finland, M. Zaleski, first delegate of Poland, and M. Löfgren, first delegate of Sweden. This document reads as follows :

"In its practical activities in the field of social, economic and humanitarian questions, the League has more and more been compelled to deal with the question of alcoholism. Thus the report to the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat contains the information that the Traffic in Women and Children Committee was unanimously of the opinion that an interdependence existed between the two evils, namely, alcoholism and prostitution (page 111), and the Child Welfare Committee, after having considered the report furnished by the International Bureau against Alcoholism, requested the Council to ask the Governments to protect children and young people from the danger of alcoholism by every possible means (page 114).

"The difficulty of the mandatory Powers and the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in dealing with the importation and consumption of liquor in the mandated territories is well known, as well as the lack of clearly defined terms and of uniform methods in this respect (pages 57 and 66).

"Moreover, the absence of co-ordinated international action against alcoholism is felt in the most civilised countries. As an example may be mentioned the smuggling of alcoholic liquor which is much in evidence on the frontiers of all countries and especially on the seas and which, to the disgrace of civilisation, renders vain the most praiseworthy efforts of the peoples and Governments to settle the alcohol question.

"On various sides (United State of America, States around the Baltic Sea), recourse has been had to conventions passed between States in order to extirpate the evil, but without uniform international action there can be no hope of success.

"Various organisations founded to protect society against alcoholism have for a long time been endeavouring to secure international official action against this scourge of the world.

"The International Conference of Studies against Alcoholism which met at Paris on April

3rd, 4th and 5th, 1919, under the presidency of M. Vandervelde, now Foreign Minister of Belgium, requested the Peace Conference to consider whether it would be possible to ask the League of Nations to take the question of alcoholism under detailed examination.

"The International Conference against Alcoholism which met at Geneva on September 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1925, voted a series of resolutions relating to the questions of the colonies, of smuggling and of the conflicts between alcohol-exporting States and States with advanced alcohol legislation, and requested the Council of the League of Nations to examine in what way the League could concern itself with the alcohol problem. Finally, the Eighteenth International Congress against Alcoholism which met at Dorpat (Estonia) from July 21st to 29th, 1926, adhered to the resolutions voted by the Geneva Conference and requested the League of Nations to interest itself in the alcohol question.

"Several Congresses assembling representatives of very many countries have appealed to the League of Nations, hoping that, with all the authority at its command, it will now undertake a co-ordinating action for the future settlement

of the alcohol question, so important for the future of humanity.

"There are divergencies of opinion as regards the alcohol question and the best means of solving it. What has to be done now is to examine the question thoroughly and scientifically and to endeavour thus to prepare the proper measures to be taken.

"When the different Governments and the different currents of opinion join together for a common task, undertaken in the spirit of the League of Nations and on the basis of impartial scientific research, one may hope that this work will bear fruit which will prove beneficial to humanity.

"The undersigned therefore venture to request that the Assembly should decide to include in the programme of the work of the League of Nations the question of alcoholism and should ask the Council to take measures to this effect."

This text will be printed and distributed, and at a subsequent meeting I will suggest what action we should take in regard to this proposal. (Assent.)

The Assembly rose at 5.50 p.m.

TENTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 15th, 1926, at 10 a.m.

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31. RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NINE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE AND THE CONDITIONS OF RE-ELIGIBILITY.

Report of the First Committee.

President : M. NINTCHITCH.

31. — RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NINE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE AND THE CONDITIONS OF RE-ELIGIBILITY : REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the discussion of the proposals made by the Committee on the Composition of the Council regarding the method of election and tenure of the non-permanent seats on the Council.

M. Motta, Rapporteur and Chairman of the First Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. Motta (Switzerland), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The First Committee begs to submit to-day the result of its work concerning the rules applicable to the election of the non-permanent

Members of the Council, their terms of office and the conditions of re-eligibility. As Chairman of the First Committee, I have been requested to explain to you the proposals which it unanimously adopted. My explanations will be purely verbal, as I have had no time to prepare a written report, owing to the fact that the Committee did not conclude its work until last night.

I desire to point out, first, that the Committee's work proceeded in a friendly atmosphere of courtesy and mutual understanding. Nothing was done with undue precipitation ; we avoided any suspicion of dangerous haste. It was thus possible for us to discuss the question in that atmosphere of calm and serenity which can alone safeguard the absolute liberty and dignity of the Assembly. Our work had been facilitated by the investigations of the Committee appointed by the Council, which approved the conclusions of those investigations and recommended them to the Assembly.

I should, however, be failing in my duty and in the requirements of justice if I omitted to mention that the discussions in the First Committee, while adhering to the guiding principles of the scheme submitted by the Committee of Enquiry, defined that scheme still further, improving and amplifying it to a very considerable extent.

The work which we are about to accomplish will, thus, not be a mere solemn formality of purely superficial import but a real legislative act re-affirming the sovereignty of the Assembly.

The draft resolution submitted by the First Committee is divided into two parts. The first,

consisting of Articles I-III, fixes the rules applicable under normal circumstances; the second, which consists only of Article IV, indicates the temporary provisions applicable to this year's elections.

I propose first to explain the general principles underlying the system recommended to you. I shall then briefly refer to the differences between the permanent or normal provisions and the temporary provisions.

The dominating principle is that of rotation. The term of office is fixed at three years. On the expiry of this period, the non-permanent Members will not normally be re-eligible. They then enjoy what I may describe as a spell of rest. The term of office begins immediately on election and ends on the day of the elections held by the Assembly three years later. The period during which a retiring State remains ineligible lasts only for three years; on the expiry of this period, that State again becomes qualified for election.

The re-election of the non-permanent Members of the Council is effected by thirds: that is to say, the annual elections apply only to three of the nine non-permanent Members. This system satisfies two essential requirements: that of appointing to the Council as many States as possible in succession, and that of continuity.

The great idea of equality between the States which are non-permanent Members of the Council is thus reconciled with the necessity of ensuring in the Council a feeling of continuity accompanied by sound methods of work.

The principle of rotation does not, however, constitute an absolute, rigid or inflexible rule. Situations may arise in which it is imperative, in the interests of the League, to make exceptions. It may be desirable that a State should remain on the Council for an extended period; it may be that the services which it has rendered or may still render in the cause of peace will justify an exception in its favour. Such an exception, however, must not be allowed to become a rule. Hence the draft resolution provides that it shall only be confirmed by a separate secret ballot, in the case of each individual State, and by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast in the Assembly. The vote may be taken only upon the request of the State concerned and, as a general rule — apart from the temporary provisions for the present year — only on the expiry of the term of office, or during the years which I have described as years of rest.

Blank or spoilt votes are to be deducted in calculating the two-thirds majority. It is only right that a State should be required when voting to express its opinion by a definite "pro" or "con". The question of blank voting papers, moreover, ceases, to my mind, to be of any practical importance directly their actual value, significance and effect are realised.

The scheme provides, further, that the Council shall in no case include at any one time more than three States which have qualified as re-eligible.

The Assembly — and this is a point I would emphasise — is free at any time to exercise its right to proceed, whenever circumstances call for such action, to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council. Hence no vested right has been created in the seats on the Council. The Assembly remains the sovereign power. It may take away what it has given, but it will only exercise this right by a two-thirds majority, and will determine the special rules applicable in this case.

This right reserved by the Assembly, which gave rise yesterday to a long and interesting

discussion in the First Committee, is derived from the general spirit of the Covenant. It does not constitute a menace to anyone — this I would emphasise — it is simply the supreme means whereby the Assembly can intervene to deal with critical situations which admit of no other solution.

The rules which I have just explained as clearly as I can are subject to certain modifications for the present year. First and foremost, the elections for this year apply not to one-third but to all the non-permanent Members. Three States are to be elected for a term of three years, three for a term of two years, and three for a term of one year. The procedure is to be determined by the General Committee.

I ask your permission to explain this special point. You will find in the proposal now before you a provision laying down explicitly that the General Committee, in virtue of powers delegated by the Assembly, shall decide the procedure for this year.

This is the crux of the matter. The ballot this year can be taken in two ways. The Assembly could first proceed to elect nine non-permanent Members by one ballot, and then, by three further ballots (thus making four in all), it would divide these seats between the nine elected Members, indicating those elected for three years, then those elected for two years and, finally, those elected for one year.

Another way would be, instead of proceeding first to the election of nine Members and then dividing them into different categories, to take three successive ballots, electing first the States to be nominated for three years, then those for two years, and finally those for one year.

The Committee recommends that the Assembly should refer this question for decision to the General Committee, and I hope you will give the General Committee this mark of confidence, which it certainly merits.

Further, the declaration regarding re-eligibility will follow the election and not precede it. As I have just explained, the declaration of re-eligibility would normally precede the election itself. This year it will not be so. It would, in fact, be illogical to ask a State to become a candidate for re-election before it knew that it had been elected.

If — which is most improbable — more than three States should be candidates, only the three candidates obtaining the greatest number of votes — at least two-thirds of the total number of votes cast — would be declared re-eligible.

In the case of a tie, the general provisions of the Rules of Procedure would apply and there would be a fresh ballot.

In 1927 and 1928 the Assembly will be able to declare other States re-eligible. Nevertheless, if this year three States are declared re-eligible, it should only make use of these powers in quite exceptional circumstances.

These are, in brief, the proposals which the First Committee has the honour to submit to you. I trust that you will adopt them unanimously — although according to the Covenant a two-thirds majority would be sufficient — and so set the seal on the compromise intended to conciliate the differences of opinion which have arisen in the past few months.

The elections will be held to-morrow. You will not forget that the Council and the Assembly, in increasing the number of non-permanent Members from six to nine, desired *inter alia* to give a larger share than at present to Latin America. You will bear in mind, too, that wisdom and justice alike demand a better representation for Asia.

At yesterday's sitting of the First Committee, the delegates of Persia and China again urged that two non-permanent seats should be allocated this year to Asia and Africa. Is this possible? In present circumstances, can the continent of Asia for once be allowed more non-permanent Members?

You will understand that I must treat this subject with reserve, seeing that the freedom of action of the Assembly is involved. Nevertheless, I venture to think that we cannot overlook, either this year or—and more particularly—in future years the claims of the enormous populations and the inexhaustible wealth of Asia. Moreover, we should not forget that Asia was the birth-place of the most ancient philosophies and civilisations.

You will all be guided, as in the past, by the spirit of conciliation which underlies this compromise. The compromise is not perfect. That remark is becoming almost a commonplace. I realise that as well as anyone. But if I had to choose between a palace of great architectural beauty built on principles of pure reason and a house of plainer design but answering the needs of everyday life, I should select the practical house in preference to the palace.

The compromise is certainly defective in many ways. It would, however, be unjust, and more than unjust, to say that it was inadequate and hastily conceived. Even before its main lines had been laid down, it brought us to the great day of September 10th. M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann, in their noble gesture of reconciliation between France and Germany, told us that their Governments would do as much as was humanly possible to close the road leading to bloodshed.

Near me there was seated a woman in mourning. I was moved with great sympathy to see her. Her eyes were filled with tears. She was, I am sure, a sacred and symbolic picture of all mothers and wives whom the poet had in mind when he wrote the words: "*Bella matribus detestata*". That is sufficient to vindicate and justify the compromise.

But the compromise does more than this. It demonstrates the wisdom of the Assembly. It proves that each one of us can subordinate individual views to the general interest. Our policy has not been dictated by considerations of prestige. The Assembly has not abandoned its proper rôle. By its unanimity it will, I hope, assure the moral force and prosperity of the League of Nations.

The President :

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

M. Löfgren (Sweden) :

When some days ago, at a moment of historical importance, the first delegate of France, in a remarkable and memorable speech, welcomed the great State which then entered the League, he emphasised the necessity of counteracting within this world-wide institution all the dangers which national vanity and national prestige may let loose. In moving words he reminded the leaders of all the States of their duty earnestly to try to moderate the egotism of their different peoples and to induce them to sacrifice their selfish aspirations in the interest of general peace. That a ready response may be made to this mighty appeal to the goodwill between the nations is a desire fervently cherished by millions of men and women in all countries.

The optimism which characterised the speech of the eminent French statesman, as well as the

report of our honourable Rapporteur, does not, I fear, generally prevail. It may, perhaps, not be out of the way to recall on this occasion how, in the minds of many, the very long and extremely difficult crisis which will to-day, I hope, be settled, brought into daylight how far the different peoples are from the time when national egotism and policy will cease to be deciding factors in international affairs.

In all the countries of the world there are those who believe that if the League, during this crisis, has been shaken to its foundations, this has been due less to differences of real interest than to tendencies of national pride and prestige, such as exist among most peoples and in most countries. I express no opinion on the question whether this view is justified or not. But I cannot abstain from emphasising that the solution of the crisis which is now at hand—a solution which is probably the only one obtainable—is, in my opinion, and in the opinion of the country I have the honour to represent, so far from being an ideal one that it may, on the contrary, imply grave dangers and difficulties for the League in the future.

Circumstances have compelled Sweden to take a more active part than many other Members of the League in the preparation of this solution; but it would be a mistake to think that we look with pride and entire satisfaction on the result achieved. Without pretending in any way that our standpoint has always been the only right one, the Swedish representatives on the League have time after time tried to prevent decisions which, in their modest judgment, seemed to be rash or unwise.

With regard to one vital point, namely, the organisation of the Council, their views have prevailed. They have, however, opposed in vain the increase in the number of the non-permanent Members of the Council and certain provisions in the proposals before us. In giving up one or other point of view which we had held without any selfish motives, only believing that we were acting in the interests of the League, we did so in the belief that the long-drawn-out struggle being waged within the walls of the League must be brought to an end, lest the League should suffer incalculable harm.

In this spirit we accepted some days ago the decision to increase the number of Members of the Council, a decision which the situation made inevitable. In the same spirit I shall vote to-day for the proposal made by the First Committee. I feel able to do this because I believe that the stipulations before us cannot rightly be interpreted as violating any basic principle of the League. Explicit assurances have been given to me (and I think the sense of the text itself will bear witness in the same direction) that the scheme does not involve any classification of States, does not involve any privilege being conferred on any special State nor any guarantee whatsoever for re-election.

Nothing could give us greater satisfaction, in watching the work of the Council as an ordinary Member of the Assembly, than to find that our apprehensions have been unfounded, and that the application of the scheme will bring about not only a temporary peace but also a definite and lasting solution with regard to the organisation of the Council. May this constitutional peace, for which we all hope, assure us a new era of goodwill for all the Members of the League!

With this desire in view, I shall support, on behalf of my Government, the plan laid before us.

The President :

Translation : Sir George Foster, first delegate of Canada, will address the Assembly.

Sir George Foster (Canada) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Allow me for a moment to associate myself with the observations made by the delegate of Sweden in his note of appreciation concerning the influences and feelings which have been manifest in this present session of the Assembly, notably in connection with the speeches made by the delegates of Germany and France.

Those of us who have not attended the different sessions of the Assembly but who, from distant points, have watched with unabated interest the work of the League cannot help contrasting, and with great joy, the difference between the conditions at this present Assembly and those of the Assembly in March last. If we had then to pass through a bitter crisis, we can now congratulate ourselves upon having passed it successfully and upon finding ourselves, a few months afterwards, in a stronger position as a League of Nations and higher in the estimation of the world than at any preceding stage in its history.

Let me call the attention of the delegates to this one fact which we must always keep in mind. The League of Nations was not sent down to us from Heaven fully organised and equipped with perfected plans upon the basis of which it should work out its great purposes and ideals. It was an experiment confided to human and fallible beings, to men who had to learn from experience and build up a new organisation — a world organisation, at that — upon the results of their experience. The thought that comes to me strongly, and that I believe we should all keep in mind, is that this institution is an evolution, an experiment upon a world-scale unexampled in the history of nations, and that it is from step to step, from grade to grade, from position to position, based upon experience, that this organisation has ultimately to be built up.

Coming to the subject of to-day's discussion, what have we ? There is a feeling amongst all the Members of this Assembly that the one thing necessary is that within the Council we should have the best ability, the widest experience and the greatest prestige possible. An executive which has to do what the Council of the League of Nations has to do needs to be made up of the very best material that the League can provide and place in the position of counsellors for the execution of its policy. We are all agreed upon that. We are all agreed also, I believe, that continuity is a very strong element in the successful work of the Council. The Covenant itself provides for both in making permanent Members of the great Powers that had signed the Treaty of Peace. They were not only influential, they were not only experienced, they not only had the largest view of the world's work from a diplomatic and political point of view, but they were also there from the first to preserve continuity in the work of the Council.

So much was gained. The Assembly was at first represented on the Council, as we know, by four Members, afterwards by six, which affirmed the position of the Assembly as a paramount power in the work of the League of Nations. Then came the practical difficulties, which do not need to be recounted here, and these difficulties led the way to a reconsideration of the question of the composition of the Council and of the methods of procedure of the Assembly and the Council as related one to the other.

The Committee's report now placed before us brings the whole matter to a unanimous conclusion, not as the ideal thing, perhaps, as the delegate from Sweden well remarked, nor yet as the definitely and absolutely fixed position which shall be

maintained for all the years to come, but as the best that we can achieve for the present, leaving the future to take care of itself as experience points the way for amendments and improvements in our methods.

Much, then, is gained if we keep in mind that this is a matter of evolution and that we are preserving continuity in the work of the League of Nations by its permanent memberships and at the same time are bringing from the Assembly from year to year fresh views and fresh methods of application of those views.

We shall have gained another element of continuity if we pass this present report, which provides that a non-permanent Member instead of being elected for one year will be elected for three years, and will thus have the advantage — and it is a very great advantage — of adding year by year to its experience, and becoming a more capable and a more useful Member of the Council than if the appointment were a yearly appointment.

I think we shall have gained in strength and power if the Assembly approves of the report. But we have also gained one thing more, which I think was essential and which may be looked upon as a very strong addition to our working methods. We have made it absolutely impossible, if we adopt this report, for there to be a repetition of what took place in March 1926, an event which we, who believe in the League, all deplored and an event which was equally deplored by a great mass of public opinion in nations which did not belong to the League and had not consented to co-operate with it.

We have made it absolutely sure that the Assembly of the League will have the power, whenever it wishes to exercise it, to recall the mandates, so to speak, of its appointed non-permanent Members and to give different instructions and, if necessary, to a different set of Members. This, in my view, is a strong and essential factor in connection with the work and efficiency of the League of Nations.

I think, then, that those delegations which have had strong and divergent views with reference to permanent and non-permanent Members may congratulate themselves on the net result, and I for one, if I may be permitted to do so, congratulate those members of delegations who have held such strong views and have held them so sturdily, but who, in the general interests of the League of Nations, have been able to meet their brethren of different views and so come to a unanimous conclusion. This is proof positive to me that in the brotherhood of nations which is represented in the League it is possible for the strongest diversity of view, held with perfect honesty, to be merged into conclusions which, whilst they are not entirely satisfactory to either one or the other, are accepted because they are in the interests of general co-operation and world peace.

I think, too, that we must make a distinction between what is the official position and utterance of the League of Nations with reference to the matters dealt with in the report before us and the incidental favourable allusions made by the Committee of Fifteen. Some things will have been absolutely affirmed when this report is adopted, and those I have stated. There are other considerations which have not been affirmed in this report but which have been favourably commented upon and recommended by the Committee which reported to the Council and whose report is now before us. These latter refer to the general question of the allocation of seats and their distribution among the Members of the Assembly.

A geographical distribution of seats has been mooted and discussed, and Assembly after

Assembly has passed resolutions thereon. Weight has been given, and I think rightly, to the question of geographical distribution. I am in favour of a reasonable and efficient distribution of seats based in part on geographical conditions and necessities; my point of view, however, is this — I give it with all modesty but with sincere conviction — that in this matter the Assembly should not bind itself at this or any particular juncture as regards the kind of geographical distribution that may be best in the allocation of seats in the Council by the Assembly.

I do not like to see a great world organisation dividing itself up by rigid rules into water-tight compartments and fettering and hampering the action of the League of Nations for future years. I believe that it is best to allow entire freedom to the League of Nations Assembly itself to be guided by circumstances and the experience of later years and to make its dispositions with regard to those groundwork principles. Therefore, whilst I am in favour of a reasonable and proper allocation on the grounds of geographical conditions, I am not willing to bind myself or to bind this Assembly to any cut-and-dried specific numerical allocations which will tie our hands in the future.

The Committee also showed its favourable consideration of the Latin countries in South America and sympathised with the allocation of three seats to Latin America. This allocation applies entirely to a group of countries located in one continent, a group of nations having a racial and cultural unity and similarity. I have every respect for and give reasonable support to the underlying sentiment upon which that claim is founded, and the most generous appreciation of that claim when once it is made. But, again, I ask myself, and I ask this Assembly, to consider the fact that, after all, we are a world society and we must avoid, as far as we possibly can, the setting up of a series of racial or cultural divisions which take the form of groups and make their appeal on those grounds. I hope the Assembly understands what I mean.

Cultural divisions there will be, racial divisions there will be, and whilst these must exist, and while due respect must be given to their claims, we in the League of Nations must always keep in view the fact that it is a world organisation, and that it is to a world co-operation that we have to appeal. With this in mind, while giving these different groups their due power and consideration, we must hold ourselves free to do our work in the League from the world point of view. From that point of view a man is a man, whatever his race and whatever his culture, and in the League nationalities must meet together, if its purpose is to be ensured, upon a groundwork of brotherhood, and must aim at the achievement of a great work of peace and amity which shall be as wide as the world itself. The division into groups, racial or cultural, begets rivalries, leads to discord, and tends to break up that broad union so necessary to success.

Let me add one more word in continuation of this line of thought. It should, I think, be kept in mind — and I wish particularly to refer to it at this time — that, after all, the League of Nations must look, for its support and its success, to the individual, moral and intellectual conscience of the wide world. Unless, in our different nationalities we can bring our League of Nations, with its principles and ideals, into the hearts and minds of the units of each nation, and found our hopes for success in our work upon that individual conviction, we shall never have a League with the

power and permanence for which we hope. None of us will find in our hearts any opposition to this contention, that it is upon this great world-wide conviction in the hearts of individual men and women that we must erect our temple, that we must place our altars, that we must make our vows, and that we must depend for the support of the League of Nations in its great work.

In this way we come together, men of different nationalities, men of different convictions, men of different cultures, and we place ourselves upon the common level of men of the world and brothers in humanity, working together and co-operating throughout the whole world, and having respect for all the different portions of the great world which makes up our membership.

I have thought that it is not at all out of place to call the attention of the Members of the Assembly this morning to one fact. We have heard much of the claims for representation on the Council of cultural and racial groups, but we have not, during the six years that the League of Nations has been in operation, heard anything of that group, if I may call it such, of Members of the League of Nations made up of the overseas dominions and possessions of the British Empire. Away out in the Pacific Ocean there is an immense island continent peopled already by six million inhabitants of the British race and with all the resources, industries and development of a great and growing nationality.

On the North American continent there is the Dominion of Canada with ten million inhabitants, with rich and almost boundless resources, with well-developed industries, with great strength in the present and greater hopes for the future.

In South Africa we come upon another rich and widely extended Member belonging to this group.

On the Indian Ocean there is an immense population possessing a large geographical section of country which is being developed with persistency and success under the ægis of the British Empire.

Then, in addition, there is the Dominion of New Zealand and the Dominion of the Irish Free State, both enterprising and progressive countries. All these, united in similar cultural and political sentiment, form an aggregate of present potency and future possibility which may well bear comparison with any within the membership of the League.

These different dominions for seven years, more or less, have been units of the League of Nations and Members of this Assembly, occupying a position of absolute equality with every other nation Member of the League. They have been steady, unfailing and uncomplaining supporters of the League.

During those six years you have never heard, with one exception (because I understand this morning that the delegates of the Irish Free State propose to submit a claim for a seat on the Council), of any demand or claim from that group of free peoples for special precedence or consideration or for a place in the Council. I do not think it is beyond what is fair and reasonable to make that statement before this Assembly. So far as my country and the other members of the British overseas countries are concerned, we have not hitherto made and are not now making any claim for a seat on the Council of the League. But it is pertinent, and I think it is right at this stage to say to this Assembly and to the League itself, that we consider that we have equal rights to representation on the Council and otherwise with every one of the fifty-six Members of the League of Nations, and that we do not propose to waive that right.

With reference to filling seats on the Council, with reference to the apportionment of honours that are invested in, and rightly invested in, the League of Nations, we make no claims except to equal status and equal privileges with all other Members of the League. My own view of membership of the League is this : that it is for every Member of the League of Nations not to seek overmuch for place and honours which may be given in the course of the work of the League, but to search his own heart and find out what he can do to give of his best and his truest to the work of the League itself, in the way of effort, of sacrifice and of co-operation. The moment we set our minds more upon the ribbons and feathers, upon the honours and the positions, the more we are led away from our primary and central duty, which is to give, and to give until it costs, for the benefit of humanity in the cause of peace and with cheerful self-abnegation.

It pained my heart, and it pained the hearts of millions of people in my country and in the North American continent, when the impression came to us last March that in some respects more regard was being given to honours than to service. But, happily, we have passed from that bad atmosphere, and to-day we have before us that most splendid and most heartening assertion which was made from this platform to the Assembly on Friday last, when the representative of France, replying to the representative of Germany, flashed into view for a moment the battlefields and the long lines of dead and the casualties of the war, and declared : "C'est fini, c'est fini". Those are words which will ring round and round this old world of ours and bring hope to millions of hearts. "C'est fini".

These assertions and these sentiments which we have heard in this Assembly have raised the prestige and strengthened the purpose and power of the League of Nations to a degree which is incalculable and have given grounds for hopeful optimism for the future. The cold cynics say : "Words are good, but wait till you see the fulfilment". I put no such limitation upon the words which we have heard in this Assembly. I take it that the heart then spoke through the tongue, and that conviction in the heart was simply put into French and German words by the representatives of those two countries respectively. I have absolute faith in their convictions and the strength and honesty with which they were expressed, and I look forward with undiminished faith and confidence to their being carried out in the future.

I have taken fresh courage for the League of Nations from the work and the sympathetic co-operation of this Assembly, and I ask for it in the future, at the hands of its friends, the most unabated and sacrificing work on its behalf; at the hands of sceptics and of its enemies, a fair and honest appraisal of the great work which it has done, and from all lovers of humanity their unfailing support.

The President :

Translation : Mr. Fitzgerald, first delegate of the Irish Free State, will address the Assembly.

Mr. Fitzgerald (Irish Free State) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I think this resolution may be described as a facing up of the situation. I do not think that, in principle, the proposals are desirable. For instance, fourteen

is too large a number for the Council, seeing that each Member possesses a veto. I think also that the provision debarring elected Members from re-election is theoretically undesirable, as it limits the Assembly's choice in selecting representatives.

The League has to be guided to a large extent by practical experience. We know that an enlarged Council became necessary or practically necessary in order to overcome some of the difficulties that arose during the last year, and we know that non-eligibility is practically desirable though in theory wrong, because our short history shows that elected Members regard their seats as theirs by prescriptive right, overlooking the fact that those seats were the free gifts of the Assembly, to be given to whomsoever the Assembly chose. Consequently, the Assembly was placed in an invidious position when it came to remove one Member and to replace him by another. It was not only placed in an invidious position but had, possibly, to face a crisis and the withdrawal of the aggrieved nations from the League.

The position being what it is, I think we may be justified in agreeing to the resolution, but in doing so we must be watchful that we do not create a situation worse than that which existed before. The difficulty of the fourteen vetoes is overcome, to some extent at least, by Article III, which allows the Assembly to recall an elected Member of the Council who exercises his veto against the wishes of the Assembly. It is, on the whole, better to limit our power of choice than to have the elected Members regarding themselves as permanent Members who are merely to go through the formality of an election from time to time, with the threat of withdrawing from the League if the Assembly exercises its undoubted right to change its representatives. On the face of it, then, I agree with the resolution as practically worthy of support.

But let us face the situation frankly. Are we getting rid of the claims of prescriptive right to a seat? Is it not common property that alongside of the proposals in the resolution is the division of the League into geographical constituencies, with seats allocated to them? Are there not behind the suggestions which are placed before us other plans calculated to give certain States or certain groups of States very good grounds for saying hereafter that, if they do not get the seats they now have but have no particular right to expect, they have a grievance? I say that there seems to be behind the present proposals a proposal which may be interpreted as giving a right to certain seats to particular groups of States, geographical groups or groups based on alliances or understandings.

We recognise the desirability of having a Council on which there is representation of the different States and civilisations comprised in the League. At the same time, we think that we must never lose sight of the fact that the Assembly as a whole elects the non-permanent Members and that accordingly the non-permanent Members must represent the Assembly as a whole. Every effort must be made to preserve to the Assembly the greatest possible freedom of choice as to the States that shall from time to time be appointed to the Council. Accordingly, while we hold that all shades of opinion and every sort of interest in the League should from time to time be represented on the Council, we deny the right of particular groups to be at any time represented thereon in any specified proportion, and we deny more emphatically still the right of any group to choose from among themselves a State which the Assembly would be under an obligation to elect.

Such an arrangement means that not only will there be a hierarchy in the Council, itself undesirable but practically necessary, but a hierarchy in the Assembly. It means that, in the Assembly the continent of Atlantis has the right to three seats and the country of Ruritania has a right to one seat, and there are certain other countries with no right whatever to a seat. The Assembly will be divided into a hierarchy of States which are due to be Members of the Council once in every two years or every three years or every four years, and States that are only due to be Members of the Council once every ten years, and those others which, with these States revolving in their orbits, will never get a seat at all.

I say that we cannot stand by now and see such a situation created either by resolution or by the establishment of precedent. It may be said that no such arrangement is made; but last March we saw a situation arise whereby a country deemed that, because it had been elected by the Assembly on a number of occasions for a number of years, it held its seat by prescriptive right. The whole history of the League shows that the establishment of prescriptive right tends to take away entirely all the powers of the Council.

What is the chief power of the Assembly? We know perfectly well that we come here every year unorganised. We have only one power that is really vital and that is really great, and that is our power to control the Council. We control the Council by our power to elect the majority of its Members. That I consider to be the greatest and the most important power possessed by the Assembly.

I hold the view that the conscience of the world as a whole is always going to be right, but I do not think that any one nation will on every occasion be right. I will not even claim that quality for my own country. I do not think that any group of nations at any one time will always be right. I think, therefore, that for the proper exercise of the Assembly's power, for a proper implementation of the world-conscience, the Assembly must retain as one body, representing almost all the nations of the world, the power to choose freely from year to year, without any consideration of established prescriptive right, whatever representatives it likes. It must also, at any time, be able to say that it is not satisfied with any one or several of the elected Members on the Council and to tell those Members that they must make way for another. It must be able to do that with a perfectly free hand and not be called upon to weigh the possibility of fresh crises, the possibility of the League breaking up as a result of its action or the weakening of the League and of the power of the League through crises arising when nations — because they have a grievance, or feel that they have a grievance which we consider imaginary but which they, with a certain amount of right, consider to be real — decide that they will have nothing more to do with the League because the Assembly has not voted for them. To our minds, the very essence of voting is choosing, and it seems to us that behind all these arrangements is an attempt to let us veto but not to let us choose those who are to represent us on the Council.

The President :

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

M. de Brouckère (Belgium) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I must first crave the Assembly's indulgence for speaking this morning.

We are now at the end — at the very end, I trust — of certain lengthy negotiations which have created, not in the Assembly itself but in its environment, an atmosphere of nervousness. It is essential that the clouds which darken our sky should be dispersed as quickly as may be, and I should therefore reproach myself if I were to delay this happy event even by a few moments.

After hearing some of the previous speakers, however, I found it impossible to resist the desire to address you.

I have listened with the greatest attention and interest to M. Löfgren, the distinguished representative of Sweden. I listened with no less attention and interest to Mr. Fitzgerald, the representative of the Irish Free State. And since both these speakers expressed apprehension and regret, since M. Löfgren, to some extent, voiced the disappointment and pessimism felt by a certain section of public opinion, I desire not to put forward a different view but, as it were, to supplement the picture by explaining why I am in an optimistic frame of mind and why I shall give my country's vote, in a spirit not of resignation but of joy, in favour of the motion now before us.

To what echoes of disillusionment have we had to listen for some time past! We have been told that the League is passing through a crisis and that no reasonable solution will ever be found but only expedients adjusted to one another, Heaven knows how. We have been told that egoism incompatible with the very existence of the League is being displayed on every hand.

That men should still be men, that the nations should not lose their national egoism — is this really a matter of surprise to an assembly of statesmen? Did we expect the League to develop regardless of human nature? Did we propose, heedless of the realities of time and space, to set up a structure of geometrical perfection? Or did we intend the League to be a real political organisation, taking into account all the conditions of life? Perhaps we may have been passing through a crisis, but I think it only right and fair to add, as a matter for congratulation, that, despite so many pessimistic forecasts, we have come safely through that crisis.

The League to-day has gained in material and moral power. It has taken a decisive step in the direction of universality. It has acquired a new Member: Germany has taken her seat among us.

And we have not lost a single Member. I am fully aware that two Powers have forwarded what I may call a preliminary notice of withdrawal, and that there is the risk of our losing them two years hence. But I would ask you: Are we resigned to this? Have we not still two years before us in which to work and do all that lies in our power to win them back again, to show them our sympathy, and perhaps, too, to make them understand that their duty to mankind and to themselves forbids them to abandon the task to which they have set their hand?

We have been told that the nations bring with them to this Assembly purely personal, and some have even said egoistic, sentiments. It is not for me to form an opinion of the sentiments which actuate the different States. But this I can say, that we need not be surprised, since men are men and States are States. It would even be a matter

of regret if everyone were to abandon here all consideration or care for national interests. We do not believe that those interests should be ignored or sacrificed; on the contrary, we must endeavour to reconcile these different individual aspirations, bring them into harmony, and unite them in one great aspiration common to all mankind.

We have been told: "You find nothing but expedients and temporary makeshifts". I would urge those who speak in this strain to read again the report submitted in 1922, on this very platform, by M. Barthélemy. I would urge them to read again the remarkable speech delivered the year before by Lord Balfour. They will find in them the same preoccupations and a foreshadowing of the same solutions. They will realise that the League is not confronted with an unforeseen emergency arising out of the rashness of a few or out of the imperfection of mankind, but that it is under the necessity of solving a great problem of constitutional law, and that, in solving it, it will accomplish an immense step forward.

What is the task before us? It is to find a method of constituting a Council of the League which shall be truly representative of all the peoples. This it must be. I do not propose to determine at this point the respective rôles of the Council and the Assembly. I do not propose to determine which of these two bodies should be predominant over the other. I simply wish to place on record certain facts. The Council has to play the principal part when the task is that of settling one of those big disputes which might become a menace to peace. Consider, then, with this ideal of a universal League before us, how ludicrous it would be if we failed to obtain, for the solution of the difficulties which may beset the League, a Council which was also universal in character.

The Council is entrusted, under the Covenant, with the difficult and even formidable task of administering certain territories. It is its duty to supervise and control the exercise of the mandates. In whose name is this control to be exercised if not in the name of all mankind?

Finally, though perhaps the Covenant contains no provision to that effect, custom, born of the necessities of life, has brought it about that, whenever the Assembly adopts a decision, it entrusts its execution to the Council. The Assembly cannot act on behalf of a majority; it must act unanimously in its own name or not at all. How could it, then, create a body to carry out its instructions or decisions unless it imparted to that body the universal character it itself enjoys, and so contrived that all shades of opinion were really represented on it?

That is the problem before us—to create a really representative Council. I will not detain you by repeating what you all know, or review all the stages we have passed on the road towards this goal.

You will remember that at the outset it was suggested that the Council should consist solely of the representatives of the great Powers. If we face the facts and bear in mind the part played by the great Powers in the world, we must admit that the League would be an empty name if it had not the power to enforce its decisions. When we recollect that the essential part of the force available for the execution of the League's decisions is concentrated in the hands of the great nations or great Powers, we cannot but realise the very important part which those Powers must of necessity assume in the Council.

It was, however, realised that, notwithstanding the importance of the rôle played by the great

Powers, they did not represent the whole of mankind. There exist, side by side with them, many smaller nations. It was decided, therefore, that, if the Council were to present a true picture of the human race, these smaller nations must be represented. The elective system was accordingly adopted.

Mr. Fitzgerald, the distinguished representative of Ireland, has just told us that the Assembly must take care to preserve the full freedom of its electoral powers. I could not help thinking then that the whole history of the successive Assemblies of the League down to the seventh is but a long record of its attempts to find a means of escape from this unorganised freedom. Article 4 of the Covenant says that you will nominate your representatives to the Council freely and your freedom shall be such that you are forbidden to limit it yourselves by any regulations as to voting. For years this clause has paralysed the Assembly.

The Assembly may be likened to an inhabitant of a town where, with the ostensible object of allowing complete freedom to traffic, motor-drivers are not obliged to keep to their right or left and are thus entirely free, by which very fact they are caught in a block and unable to move. The position of the Assembly, powerless to organise its own freedom—for freedom can only be effective in so far as it is organised—was not far different.

Every year speakers have come to this platform to demand that the Assembly should have the right to lay down rules for voting and to establish a genuinely representative system.

It would, to my mind, be deplorable if the Assembly, in the very hour in which it has won this right, should declare that, in the exercise of its freedom, it refused to make use of it. That would practically amount to a confession that all the work of the past years had been in vain.

The Assembly, however, has made use of this right. Successive committees have drawn up a text, and M. Motta, in a speech which will still be in your minds, has pointed out the necessity of arriving at a decision. Is it really true that what he has proposed on behalf of these different committees consists of nothing but a collection of expedients or lame forms of words devised in order to shirk certain difficulties to-day, only to be confronted with greater difficulties to-morrow?

I will not read the text of the motion again; I will recapitulate very rapidly, as rapidly as I can, the main ideas governing the proposed system of voting.

First—and this, I think, is the most important point—we have the principle of geographical representation. It would be ridiculous if, while declaring that the League of Nations should be universal, we left whole continents or important groups of nations entirely unrepresented. Let me assure you, however, that I fully realise that we must proceed with the greatest caution here.

Various speakers, and more particularly the representative of Canada, have rightly drawn our attention to the dangers of establishing at this moment a hard-and-fast system of electoral divisions. Why? Because the world has not yet found its final form. And it never will find it. We must cherish the hope that the world will always be capable of change and improvement, but we can affirm that at present it has perhaps not yet found a lasting form.

We are not dealing here with a clearly defined problem, and therefore we should, as regards geographical representation, look for purely

temporary expedients. We should take no definite or binding decisions, so that, if necessary, we can modify and perfect our work year by year.

But it is a striking fact that in almost every case we have been led alike by necessity and by experience to distribute seats on a geographical basis. I venture to draw your attention to the fact that the necessity for geographical distribution not only arises from the universal character of the League but is dictated by experience, which will in the future show more and more clearly that, side by side with world interests, there are group interests whose claims must also receive satisfaction.

If we wish to help the League to fulfil its destiny, if we desire that these group interests should be organised within the League, under its authority and, I had almost said, under its supervision, we can only do so if the distribution of seats is placed on a real geographical basis. This being so — and I will not labour the point — can it really be said that the number of elective Members now proposed is too great?

I ask you to examine this problem in a practical light and suggest, if you can, any other solution which takes the geographical factor into account. You will at once see the difficulty that arises from the fact that Europe is still very little organised and presents a large variety of interests, and that it will be a long and arduous task to bring about any unity.

How can all these different European interests be represented on the Council unless there is a sufficiently large number of representatives? And, again, if the number of European representatives is fairly large, how can an equitable geographical representation be obtained unless a proportionate number of seats are given to America and the other continents?

Try to solve this problem with less than nine non-permanent Members. You will find you cannot.

I am well aware of the objections to a large number. It is said that a Council of fourteen Members would not work — that it would be too large. I admit that a smaller Council works more easily. As one of my country's statesmen says: "If a committee is to be of any use, it must have not more than one member"; and perhaps he is right.

But this is not a world of ideals; and I may point out that in most great countries the Cabinet which is at the head of affairs consists of fourteen members, or even more. If this is feasible in conducting national affairs, why should it not be so in international affairs?

Then, again, it is said: "There is the right of veto. You will increase the chance of having everything held up by the persistent veto of one elected Member". But we must not forget Article III of the proposal before us, which explicitly empowers the Assembly to withdraw the mandates it issues and proceed, as it were, to dissolve the elective part of the Council and hold a new ballot.

I sincerely hope that this right will never be exercised. I am sure it will not. But its very existence will have its effect, and will remind all the Members that they are there not merely to further their own interests but to fulfil a mandate given them by the Assembly as a whole.

I now come to the last problem, which I should like to survey rapidly, in order to reply to the last objection that has been raised, namely, the question of re-eligibility. What has not been said on this subject? It has often been alleged that re-eligibility is contrary to the elementary principles of democracy.

I know that in the old days there were outstanding examples — such as Athens — of republics where the principle of non-re-eligibility was pushed to its extreme; where, in fact, the position might have been summed up by saying that the functions most comparable to those of the President of a modern republic were exercised for one day each by every citizen in turn. But I do not believe that this was the reason why the Athenian Republic was such a brilliant one. It was simply because, by force of genius, the Athenians succeeded in remedying the very defects of so absurd a system.

Under our modern system of democracy, citizens are not entitled to serve as deputies in turn, but have the right to appoint their representatives freely. Directly we begin to institute a system of geographical representation under the control of the whole League, should we not leave it to some extent to the discretion of the geographical groups to determine whether each nation wishes to hold office in turn or whether they consider it more expedient, more useful to themselves and to the whole League to entrust the mandate during a given period — to be determined by themselves almost at their own discretion — to the nation which they consider most capable of exercising it?

If we propose to maintain the principle repeatedly affirmed in this Assembly, that the mandate should be exercised not in the interest of the mandatory but in that of the whole League, is not the latter entitled to retain on the Council those Members whose presence it considers necessary?

I am well aware that certain sacrifices have had to be made to the principle of rotation, but these sacrifices were, in my opinion, quite legitimate, since, owing to the perhaps fastidious courtesy practised among us, it was sometimes rather difficult to speed a parting Member and replace him by another representative who might be considered more useful. It was hoped that this somewhat unpleasant procedure might be avoided by the establishment of a kind of automatic system whereby retiring Members would no longer be regarded as "retiring" but as "having retired" and might more easily be replaced by others.

The League would, I believe, have foundered, not through the egoism of certain Powers but through a flaw in the framing of its constitution, if it had insisted on this qualification of non-re-eligibility and had thus departed from the true democratic principle that those who can render the greatest service may be appointed to hold office.

I would add a further observation. It would be regrettable, in my opinion, if the necessity of re-election, in many cases, were so conceived as to result in the creation of a special category of States, namely, those which have been described as "predestined to re-eligibility".

I believe that, as far as possible, the Assembly should refrain from dealing with the question of re-eligibility until that question arises — that is to say, until we are asked to vote on the re-election of a State. I desire to point out, however, that, despite the repeated statements which have appeared in the Press, the authors of the proposal now before you have adhered strictly to the principle involved, except only in the case of the first election, and that for two reasons which I do not hesitate to give.

The first reason is of a technical character and is in itself conclusive. If, in 1927, a State had been declared re-eligible under the present rules, without it being indicated at the same time which States, in the view of the Assembly, were entitled to be re-elected in 1928 and 1929, you would have

created in favour of those retiring in 1927 a privilege far more dangerous than any resulting from the rules now proposed. That is my first and technical reason.

The second reason, which led to the substitution of 1926 for 1927, is political in character and is based on grounds of expediency; it satisfies the desire for continuity and is intended to solve the immediate problem. I for one do not regret the sacrifice which as a member of the Committee I offered on the altar of pure reason. I am entirely of the opinion of our Chairman. We are not here to create a work which will accord with the dictates of pure reason; we are here to accomplish a duty in the light of practical commonsense.

At one of our previous meetings I heard a delegate express the desire that Members should never again sacrifice their chosen principles to the requirements of unanimity. I humbly venture to conclude by expressing exactly the contrary view. Suppose that each of us were to refuse to yield an iota of his chosen theories, there would be a succession of eloquent speeches from this platform, but what would happen when it came to taking a vote?

We are governed by the rule of unanimity. This rule can only operate, and consequently the League can only endure, if we make mutual concessions. When, therefore, in the interests of the whole League and in order to overcome the prepossessions and satisfy the legitimate ambitions of certain States, I am asked to concur in a slight violation of logic by substituting 1926 for 1927, I do so gladly, satisfied that I am thereby helping, not to weaken the League, but to prove that it is in normal working order and that its

Members are in the political frame of mind which enables it to work with success.

And now, one word in conclusion. I said just now that the real issue consists in the solution of this constitutional problem — or, rather, in a first attempt to solve it, for the final solution will undoubtedly take long to find — the real issue consists in the solution of this constitutional problem of making the Council of the League as truly representative of the whole world as it is possible to imagine it. It is essential that those whom you are about to elect should regard themselves as representatives, that they should regard themselves not as men endowed with a special privilege but as men who have undertaken a definite responsibility. There can be no shame to a State in soliciting this responsibility. It is easy to imagine certain States, with full confidence in their powers, coming before the Assembly and saying: "I feel myself worthy of this honour", but they can only really be worthy of it if they have decided, in the exercise of their mandate, I do not say to sacrifice their national interests — let me repeat, there is no question of this — but to realise to the full and defend to the uttermost the general interests of all.

The President :

Translation : I propose that the continuation of the discussion on the report of the First Committee be adjourned until this afternoon at 4.15.

We will then resume the discussion on the report of the Council, which I hope will be concluded this afternoon.

The Assembly rose at 1 p.m.

ELEVENTH PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, September 15th, 1926, at 4.15 p.m.

CONTENTS :

32. REFERENCE TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF THE SECTION OF THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL DEALING WITH THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

Adoption of the Resolution proposed by the Netherlands Delegation.

33. REFERENCE TO THE SIXTH COMMITTEE OF DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH THE MANDATES QUESTION.

Adoption of the Resolution proposed by the Norwegian Delegation.

34. INCLUSION OF THE QUESTION OF ALCOHOLISM IN THE PROGRAMME OF WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Reference to the Agenda Committee of the Proposal of the Delegations of Finland, Poland and Sweden.

35. RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, THEIR TERM OF OFFICE AND THE CONDITIONS OF ELIGIBILITY.

Conclusion of the Discussion.

Adoption of the Resolution proposed by the First Committee.

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

Conclusion of the Discussion.

Speeches by M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China) and M. Hambro (Norway).

Draft Resolution proposed by the Norwegian Delegation.

President : M. NINTCHITCH.

32. — REFERENCE TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF THE SECTION OF THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL DEALING WITH THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW : ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — You will remember that at yesterday's meeting several resolutions were submitted to the Assembly. These have been published, and the delegations will have been able to take note of them.

I reserved the right to make suggestions to the Assembly at a future meeting in regard to the action to be taken on these draft resolutions.

The first draft resolution was submitted by M. Loudon, first delegate of the Netherlands, and read as follows :

"The Assembly decides to refer to its First Committee the section of the Secretary-General's report dealing with the work of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law."

I propose to the Assembly that this resolution should be adopted and the matter referred to the First Committee.

If no one has any objection to make to this proposal, I shall consider it adopted. (*Adopted.*)

33. — REFERENCE TO THE SIXTH COMMITTEE OF DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH THE MANDATES QUESTION : ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : The second draft resolution was submitted by Dr. Nansen, first delegate of Norway. It reads as follows :

"The Assembly,

"Following the precedent already established in previous years,

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

I propose that the Assembly should adopt this draft resolution and refer the matter to the Sixth Committee.

If no one has any objection to make to this proposal, I shall consider it adopted. (*Adopted.*)

34. — INCLUSION OF THE QUESTION OF "ALCOHOLISM IN THE PROGRAMME OF WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS : REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA COMMITTEE OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE DELEGATIONS OF FINLAND, POLAND AND SWEDEN.

The President :

Translation : The third draft resolution was submitted by M. Setälä, first delegate of Finland, M. Zaleski, first delegate of Poland, and M. Löfgren, first delegate of Sweden.

I will not read the text of this draft resolution now, as it has been printed and distributed.

I propose that it be referred to the Agenda Committee, which will meet as soon as possible to discuss what action is to be taken on it.

If no one has any objection to make to this proposal, I shall consider it adopted. (*Adopted.*)

35. — RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, THEIR TERM OF OFFICE AND THE CONDITIONS OF RE-ELIGIBILITY: CONCLUSION OF THE DISCUSSION : ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the discussion of the proposals made by the Committee on the Composition of the Council regarding the method of election and term of office of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

(*On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman and Rapporteur of the First Committee, took his place on the platform.*)

The President :

Translation : Count Moltke, first delegate of Denmark, will address the Assembly.

Count Moltke (Denmark) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Danish delegation has listened with keen interest to the very lucid report submitted by M. Motta, Chairman and Rapporteur of the First Committee.

This report makes clear the view taken by the First Committee on this important question, and, as we know, this result was not at all easily reached.

It has been said that the Committee's report was a compromise, and the same may be said of the result of the First Committee's work. The word "compromise" is sometimes used in a disparaging sense, implying that success has only been obtained through what amounts to a partial abandonment by the parties of their original principles.

In an Assembly such as this, however, it would be quite wrong to come to such a conclusion. No State actuated by a spirit of international collaboration comes to the League to impose its will on the other States assembled here; the object of us all is to obtain by common accord a result which, if circumstances permit, can command general acceptance and which signifies a further step in the direction of our common aim.

This calls for heroism — a kind of heroism, moreover, which does not win public applause like other heroic acts, but which nevertheless is often none the less heroic, for it is the heroism of self-sacrifice. The First Committee has given proof of this and the Assembly will assuredly follow its inspiring example. We shall act in the spirit of the League, in a spirit of international tolerance and individual self-sacrifice.

As the Danish delegation has already said, we view with some misgiving the actual form of the solution now proposed for the question of the elections to the Council.

I desire on behalf of the Danish delegation to support the view just expressed by the first delegate of Sweden. At the same time, we welcome wholeheartedly the introduction of the system of rotation, which we have always strongly advocated. We view with a certain degree of apprehension — though we accept it with full confidence — the considerable increase which is to be made in the number of non-permanent Members of the Council.

Our confidence is due to the fact that we rely upon that sense of international responsibility which has always inspired the Members of the Council and will do so to an increasing degree in

ature. Whether a Power on the Council be big or small, its duty remains the same, for it must act in conformity with the fundamental idea underlying the League. Even if it were alone in its views, its voice might still be the voice of conscience, and would gradually make itself heard.

It is a well-known fact that in every country and every assembly opinions invariably differ over political aims, methods and persons, and even over art, ideas and so on. These divergent opinions, often inexact and even erroneous, are the outcome of individual points of view or national character and are sometimes devoid of adequate foundation. Such a phenomenon may come to pass even in this Assembly.

After a time, a general opinion begins to be evolved in regard to the various questions under consideration, the facts of the case and the methods to be adopted, and this general opinion dominates all others and eventually gains final acceptance. It is the *vox populi* which imperceptibly becomes the *vox Dei*.

If many of the delegations in this Assembly have found themselves able to accept the result now awaiting our confirmation, it is because they are firmly convinced that the delegates will take their decision in the sense which I have indicated when they come to record their vote.

The President :

Translation : His Excellency M. Chao-Hsin Chu, first delegate of China, will address the Assembly.

M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I beg to support, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, the report of the First Committee submitted by the Rapporteur, M. Motta, who has made a great effort in helping to work out a solution for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

The most important factor set forth in the new scheme is that we have now definitely adopted the principle of geographical distribution advocated by the Chinese delegation at previous Assemblies. It is of particular satisfaction to us that it is clearly stated in the report that adequate representation on the Council must be given to Asia.

On this occasion allow me to beg of you that China, which is a most important figure in the continent of Asia, should receive due attention by the League of Nations as regards her geographical position and the privileges to which she is entitled. I sincerely hope that China will be the first among the Asiatic States to occupy a non-permanent seat on the Council when the new scheme comes into force.

Asia has a perfect right to claim two non-permanent seats, but if only one seat is to be allocated to that continent this year, I am justified in demanding, on behalf of Asia, that this seat should be granted for a term of three years.

Finally, allow me to call your attention to China's legitimate request for one of the nine non-permanent seats on the Council.

I hope my country will not again be disappointed in the coming election. If it were, the Chinese people would misunderstand the attitude of the League towards their country and would think that the League did not sufficiently appreciate the efforts made by China, and her co-operation in the great work of this international organisation.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the discussion on the report of the First Committee as closed.

The discussion is closed.

The Assembly will now have to take a decision, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 4 of the Covenant, on the rules for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility. These rules read as follows :

The Assembly, acting in virtue of Article 4 of the Covenant, decides as follows :

RESOLUTION MAKING RULES DEALING WITH THE ELECTION OF THE NINE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, THEIR TERM OF OFFICE AND THE CONDITIONS OF RE-ELIGIBILITY.

Article I.

The Assembly shall each year, in the course of its ordinary session, elect three non-permanent Members of the Council. They shall be elected for a term commencing immediately on their election and ending on the day of the elections held three years later by the Assembly.

Should a non-permanent Member cease to belong to the Council before its term of office expires, its seat shall be filled by a by-election held separately at the session following the occurrence of the vacancy. The term of office of the Member so elected shall end at the date at which the term of office of the Member whose place it takes would have expired.

Article II.

A retiring Member may not be re-elected during the period between the expiration of its term of office and the third election in ordinary session held thereafter unless the Assembly, either on the expiration of the Member's term of office or in the course of the said period of three years, shall, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast, previously have decided that such Member is re-eligible.

The Assembly shall pronounce separately, by secret ballot, upon each request for re-eligibility. The number of votes cast shall be determined by the total number of voting tickets deposited, deducting blank or spoilt votes.

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

The number of Members re-elected in consequence of having been previously declared re-eligible shall be restricted so as to prevent the Council from containing at the same time more than three Members thus elected. If the result of the ballot infringes this restriction to three Members, those of the Members affected which have received the smallest number of votes shall not be considered to have been elected.

Article III.

Notwithstanding the above provisions, the Assembly may at any time by a two-thirds majority decide to proceed, in application of Article 4 of the Covenant, to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council. In this case the Assembly shall determine the rules applicable to the new election.

Article IV. — Temporary Provisions.

1. *In 1926, the nine non-permanent Members of the Council shall be elected by the Assembly, three for a term of three years, three for a term*

of two years, and three for a term of one year. The procedure of the election shall be determined by the General Committee of the Assembly.

2. Of the nine Members thus elected in 1926, a maximum of three may be immediately declared re-eligible by a decision of the Assembly taken by a special vote by secret ballot, a separate ballot being held for each Member, and adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast.

Immediately after the announcement of the results of the election, the Assembly shall decide upon the requests for re-eligibility which have been presented.

Should the Assembly have before it more than three requests for re-eligibility, the three candidates having received the largest number of votes, in excess of two-thirds of the votes cast, shall alone be declared re-eligible.

3. The according in advance in 1926 to one, two or three Members elected at that date of the quality of re-eligibility shall not affect the Assembly's right to exercise in the years 1927 and 1928 the power given by Article II in favour of other non-permanent Members retiring from the Council in those years. It is, however, understood that, if three Members already possess the quality of re-eligibility, the Assembly will only exercise this power in very exceptional cases.

I would remind you that under the rules a majority of two-thirds is required. If any Member of the Assembly so desires, a vote will be taken by roll-call.

As no one wishes for a roll-call vote, I shall consider, if there is no objection, that the Assembly has unanimously adopted the resolution of the First Committee and has thus decided, in application of Article 4 of the Covenant, on the rules for the election of the nine non-Permanent Members of the Council, their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

The resolution proposed by the First Committee was unanimously adopted.

36. — REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT : CONCLUSION OF THE DISCUSSION.

The President :

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

M. Chao-Hsin Chu, first delegate of China, will address the Assembly.

M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am speaking now on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat as set forth in the report before us.

First of all, I wish to remind the Assembly of the proposal which I put forward last year on behalf of the Chinese delegation asking for a reconsideration, in accordance with Article 19 of the Covenant of the League, of treaties between China and foreign Powers which were regarded as out of date and inapplicable.

Public opinion in China is now focussed on the time-honoured issue of the revision of unequal

treaties. The Chinese Government, reinforced by popular support, has been making a great effort to deal with the foreign Powers concerned in this question.

The Tariff Conference now sitting in Peking has adopted a resolution to the effect that China will have her tariff autonomy in three years, and it is now considering the question of a proportional and reasonable increase of Chinese tariffs during the interim period before autonomy takes place. Let us hope that, according to the resolution passed by the Assembly last year, the Peking Conference will, at an early date, work out a satisfactory solution which will be in the form of a revision of the unequal treaties.

China, as a sovereign State, should exercise the right of fixing her own tariffs. The present tariff rate, limited to 5 per cent. on all kinds of foreign commodities, is far from being sufficient to balance the budget of China, hence it is the cause of financial and political chaos. The Chinese Government is very anxious to increase the tariffs by means of which China will be able to reorganise her national finance and adjust her economic position on a sound basis.

Further, China is welcoming the negotiation of new treaties with foreign Powers, particularly with those the treaty status of which in China is or will be terminated according to the terms of the old treaties. China is to be congratulated on having concluded treaties of equality and reciprocity with some foreign Powers, notably with Germany and Austria. The Chinese delegation has been instructed to register with the Secretariat of the League of Nations the newly concluded treaty between China and Austria, and the registration will take place on September 15th — that is to-day — which is the exact date when the Sino-Austrian treaty comes into force.

The Chinese Government is of opinion that, in order to make the League a real league of all nations, we must fully recognise the geographical position of the important nations and the privileges to which they are entitled. We have indeed taken due consideration of these factors and this is proved by the welcome which has been given, as Member of the League, to one of the great Powers of the world. On this occasion I offer my German colleagues who are now in our midst my sincere congratulations, and I am sure that we all look for their co-operation in the work of world peace.

I sincerely hope — and I am sure that all the Members of the Assembly share that hope — that Brazil and Spain will soon return to us and that other great nations which are still standing outside the League will join us in the near future. In this way, the scope of the League will be enlarged to the utmost and its activities will be carried out to a still greater extent.

In conclusion, let me, on behalf of the Chinese delegation and in the name of the Chinese Government, express our great satisfaction with the work which has been done during the past year by the Council and by the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The President :

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

M. Hambro (Norway) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — My colleague, M. Vogt, has already announced in the First Committee that the Norwegian Government is in favour of a system of proportional

representation. The Committee's task was, however, so delicate that he refrained from asking for an immediate discussion.

The draft resolution submitted by the First Committee has just been adopted, and the question of proportional representation, which calls for very thorough examination, can be considered apart.

In my country we adopted the proportional system first for municipal elections and then for Parliamentary elections. Our Parliamentary commissions and committees are now constituted entirely on this principle.

It is inconceivable that we should forgo the guarantee which would be afforded by the division of responsibility among all parties and minorities in the Assembly. It would, in our view, be quite in keeping with the spirit of the League if this system were adopted for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council. Whatever may be said of the system as applied to Parliamentary elections, it would appear to be very practicable and very fair for the elections to the Council.

I have the honour, therefore, on behalf of my Government, to submit the following proposal:

"The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee:

"1. To study the question of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general as regards the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council;

"2. To report on the method of election of the non-permanent Members in sufficient time to lay the question before the next session of the Assembly." (See Document C. 299. M. 139. 1926. V, page 143.)

The President:

Translation: This draft resolution will be printed in the Assembly Journal so that delegations may be able to consider it.

At a later meeting I shall submit suggestions as to the procedure to be followed in regard to this proposal.

If no one else wishes to speak, I shall declare the discussion on the report of the Council closed.

The discussion is closed.

The Assembly rose at 5.15 p.m.

TWELFTH PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, September 16th, 1926, at 10.15 a.m.

CONTENTS:

37. ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

38. DESIGNATION OF POLAND AS A RE-ELIGIBLE NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL.

39. QUESTION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF NUMBERING THE PARAGRAPHS OF THE ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT.

Report of the Agenda Committee on the Draft Resolution proposed by the Australian Delegation.

President: M. NINTCHITCH

37. — ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

The President:

Translation: I have just received from the delegation of Uruguay a communication which I will read to the Assembly at the conclusion of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

Let me first recall briefly the Rules adopted by the Assembly as temporary provisions for the 1926 elections.

The first paragraph of Article IV prescribes that in 1926 the nine non-permanent Members of the Council shall be elected by the Assembly, three for a term of three years, three for a term of two years and three for a term of one year.

As I announced at the end of yesterday's meeting, the procedure laid down by the General Committee for these elections has been communicated to delegations through the Assembly Journal. Delegates have therefore been able to acquaint themselves with the procedure. Nevertheless, I should perhaps briefly recall its main features.

Three secret ballots will be taken by roll-call. The first ballot will be for all the nine seats to be filled, that is to say, the voting papers should designate the nine States which delegations desire to elect as Members of the Council.

After the result of this ballot has been proclaimed, a second secret ballot will be taken, whereby the Assembly will choose three of the newly elected Members to be represented on the Council for a term of three years.

After the results of the second ballot have been proclaimed, a third secret ballot will be taken, whereby the Assembly will choose from the remaining elected non-permanent Members those to be represented for a term of two years.

The results of the third ballot will be proclaimed, and it is understood that the Members not chosen in that ballot will be those to be represented for a term of one year.

Before opening the ballot, may I call attention to the relevant Rules of Procedure in this connection?

"2. Where several seats are to be filled, the election shall be made by voting a list of names. Any ballot paper containing more names than there are seats to be filled shall be null and void.

"3. No Member shall be elected at the first or at the second ballot unless it has obtained at least the absolute majority of the votes. If, after two ballots, there still remain seats to be filled, a third ballot shall be held upon a list consisting of the candidates which obtained most votes at the second ballot, up to a number double that of the seats still to be filled, and those Members shall be elected which obtain the greatest number of votes.

"4. If two or more Members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall be held between them; if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots."

The explanation I have given will, I trust, prevent any confusion.

I will therefore open the first ballot, which is for the election of the nine Members.

I will ask Viscount Ishii, first delegate of Japan, and M. Scialoja, first delegate of Italy, to take their places on the platform and act as tellers.

The ballot is now open.

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of States voting	49
Number of votes cast	49
Absolute majority required	25

The votes obtained by the States were as follows :

Colombia	46	votes
Poland	45	"
Chile	43	"
Salvador	42	"
Belgium	41	"
Roumania	41	"
Netherlands	37	"
China	29	"
Czechoslovakia	23	"
Persia	20	"
Portugal	16	"
Finland	14	"
Irish Free State	10	"
Uruguay	9	"
Canada	2	"
Denmark	2	"
Estonia	2	"
Siam	2	"

The following States have obtained the absolute majority required and are therefore elected non-permanent Members of the Council :

Colombia	Belgium
Poland	Roumania
Chile	Netherlands
Salvador	China

The ninth non-permanent seat has still to be filled.

According to the Rules; a second ballot will be taken for the election of the ninth non-permanent Member of the Council. Voting papers should indicate only one name.

We will now proceed to the election.

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast	49
Absolute majority required	25

The votes obtained were as follows :

Czechoslovakia	27
Finland	11
Portugal	7
Irish Free State	4

Czechoslovakia, having obtained an absolute majority, is therefore elected a non-permanent Member of the Council.

I have now the privilege and the pleasure of congratulating the States which have obtained non-permanent seats on the Council of the League.

A letter received this morning from the delegation of Uruguay will now be read. I should inform the Assembly that, despite the urgent request of the delegation of Uruguay, this letter could not, in deference to precedent, be read before the election which has just been held. I understand that the contents have already been communicated unofficially to the different delegations.

The letter reads as follows :

[*Translation.*]

"The proceedings, now made public, which took place at the private meetings of the delegations of the Latin-American States now at Geneva, impose upon the delegation of Uruguay the duty of bringing directly to the knowledge of the Assembly the reasons which prevented it from concurring in the procedure established by the delegations of the other States for the nomination of candidates to the Council from the Latin-American Republics.

"Under Article 4 of the Covenant of the League, the non-permanent Members of the Council are to be elected by the Assembly in its discretion, and by the duly prescribed majority.

"Nominations put forward in any way other than that prescribed can only be regarded as the expression of certain tendencies in some particular electoral group and, *in fine*, may fail to be in keeping with the general feeling of the electoral body. The Assembly, and the Assembly alone, possesses the right, the power and the authority necessary to select candidates, with due regard to the following factors :

- "1. The general interests of the League ;
- "2. The political circumstances of the moment ;
- "3. An equitable distribution of strength on a continental basis.

"The Assembly can and should correct any tendency that is incompatible with international realities, if, for instance, it were confronted with nominations not in keeping with the common desires of any one continent.

"The adoption by a group of States of a system of voting — other than that of unanimity — and more particularly of a system of secret voting such as has recently been the case, might have the highly regrettable result of enabling a group of delegates which by chance happened to be numerically stronger to impose its will not only upon all the members of that group but ultimately upon the whole Assembly.

"It is essential to guard against inequitable consequences of this kind.

"The following is the actual position of Latin America in the League : of the twenty States of which it is composed, only twelve are now present at the Assembly. For various reasons the following are absent : the Argentine, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Honduras. There is no need for us to draw the Assembly's attention to the significance of this fact.

"In view of this very exceptional situation we may justifiably enquire whether, from the point of view of the fair and adequate representation of a whole continent, it is right

that six States, probably belonging to the same region, should be regarded as qualified, by means of a secret ballot in which they constitute a majority, to interpret in the Assembly of the League the real aspirations of the whole of Latin America.

"For the above reasons, therefore, the delegation of Uruguay is regretfully obliged to state that the meetings of American representatives, in which its own representatives have always taken a most sincere and cordial part, must be regarded by the Assembly only as constituting an unofficial exchange of views and as admitting of no other interpretation.

"While emphasising the above considerations, and persuaded that they represent the views of the Assembly also, the Uruguayan delegation has decided not to maintain its candidature to one of the three seats assigned to the Latin-American States at the time of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

"Our country, which has had the honour of sitting on the Council for four years, desires to convey to the Assembly its profound thanks for the confidence shown to Uruguay on more than one occasion, and to assure it that in the future as in the past it will remain loyal to the ideals of the League.

(Signed) J. C. BLANCO.
GUANI.
FERNANDEZ Y MEDINA.
BUERO.
(Delegation of Uruguay)"

The President :

Translation : The Assembly has now to choose from the newly elected nine Members three who will retain their seats on the Council for a term of three years.

The Rules of Procedure governing the first ballot apply in this instance also.

I will ask Viscount Ishii and M. Scialoja to be kind enough to continue to act as tellers for this ballot and the next.

I would mention that any voting papers containing more than three names will be void. We will now proceed to the ballot.

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast . . . 49
Absolute majority required . . . 25

The votes obtained by the States were as follows :

Poland	44	votes
Chile	41	"
Roumania	30	"
Netherlands	16	"
China	6	"
Colombia	3	"
Belgium	3	"
Czechoslovakia	1	"

The following Members have therefore been elected, in conformity with the temporary provisions of the new Rules, for a term of three years :

Poland, Chile, Roumania.

The Assembly has now to choose from the remaining Members three to be represented on the Council for a term of two years.

The Rules of Procedure governing the first two ballots will apply here too.

I would mention that any voting papers containing more than three names will be void.

We will now proceed to the ballot.

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast . . . 49 votes
Absolute majority required . . . 25 votes

The votes obtained by the States were as follows :

Colombia	47	votes
Netherlands	47	"
China	34	"
Belgium	11	"
Salvador	4	"
Czechoslovakia	3	"

The following countries are therefore elected, in conformity with the temporary provisions of the new Rules, for a term of two years :

Colombia, Netherlands, China.

The others three Members of the Council are elected for a term of one year, namely :

Belgium, Salvador, Czechoslovakia.

38. — DESIGNATION OF POLAND AS A RE-ELIGIBLE NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : I have received a request for re-eligibility submitted by Poland, which has just been elected a non-permanent Member of the Council. The request is submitted under paragraph 2 of Article IV of the Rules adopted by the Assembly.

I will read the paragraph in question :

"2. Of the nine Members thus elected in 1926, a maximum of three may be immediately declared re-eligible by a decision of the Assembly taken by a special vote by secret ballot, a separate ballot being held for each Member, and adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the number of votes cast. Immediately after the announcement of the results of the election, the Assembly shall decide upon the requests for re-eligibility which have been presented. Should the Assembly have before it more than three requests for re-eligibility, the three candidates having received the largest number of votes, in excess of two-thirds of the votes cast, shall alone be declared re-eligible."

I will therefore now read the request for re-eligibility submitted by Poland to the Assembly :

[Translation]

"By to-day's vote the Assembly of the League of Nations has elected Poland a Member of the Council.

"In conformity with the new Rules for the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, which were adopted by the Assembly on September 15th and which provide for the re-eligibility of the elected Members of the Council, I beg you to place before the Assembly the request of the Polish Government that the Republic of Poland should be declared re-eligible under the temporary provisions of the above-mentioned Rules.

(Signed) Auguste ZALESKI,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
First Delegate of Poland."

I propose that the Assembly should take a decision on this request for re-eligibility, and I may remind you that a two-thirds majority of the votes cast is necessary for a State to be declared re-eligible.

We will now proceed to a ballot by roll-call.

Each State will be called by name and a representative of the delegation will come up and place his voting paper in the ballot-box.

Those in favour of re-eligibility should write "yes" on their voting papers and those opposed should write "no".

The ballot is now open.

The President :

Translation : The result of the ballot is as follows :

Number of votes cast	48
Blank papers	4
Number of votes valid	44
Two-thirds majority	30
Votes in favour of granting the request	36
Votes against	8

The Polish request having received more than the requisite two-thirds majority, I declare Poland re-eligible for election to the Council on the expiry of her present term of three years.

Let me warmly thank M. Scialoja, first delegate of Italy, and Viscount Ishii, first delegate for Japan, for their kind assistance in acting as tellers at the many ballots we have held to-day. This has entailed a very great deal of hard work, and I offer them the Assembly's thanks.

40. — QUESTION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF NUMBERING THE PARAGRAPHS OF THE ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT : REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — I have just received the report of the Agenda Committee, which met at the conclusion of yesterday's meeting of the Assembly.

The text of the report is as follows :

"The Agenda Committee met on September 15th under the Presidency of His Excellency M. Urrutia and examined the draft resolution moved by the Honourable J.G. Latham, delegate of Australia, on September 10th, 1926, in regard to the question of the desirability of numbering the paragraphs of the Articles of the Covenant. This draft resolution was referred to the Agenda Committee by a decision of the Assembly of September 14th, 1926.

"After a preliminary study, it was decided unanimously to propose to the Assembly that the following draft resolution should be referred to the First Committee :

"That the First Committee be requested to consider and to report to the Assembly upon the desirability of numbering the paragraphs of the Articles of the Covenant published by the League."

If no one has any objection to make, I declare the report adopted and the question referred to the First Committee. (Agreed.)

The Assembly rose at 1 p.m.

THIRTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, September 21st, 1926, at 10.30 a.m.

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40. — INCLUSION OF THE QUESTION OF ALCOHOLISM IN THE PROGRAMME OF WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS :
REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE :
REFERENCE TO THE EIGHTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE DELEGATIONS OF FINLAND, POLAND AND SWEDEN.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the reading of the Agenda Committee's reports on two proposals submitted by members of the Assembly.

The Assembly will recollect that, at the meeting on September 15th, 1926, it decided to refer to the Agenda Committee the draft resolution on the question of alcoholism, submitted by M. Setälä, first delegate of Finland, M. Zaleski, first delegate of Poland, and M. Löfgren, first delegate of Sweden.

As the draft resolution has been communicated to all delegations it is unnecessary, I think, for me to read it. Accordingly, I will simply read the Agenda Committee's report.

"The Agenda Committee met on September 15th, 1926, at the Salle de la Réformation, under the chairmanship of M. Urrutia, and made a preliminary examination of the draft resolution on alcoholism which was submitted by M. Setälä, first delegate of Finland, M. Zaleski, first delegate of Poland, and M. Löfgren, first delegate of Sweden, on September 14th, 1926, and referred to the Committee by a decision of the Assembly dated September 15th, 1926.

"The Committee, on examining the proposal, did not fail to appreciate the extreme importance of the question, which had not previously been placed before the Assembly, but considered that the problem, in the terms in which it was raised, did not appear on a first examination to be sufficiently clearly defined. For these reasons, and in view of the very recent date at which the proposal was submitted, the Committee thought it would be preferable to place it on the agenda of the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

"It was unanimously decided, therefore, to propose to the Assembly that, if the originators of the proposal agreed, the draft resolution should be placed on the agenda of the next session. In any case, the Committee feels

bound to say that, in its opinion, the draft resolution could not be dealt with at the present session of the Assembly."

If no one has any observation to make, I shall take it that the Assembly is in favour of placing the question of alcoholism on the agenda of the next ordinary session of the Assembly. (*Agreed.*)

41. — QUESTION OF THE APPOINTMENT BY THE COUNCIL OF A COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE CERTAIN QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL: REPORT OF THE AGENDA COMMITTEE: REFERENCE TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : It will be recollected that, at the meeting on September 15th, 1926, M. Hambro, delegate of Norway, submitted a draft resolution to the Assembly. As it has not been possible for me to ask the Assembly to take a decision concerning the action to be taken on this proposal, I thought I should be complying with the Assembly's wishes if, with the consent of the General Committee, I requested the Agenda Committee to make a preliminary examination of the draft resolution so that it might be able to submit its report at the earliest possible moment.

In consequence of the expeditious procedure adopted, I am to-day able to communicate the Agenda Committee's report on this matter to the Assembly.

The text reads as follows :

"The Agenda Committee met on September 18th, 1926, under the Chairmanship of M. Urrutia. It has examined the draft resolution submitted by M. Hambro, delegate of Norway, on the subject of the appointment by the Council of a Committee to examine certain matters connected with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

"After this preliminary study, it was unanimously decided to propose that the Assembly should refer to the First Committee the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee :

"1. To study the question of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general, as regards the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

"2. To report on the method of election of the non-permanent Members in sufficient time to lay the question before the next session of the Assembly." (See document C.299.M.139.V, page 143.)"

If no one has any observation to make, I shall take it that the General Committee's proposal is adopted and that the draft resolution under consideration is referred to the First Committee, which is requested to take it into consideration as early as possible. (*Agreed.*)

42. — INCLUSION IN THE AGENDA OF THE PRESENT SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE QUESTION OF THE SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES: LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TRANSMITTING A REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The President :

Translation : As you will have seen from the agenda, I have received from the Secretary-General a letter covering a report of the Council dated September 16th, 1926, on the settlement of the Armenian refugees. The letter reads as follows :

"I have the honour to communicate herewith the report adopted by the Council at its meeting on September 16th, 1926, concerning the settlement of Armenian refugees.

"As you will note, the last paragraph of this report reads as follows :

"The Council decides that this question shall be placed on the agenda of the present session of the Assembly."

"I should be very grateful if you would communicate the contents of this report to the Assembly at one of its next meetings."

The report of the Council mentioned in this letter has been distributed to the delegations in document A.70.1926.II.

In order to save time, I propose that the Assembly should decide without further formality whether it is prepared to include this question in the agenda of the present session.

If nobody has any observation to make I shall regard the proposal as adopted. (*Adopted.*)

I suggest that the Assembly should refer this question directly to the Fifth Committee. It is similar in character to those with which the Fifth Committee is dealing and with which it dealt last year.

If no one has any observation to make, I shall take it that my proposal is adopted, and I will ask the Chairman of the Fifth Committee to submit the question to the Committee as soon as possible. (*Assent.*)

43. — WORK OF THE GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT COMMISSION: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Second Committee's report on the work of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission (Annex 3, document A.71.1926.II).

I will ask the Rapporteur, M. van Cauwelaert, delegate of Belgium, and Mr. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Second Committee, to take their places on the platform.

(Mr. Fitzgerald, Chairman, and M. van Cauwelaert, Rapporteur of the Second Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. van Cauwelaert, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. van Cauwelaert, Rapporteur, read his report.

The President :

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

M. Caclamanos (Greece) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The documents communicated to the Assembly by the Rapporteur of the Second Committee on the subject of the settlement of the refugees in Greece place upon the representative of Greece the duty of saying a few words, first, in order to take note of the report of the Second Committee and, secondly, in order to request you to adopt the resolution proposed by the Committee.

In taking note of M. van Cauwelaert's report, I wish to offer him my sincerest thanks for this very notable document, which gives so complete, so lucid and so moving an account of the work accomplished in Greece for the settlement of 1,500,000 refugees (I venture to make a slight correction in the figures given in the report) under the auspices and with the aid of the League of Nations. To the aid afforded by the League I desire to pay yet another public tribute of gratitude.

May I make one observation on a passage in the report, which states that no restriction has been placed on the districts in which the refugees may be lodged? If this observation is to be taken as registering a fact or as a matter of purely historical record, we are in entire agreement. If, however, it was the Rapporteur's intention to introduce an allusion of any kind, will he permit me to submit one simple remark, of the accuracy of which his insight and sound judgment will convince him? If no restrictions of any kind have been placed on the settlement of the Greek refugees, this is because no demand for restrictions was ever put forward; and the fact that no such demand was put forward from any quarter proves that there was no ground for it to be put forward.

The explanatory account which the Rapporteur has just given you renders it unnecessary for me to detain you on the subject of the settlement of the refugees. The work involved, which was the legacy of an overwhelming tragedy, appeared at the outset to offer an insoluble problem, a problem likely to cause far-reaching unrest in South-Eastern Europe.

In July 1923 the Council of the League approved in principle and placed under its own auspices an international loan of £10,000,000 for the settlement of Greek refugees. The scheme only began to be carried into effect, however, towards the end of 1924, at the time of the session of the Assembly in that year. It was, moreover, unanimously recognised that the sum of £8,000,000, the amount remaining after deduction of the costs of the financial operations involved (the difference between the net yield of the loan and the nominal capital, bankers' commissions and publicity expenses) was inadequate. The nominal capital of the loan was finally increased to £12,000,000, from which a net sum of £10,000,000 was placed at the disposal of the Commission entrusted by the League with the work of carrying out the settlement scheme.

Meanwhile, Greece had expended more than £4,000,000, or one milliard drachmæ, from her own funds to keep the refugees alive, to lodge and feed them — in brief, to preserve the human

material which the League's Commission was finally to save from total destruction.

According to the moving report recently communicated to the League by Mr. Howland, the distinguished Chairman of the Refugee Commission, 750,000 refugees have already been settled by the Commission. Greek Macedonia has been completely transformed. In places where once there was uncultivated or waste land, field after field of rich crops can now be seen, stretching farther than the eye can reach. Smiling villages are arising everywhere among the fields, and rugged and contented workers till the earth and make it rich and fruitful. Whole towns are rising around Athens as by the wave of a magic wand. New industries are being founded and are developing all over the country. In a few years the sacrifices made by our nation, which has afforded the world an ennobling example of fellow-feeling with its kindred, will bring their reward in the increased wealth of the country, thanks to the toil and labour of her newly acquired sons.

The League of Nations may be proud of having, by its kindly care, preserved and endowed with prosperity a population of one and a-half million souls. It has erected a barrier against the rising tide of resentment engendered in men's minds by poverty, hunger and privation.

Beyond all question, the League will desire to finish the work that is now in full swing, and will continue to give it its moral assistance and support. According to Mr. Howland, five million pounds will be sufficient to complete this work, which only requires the finishing touches. It will survive as yet another memorial to prove that the League is not a vain Utopian conception, but that, side by side with its task of international conciliation, pacification and collaboration, it is engaged upon a task which may perhaps be more modest and less spectacular, but is no less useful, namely, the material reconstruction and consolidation of countries which have been sorely tried by fate. So may the poverty and discontent which give birth to social and political unrest be gradually eliminated from the world, and mankind may continue its onward march in peace, rejoicing in the work before it.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Second Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly :

(1) *Has learnt with satisfaction that the work of settlement effected in collaboration between the Greek authorities and the Settlement Commission set up under the auspices of the League has made continuous and satisfactory progress during the past year, within the limits of the available funds, which are now nearly exhausted ;*

(2) *Observes that this piece of work is attaining the results expected of it. More than half of the 1,400,000 destitute refugees who have entered Greece have been assisted to establish themselves and have become productive citizens. Apart from the humanitarian significance of the scheme, it is having permanent beneficial results in strengthening the economic life of the country and in promoting social stability ;*

(3) *Expresses the hope that conditions may be such that the money required may become available in due course for the completion of this work, which has progressed successfully under the League's auspices and the results of which have amply justified the association of the League with it.*

The resolution was adopted.

44. — NUMBERING OF THE PARAGRAPHS OF THE ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT: REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : We now have to discuss the report by the First Committee on the question of numbering the paragraphs of the articles of the Covenant.

(On the invitation of the President, the Hon. J. G. Latham, Rapporteur, and M. Motta, Chairman of the First Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The Hon. J. G. Latham (Australia), Rapporteur, read the following report and resolution¹ :

"On September 16th, 1926, the Assembly adopted the following proposal made by the Hon. J. G. Latham, delegate of Australia :

"That the First Committee be requested to consider and to report to the Assembly upon the desirability of numbering the paragraphs of the articles of the Covenant published by the League."

"The First Committee unanimously approves Mr. Latham's suggestion and accordingly recommends the Assembly to adopt the following resolution :

"The Assembly instructs the Secretary-General to cause the paragraphs of the articles of the Covenant to be numbered in all future editions published by the Secretariat."

He continued as follows :

The effect of adopting this resolution, if the Assembly sees fit to do so, will be that each of the paragraphs of the articles of the Covenant will be numbered, and, accordingly, it will not be necessary, when referring to the Covenant, to count the paragraphs in the separate articles in order to discover any particular one. For example, the paragraphs of Article 22 (let us say) will be numbered 1, 2, 3, and so on and this will apply to each of the articles of the Covenant.

The Committee considers that this is a small but very desirable improvement and that its adoption will facilitate the work of the League itself, and will also facilitate the work of those who are interested in the League.

I, therefore, submit to the Assembly for its approval the resolution which I have read to you.

The President :

Translation : M. Scialoja, first delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly

M Scialoja (Italy) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I do not propose to make a speech. The question before us is not of vital importance, and what I have to say is even less important.

While it would be an excellent thing for the convenience of those desirous of referring to the Covenant to number the paragraphs of the articles, we should, I think, make provision for future amendments and take into account the amendments already adopted.

If, then, the Secretariat confined itself to writing in the numbers in their correct order, so that paragraph 3, for example, did not come before paragraph 1, there would not be much point in the operation. It would be quite useless if every fresh

¹ Document A.69.1926.V.

amendment necessitated a new edition of the Covenant containing no references to the acts of a previous Assembly.

I would therefore urge the Secretariat, which, under the terms of the resolution, is to be responsible for this numbering, to adopt an elastic system, so that the fundamental part of the Covenant may always bear the same numbers.

I am not going to submit a proposal, but I will give an example to show exactly what I mean : amendments constituting fresh paragraphs would bear the original number followed by (a) or (b), etc., so that the numbering would always remain the same and the reader could see at a glance that he was dealing with an amendment and not with the original text.

I think this suggestion might make the Secretariat's work more useful than a mere arithmetical operation.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution proposed by the First Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly instructs the Secretary-General to cause the paragraphs of the articles of the Covenant to be numbered in all future editions published by the Secretariat.

The resolution was adopted.

45. — WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report on the work of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference (Annex 4, document A.76.1926.II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Loucheur, Rapporteur, and Mr. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Second Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Loucheur, Rapporteur of the Second Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. Loucheur (France), Rapporteur :

Translation : The Second Committee's report has been distributed to all delegations. It simply remains for me to explain as briefly as possible the proceedings in the Second Committee and the conclusions it has reached.

You will remember that on September 24th, 1925, the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly unanimously passed a resolution inviting the Council to consider the expediency of constituting a Preparatory Committee with a view to the subsequent convening of an International Economic Conference.

In response to the Assembly's suggestion the Council constituted this Committee, which has already held its first session at Geneva. The session, presided over by M. Theunis in the absence, through illness, of M. Gustave Ador, resulted in the compilation of lists of questions which constitute, as it were, the basis of the Preparatory Committee's present investigations.

The length of these lists and the number of questions included in them appeared somewhat

alarming to certain delegations; they imagined that the Preparatory Committee was engaged in drawing up a long and involved programme which would obviously have doomed the Economic Conference to certain failure.

You may perhaps remember that last year, when I explained the French delegation's proposal from this platform, I ventured to direct your attention to the danger of drawing up a programme which was not confined to a few essential questions. I also pointed out that the difficulty lay in determining the questions to be omitted from the programme rather than those to be included in it.

M. Theunis was requested by the Second Committee to report on the Preparatory Committee's work. He succeeded in completely reassuring those delegations which had taken alarm at the contents of the documents distributed. He explained that, at the next session, to be held at Geneva on November 15th, the Preparatory Committee would proceed to eliminate questions which might later hamper the work of the Conference, and would endeavour to fix the main lines of its discussions.

The Second Committee concurred in M. Theunis' views, and unanimous agreement was reached in regard to the chief points of the programme for the Economic Conference.

A second question, however, arose in the Second Committee, namely, the actual composition of the Economic Conference. This point was raised by Mr. Latham, delegate of Australia, and by the representative of the British Empire. Two suggestions were put forward.

Certain speakers thought that the Conference should consist exclusively of experts who would be free to express their personal views, without instructions from their Governments, so as to afford the Assembly of the League insight into the deep-rooted causes of present evils and the remedies to be adopted.

The British delegate urged that a Conference composed of representatives who had, as it were, received a mandate from their Governments would be apt to deal with certain delicate problems less frankly and boldly, and that it was accordingly essential that the members of the Conference should in no case be bound by instructions from their Governments.

Another view was advanced in opposition to the foregoing argument: it was suggested that it might be preferable to convene a Conference somewhat diplomatic in character, and consisting of representatives holding a mandate from their Governments with the possible ultimate object of concluding international conventions.

The Committee was from the outset unanimous in rejecting this second proposal. Accordingly, the forthcoming International Economic Conference will in no sense be a diplomatic Conference and will not be expected to frame international conventions.

Certain delegates, however — in particular M. Jouhau, the delegate of France — pointed out that there was a risk that the importance of the Conference might be lessened and that it was possible, to put it frankly, that it might be deprived of all authority, if it were composed entirely of experts chosen or nominated by the League itself.

The Committee agreed on the adoption not of a hybrid system but of a system already sanctioned by experience. You will all remember the Brussels Financial Conference, which consisted of representatives who were appointed by the Governments, but were given absolute liberty to express their views with complete frankness and were not bound by formal official instructions.

The Brussels Conference, it was pointed out, was composed of experts, and the usual pleasantries at the expense of Ministers of Finance, who may be described as greater or lesser experts, found an echo in our Committee. We thought that the definition of the word "expert" might give rise to controversy and difficulties. "Expert" does not bear quite the same meaning in English as in French. We thought, and we still think, that the Governments will show their wisdom by sending to the Conference only representatives possessing the twofold qualification of experience and knowledge.

The formula we adopted was, therefore, that employed for the Brussels Financial Conference, namely, representatives appointed by the Governments, without formal instructions from the latter, so that they might be perfectly free to study the important problems submitted to them.

A more heated, more lengthy and, in my opinion, more important discussion occurred as regards the date for the convening of the Conference. We had occasion — yesterday morning in particular — to explain our views clearly on this point.

The world is awaiting with growing interest the results of the work upon which we are now engaged. It is a year — over a year now — since the Assembly decided upon the convening of an International Economic Conference. I do not say that the time since then has been ill-spent, for the Preparatory Committee has collected, and is still collecting, documents which will be of great use to the future Conference. But we must not run the risk of wasting our time in protracted preparation. On this point there was placed before the Committee a line of argument which found an energetic advocate in the delegate of Sweden. The suggestion was that you should be invited at this meeting to specify in the resolution on which you are about to vote a definite and final date for the coming meeting of the International Economic Conference.

I, personally, would be glad if it were possible to insert a clause convening the Conference for next spring. The representative of Sweden, less ambitious, proposed that it should meet before the next session of the Assembly of the League. Finally, by way of a compromise, he suggested that the Conference should be held in 1927.

The resolution now before you, however, mentions no date at all. It contains one of those facile expressions which are sometimes found in recommendations of this kind. It says that the Conference shall be convened as soon as possible. I want to explain what we mean by the words "as soon as possible".

We adopted this text with the idea of compromising, in order to obtain general agreement; and this desire for general agreement has at all events led to some measure of success.

I am convinced that the Committee was unanimous in its desire that the Conference should be held at an early date. We were reluctant, from motives of courtesy which you will readily appreciate, to interfere in the work upon which the Preparatory Committee is at present engaged.

Last year you showed your confidence in the Council when you invited it to constitute this Committee. There is no reason for withdrawing that confidence now, and, since a Committee of the Council is following the work of the Preparatory Committee, we propose to renew our confidence by asking the Council at its December session to decide to convene the Conference at the earliest possible date.

The resolution now before you is, if I may say so once again, a declaration of our confidence in the Council and in the Preparatory Committee.

May I add a few words, not in my capacity as Rapporteur, but on my own behalf? I wish briefly to explain why, in my opinion, we can no longer postpone convening the Conference.

Last year, when stating the grounds which led the French delegation to propose this important decision to the Assembly, I drew attention to the gravity of the financial and economic position in all parts of the world, and I said that the thought of what might happen within the next few years filled me with apprehension.

As you are all aware, there has been no improvement in the economic situation since last year. I even believe that we are on the verge of serious crises in different countries. Some of those countries are making an energetic attempt to emerge from a position which, it is claimed, is the result of the war, but which, I assure you, may rather be the consequence of economic mistakes committed before the war.

The war, it is true, did not improve matters, but I question whether even before the war those responsible for the conduct of affairs of State understood quite what was happening in the world or realised that, as a consequence of over-industrialisation in certain countries, the food supplies of the inhabitants were being jeopardised by the failure to maintain a proper balance between agricultural and industrial production. This state of affairs, which arose out of pre-war conditions, was intensified by the war, and no measures, so far as I am aware, have since been taken to remedy this most alarming situation.

Every day, however, it becomes necessary to provide sustenance for increasing numbers; new frontiers have to be taken into account as well as the circumstances in which certain countries find themselves as a result of the erection of Customs barriers hitherto non-existent between them and the countries with which they formerly traded. We must, therefore, come together and find a remedy for this problem without delay; otherwise it may become so acute as to pass beyond any possibility of solution.

Thus, while we are examining the problem in all its aspects in Preparatory Committees, the usefulness of which I fully recognise, timid attempts are being made in various quarters to remedy the situation, but the remedies devised are not always properly thought out, and some may even lead to further difficulties. To take just one example: You are all aware of the effort now being made to unite steel interests in Germany, Belgium, France and Luxemburg. I am among those who approve and heartily commend such efforts, but, unless they form part of a general plan and include as many countries as possible, they will immediately give rise to alarm. One of our colleagues, whose name I shall not mention, but who does not belong to any of the countries to which I have just referred, confided his fears to me. He said: "Are we to be left out of this steel ring?"

If, on the other hand, the Economic Conference had been convened, if it had formulated rules which would have made it possible to include more countries in rings of this description, if at the same time it had framed protective regulations ensuring State supervision, it would assuredly have done useful work and made a solid contribution towards the solution of the great problem of economic reconstruction.

There is a danger that, while we are still talking, timid and inadequate solutions; if I may repeat the term I used just now, may be attempted which will only serve to aggravate the situation we desire to remedy.

There is another point. We were witnesses here very recently of an unforgettable event. But the peace for which we are working rests, we fully realise, upon insecure foundations. We have among us many valiant workers who are determined to consolidate that peace, but the Economic Conference would prove a most valuable adjunct in our task.

I pointed out last year that, if you are looking for the causes of past wars, their true origin will be found in the economic field; and, as M. Scialoja said, legal formulas alone are not sufficient to banish the spectre of war. We must seek out its causes, strike at the very root of the evil and endeavour to discover a permanent remedy.

In his eloquent speech a few days ago, Dr. Stresemann sketched out a general plan. He said: "We see how economic life is overleaping the old national boundaries and creating new forms of international co-operation." And he added: "We shall not obtain that end by erecting barriers between the countries."

I need not say that I agree with Dr. Stresemann, and yet, in the midst of these discussions, we are daily raising up fresh barriers against one another. Is this logical?

I therefore ask you — if I may revert to the view that a solution of our present economic difficulties will promote the cause of peace — whether it will be possible to break down the barriers between nation and nation until a feeling of greater security has been created between them?

We are faced, then, with the conclusion that the solution of economic problems must promote security, and that security, if established, would prove an invaluable factor in the solution of economic problems.

At our next meeting — in all probability tomorrow — the Assembly will be asked to discuss the question of disarmament and to reconsider the great problem of security, so that this is a most appropriate moment for urging that the Assembly should also take steps to solve the economic problem; otherwise, all our efforts are doomed to failure.

I ask you, therefore, to approve, in the spirit in which it is intended, the very moderate resolution now submitted to you by the Second Committee. I would ask you, above all, not to lose sight of the great aim which we have in view. We are all agreed, as M. Briand said, that the time for bloodshed is past — you all applauded him. There must be no drawing back. We must have courage to engage frankly, resolutely, loyally and confidently in combating the dangers which now beset the world. That is the great task to which you are called. The nations are looking to you for courage and determination.

The President:

Translation: Baron von Rheinbaben, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Baron von Rheinbaben (Germany):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Before proceeding, as delegate of Germany, to explain our views on the International Economic Conference, which we have already discussed in

Committee, I will venture, with your permission, to make a few observations of a general character.

When, last autumn, the Assembly adopted the suggestion put forward by M. Loucheur, delegate of France (who is to-day acting as Rapporteur), and decided to convene an International Economic Conference, Germany was not a Member of the League and in consequence could not give her co-operation in regard to that decision.

Even at that time, however, the Rapporteur made it clear that an International Economic Conference without the participation of Germany could only achieve partial success. To-day, for the first time, Germany can put before this Assembly her views on the Conference, and I take this occasion to say that my country fully appreciates the noble principles and lofty ideals invoked by the Rapporteur when submitting his resolution.

The world-war gave a rude shock to the economic relationships which previously existed between the different States. In a number of countries it has called into being industries which in ordinary times would never have seen the light and indeed may not survive the restoration of normal conditions. Throughout a large part of the world the war has destroyed the purchasing-power of the masses. Export and import prohibitions and State intervention have diverted the normal current of economic life. Further, the increase in the number of frontiers and the re-establishment of great Customs barriers have led to a critical situation in the economic field and, as regards social conditions, have resulted in unemployment on an unprecedented scale.

Those countries in which the situation I have briefly outlined is still obscured by exchange fluctuations are endeavouring to reconstruct their economic life and to stabilise their exchanges; but they again are faced with the problem of stabilisation and its social consequences. The only escape from the disastrous effects of the war, from the endeavour to apply the old principles to a situation to which they are no longer suited, is to educate international public opinion in the ways and means of bringing order out of the present chaos. Everywhere there are signs that this fact is beginning to be realised. An improvement in the means of communication and in modern technical methods for which mass distribution is essential has resulted in a general demand for the formation of large economic territorial units, undivided by Customs or other State-erected barriers.

On the other hand it is sometimes said that such a territorial reorganisation and, in general, any international redistribution of labour would result in the collapse of existing undertakings and would increase unemployment.

A clear understanding of the special character of the age is an essential pre-condition of any epoch-making change, and the Economic Conference is intended to bring about a more speedy realisation of the facts.

Allow me now to say a few words on various matters of detail with which the Second Committee dealt. We, too, think that the Preparatory Committee should make certain questions of principle the main pivot of the Conference. I have already indicated the line we intend to take in this matter.

We also think that the Conference should not be confined to general principles. We must learn how to progress from one stage to another with a minimum of loss to the economic life of the various nations. As an example of this method, international agreements might be concluded

covering the various aspects of international economics with reference to production and consumption. These agreements might pave the way for, and place on a practical footing, some kind of international distribution of labour. In this connection I would mention that, in the past few weeks, an agreement has been reached between the metallurgical industries of Germany, France and Luxemburg. It is hoped, too, that the Belgian industry will also shortly become a party to this agreement. Such agreements are not directed against the general interest; this is clear from the fact that they were not concluded until the engineering industries had first been consulted.

The question of the composition of the Economic Conference was considered at length by the Committee. We agree that the Governments should have a considerable say in this matter, and should be given the task of selecting experts of world-wide repute. There is no doubt that public opinion in the various countries will ensure that only the best qualified persons will be selected. But these experts should also be free to express their opinions without being bound by the instructions of their Governments. Only in this way can their abilities be utilised to the full.

The actual date of the Conference necessarily depends on the progress made in the preparatory work and should therefore be left to the Preparatory Committee, which enjoys our full confidence, and in whose work we have already had the opportunity of co-operating. The economic situation of the world, as I have just described it, requires that we should expedite not only the holding of the Conference itself and the decisions which it will take, but also, and more especially, the practical effect to be given to those decisions. The question of the best method of putting these decisions into practice will be one of the most important matters which the Conference will have to study.

The profound attention which this august Assembly is devoting to the matter of the Economic Conference and the very lucid account which the Rapporteur has given of the task before it will certainly do much to strengthen the confidence of the world, on which the outcome of the Conference will ultimately depend, and will also give public opinion in the various countries the weight which is the *sine qua non* of success.

The President :

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

M. Adelswärd (Sweden) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — During the Second Committee's discussion of this subject, which lasted for more than two days, I objected to the proposal, but this was not because I was opposed to the report which has just been read. On the contrary, I congratulate M. Loucheur on his admirable work. My objection does not apply to the actual resolution now before you or its contents, but rather to what it does not contain.

Of the three questions discussed by the Committee — the composition, the programme and the date of the Economic Conference — only one — the date — is dealt with in the resolution, and even on that subject all that has been done is to propose a recommendation by the Assembly that the Economic Conference should be convened as soon as possible. You are not even asked to

recommend that the Conference should be held during the coming year. That proposal might perhaps have been dangerous, though for my part I cannot conceive why. Whatever the reason may be, I was very pleased to hear M. Loucheur himself express a wish that the Conference should be called as early as next spring.

As regards the programme of the Conference, the resolution has nothing to say on the matter, but the report proposes that only a small number of essential questions should be examined. Now I believe that economists, big financiers and captains of industry throughout practically the whole world are all beginning to realise that the economic disease from which Europe is suffering is largely due to the existence of frontier barriers, and they seem to agree that the best remedy would be gradually to throw open these frontiers to free intercourse. That being so, I think the report should have contained some reference to this great truth; the subject would thus have been brought to the notice of the whole world, which ought to have its eyes opened to the facts as soon as possible.

Is it not true of this question, as of all others, that public opinion is supreme? We have often said, and we all believe, that no great problem can be solved unless public interest has first been aroused and public opinion won over. That is one reason why I could have wished that the proposed resolution had been more definite and explicit. We must maintain and above all we must strengthen the prestige and authority of the League, but we shall never succeed in doing so by means of resolutions such as that now before us.

The President :

Translation : If nobody else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Second Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly notes that the Council has given effect to its decision of December 15th, 1925, by constituting a Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference.

It realises that the general economic situation of the world calls more imperiously than ever for an effort towards international co-operation and makes it yet more necessary that the Economic Conference should be held.

The Assembly therefore hopes that the Committee will actively push forward its work, so as to enable the Economic Conference to be convened as soon as possible.

The resolution was adopted.

46. — TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs (Annex 5, document A.74.1926.XI).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Veverka, Rapporteur, and M. Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Veverka, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Veverka (Czechoslovakia), Rapporteur :

Translation : In submitting to the Assembly the report on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs adopted as the outcome of the work done by the Advisory Committee during the current year, I have perhaps little to add to what I said last year, but I shall certainly have to repeat many of the points to which I drew attention then. The only method by which we can pave the way for the solution of questions so important as these is to build up a solid body of public opinion, a *communis opinio* of the nations.

The steady output of literature on the subject, the associations that are being formed in all parts of the world, the work of the Churches, and so forth, are proof of the close attention with which our work is being followed. We must bring the utmost zeal and devotion to our task if we are to cope with the grave and alarming situation existing to-day.

The Fifth Committee fully realised the seriousness of the position, and it is with great pleasure that I draw your attention to the unanimity with which it approved, in particular, the measures to counteract the illicit traffic, and strongly recommended the early ratification of the Geneva Convention, which still further strengthens the engagements entered into under the Hague Convention.

The same unanimity was shown as regards the continuance of the struggle against this ever-growing danger.

In this connection I would once more dwell on the immense responsibility we should incur if the remedies applied proved inadequate, or if we failed to erect in time the barriers that are needed to save mankind from the destructive flood of opium and drugs.

There is one fact which, to my mind, increases that responsibility. Both the man engaged in mass-work under primitive labour conditions and the highly-strung product of our times are so constituted mentally that they unhappily supply only too ready a market for the balance of the world's surplus production.

So much for the social side of the question. The man who lives by primitive daily labour takes opium; and the modern man, enervated and driven towards an exaggerated suggestive individualism—the sociological phenomenon of the age—craves for drugs.

The duty of the rulers of this world is to watch over suffering humanity until the day when the economic reformation of the one and the moral reformation of the other have been achieved.

It is in this spirit that I submit to the Assembly the resolution you have before you. It is my firm hope and conviction that the campaign against the scourge of opium and drugs will be carried on with ever-increasing energy, and that this is the only war in which the League will never urge disarmament.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Fifth Committee, which reads as follows :

1. *The Assembly adopts the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, together with the resolutions contained therein.*

2. *The Assembly, impressed by the report of the Advisory Committee as to the gravity of the present situation in regard to the illicit traffic and by the resolution of the Committee that it was extremely difficult to secure an effective control*

of the international traffic in opium and drugs until the Geneva Convention has been brought into operation, urges on the Governments of all States Members of the League to proceed to ratify or adhere to the Geneva Convention so that, if possible, the ratifications necessary to bring that Convention into force may be deposited with the Secretariat before the end of the year.

The resolution was adopted.

47. — SUPERVISION OF THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President:

Translation: The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Third Committee on the Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War. (Annex 6, document A. 73. 1926. IX.)

(On the invitation of the President, M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, and M. Villegas, Chairman of the Third Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The President:

Translation: The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. Guerrero (Salvador), Rapporteur, read his report.

The President:

Translation: M. Escalante, delegate of Venezuela, will address the Assembly.

M. Escalante (Venezuela):

Translation: Mr. President — I have asked leave to speak in order to propose a slight amendment to the draft resolution submitted to you by the Third Committee. Our delegation has just been officially informed that the Government of Venezuela has ratified the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War. The instruments of ratification will be deposited shortly with the Secretariat of the League. This means that two ratifications have now been registered, those of France and Venezuela.

The second paragraph of the draft resolution now before us states that up to the present this Convention has been ratified by only one signatory country. May I propose to the Rapporteur, M. Guerrero, that the paragraph in question should be amended as follows:

“It notes that, up to the present, the Convention on the Supervision of the International Trade has been ratified by only two signatory countries...”

I regret that I was unable to submit this proposal during the discussion of the report in the Third Committee, as our delegation had not then received the official communication from the Venezuelan Government.

The President:

Translation: M. Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, first delegate of Austria, will address the Assembly.

M. Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (Austria):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Austria has consistently followed with the greatest interest the efforts of the League to bring about a general reduction of armaments.

My country, firmly convinced of the very special importance of the task entrusted to the League under the first paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant, in the interests of world peace, and having itself adopted a consistently pacific policy, hails with profound satisfaction every step taken towards the aim so ardently desired by thousands of mankind.

M. Guerrero's very remarkable report brings out the conditions in which, in the Third Committee's opinion, the League should endeavour to settle the difficult question of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms.

The delegation of Austria — a country which is now disarmed and is particularly anxious to bring to an end a state of affairs that is a greater menace to us than to other countries, but is assuredly a menace to the peace of the world — confidently welcomes in this report certain indications which appear favourable to the accomplishment of the task we have so much at heart.

The first of these is the fact that the resolution for the convening of the Conference on the supervision of the private manufacture of arms, proposed by the French delegation — France being as yet the only country which, with Venezuela, has seen its way to ratify the Convention on the supervision of the international trade in arms — is based upon the hope that the valuable work achieved by the Preparatory Committee of the Disarmament Conference will result in the convening of that Conference during the coming year.

Secondly, the information given in the Third Committee as regards the efforts made by Great Britain to bring about an agreement between producing States with a view to making it easier for them to ratify the Convention on the Supervision of the Trade in Arms justifies the hope that the General Conference will produce a solution for the question of the ratification of this Convention, together with that of the reduction of armaments, and will result in the adoption of a Convention for the supervision of private manufacture. It is this hope which reconciles us somewhat to the provisional postponement of the Conference for the supervision of private manufacture, a Conference which should, in the opinion of many, be held at an early date. We bow to the considerations which led the French delegate to look for a solution of this question to the general Disarmament Conference rather than to the special Conference hitherto contemplated, and which take into account the views expressed by the Council on September 4th and unanimously endorsed by the Third Committee.

I would venture, however, on behalf of Austria to draw special attention to the very definite alternative laid down in the last paragraph of the proposal now before us, namely, the convening of the general Disarmament Conference before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, or, alternatively, the convening by the Council, without further delay, of a special Conference for the supervision of private manufacture. In the event of its proving impossible again this year for the general Conference to take up its general task, the resulting disappointment would inevitably be increased by the failure of the League to make at least an attempt to arrive at partial solutions, which might still serve to pave the way for and facilitate the general reduction of armaments.

The President :

Translation : M. Guerrero, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Guerrero (Salvador), Rapporteur :

Translation : When drafting the report which I have just read, I was not aware that Venezuela had ratified the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms.

The Venezuelan delegate's statement has been duly noted and my report will be amended accordingly.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Third Committee, which will be amended to read as follows :

The Assembly,

Once again draws attention to the close connection which exists between the question of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war and the international trade in these articles ;

Notes that, up to the present, the Convention on the Supervision of the International Trade has been ratified by only two signatory countries, and hopes that the efforts which are being made to obtain the ratification of the principal producing countries will soon be successful ;

Notes the work which has been carried out under the direction of the Council with regard to the supervision of private manufacture ;

Declares that it is in agreement with the Council as regards the connection which exists between this question and the whole problem now being examined by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference ;

Lays stress upon the necessity of concluding a Convention as soon as possible, though it recognises that priority must be accorded to work in connection with the Convention on Disarmament ;

And proposes that the Council should continue its enquiries regarding private manufacture, in order that these questions may be included in the programme of the Disarmament Conference, if this Conference can be convened before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, or, if that is impossible, in order that a special Conference may be convened as soon as possible to deal with the matter.

The resolution was adopted.

**48. — TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN :
REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE :
RESOLUTION :**

The President :

Translation : We will now pass to the last question on the agenda: the report on the Traffic in Women and Children (Annex 7, document A.75.1926.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Nagai, Rapporteur, and M. Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, took their places on the platform.

The President :

Translation : M. Nagai, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Nagai (Japan), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The report which I am directed by the Fifth Committee to place before you this morning deals with the traffic in women and children. It is lamentable to reflect that this traffic has been left to take its course in the past. But no longer can such a blot, such an evil, be permitted to continue. It is a crime which is revolting to the conscience of the age in which we live and every strong and useful measure must be taken to eradicate it. In view, however, of its complex and delicate nature, it is necessary that we should go carefully to work in studying it and in considering what steps can be taken towards the end we have in view.

This august Assembly will note with satisfaction the progress that has been already made in that direction by the Advisory Committee; an account of that progress is given in the report of the Fifth Committee, which I will now read.

M. Nagai read his report.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Fifth Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly approves the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the resolutions contained in that report.

The resolution was adopted.

49. — COST OF LIVING AT GENEVA : REFERENCE TO THE FOURTH COMMITTEE OF THE REPORT OF THE SALARIES ADJUSTMENT COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — The Secretary-General of the League has communicated to me a report adopted by the Council at its meeting yesterday regarding the report submitted by the Salaries Adjustment Committee on the cost of living in Geneva (document A.78.1926.X).

The Council's report, which has already been laid before the Assembly, states that the Salaries Adjustment Committee's report should be communicated direct to the Assembly.

I think that, in order to avoid loss of time, the Assembly will agree that the report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee should be referred without further formality to the Fourth Committee, since the Assembly itself cannot take any decision on the conclusions of the report until the latter has first been studied by the proper Committee.

If there are no observations, I shall regard my suggestion as adopted, and the report will at once be communicated to the Fourth Committee. (Agreed.)

50. — QUESTION OF THE EXTENSION TO OTHER GROUPS OF REFUGEES OF THE MEASURES OF ASSISTANCE TAKEN FOR RUSSIAN AND ARMENIAN REFUGEES : REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA COMMITTEE OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE BELGIAN DELEGATION.

The President :

Translation : The Belgian delegation has submitted to to-day's meeting of the Assembly the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly invites the Council to request the High Commissioner for Refugees and the

International Labour Organisation to consider how far the measures taken to give protection to, to provide employment for and to afford relief to Russian and Armenian refugees can be extended to other categories of refugees."

In order to avoid loss of time I will ask the Assembly to authorise me to communicate this draft resolution direct to the Agenda Committee. If the latter considers that it should be sent to a Committee, I will ask now to be permitted to take this action without further delay.

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

The Assembly rose at 1.10 p.m.

FOURTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, September 23rd, 1926, at 10.15 a.m.

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51. — FACILITIES FOR JOURNALISTS ATTENDING THE MEETINGS OF THE LEAGUE AT GENEVA : DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE CHILIAN DELEGATION : REFERENCE TO THE AGENDA COMMITTEE.

The President :

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

M. Quezada (Chile) :

Translation : Mr President, ladies and gentlemen — The Chilean delegation had the honour at the last ordinary session of the Assembly to propose and secure the adoption of a resolution recommending the convening of an International Press Conference to consider how it might be possible to assist in the transmission of news, thereby helping to reduce the risks of international

misunderstanding by improving international relations, in view of the fact that this is one of the most effective means of directing the public opinion of the world towards moral disarmament.

Useful preparatory work has already been done with a view to improving the facilities granted to the Press. A Committee of News Agencies met last month at Geneva, and very important and encouraging results were obtained.

We have no doubt that this work will be continued and that a meeting of Press experts might be held later on, as contemplated in the resolutions of the Council and of the Assembly.

The International Committee of Journalists accredited to Geneva might form the nucleus of the future committee of experts proposed in the Chilean scheme. If we begin by granting its members special facilities, the success of the scheme will be materially promoted.

Our idea of these formalities would be a kind of official recognition of journalists' cards. These would bear the holder's name and photograph and a recommendation, signed by the Secretary-General, which would enable the holder to obtain all assistance from Secretariat officials.

These cards have been of great utility to journalists, particularly in assisting them to cross frontiers. We know that the Association is most careful only to admit as members journalists of established reputation who are actually engaged in their profession. It has to-day 160 members representing the Press of twenty-five different countries ; these representatives come regularly to Geneva to attend meetings of the League. Most of them have to cross a number of frontiers several times a year.

Supervision would be necessary, of course, and for this purpose the Association would have to forward copies of these cards to the various Foreign Ministries. I understand that it would be prepared to do this.

In view of the considerations which I have briefly stated, I venture to submit to the Assembly the following draft resolution :

"The Assembly of the League of Nations, with a view to facilitating the work of journalists who attend the meetings of the League at Geneva, recommends the Governments to consider the possibility of granting to bearers of identity cards issued by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations all possible facilities which will assist them to cross frontiers in the fulfilment of their professional duties."

The President :

Translation : M. de Jouvenel, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. de Jouvenel (France) :

Translation : The French delegation strongly supports the resolution submitted by the Chilean delegate.

The President :

Translation : The Assembly is asked to consider a draft resolution, which has just been read and which will be printed and distributed to the delegations.

To avoid loss of time, I propose that the Assembly should at once decide to refer this draft resolution to the Agenda Committee. Should the Agenda Committee decide to refer the proposal to one of the Committees, I will ask for the Assembly's authority to forward it to the Committee in question without further formality, in order that it may proceed with its discussion of the proposal. (*Agreed.*)

52. — RATIFICATION OF AGREEMENTS AND CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS : RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE SIXTH COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the resolution proposed by the Sixth Committee concerning the ratification of Agreements and Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations.

(*On the invitation of the President, Viscount Cecil, Rapporteur, and M. de Brouckère, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, took their places on the platform.*)

The President :

Translation : Viscount Cecil, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Assembly will remember that I had the honour of laying before it a proposal the purpose of which was to secure, or to attempt to secure, the more rapid ratification of Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. I proposed that the Council should be asked to appoint a Committee to see what could be done in the matter. My proposal was, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, referred to the Sixth Committee, and was very carefully considered, first by that Committee as a whole and afterwards by a small Sub-Committee.

In the circumstances the Sub-Committee did not consider it worth while to ask for a fresh examination of the question by a Committee of the Council. It took some trouble to ascertain the actual state of affairs at the present time, and also to compare our procedure with that of the International Labour Organisation.

I do not know that we found out anything very new about the state of affairs here. I had already laid before the Assembly the facts, which, indeed, are to be found in documents distributed to you. Everyone was agreed, both in the Sub-Committee and in the Committee itself, that some effort should be made to expedite the ratification of Conventions.

The representative of the International Labour Office told us of the procedure adopted there. I need not recount it to this Assembly. In many respects that organisation is able to proceed more rapidly, or perhaps at any rate with fewer formalities, than we are. Its representative also showed us a very interesting form of diagrammatic report indicating the progress made in the ratification of the various Conventions concluded under its auspices, a report which is issued by the Office every month. A single page shows exactly the state of affairs. I think that all the members of the Sub-Committee were impressed with the technical nature of that report.

The representative of the International Labour Office also described to us the more elastic procedure which it was possible for that organisation to adopt in view of the provisions of the Treaty under which it exists. We felt that it was not possible for us to recommend that any drastic alteration should be made in our procedure. Such action could only be taken after a very careful discussion, and with the assistance and support of all the Members of the Assembly. Nor were we quite satisfied that, even if such changes were made, we should effect a material improvement in the rapidity of the procedure.

Nor did we think, for the reasons which I have already given, that it was well, at any rate at present, to ask the Council to appoint a Standing Committee to deal with this matter. We considered that it would be better at first merely to suggest that the Council should consider, at least every six months, the situation as regards the various Conventions signed or concluded under the auspices of the League, and should consider carefully every six months what steps, if any, ought to be taken to hasten the ratification of those Conventions. It is evident that the Council might decide to communicate directly with the Governments, asking for information concerning the difficulty in the way of ratification, or to take other steps which it might think fit in respect of each Convention.

The Sub-Committee thought — and the Sixth Committee agreed with it — that it would be better to leave a great deal of liberty of action to the Council in this matter, and all that we propose at present is that the Council of the League should be invited to ask for a report every six months on the progress of ratification and to consider methods for securing the more rapid bringing into force of the agreements and conventions.

I was particularly authorised to say that this must be regarded as an experimental measure ; I hope that the Assembly will keep very careful watch over this matter, and, if next year it is found that there has been no improvement, it will be for the Assembly to consider what further action could be taken. Meanwhile, I may perhaps be allowed to make an appeal to my colleagues to use their influence with their respective Governments — as I certainly will do with mine — to

secure more rapid ratification of the agreements which the League has either authorised or supervised in connection with these very important international matters.

I beg to ask the Assembly to adopt the resolution proposed by the Sixth Committee.

The President :

Translation : M. Bastid, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Bastid (France) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to state that the French delegation fully concurs in the proposal which Viscount Cecil originated, and for which he has acted as Rapporteur. We do so, firstly, out of deference to the eminent delegate of the British Empire and, secondly, on grounds of principle.

We all know Viscount Cecil's chivalrous, almost religious, devotion to the League. We can all recall to mind the generous and effective initiative he has taken on countless occasions, and we should be loth to let him feel himself a solitary champion of the League's cause.

There is, however, another aspect of the matter to be considered. France has always deplored the fact — and her actions have been consistent with her words — that decisions passed at Geneva in matters of minor importance, and still more in matters of major importance, have not invariably been followed by tangible results. This city must not be allowed to stand as an oasis of faith in the midst of a desert of hesitation and doubt. The effect and influence of our acts here must, if necessary, overcome Governmental inertia. We can no longer tolerate two diplomacies pursuing a parallel course: the new diplomacy of Geneva, which works in a new spirit and a purer atmosphere, and the old diplomacy, which by some inexplicable paradox of history seems to have survived.

The facts, moreover, are arguments in themselves. The continual progress made by the League, the services it has rendered and the services it has endeavoured to render are eloquent pleas in its favour.

The measures agreed to by the Governments here, in an atmosphere in which the aspirations of the world converge, in which we hear the full and splendid harmony of the voices of the nations, must not be subsequently exposed to the risks of obstruction or delay. We are convinced that it will not be so, and France desires, in supporting Viscount Cecil's proposal, to reaffirm the unity and consistent purpose of her foreign policy.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Sixth Committee, which reads as follows¹:

The Assembly,

• Observing with regret that many conventions and agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations have remained ineffective, or have only come into force after undue delay, owing to the difficulty experienced in securing a sufficient number of ratifications by the signatories:

Desires to call the attention of the Governments of all States Members of the League to the necessity for taking all measures in their power to facilitate and expedite the ratification in all cases of conventions and agreements signed in their name;

And decides to invite the Council of the League to call for a report every six months on the progress

of ratification and to consider methods for securing the more rapid bringing into force of these agreements and conventions.

• The resolution was adopted.

53. — WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion on the report of the Third Committee on the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference. (Annex 8. Document A. 93. 1926. IX.)

(On the invitation of the President, M. Paul-Boncour, Rapporteur, and M. Villegas, Chairman of the Third Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Paul-Boncour will address the Assembly.

M. Paul-Boncour (France), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Deep emotions, legitimate emotions, have swept over this Assembly, but the League would be neglectful of its duty and the objects for which it was created if it remained content with outbursts of this kind, which, however far-reaching in their effects, are merely illustrative — though supremely illustrative — of its progress; if, strengthened by the addition to its numbers and buoyed up by these very emotions, it failed to benefit thereby, to further that practical work which constitutes its *raison d'être* and is as it were the true condition of its permanence. By a fortunate chance we have had to deal at two consecutive meetings with the two great tasks to which the League, fortified by the advent of its new Member, must henceforth devote itself unsparingly until it succeeds in concluding the international conventions which should be the practical outcome of its efforts. One of those tasks is to convene the Economic Conference, which is destined to mark a further stage in the League's progress, its purpose being to seek out the deep-rooted causes and possibilities of war, to discover international regulations for the production and distribution of wealth, for the allocation of raw materials, and for the whole question of migration, so as to ensure that what are sometimes vital necessities shall be obtained here by common consent and not by victory in the field. The other task is the task summed up by the hopes of mankind in one comprehensive word: "disarmament", but more cautiously defined by the Covenant as the limitation and reduction of armaments.

This is not merely one of the objects of the League; it is, as it were, the woof that supports the whole fabric. Its origin and its basis are laid down by the terms of the Covenant. Compare Article 8 of the Covenant and the Preamble to Part V of the Peace Treaties and you will see that it forms part of these Treaties themselves. None of you will be surprised that the representative of France should appeal to these Treaties, for he is in duty bound to refer to them. This matter, I repeat, forms the very basis of the League. The special limitations imposed on certain countries are prescribed solely as the pre-condition of the reduction of armaments that is to follow.

¹ Document A.83.1926.

If at each successive stage on the way towards this goal the road has seemed to stop, has seemed longer than we thought, these apparent and temporary checks should not serve as a test of the success of our best work. Our best work has been achieved solely by the measure of our anxiety for the limitation and general reduction of armaments, by the sustained effort, in strict adherence to the Covenant, to combine the limitation and general reduction of armaments with the general conditions of security. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Protocol were discussed solely in the light of this final goal.

I will not refer again to these various stages on the road. I will begin at the stage on which you are asked to give your opinion to-day in the light of the results which have been reached and which the Third Committee asks you to place on record as the starting-point for the next stage. The extent of that next stage the Committee has endeavoured to define. You will remember the feeling of perplexity, uncertainty and discouragement which marked the opening of the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly last year. Our path was, if I may say so, strewn with wreckage. The Protocol, which had been so conscientiously debated by the representatives of every nation during the fifth ordinary session of the Assembly, and had raised so many hopes, had not been ratified by certain of the Powers. The number of these Powers and, in particular, their legitimate importance in the world made it impossible, without their ratification, to bring the Protocol into force.

With the failure of the Protocol the chancelleries appeared to be bending their thoughts once again towards the idea of separate agreements, but this reminder of memories too recent to be buried aroused anxiety among many members of the Assembly.

First the Third Committee and then the Assembly performed an act which is the basis of all that is great in man: namely, an act of faith. We perform this act when, by a spiritual effort, we transcend, without forgetting, the realities of the moment.

On the assurance given by the representative of the British Empire, Sir Austen Chamberlain, and by myself on behalf of France, the Assembly performed this act of faith. It undertook to believe that these agreements would not be a contravention of the principles which it had so long debated, and which were simply a development of the Covenant. It undertook to believe that they would signify the full application to a particularly susceptible spot in Europe of the principles discussed by the Assembly.

As it was realised that the work would be protracted, that the consideration of technical matters, however irksome at times, would be the indispensable prelude to discussions among statesmen, the Third Committee and the Assembly proposed that this work should be put in hand at once, without even waiting to learn the results of the conversations which the diplomats of Europe were going to hold in a certain town not far from Geneva.

Events have justified this act of faith. The Locarno Agreements, as you know, are not a revival of the old diplomacy, of those old arrangements which, always defensive in appearance, always bare, as it were, a sharp point of offence directed against one or other of the groups concerned.

The Locarno Agreements are a reaffirmation and not a denial of the principles of the Protocol. This fact the Third Committee, in agreement with the First, will — in a very notable report, to be expounded, I believe, by M. Markovitch — ask you to note. The Agreements recognise the arrangement whereby the organisation of peace will henceforth depend, not on special conventions between two or more States, but on agreements

based on arbitration. Sanctioned by this guarantee, the Locarno Agreements appear in their true light as a part of the Protocol which has been employed to meet certain risks that seemed particularly threatening.

They justify the arguments I adduced last year. They even prove the truth of the simile I used when I likened the stream of life to the stream of a river; the river may refuse to follow the ideal course prescribed by the mind of man, and the reflection may be broken by the passing waves, but in the end its outlines are recomposed intact and meet to form again the perfect picture.

Other agreements have been made and old agreements remodelled in the light of these principles. Doubtless M. Markovitch will tell you to-morrow that the Third Committee is almost perturbed by the multiplicity of these agreements. He will probably propose to the Assembly to consider ways and means of examining the contents of these treaties, which are under different titles submitted each year to the League for registration. I will not detain you with this part of our work; it will be expounded to-morrow.

I may affirm that those States which stood aside from the Locarno Agreements have endeavoured to solve the problem of security on the basis of arbitration sanctioned by the guarantee on which the Protocol is founded. In relation, therefore, to some of the more acute problems of Europe, if not, alas! to all, the Covenant has been amplified by these special agreements in a manner determining the essential objects of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and of the Protocol, and hence the Third Committee notes that the political conditions laid down in Article 8 of the Covenant for the Reduction and General Limitation of Armaments have, in part at any rate, been fulfilled. Consequently, as soon as the technical work to which I have referred has been completed, it will be possible, on the decision of the Council — for this, of course, is our constitutional practice — to convene the Conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments.

As a result of the action taken by the Council, as a result of the decision of the Assembly, the Conference will no longer find it necessary to undertake certain work. The broad lines for a questionnaire have been worked out and the questionnaire has been submitted to the Preparatory Commission and modified and developed by it. This Commission subsequently referred these questions in their entirety to the technical, military and economic organisations. When, in the Third Committee, the delegate of the Netherlands, who is also Chairman of the Preparatory Commission, expounded and amplified the written report supplied to us by the Secretariat, we thought — with the caution required by any prediction — that the work was so far advanced that its final completion might be expected in the months following the present session of the Assembly.

The zeal with which this work has been consistently conducted justifies me in paying a public tribute to the body of experts who for some months past have exerted their best endeavours here, in order to furnish you with the material without which a Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments would be impossible, or would be doomed to certain failure. If we pursue the prudent course of allowing this work to be completed within a relatively short time, as we are assured it will be by the members of the Committee of experts — or those who have remained at Geneva, and whose heart and soul are in their work — and if the Governments, whose experts have, I understand, kept them in touch with their proceedings, are notified in time for a

Preparatory Commission to be convened at the beginning of next year, then there is every reason to hope that the Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments may be able to meet before the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

In this connection—I am not now speaking as Rapporteur, for the question has not yet been discussed by the Assembly; I am stating my personal opinion, or rather the opinion of my country—the interval which must elapse between the meeting of the Preparatory Commission and the convening of the Conference will obviously depend upon the view adopted as to the work of the Committee and of the Conference itself.

I personally do not think that the Preparatory Commission can conceivably take the place of the future Conference, as regards the actual work to be done. In my view its duty is simply to draw up and define a programme, whereas the Conference, and the Conference alone, will be entitled to enlarge that programme and frame a Convention.

My reasons for this view are twofold. In the first place, certain nations are not represented on the Preparatory Commission, and, considering the vital interests involved, I doubt whether they would agree to any hard-and-fast arrangement being made before they themselves had had ample opportunity of expressing their opinions.

In the second place, let us try to imagine what will actually happen; let us try to picture the Conference actually seated round the Conference table. What will the Conference be? Will it be a Conference at which the League, acting on its own authority, is to determine the armaments of every nation? That is a sheer impossibility. It might have been possible if we had taken our stand on a different plane, if we had conformed to the conception which M. Léon Bourgeois placed upon the Conference table at the Hôtel Crillon during the actual framing of the Covenant, the conception by which the League itself would be the sole depository of the international forces of the world.

It would have been possible under the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Protocol. These were based on the same conceptions as those I have mentioned—only each was more elastic than the last—whereby the States would of course have kept their respective forces, while the League, in virtue of a general system of security designed to permit of rapid action to prevent or intervene in disputes, would be responsible for general security—and would assure it—since it would have at its disposal the land, sea and air forces determined beforehand by whichever of the two Conventions we had adopted—the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Protocol. The League would in that case have been justified in inverting the problem, as it were, and in laying down what armed forces should be allowed for each country, since the aggregate of these armed forces would constitute the instrument of security it was endeavouring to create.

I am accusing no one; nothing is more futile than recrimination. I simply wish to put the balance-sheet in all its truth before you.

You will not misunderstand me when I say that the Covenant does undoubtedly constitute a very real guarantee of security; through the instrumentality of conciliation and arbitration it brings into the world a spirit hitherto unknown.

At the same time, without those precise definitions of which we have been in search, there is no sure, no immediate guardian of international security, and each State must first decide what is needful to ensure security for itself.

A Conference for the limitation and general reduction of armaments, which, for the reasons

I have indicated, would be perfectly feasible, must therefore be regarded not as a Conference at which the international organisation will lay down the limitations and reductions to be imposed, but as one at which each country will propose such limitations and reductions as it thinks fit. The delegates will not merely sit round the Conference table and discuss general problems. Each one must state, with reference to the requirements of general security and any special conditions resulting from separate agreements, what he regards—in the well-chosen terms of Article 8 of the Covenant—as the lowest point consistent with national safety.

Each country will state its case and submit its proposals, and since, in my view, the first serious act of the Conference will be to receive these different contributions, matters cannot proceed very far until the Conference actually meets.

It is obvious that the States will not entrust confidential information of this nature to a Preparatory Commission the outcome of whose proceedings no one can yet foresee. Neither will they assume the grave responsibility of committing themselves until the Conference has met to discuss that information.

But there could be no Conference, there could be nothing but a registration of views, if these concrete proposals on which the success of the Conference depends were left in their original form. The whole value of the Conference will consist in an exchange of views and in the observations which the different countries will present as a result of the comparison of the various proposals with one another, a comparison which may, nay must, involve the amendment and, let us hope, the reduction of the proposals themselves. Friendly and courteous discussions will be held between the delegates, for they will be men who have agreed to meet together in the cause of peace.

But if these discussions are to be of any value, if they are to bear fruit, the subject must be clearly defined beforehand.

Suppose some countries cited, in support of their claims, their population, or the fact that they had no natural frontiers, or the difficulties of mobilisation, or any other factor. Consider the position in which the Conference would be placed if, in order to assess these conflicting claims, it were obliged to start the technical investigations on which our special Committees are now engaged. Now do you realise the importance of those investigations? Their value lies first and foremost in the fact that they are a means of testing those general arguments which may be advanced in support of the proposals which will make a Conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments a necessity.

Now do you realise why, despite the inevitable delays so often misunderstood by an ill-informed public, the work which is being done by the committees of experts is the *sine qua non* of what I might call—to use an expression which is somewhat feeble in comparison with the enormous interests at stake—a useful and profitable conversation between the States taking part in the Conference?

If we adopt this view of the matter—and I for my part can adopt no other, I cannot conceive of a conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments resulting in a simple enunciation of general principles or—to take the opposite view—a mathematical scale to be uniformly applied irrespective of differences of situation—if you view the Conference as I do, what will be its result? Why are we so emphatic in urging that it should meet at the earliest

possible date? Because of Article 8 of the Covenant. The existence of Article 8 would make an international Convention for the reduction and limitation of armaments an immense step forward in itself, even if—to take the lowest possible case in order to prevent any chance of disappointment—even if that Convention represented no more than the stabilisation and acceptance of the *status quo*—and it may represent something more, as I shall shortly show—even if it involved no reduction from present conditions, even if, in conformity with Article 8, it were restricted to determining that reduction.

The more one studies the Covenant, the more grateful one feels to those who, when the war was barely over, before the clash of hatred had died down or the wounds of battle had healed, conceived a scheme at once so vast and so precise, so lofty and so practical; assuredly the best, perhaps the only scheme ever attempted since the beginning of the world for the organisation of peace.

Consider the implications of Article 8 and you will realise the importance of a Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments, conceived, even on the smallest possible scale, as the first stage so prudently recommended by your Third Committee, which knows that the work of disarmament will not be achieved in a night, but is a continuous onward movement through a series of stages to be covered before the actual goal is reached.

Even within these narrow bounds, Article 8 implies that States will in future be unable to exceed the figures they have accepted in the Convention, save with the consent of the Council of the League.

This means the complete cessation of the race for armaments, which, failing an international Convention, will certainly be resumed—make no mistake about it—as soon as the memories of the war have faded from men's minds and the temptation arises, with improved financial conditions, to employ our principal resources in the work of destruction.

With an international Convention sanctioned by Article 8, the race for armaments becomes an impossibility. Then there is another point. This Convention, I need hardly say—it is clear from my report and from the Third Committee's proposals now before you—can only apply to a limited period, serving as an experimental period with the object, so to speak, of reassuring the States and inducing them to enter upon the second stage, to advance further and with greater boldness than in the first. During the varying periods of time fixed for the execution of the different provisions of the Convention, the States will be bound, should they desire to amend it, to come back and put their case before the international organisation itself. The armaments charter will thus be transferred from the national to the international plane.

But this fact will, I imagine, involve fresh duties for the League. And here I approach a problem to which I am impelled by an elementary sense of loyalty to refer, for it is a problem which I personally raised, or—to be more exact, for France has well weighed her responsibilities—a problem which I raised on behalf of the country I represent, a problem which, I am aware, is giving rise in the Preparatory Commission, and will give rise at the Conference, to serious differences of opinion.

Let me explain. I cannot imagine that any international Convention—I must emphasise this point—the scope of which was laid down in accordance with Article 8 of the Covenant, in the manner I have just indicated, would fail to include provision for a suitable measure of international control. If the States are, in truth, required under

the terms of Article 8 to come before the League for power to alter a Convention to which they have set their names, I fail to see how the League could withhold that power from them until it had determined whether the arguments adduced were sound. I fail to see how, without the power of supervisory control, the League could ascertain—until it had decided upon some sort of procedure for ascertaining the truth—whether the arguments adduced were sound, whether real danger was near at hand, or whether one of the signatories had not, by secret increases of armaments, justified the purpose of the application made by another State in all singleness of mind.

In the course of our discussions, my friend M. de Brouckère outlined a mode of procedure based on Articles 419 and 420 of the Labour clauses in the Peace Treaty. According to this proposal the League could, upon receiving a complaint from any given State, decide to hold an enquiry into the grounds of the complaint. This is neither the time nor the place to go into the details of the proposed procedure. What I am attempting to do is to convince you of the probable results and importance of a Convention on the limitation and reduction of armaments. But, to my mind, the procedure indicated will never work, unless the League assumes—and I, personally, shall be delighted to see it assume—new responsibilities, unless it really undertakes the essential object for which it was created, namely, that, when confronted with the possibility of a threat of war, it should not wait until war has broken out, but should employ its good offices for the restoration of peace, when thus disturbed.

Further, I have based my argument upon the narrowest possible supposition—the supposition that the first Conference may be able to achieve no more than the stabilisation of the *status quo*. Even so, however, the result would be clear: the competition in armaments would be arrested and the League would be under an obligation to deal with threats of war and nip them in the bud. I believe that with this first stage—to judge by the present political situation and the existing condition of security resulting from the Covenant as a whole, vague though it be—I believe, I say, that a measure of reduction is practicable, for certain countries at any rate, provided that we are content to look for reduction only where it is practicable and susceptible of supervision; for I personally am unable to separate the idea of supervision from the idea of an international convention.

Let me explain what I mean by a reduction which is practicable and susceptible of supervision. I admire, I envy those for whom the problem of disarmament is obvious and simple. I envy them because, however great our wish to take our stand upon the international plane, we are still, and in all sincerity, actuated by motives of a national character. In our conception of the international plane we must still be governed by the reflexes to which we are predisposed by a sense of our country's real position.

I realise that disarmament appears simplicity itself to countries which are freed from the haunting fear of invasion by the wide expanse of the seas, by the peaceful course of their history or their geographical situation, remote from the natural roads of invasion. The other countries, those which have a different position on the map or a different history, hope never to repeat the experience of the invasions that, like the ebb and flow of a tide, have ravaged the principal European nations and poisoned the very life of their peoples. If these countries are to come to the Conference with the freedom of mind and loyalty of heart

that are the essential condition for the success of a congress of this kind, they must be certain that the problem has been considered in all its aspects — and not in order to make it yet more complex, but in order to head straight for those points that are susceptible of solution.

We, gentlemen, are not living in times when war is waged with the lives of others, as in the paintings of those old Dutch masters — those artists of the country which we asked to preside over our work for disarmament, because her proud warriors exist now only in her glorious history and in the genius of her painters. War is no longer waged as in the pictures of Van der Meulen, in which fashionably dressed gentlemen look on at the manoeuvres of armies of the strength of a modern division. If that were so, the question of a Disarmament Conference would probably never have arisen. It was the sense of immense suffering forced on public opinion in every country by the size of modern armies that induced the peoples to bring pressure to bear on their statesmen and to ponder the problem in search of a solution. Public opinion is our judge, public opinion will listen to no excuse for unpardonable delay.

To-day the position is changed. Countries now stake the whole of their existence in a war. They throw their entire resources into the scales. In the blood and mire of the trenches the men of three generations from every country stood shoulder to shoulder. Old men and young boys alike entered the fray. To maintain these enormous armies, supplies and raw materials are required, and ships and railways to transport them. Battles that were won of old by the marching power of soldiers are now won by motor-cars and railway trains. Further, there would seem to be a law — though we refuse to accept it as inevitable — whereby even the triumphs of man's genius, things that should be devoted solely to the purposes of life, are immediately usurped for the work of death. There is now not a single chemist working in his laboratory whose discoveries may not be utilised in the event of war. Even those who have, so to speak, endowed man with wings — man who seemed to have been created to walk the earth — have, when all is said and done, simply provided new instruments of destruction. How great, but how infinitely tragic, the gesture with which, but a few years before the war, an aged, white-robed man, with hand uplifted to Heaven, made the sign of benediction on the first aeroplane to fly above the gardens of the Vatican.

Well, since this is so, since in modern warfare a country's real power of aggression lies in the genius of its sons, the number of its railways, its economic products, factories and ships, this potential war strength — a term which it was my good or evil fortune to coin, for it has earned for me much hostility in certain quarters — this potential war strength is a self-evident reality, a reality which cannot be disregarded when we study the problem of disarmament. When, therefore, we regard the question in all its component parts, are we forced in despair to the conclusion that the problem is insoluble? No, never!

The analysis carried out by our technical Commissions signifies two things. It signifies, first, that a Conference on the limitation and reduction of armaments would be impracticable without a League of Nations — a League resolved to achieve its task, a League consisting of nations determined to meet each and every undertaking to which they subscribed in signing the Covenant. The question of potential war strength, the analysis of all the different factors that at the present time go to make up a country's power of aggression, will

assuredly not complicate the problem so greatly as to render it insoluble. On the contrary, they will show that there is only one method of eliminating inequality as regards war resources, thereby enabling the nations to come to the Conference determined to make it a success. That method is to apply Article 16 of the Covenant, and nothing more. Article 16 in itself constitutes a definition of potential war strength. What is this obligation — for an obligation it is — that bids each and every Contracting State withhold all means of aid from the State guilty of aggression, that bids each and every Contracting State place the whole of its resources at the disposal of the State attacked, that requires all States whatsoever, if they are Members of the League, even though in no way engaged in the struggle, to enable the State attacked to obtain all it requires for its defence against the aggressor?

Although the international spirit is still, I am afraid, somewhat weak, because we do not yet quite realise that there is no justification at all for armed forces unless they are intended to be used some day against some State declared by the Court of Arbitration and the Council of the League to be an aggressor; although, too, the Covenant very wisely makes no provision for military, air and naval assistance except in the form of a recommendation, yet an obligation does exist: there is the obligation — and it is a very real one — to make recommendations in the event of a contingency actually arising.

Let it be clearly understood that we are going on as we began, that at each stage of disarmament we shall have to make fresh adjustments to improve the working of the Covenant and, more particularly, to increase the speed with which its provisions can be put into operation.

Yet another lesson emerges. It is the second important point in this analysis, which some have found over-complex, though this complexity and consequent slowness were unavoidable. This very complexity teaches us that if we really desire to arrive at a practical and at any rate partial solution of the problem, we must attack all the elements of it that are capable of settlement. We must try to effect reductions wherever they are obviously needed, in whatever constitutes a permanent feature or can be definitely measured, or in whatever, by good fortune, can be shown to be a most serious menace to peace or to be most likely to prevent the League from playing its proper part.

Public opinion is not deceived. The public, with its common-sense view of things, sees eye to eye with the experts. The armaments we chiefly need to reduce are those which constitute national burdens: I refer to the armaments permanently maintained in peace-time — soldiers in barracks, warships in port or at sea, aeroplanes ready to pounce upon neighbouring countries. It is in connection with this burden of permanent peace-time armaments that the race in armaments exists.

These are the burdens which the public has in mind when it waits with impatience, but with hope, for the conclusion of our work. And it is not wrong, for with its common sense it sees clearly that these are the burdens which are crushing down the peoples, swelling budgets, sapping national vitality, using up labour and raw material for the work of death instead of for the work of life, which is so vital a necessity after all the suffering and death with which the world has been visited. These armaments, too, constitute the gravest danger to peace. Not that I accept the mistaken idea that disarmament is in itself an essential condition of peace. The essential condition of peace is security.

But it is equally certain that insecurity, with the competition in armaments which it entails, creates

a situation that will eventually lead some nation to yield to temptation and fly to arms in an attempt to recover its expenditure and lighten its burdens. By throwing its peace-time forces into a neighbouring country within the space of a few hours there is a very real danger that that nation may forestall the League's action and so render it inoperative.

The Covenant exists. The moral obligations it involves cannot be denied, and neither can its political obligations. When we consider the safeguards it contains, the indispensable conditions it lays down, the rule of unanimity it enjoins, the serious nature of the action necessary to decide the grave question whether a given country shall be adjudged the aggressor, thereby calling down upon itself the reprobation of the whole world — when we consider all this, we cannot but realise that the operation of the Covenant is necessarily slow.

Let us be frank. Let us look facts in the face and so come to a better understanding of them. The *sine qua non*, the essential outcome of any Conference, is this: no nation in the world shall be permanently in a position to attack, whether on land, on sea or in the air, and so prevent the League from taking conciliatory action and carrying out its mission of arbitration and active intervention.

Such is in broad outline — though I apologise sincerely for having spoken at somewhat inordinate length — my own conception of what a Conference on the limitation and reduction of armaments should be, and such, in my view, will be the outcome of its deliberations.

I think a picture such as that which I have delineated, though it may not perhaps be entirely accurate, was necessary, now that you are about to ratify — as I have no doubt you will do — the Third Committee's proposals, now that the hour of the Conference is drawing nigh, so that you may be able to obtain in advance some idea, at any rate, of what its nature will be. So will you see your hopes fulfilled, and you will also be spared disappointment.

Yet we must take heed. The hour is sounding, the time is ripe for us to take the first step, but I still emphasise — and public opinion must be made to realise the fact — that it is no more than a first step.

I repeat, the time is ripe to take this step, now that the League has happily been enlarged by the entry of Germany. It is ripe also because we have created the right moral atmosphere, which only those who were not here can deride. The time is ripe, because certain of the nations which are most deeply concerned in this question have now concluded special agreements defining the essential conditions of security.

We must not let this hour pass unheeded. I am confident that a Convention of some kind, however small its scope, will definitely be concluded to stop the race in armaments. I am sure of this, because I am equally apprehensive that, but for such a Convention, we shall quickly see the resumption of that race in armaments which has so grievously afflicted both Europe and the generation to which we belong, and which was once the nightmare of a whole continent for nearly fifty years.

When we have obtained fresh resources through the financial recovery for which we are striving, and towards which the Economic Conference will afford so valuable a contribution; when the vision of war, which still remains to blind even the closed eyes of those who have once seen it, begins to fade; when our generation has been succeeded by a generation which has never experienced war, then the horrors of the battlefield

will be no longer even a memory, and all that will be known of war will be its beauty and its heroism, recorded on the page of history and by the hand of art.

In conclusion, then, I repeat: the hour which is sounding to-day would have sounded in vain had we not firmly resolved to follow the way which has been opened to us, and we should see once again that which all of us here, I am firmly convinced, never wish to see again.

The President

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

M. Villegas (Chile):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of Chile I give my full support to the report before you and to the resolution submitted to the Assembly. I should be very glad to see the preparatory work for the Disarmament Conference hastened on, so that our hope that the Conference may meet before the next session of the Assembly may be realised.

We do not wish this because the question of the reduction of armaments is of direct or urgent importance to my country. It has often been said from this platform that the problem has not for us either the same aspects or the same acuteness as it has for Europe, and that we are not threatened with the perils of armed peace, since our armaments are not even sufficient for our own national security. The only question, therefore, that affects Chile and the other countries of our continent is the prevention of any possible race in armaments.

These different standards, due to the political, economic and geographical conditions of our country, which are so unlike those of Europe, point to the need for regional agreements as the medium for the solution of our own particular problems; this, indeed, was pointed out in the Preparatory Commission alike by the representatives of the Argentine, Brazil and Chile.

It would be quite wrong to suppose that these characteristics in any way lessen our interest in the solution of the general problem of disarmament, which is an indispensable condition for the maintenance of peace. Materially, the last war proved to us that an armed conflict brings disastrous consequences even to the most distant countries. Morally, the only reason for our presence here and for our sincere adherence to the League of Nations is our fervent desire to collaborate in the organisation of world peace.

My country has already given proof of this desire; in America, by submitting to arbitration all its international problems that have arisen in the last quarter of a century; here, by its co-operation in all the steps taken in the cause of peace, by its signature of the Protocol of 1924, and by its constant efforts to promote the universality of the League, for Chile is convinced that the increase of the League's power constitutes a guarantee for the future of international relations, of which it is the safeguard and should become the ideal embodiment.

During this seventh ordinary session of the Assembly the League has made an important step forward towards universality. Chile welcomed with enthusiasm the admission of Germany, which had been awaited so long, and she has no doubt of the happy and beneficent consequences of this event. We are also watching attentively and, I venture to say, with optimism, the collaboration of the United States of America in the work of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament.

Though we harbour no illusions as to the complete co-operation of the United States of America in the League's work in the near future, we hope that a satisfactory solution will be found in respect of the reservations attaching to her signature of the Statute of the Court. The year 1926 will then have been marked by two events of outstanding importance — the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations and the admission of the United States of America to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

We welcome with great satisfaction the increasing co-operation of the Argentine Republic with the League, for we attach great value to the assistance of this great nation, which is both a sister and a friend. At the International Labour Office, on its Governing Body, on the Preparatory Commission, and on the important Committee on the reorganisation of the Council, everywhere the Argentine has given evidence of its enlightened collaboration and the high qualifications of its representatives. All this encourages the hope that, when constitutional difficulties have been overcome, the Argentine will take the place belonging to a country which is one of the most progressive of our continent.

These happy events and hopes are, it is true, darkened by one poignant regret. No one can hide the loss we have sustained through the absence of two countries which have afforded us their generous and loyal collaboration since the birth of our institution. We deplore the absence of Spain, a European Power bound to us by ties of blood, culture and sincere affection. We dare to hope, so great is our desire, that she will once again take her seat among us.

My country has special reasons for giving particular expression on this occasion to the regret we feel at Brazil's decision. We respect her motives, but we are deprived of the valued collaboration of a great sister nation of our continent, united to my own country by a friendship that, throughout our history, has never failed.

I trust the Assembly will forgive me if I take this opportunity to express the very sincere wish of the Chilean delegation that the Council will be able to find means — in supervising the general interests of the League, and at a suitable moment — to satisfy Brazil's needs and enable her to resume her place in the League.

Chile, which is loyally attached to the ideals of the League and its work of peace, and has always fervently desired its universality, will feel profound joy when all the sister nations which are not represented or which have left us return and work with us again.

The President :

Translation : M. Cornène, delegate of Roumania, will address the Assembly.

M. Cornène (Roumania) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The work already done by the experts of Sub-Committee A of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, on which I have the honour to represent my country, constitutes a remarkable achievement. I might even say that the whole of military science has been passed in review, that every theory, every doctrine has been examined.

As the result of approximately one hundred and fifty meetings, an enormous wealth of knowledge has been acquired. Never, I believe, has a more scientific study been undertaken, with

a view to attaining our ultimate object, than the one the results of which will shortly be submitted to you.

I feel deeply distressed, therefore, when I hear criticisms levelled against this Sub-Committee or detect a sceptical and superior smile on the lips of many. We hear on every side that we are not progressing as quickly as we should.

Just imagine: for ten, for twenty thousand years, ever since the first ape-man made war on the second ape-man, who came to rob him of his prey, man has made war on man. We have behind us centuries upon centuries of what may be called the "increasing momentum" of war, ruin, death and suffering — and we expect in the course of a few weeks to find a solution for a problem of such vast dimensions! That cannot be.

Does this mean that we are authorised by the very immensity and complexity of the task before us to stand idle, to sign an open confession of failure? Do not misunderstand me.

No, gentlemen. When we signed the Covenant of the League, after those hours of terror through which we lived, we entered into solemn undertakings towards our own nations, towards our dead, towards our children. The nations are crying out for peace, they are waiting only for peace, and they realise that there can be no peace unless the first step, at all events, is taken to bring about disarmament.

Complete disarmament? No. They know that for generations yet this cannot come to pass; but they realise that something at least can and must be done. What that something is we must endeavour to determine in the Preparatory Commission. A vague, nebulous, faint and fugitive possibility is emerging to-day from the shadows, is assuming a definite outline and beginning to take shape, and soon, we are convinced, we shall be able to place it before you, tentatively, perhaps, but with the certainty that we have done all that mere human effort could achieve, and, as M. Paul-Boncour said just now, we have accomplished one stage in the onward movement.

This exhaustive work, the fruit of deep reflection and days of laborious endeavour on the part of indefatigable enthusiasts and idealists, will soon be in your hands. It constitutes a tangible, an incontestable achievement.

Away then with this paralysing scepticism! Away with this feverish impatience, this anxiety for haste even at the expense of thoroughness!

I venture to think that it would be wiser, as indeed the Roumanian delegation suggested in the Third Committee, to give no undertaking to finish our work by a definite date.

We know from experience that Conferences prepared with undue haste invariably end in failure. Failure may be permissible in any other matter, but failure in the matter of disarmament might have effects so tremendous as to jeopardise the very future of this great institution. We dare not run such a risk. We have no right to do so. Let us pursue our work unwearyingly, concentrating on the glorious ideal before us and inspired by our common belief in and devotion to the cause of peace.

The President :

Translation : The discussion on the report of the Third Committee will be continued to-morrow at 5 p.m.

The Assembly rose at 12.55 p.m.

FIFTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Friday, September 24th, 1926, at 5 p.m.

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54. — GIFT OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO THE LIBRARY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS : INTERNATIONAL INCIDENT IN CHINA.

The President :

Translation : M. Chao-Hsin Chu, first delegate of China, will make a declaration to the Assembly.

M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Acting under instructions received from Peking, and in the name of the Chinese delegation, I make the following declaration to the Assembly.

In the first place, I have pleasure in declaring that, on my recommendation and in conformity with the statement I made last May in the Committee on the Composition of the Council, the Chinese Government will present to the Library of the League of Nations a complete set of the Chinese Encyclopædia as soon as its reprinting is finished. We Chinese claim that this Encyclopædia is the largest of its kind in the world, and we are making this appropriate gift to the League for the purpose of international intellectual co-operation.

In the second place, I desire to state the facts with regard to an international incident which has just occurred in my country. According to the information received by the Chinese delegation, those facts can be summarised as follows.

On July 8th, August 2nd and 29th, several British merchant ships sailing under the names of *Tyenkong*, *Wanliu*, *Chaili*, sailed up the Yangtse at full speed. A number of native wooden ships and small boats were wrecked by these British merchant ships and over one hundred passengers, military officers and soldiers were drowned; goods and silver were also lost. When the Chinese authorities sent soldiers to make enquiry on board these British merchant ships, they were interfered with by a British cruiser which happened to be on the spot. Moreover, the British cruiser threatened the villagers on both shores of the river with the points of its cannons. The Chinese authorities were obliged to detain the British merchant ships and took up the matter with the British Consul in Chungking.

Unfortunately, before this case was settled, a much more serious incident occurred. It was reported that a British gunboat arrived at Wanh sien on September 5th and opened fire on the gendarmerie in the town, killing over a hundred of them. Following this, other British cruisers used their big guns to bombard the town of Wanh sien. Over one thousand houses were destroyed and thousands of civilian lives were lost as the result of the bombardment. The Chinese soldiers were obliged to return the fire in self-defence.

My Government has also informed the Chinese delegation that instructions have been given to the local authorities to settle the matter peacefully if possible. Since this is such an extraordinarily serious incident of international importance which, if developed, would endanger the peace of the Far East, the Chinese delegation is instructed to make known these facts to the Assembly as a matter of record.

The President :

Translation : Viscount Cecil, delegate of the British Empire, will address the meeting.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have heard with some astonishment the statement which the Chinese delegate has thought it right to make from this tribune. He did not give me or my Government any kind of notice or intimation that he was going to raise this matter, or was going to make any such statement to the Assembly. I cannot but regret that this very strange method of procedure prevents me from replying in any detailed way to his remarks. I happen, however, to know sufficient about the facts, as reported to the British Government, to say at once that we do not in any way agree with the statement that the Chinese delegate has made, and that our view of the incident is entirely different from that which he has laid before the Assembly.

I am able to agree that the matter is the subject of negotiation in China, and it is to be hoped that a peaceful and friendly settlement will be reached. I cannot pretend to think that such a statement as that just made by the Chinese delegate is in any way likely to assist in obtaining a peaceful and friendly settlement of the question.

The President :

Translation : It is impossible to open a discussion on a question which is not on the agenda. I therefore close the present discussion.

55. — **WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE : CONCLUSION OF THE DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION**

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the continuation of the discussion of the report of the Third Committee regarding the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

(On the invitation of the President, M. Paul-Boncour, Rapporteur of the Third Committee, took his place on the platform.)

M. Quezada (Chile) :

Translation : Mr. President — M. Villegas, Chairman of the Third Committee, cannot be present at the meeting, as he has been obliged to leave Geneva. He therefore begs you to excuse him.

The President : Viscount Cecil, delegate of the British Empire, will address the meeting.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — We were privileged yesterday to hear a very remarkable speech by M. Paul-Boncour on the subject of disarmament. It was a speech such as we have become accustomed to expect from that speaker; that is to say, it was a finished and admirable oration, setting forth with great force the point of view which he holds.

Broadly speaking, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that I am in full agreement with what our Rapporteur has said. I could not help feeling that there were two of his auditors who must have heard that speech with great satisfaction. One was M. de Jouvenel and the other myself. Some three or four years have passed since we were able to arrive at an agreement, which was sanctioned by this Assembly, on certain broad principles, upon which it might be hoped successfully to base a policy of disarmament, and it is certainly a very great satisfaction to know that those broad principles, adhered to by M. Paul-Boncour, are now regarded as fundamental to any policy of disarmament which can hope to secure the approval of the nations.

It is now generally admitted that the limitation and reduction of armaments, as M. Paul-Boncour very properly preferred to put it, must go hand in hand with security; that disarmament, if it is to be effective, must be general, that security may be reached either regionally or by general agreement and that, as our Rapporteur very truly said, many advantages would accrue if only a general scheme of security could be attained. All those considerations have become the commonplaces of the question, and I cannot help hoping that other matters, which at present are to some extent controversial, will also become matters on which general agreement may be assumed.

M. Paul-Boncour mentioned a matter which has been a subject of great discussion, both inside and outside the League, namely, the question of what is called a "potentiel de guerre". I have always believed that there is no substantial difference of opinion on that question and that very soon the controversy will be wholly historical. So it is, I hope, with other questions. M. Paul-Boncour referred to the question of control, a matter about which I am not very perturbed. I believe very strongly that when we reach an agreement on the broad general question of disarmament, such differences of opinion as may still exist on the question of control will, as it were, automatically disappear.

Let me tell you a story that is current in my country. If two men have a question between them concerning which they are in agreement on ninety-nine points out of a hundred, while they disagree on one point, it is said that if they are Scotch they will talk only about the one point, that if they are Irish they will talk only about the ninety-nine points on which they are agreed, and if they are English they will avoid the subject altogether. I do not know whether that is a true appreciation of the national characteristics of the peoples that dwell in the British Isles, but I do know that the procedure attributed to the English in that story has a great many advantages to recommend it, since, if the parties are agreed on ninety-nine points out of one hundred they will usually find that if they do not discuss unduly the one point on which they were disagreed, the progress of events will show that the importance of that point has been very much exaggerated. I venture to hope that, in connection with the question of control, we shall find that general maxim of human controversy to be as true as it is in other cases.

I welcome the immense progress which the problem before us has made, — progress which was demonstrated not only by the speech of M. Paul-Boncour itself, but by the underlying assumptions on which it was based — because I have always held, and I have ventured to express that opinion more than once from this tribune, that the question of disarmament is absolutely vital to the League of Nations. It is what our American friend called the

acid test of the whole procedure and conception on which the League rests. It must succeed. We cannot even contemplate the possible failure of this movement.

I say this not only because of the manifest danger which threatens peace so long as armaments continue to exist on a war scale in the various countries, the continual threat of aggression which they must represent, not only because the maintenance of these armaments is a tremendous strain on the finances and on the prosperity of every country, but even more because of their psychological effect on the nations of the world. So long as these armaments exist, so long as you are to conduct your public affairs with the substratum, the underlying understanding that sooner or later war may come upon you, so long as that is your condition, the cause of peace has immense difficulties with which to contend. The whole education of the people must be coloured by that fact. The people must be continually reminded of the sacrifice which they may be called upon to make. They must continually be trained to contemplate war as a duty and as an end which may at any moment be forced upon them by their love of their country. The whole education, the whole psychology, the whole training of the people will be coloured by this conception, and therefore, until you can really cut at its roots, until you can remove this conception, until you can divert the minds of the people from war and battles and armies and direct them towards peace, prosperity and industry, so long will the danger to peace continue and so long will the work of this League be hampered and impeded.

I say, therefore, that we must succeed. And what is the condition of success? The condition of success is this: that the Conference on Disarmament shall only take place, the countries shall only be summoned to it when full and complete preparation for it has been made. I believe it to be a maxim, with scarcely any exception, that international conferences succeed in direct proportion to the completeness of the preparation which has been made beforehand for their work. That is the reason which makes preparation so vital. Unless it is complete, success will be far more difficult; indeed, it may be impossible. There are some people who say: "Call your Conference immediately. Let it begin now. Let the nations begin to discuss disarmament straight away". I believe that no counsel is more fatal for the success of disarmament than that. I have always been a strenuous supporter of the full preparation for that Conference.

I welcome the great zeal, the great energy, the great skill, the great knowledge that have been displayed in the technical Commission which has been considering this matter. I noticed that one of the speakers yesterday suggested that the merits of those technicians had not been adequately acknowledged. That idea would certainly be very remote from any thought of mine. I believe, on the contrary, that they have done admirable work, and that they have shown a zeal and a devotion to the cause which is worthy of the highest appreciation and commendation.

In this great matter, however, the questions which in the end will really determine the failure or success of the Conference are not only the technical military, naval and air questions, or even the technical economic questions, but the broad political question which underlies the whole problem. What is that question? It is simple enough. What, broadly speaking, is to be the attribution, the allocation, of armaments to the various nations? What proportion is each nation to be content to accept as sufficient to meet its own

essential interests? That is primarily a political question — that is to say, it is a question which goes to the very root of the existence of each State, to the very foundation on which the whole political system of Europe, and indeed of the world, is built.

This is the question on which the Governments of the various countries will have ultimately to give a lead and take a decision, and no one who is not blind can fail to see the enormous responsibility and difficulty which will rest upon the Governments when they have to take that decision. It means that they have to take upon themselves to say: "What armaments can we accept? What armaments can we put forward? How low can we strike the balance of armaments between ourselves and our neighbours consistently with the safety of the country and the great trust which has been placed upon us by the populations which we represent?" That will be a tremendous decision to take. But I personally do not doubt that, difficult as such a decision must necessarily be, the solution of the problem is perfectly possible, perfectly easy, in a way, provided that the peoples of the world are really willing and are really in earnest in the pursuit of disarmament, provided that they really recognise that this is the great political change of the future, the great international political change on which the whole peace of the world may ultimately depend.

The question then arises: "Are the peoples in earnest? Are the Governments which represent them really in earnest?" I know that everybody is in favour of disarmament — as long as it is confined to all the nations except the one to which the speaker belongs! It is said in my country — this is a very well-known story, and I apologise to my fellow-countrymen for repeating it — that a body of elderly judges once met to draw up the terms of an address of congratulation to their sovereign. The draft of the address began as follows: "Conscious as we are of our own infirmities", whereupon objections came from several different parts of the room, and one of the judges suggested a small change in the drafting which satisfied everybody. He said, "We had better begin 'Conscious as we are of one another's infirmities'". That is the attitude which, perhaps, in some cases is too often assumed with regard to disarmament. We are all conscious of the danger of other people's armaments. Yet, in spite of this, I am convinced myself that there is a profound desire for disarmament amongst the people. I am convinced not only that M. Paul-Boncour was sincere, as he obviously was, in his speech yesterday on this subject, not only that his Government is sincere, which I do not doubt, but that, broadly speaking, all the Governments meeting together in the Preparatory Commission are equally sincere.

To my mind, it is a great achievement on the part of the Preparatory Commission — even if it accomplishes nothing else it would be a great achievement — to make it clear to any impartial observer that the countries represented on the Commission really do desire disarmament, whatever may be the opinion of individuals, and no one can look into the individual mind. The members of the Commission came to Geneva conscious that they dared not, in the face of their people, say anything except that they were in favour of disarmament and ready to take all reasonable measures to effect it. I believe that this has already been accomplished, but there remains, as I have said, the great problem of the figure for disarmament, and I am quite confident that the Disarmament Conference will meet in vain unless the most careful preparation has been made in order to promote the possibility of success as regards that point.

That is why I confess to having had some doubts as to whether the Third Committee was really right in trying to fix even a remote date for the meeting of the Conference. I myself would do nothing which could possibly indicate to those entrusted with the preparatory work that they would be justified in accepting anything less than complete results for their work. It is vital that their work should be complete, and though I earnestly hope that the Conference may meet at the earliest possible date — and I should rejoice as much as anyone here if it were possible for it to meet before the next Assembly — I, personally, would far rather postpone it for six months or even for twelve months if by so doing we could secure a more complete preparation, and greater prospects of ultimate success. I am convinced that a meeting of the Conference which failed to achieve any result would be the greatest possible disaster to the cause of peace since the foundation of the League of Nations.

I do not doubt that this is a difficult matter. I do not doubt that the preparatory work will call for courage, insight and prudence, that it will call for courage also from the Governments concerned. I know that this work is going to be a great test for all Governments and all peoples, but I believe that they can accomplish it; but they can only accomplish it if the Governments feel that they have behind them the convinced support of public opinion in their respective countries and the public opinion of the world. This seems to me to be almost the most important step that any of us can take during the coming months. We must spare no effort to bring to bear behind this great cause the public opinion of our own country. A great responsibility rests upon all of us who are here as delegates. We shall be looked to by our people to tell them what it is that is really essential for the peace of the world and of Europe, and the attitude of the populations who are looking to us for guidance will depend very largely upon the conviction and the vigour of our answer in this matter.

I will venture to add one more word. It is not on us only that the responsibility rests; perhaps it rests still more on the gentlemen and ladies of the Press. They have here a great responsibility, as they always have. I know that it is dull to say that things are going well, that, on the whole, the cause of disarmament is advancing smoothly and peacefully, that it is much more amusing and much more readable to write some interesting story of combinations and intrigues and desires for domination and duplicity displayed by various individuals and countries.

I read only the other day a most interesting and vivid account of some transaction in which my country and another were engaged, in which we were held up as desiring to obtain some obscure domination for ourselves and some equally obscure destruction for others. The story, I need not say, was totally and absolutely destitute of foundation. It made, I dare say, good reading, but I doubt whether it served the cause of peace. I know it must be difficult, very difficult even, for the most conscientious writer not to say sometimes what he, no doubt, genuinely thinks about the conduct of foreign nations and foreign statesmen; but I beg you in this case to remember the vast issues and the vast moment of the question which we are discussing.

There are enormous difficulties in our way — difficulties of prejudice, difficulties of tradition, difficulties of fear, difficulties of long-ingrained opinion and education. We are trying to do something which has never yet been successfully accomplished. We are trying to do something

without which peace can never be secured. This is a tremendously difficult task. We have, indeed, two great assets in the righteousness of our cause and in the fundamental and convinced, yea, the passionate support of the populations of the world. They desire disarmament, whatever other people, their rulers or other guides, may think. I venture to ask the Press to make clear beyond dispute the righteousness of our cause and to make the support of the people so vocal that no Government, however timid or however unwilling, can fail to carry out to the best of its power this great, this vital cause for peace, for prosperity and for happiness.

The President :

Translation : Dr. von Schubert, delegate of Germany, will address the Assembly.

Dr. von Schubert (Germany) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — You will hardly expect me, at the end of a long session, to rehearse in full the question of the reduction of armaments, or Germany's attitude towards it.

The German point of view, which is in keeping with the interests of the League, is, moreover, a matter of common knowledge. Even before her entry into the League, Germany eagerly welcomed the opportunity of assisting in the work of the Preparatory Commission. Her representatives on that Commission and on the Sub-Commissions have co-operated actively in framing the various draft replies to the questionnaire prepared by the Council. You are familiar with the differences of opinion manifested in this connection. They are sufficiently clear from the Minutes, as are the difficulties arising out of every attempt to find a common formula. Throughout the course of the proceedings, the German representatives have kept the general interest before them. They believe that, in the present circumstances, the reduction of armaments must be regarded as the supreme task of the League, and that, in seeking to accomplish that task, the League is working not only for its own consolidation but also for the benefit of all mankind.

It would be easy to pass in review the various obstacles that have arisen or that may yet arise to prevent the conclusion of any agreement for general disarmament worthy of the name, and we might readily formulate definite criticisms or express our disappointment in regard to certain points. The meetings of the Preparatory Commission will afford our delegates an opportunity of discussing all these questions in detail. The only things that matter here and now in this Assembly are the principles to be applied and the aim to be pursued.

M. Paul-Boncour, yesterday, in an eloquent speech, stated clearly the principles upon which any attempt at disarmament must be based. He referred to Article 8 of the Covenant. These principles, as the French delegate pointed out, are also to be found in the Preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles.

Special limitations, he said, had been imposed on certain nations, but only as a preliminary to the general reduction of armaments that is to follow.

As regards the object of our endeavours, we are all assuredly agreed that we wish to put an end to the insecurity to which the different countries are exposed as the result not only of the race in armaments, but of the inequality of armaments, as it exists at present.

It was stated, however — merely, it is true, as a supposition and in order to avoid possible disappointment — that an international convention for the reduction of armaments would in itself constitute a considerable advance, even if it amounted merely to the fixing and acceptance of the *status quo*.

We too feel that it is essential to proceed by easy stages, but we consider that the fixing of the *status quo* cannot be regarded as a genuine advance, for we contend that the preparatory work should be directed from this moment towards the final object, which is to reduce the existing disproportion between the armaments of the States Members of the League and thereby fit the League more perfectly for the accomplishment of its mission.

No one can fail to be aware of the enormous difficulties which still obstruct the realisation of any general plan for the reduction of armaments. No one can be blind to the political and technical obstacles that must still be overcome.

The German delegation does not in any way overlook realities to be taken into account in a matter so delicate as that now before the Assembly. We realise that nothing but perfect loyalty and that desire for mutual understanding of which the Assembly, at this session, has given such conspicuous proof, can serve to clear the path which leads to our common ideal.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will read the draft resolution submitted by the Third Committee :

The Assembly takes note of the report submitted to it by the Secretariat and the very full information furnished to the Third Committee by the President of the Preparatory Commission on the work of that Commission, its technical Sub-Commissions A and B, and the Joint Commission.

It expresses its complete satisfaction with the work performed and thanks those who have contributed to it.

Being desirous that the investigations, in regard to which the Assembly itself took the initiative in its resolution of September 25th, 1925, should be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, it requests the Council to call upon the Preparatory Commission to take steps to hasten the completion of the technical work and thus be able to draw up, at the beginning of next year, the programme for a Conference on the limitation and reduction of armaments corresponding to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security, and it asks the Council to convene this Conference before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, unless material difficulties render this impossible.

If no one else wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolution as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

56. — WORK OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : We will now pass to Item 3 of the agenda : Report by the Second Committee on the Work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (Annex 9. Document A.80.1926. XII).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Munch, Rapporteur, and Mr. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Second Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. Munch (Denmark), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — You have before you the report of the Second Committee. I need not therefore read it, but will confine myself to emphasising the most important points.

When the Assembly, during its second ordinary session, on the proposal of M. Léon Bourgeois, passed a resolution creating the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, there were sceptics who doubted whether it would be possible to achieve anything in this direction within the organisation of the League.

The necessity was recognised, it is true, of reviving the intellectual co-operation which had come into being prior to 1914 and which was interrupted by the war. It was not quite clear, however, how the League could succeed in organising intellectual co-operation.

Nevertheless, the Committee was instituted, and eminent savants from various countries were appointed to serve on it. No member of this Assembly will, I am sure, fail to agree that the Committee has accomplished a most important work. It has facilitated the resumption of relations between savants in former enemy countries. It has even set up new organisations and promoted intellectual contact in directions not thought of before the war. Every year its work has grown and become more concrete. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is now a permanent organisation, and its work constitutes a most important part of the League's activities.

The Second Committee was gratified to note that during the past year the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has again made very considerable progress.

It has not only continued and carried further the work already undertaken before the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, but has also begun valuable new work.

The scheme for the establishment of the International Institute in Paris, which was under discussion last year, has since been put into effect, and all doubts as to its character and utility are now dispelled. The Second Committee was unanimous in recognising the impartial character of the Institute from the very outset. It was happy to note that the Institute, by its collaboration with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and with the Secretariat, has already been of great assistance in further defining and widening the basis of this particular work.

The Second Committee expressed its grateful thanks to the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments, which have offered subsidies to support the Institute so generously established by France. It urges the other States to follow this example if possible.

The Committee noted with satisfaction that there has been a rapid increase in the number of National Committees, whose activities are proceeding in a most satisfactory manner. It also noted that international meetings have been held between the Directors of the National University Information Bureaux and between representatives of International Student Associations.

Three Governments represented on the Committee have offered the hospitality of their countries to international conferences on this work. Roumania and Switzerland have both extended offers of hospitality to the International Conference on the Popular Arts. Great Britain

has offered to make arrangements for a Conference of Teachers to study the best means of instructing young people in the organisation and objects of the League and inculcating the spirit of international co-operation.

This latter question was raised at the last ordinary session of the Assembly, and during the past year the first steps were taken to find a practical solution. One of the chief results of the year's work is the creation of a Sub-Committee of experts, which has already formulated two series of proposals and suggestions: these, as you have no doubt seen, are to be found among the documents submitted to the Assembly and communicated to the Governments of the States Members of the League.

Nearly all the speakers in the Second Committee showed special interest in the education of young people in the ideals of international co-operation. This interest is, in my opinion, fully justified, for the future of the League depends upon the evolution of the minds of the coming generation. The present generation, which began its work during the progressive period preceding the Great War and upon whose minds the horrors of war have been vividly impressed, resumed its task of international co-operation after a period of transition, after the passions of war had subsided, and so was able to resume the work already begun. The men who lived through the war have made a beginning with the new world organisation which is to ensure a happier future for the coming generations. But that organisation will collapse unless the generation into whose hands it will pass a few years hence understands how to employ it.

Our chief task must therefore be to win over the young to the cause of peace, peace between the different nations and peace between the different classes, and to make them realise the necessity of international co-operation on a basis of peace and justice. It thus becomes imperative that they should be instructed in the objects and organisation of the League.

But, while engaged in organising such instruction and in carrying on a vigorous propaganda, we must never lose sight of the fact that the coming generation, which never knew pre-war conditions and will soon have but a vague idea of the horrors of the Great War, will judge us mainly by our actions. Its respect for and interest in the League will depend primarily on the League's activities. If we can make real progress towards the attainment of our object, if we can bring about moral disarmament, effect a radical reduction in armaments and promote economic co-operation between the different countries and classes, then the younger generation will assuredly be converted to our cause.

The Second Committee, having examined the reports on the work of the League's organs in this field, recommends that the Assembly should express its satisfaction at the progress achieved by passing the resolution submitted to it.

The President :

Translation : Dame Edith Lyttelton, delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am not going to keep you more than a few moments, but I wish to say a few words about the work of the Sub-Committee of Experts mentioned in the report which you have just heard.

I believe, as we all must, that the future of the world depends upon the babies. To-day, as I walk in the park and see the children playing on the grass

or sitting in the perambulators with that curious unconsciousness which is one of their greatest charms, I say to myself, "Here is the new barbarian race coming to the gates of Rome", or, to use Ibsen's phrase, "Here are the people who are knocking at the door". The question is: When they open that door, what are they going to find? I feel that it is not enough to make the world a better place; we have also to make the children understand what the League of Nations is trying to do.

The problem of the method to be adopted in order to teach the children about the League of Nations is difficult. It is not easy to make the League of Nations an exciting subject. It is not easy to use the League for propaganda purposes. Someone has told me that they were looking through a series of pamphlets issued by some organisation — I do not know what the organisation was — which was trying to do propaganda work for the League of Nations. One of the pamphlets bore on the back of it two pictures. The first picture showed a number of glorious young men leaping over a trench, guns in their hands and bombs bursting all around them, and on the top was written "The Old Way". The second picture showed a number of gentlemen just like yourselves sitting round a table talking, and on the top of this was written "The New Way". I do not think that anybody can say that that is very good propaganda, and, of course, it was dismissed at once. I only tell the story with a view to showing how difficult it is to put the ideas of the League of Nations into a shape that children can understand.

I am not one of those who believe that you can teach internationalism without teaching nationalism. It is necessary to give children first of all a pride in their home and their nation and after that a pride in the part which their nation can play in world affairs. The child spirit pours itself into a multitude of moulds, and it is vital that none of those moulds should be broken, but that all of them should contribute to the beauty and richness of the human race. The child must be made to take a pride and glory in its own nation, and it is very difficult to teach children that pride and that glory unless you deal with the question of battles and fighting. It is inevitable also that we should make them proud of the heroisms which have characterised their past history and the sacrifices which have been endured. We have then, I think, to take a different attitude, not to gloss over the brutalities and horrors and cruelties of the past, but to let the children understand that past history contains a great deal which should be done away with now and that in the future it is necessary to build in a different spirit.

We are not very far forward with our history yet. Every nation has to look back upon a history stained with blood. The roots of every nation are fixed in a past which is full of the worst sides of human nature as well as of the best. Of course, we have all the glory of thought and all the power of idealism to teach and inspire us. It seems to me that the world is governed by thought and ideas. That is why the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has, I think, found the right line to take when it deals with the teaching of children and young persons. If anybody is in doubt as to the method by which this is to be done, let me recommend a study of the report of the Sub-Committee of Experts on this matter. That Sub-Committee has translated into practical details the wish which we all share that the children should be made to understand towards what future the world is moving.

The series of recommendations which the Sub-Committee has drawn up is full of common sense

and full of possibilities for good. I should like to mention two or three things — without entering into details. There is, first, the suggestion that teachers should be helped to inculcate a new spirit, and I would like to say that my own Government is making a reference to this matter in the new edition of a book of suggestions for teachers. It is also suggested that national Conferences be called to deal with the subject, and my Government proposes to convene a Conference of local education authorities to deal with the matter.

But our aim is not only to obtain a new attitude in the schools, but a new attitude in the homes. If we must draw pictures for children, let us show them the horrors of the past as well as the possibilities of the future. Let the first picture for propaganda purposes to which I have referred show, not young men leaping over trenches, but what happens to those men after they have left the trenches; let us show the horrors and cruelties of the old way, and, as for the new way, let us depict a future with young men and young women walking arm-in-arm in the freedom of fellowship, and about to climb the mountains that even now we see are gilded at the top with the new dawn. To get at the children is to get at the future.

I commend to you the report of the Sub-Committee.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions of the Second Committee, which read as follows :

The Assembly approves the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, as at present constituted — with the International Committee and its Sub-Committees, the National Committees and the International Institute. It considers that this organisation now provides a mechanism capable of strengthening the intellectual relations between nations and of improving the conditions of intellectual work in the world. It notes with satisfaction the assurance given by the Governing Body of the International Institute to the effect that that institution is so conducted as to ensure perfect equality of treatment between all nations. It draws the attention of all the Members of the Assembly to the felicitous step taken by Poland and by Czechoslovakia, which, following France's generous action, have granted a subsidy to the International Institute.

Further, the Assembly wishes to emphasise the practical character and the expediency of the plans for international intellectual co-operation which the Committee and the Institute are, at the present moment, proceeding to carry out. It lays particular stress on the importance of the following plans — the convening of a congress of popular art, the creation of an international museums office, the union of libraries of all countries in order to facilitate research by the public; the co-ordination, by means of international collaboration, of the analytical bibliographies of the various sciences.

The Assembly, having considered in its Second Committee the report of the Sub-Committee of Experts on the instruction of children and youth in the aims and objects of the League of Nations, urges the Governments of the States Members of the League to give this report their sympathetic consideration and to take the measures necessary to give effect to all or any of its recommendations which may be found suitable for adoption in their respective countries.

The Assembly invites the various States to consider, and asks the competent institutions to examine, the possibility of establishing scholar-

ships for university students, whereby they would be enabled to visit Geneva both before and during the annual Assemblies, in order to obtain firsthand knowledge of the work of the League of Nations. The resolutions were adopted.

57. — FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Second Committee on the Financial Reconstruction of Hungary. (Annex 10. Document A. 81. 1926. II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Suvich, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform by the side of the Chairman of the Second Committee.)

The President :

Translation : M. Suvich, delegate of Italy and Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Suvich (Italy), Rapporteur :

Translation : The report of the Second Committee on the financial reconstruction of Hungary has been distributed, so I shall confine myself to a summary.

Two years have passed since the coming into force of the scheme for the financial reconstruction of Hungary. The Assembly is now asked to agree that the supervision exercised by the High Commissioner should come to an end. During these two years the scheme has been put into effect in accordance with the programme and has succeeded beyond all expectations. This is proved by the fact that it has been possible to utilise for productive investments the greater part of the loan which was raised to meet the deficit in the budget.

The scheme of reconstruction included : an international loan secured by certain State revenues ; the creation of a Central Bank of Issue enjoying the monopoly of issue ; the fixing for twenty years of the reparations payments at an average rate of 10 million gold crowns per annum ; the establishment of a Committee of Control appointed by the Reparation Commission ; the appointment of a Commissioner-General to supervise the execution of the whole programme and control the use of the loan ; administrative reforms.

Actual facts have proved that the scheme was wonderfully well conceived. By good fortune its execution was entrusted to Mr. Jeremiah Smith, a man who possessed all the qualifications necessary to ensure its execution, and he has devoted himself to this work with genuine enthusiasm and an extraordinary tact and sense of proportion.

There has been no deficit in the budget since 1924. The loan, although assigned to a large extent for works of a permanent and productive character, still shows an available surplus.

The secured revenue is to-day nearly eight times in excess of the annual sum required for the service of the loan.

Economic conditions in Hungary are vastly improved. Agricultural production is again approximating to the pre-war level and, in the case of certain crops, even exceeds it. The adverse trade balance is also steadily decreasing.

One point to which I desire to direct your special attention concerns commercial treaties. During the past year two new treaties have come into force, one with Austria and a provisional agreement with Czechoslovakia.

In the circumstances which I have briefly outlined, and which are set out at length in my report, Hungary has been able to embark upon the most important reform, that of her currency. The fact that the paper crown, the currency previously in circulation, had been stable for a fairly long period constituted the necessary basis for the complete conversion and reform of the monetary system. This stability of the currency is confirmed by an examination of the wholesale and retail index numbers, which have not risen since 1924, but, on the contrary, have shown a downward tendency. During the same period the increase in the deposits in savings banks and other banks has continued.

This reform has undoubtedly been made possible solely by the success of the scheme for the reconstruction of Hungary and by the resulting economic recovery of the country.

It is generally admitted that there can be no question of the stabilisation or conversion of the currency until two essential conditions have been fulfilled, these being the balancing of the budget and the approximate establishment of equilibrium in the balance of payments.

The other circumstances, such as the amount of currency in circulation, the proportion of reserves, etc., are of importance rather in determining the relation to be fixed between the old and the new forms of currency.

As regards the Hungarian budget, the deficit, as already stated, had disappeared in the accounts for the year ending June 30th, 1924. The balance of payments, judging by the principal factor, that is to say, the trade balance, is approximately even. The policy of inflation had already been brought to an end by the creation of a National Bank of Issue independent of the State and governed by a Statute which prohibits it from making advances to the State.

Having thus been withdrawn from Government influence, the new Bank was in a position to exercise an effective influence on the monetary policy of the country. A foreign Adviser was attached to the Board of Directors, in order to assist the new Bank in accomplishing its task, which constituted the pivot of the whole reconstruction programme.

The Bank's policy has been extremely cautious and conservative. On June 30th last, the reserve amounted to 55 per cent of the circulation, and one-half of the reserve consisted of minted gold or bullion. The discount rate has been reduced and fixed at 6 per cent.

Towards the end of 1925, a law was passed in Hungary providing for the introduction, as from January 1st, 1927, of a new currency, which can, however, be used for purposes of reckoning before that date. The value of this new currency, the "pengő", has been fixed at 1 pengő per 12,500 old paper crowns.

The balance-sheet of the National Bank is already expressed in "pengős", and measures have been taken for all private concerns to draw up their balance-sheets in terms of gold in accordance with the principles laid down.

The form and value of the new currency have been exhaustively studied, and care has been taken that proper attention should be given to the psychological factors which might have had a dangerous effect on the cost of living in the country at the moment of its introduction.

The considerations which I have just explained and the fact that the whole economic life of the country is gradually becoming accustomed to the "pengő" justify the hope that it may be possible to reach the gold standard without undue disturbance.

The programme of the financial reconstruction of Hungary, conceived and applied in the manner

I have indicated, constitutes an achievement of which the League can justly be proud. The problem submitted to the League has been solved with brilliant success alike from the technical, social and political points of view.

In expressing its appreciation of the results obtained, the Council approved the Hungarian Government's proposal — which had received the support of the Commissioner-General and of the Financial Committee — that the supervision exercised by the Commissioner-General should cease on June 30th, 1926. The duties of the foreign Adviser attached to the Bank of Issue also ended on that date.

The service of the secured revenues will in future be ensured by the Trustees. The balance of the loan — in regard to which no decision has yet been taken — will be kept available in a separate account in the name of M. ter Meulen, who has been appointed for the purpose by the Financial Committee. The Committee of Control will remain in office and will communicate directly with the Hungarian Government.

I now have the honour to submit the following draft resolutions :

The Assembly,

(1) *Notes that, the Council having ascertained that the financial stability of Hungary is assured, the functions of the Commissioner-General were brought to an end on June 30th, 1926, and that with this step the work of reconstruction has been brought to a successful close within the minimum period contemplated under the original plan ;*

(2) *Congratulates on this result the Hungarian Government and people, the Commissioner-General and the Financial Committee, which prepared the original plan. It confidently hopes that, by a prudent financial policy, the Hungarian Government will in the future maintain and consolidate the satisfactory position now attained ;*

(3) *Observes with satisfaction the conclusion of commercial agreements between Hungary and the neighbouring States, with whom about half of her total foreign trade is transacted ; and repeats the hope expressed at the last ordinary session of the Assembly that the further progress of such commercial agreements may tend to bring about a progressive reduction of the tariffs in Central Europe, thus contributing to establishing closer economic relations.*

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I will consider the resolutions of the Second Committee adopted.

The resolutions were adopted.

58. — FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Second Committee on the Financial Reconstruction of Austria (Annex 11. Document A.82.1926.II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Strasburger, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform by the side of the Chairman of the Second Committee.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur, M. Strasburger, delegate of Poland, will address the Assembly.

M. Strashurger (Poland), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The hour is now late, and in deference to the wishes of the President, I will not detain you long. The report on the financial reconstruction of Austria is already in your hands. I will confine myself to drawing your attention to certain salient points.

It was agreed to abolish the office of the Commissioner-General for Austria on June 30th, 1926, upon two conditions, which the Austrian Government accepted: first, the retention of a foreign Adviser to the National Bank, and, secondly, the retention of the right of the Council, during a period of ten years, to re-establish control if, contrary to all expectations, the budgetary equilibrium were seriously endangered. The Austrian Government has therefore assumed full responsibility for its finances.

The following results have been obtained from the loan. The net yield amounted to 568.7 million gold crowns, of which only 13 per cent was used to cover deficits. The remainder went towards repaying credits previously granted to the Austrian Government or was spent on productive investments.

The closed accounts for 1924 showed a deficit of 9,000,000 gold crowns; the closed accounts for 1925 gave a surplus of 28.4 millions.

It should be remarked that Austria first passed through a very severe financial crisis, which was followed later by an economic crisis.

The Council instructed Mr. Layton and Professor Rist to examine the economic situation in Austria and see how far this economic crisis might affect the financial situation. These two gentlemen went to Austria, and their investigations there clearly showed that the economic crisis was directly connected with reconstruction, but that there was no ground for anxiety concerning the country's power of ultimate recovery.

Recovery is certain if the Austrian people and the Austrian Government strive energetically, as the League of Nations is sure they will, to maintain budgetary equilibrium and exploit to the full Austria's natural advantages.

By thus justifying the confidence which the Council has placed in her, Austria will complete the work of financial recovery which she was the first to begin. In this way she will contribute towards the economic stability of the whole of Central Europe.

I venture to recall the words spoken two years ago in this Assembly by the distinguished representative of France, M. Georges Bonnet, who said :

"We sincerely desire the removal of the control as soon as possible. We hope and trust that it will be removed; we are convinced of it, because that would be the best possible proof that Austria had at last recovered financial stability and economic prosperity."

What was then foreseen has now been realised. The Austrian Government has been able to resume full responsibility for its finances.

The great work undertaken by the League has been crowned with success, and I am particularly gratified that the honour of presenting to the Assembly the report on the financial reconstruction of Austria should fall to my country, which is also in the throes of serious financial difficulties.

As Rapporteur, and at the same time as representative of the Polish Government, I wish to express to the organisations of the League our great admiration for the notable work of international co-operation which they have just achieved. I also wish to congratulate the Austrian

people and Government and to express the hope that they will be able by their own efforts to ensure the prosperity and economic stability of their country.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolution :

The Assembly,

Has taken note of the Council resolution of June 9th, 1926, whereby the functions of the Commissioner-General for Austria were brought to an end on June 30th, 1926 ;

Is gratified that Austria has been able to reassume full responsibility for her budgetary and financial policy ;

Does not doubt that the Austrian people and the Austrian Government will by their own efforts be able finally to ensure the results of the work of reconstruction ;

And expresses its thanks to the countries which have helped Austria with their credit and thus made possible a great act of international co-operation."

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the draft resolution proposed by the Rapporteur as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

59. — SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion on the report of the Second Committee on the Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees (Annex 12. Document A. 84. 1926. II).

(On the invitation of the President, Commander Hilton Young, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform by the side of the Chairman of the Second Committee.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

Commander Hilton Young (British Empire), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have the honour to present to the Assembly the report of the Second Committee on the subject of the settlement of Bulgarian refugees. As the Assembly knows, this is a new scheme for the relief of refugees in Bulgaria. It will not be necessary for me now to do more than underline the principal features of the report.

The scheme which has just been adopted by the Council for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria is the second of its kind undertaken under the auspices of the League. The first, which has now been in operation for two years in Greece, is well known.

The two problems are similar in certain respects, and so are their solutions. In each case the finances of the country have been examined by the Financial Committee, which has drawn up a plan containing, amongst other things, a statement of the securities which could suitably be given for a foreign loan to pay for the work of settlement. In both cases the Government has agreed to provide for settlement purposes a minimum quantity of suitable land

and to accept the control of an authority responsible to the Council to ensure the expenditure of the money on the specified objects. Greece is the easier problem because many suitable houses were made available by the return of peasants to Turkey under the system of exchange and enough cultivable land was available. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, there are not nearly enough houses or land, and a part of the proposed loan will have to be spent on re-claiming land and making it fit for cultivation. In general, the preparation of the Bulgarian plan required long negotiations — which were not needed for the Greek plan — with the neighbouring countries and with the reparation authorities, whose consent was necessary in order to provide securities for the new loan. It has been provided that the work of settlement shall be done under the supervision of a single Commissioner appointed by, and responsible to, the Council of the League, with power to investigate and approve all plans for the work of settlement and with sole control over the proceeds of the proposed loan.

It is not necessary to detain the Assembly with any further details at the present time. I am confident that, if the Members of the Assembly will study the results of the prolonged and careful work of the Financial Committee and of the Second Committee, they will come to the conclusion that this is a most important and valuable work which must be done in the cause of humanity, work which will enable Bulgaria to be released from a burden which is too heavy for it to bear alone and for which it was not itself responsible.

I am confident also that the Assembly will come to the conclusion that the plan will not only alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate refugees but will promote the external and internal stability of the Bulgarian State. It is too early to speak of it at length at present, but I trust that next year or the year after a Rapporteur may stand here and give a report to the Assembly of the successful conclusion of this work.

The President :

Translation : M. Molloff, delegate of Bulgaria, will address the Assembly.

M. Molloff (Bulgaria) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — On behalf of my Government, I have the pleasant duty of expressing once more the gratitude of Bulgaria to the League and its various organisations for their invaluable assistance in the work of the settlement of the Bulgarian refugees. I wish also to express our high appreciation of the very succinct and felicitous report submitted by Commander Hilton Young.

In recent years, Bulgaria has made a great effort punctually to carry out with the aid of her own resources the different stipulations of the Treaties of Peace. She has honoured her financial obligations, which are becoming an increasing strain on the budgetary resources of the country. While pursuing indefatigably her policy of peace, international collaboration and national reconstruction, she has succeeded in balancing the budget and stabilising the currency during the past three years. But the increasing influx of refugees, due mostly to the exchange of population brought about by the treaties, created a situation of indescribable distress for the families involved, a heartrending situation in itself, but one which also endangered the internal stability of the country and was liable to provoke serious disturbances that might have affected international relations.

The funds required for the settlement of this horde of refugees far exceeded the country's resources.

This state of affairs, the true facts of which were recognised and described by the organisations of the League, called for immediate international intervention, and there was no body qualified to handle the situation so effectively as the League.

Bulgaria confidently applied to the League for aid, and has since complied with every recommendation made by its competent organisations, for we were convinced that this was the only way of reaching a satisfactory solution. May I venture to point out that, as a corollary, the stabilisation of our currency has been assured for the future by a decision of the Reparation Commission, setting up a Transfer Committee to regulate our external payments.

In conformity with another recommendation, we have settled in a satisfactory manner our relations with pre-war bondholders. The Financial Committee has sanctioned an additional loan to repay a Paris bank for advances made to Bulgaria in 1912-13.

From another point of view, it is important to point out that the National Bank of Bulgaria has been transformed into a central Bank of Issue. This step will enable us to participate in the system of central banks proposed by the Genoa Conference and recommended by the Financial Committee.

The utilisation of the funds of the loan to be issued is placed under the strict and effective control of the League.

We have already received advances from the Bank of England, to which I express our deep gratitude. The Bank of England has such complete confidence in our determination to reconstruct our finances that it has been good enough to assist us, thereby making an effective contribution to the work begun by the League.

We have therefore complied with all your recommendations and have thus afforded every requisite guarantee for the flotation of the proposed loan, which will, we trust, be offered in the near future. This event will mark the final consummation of this mission of charity and peace, which will assuredly enhance the high authority and growing prestige of the League.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Second Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly,

(1) *Has learnt with great satisfaction that the negotiations of the last six months have resulted in the adoption by the Council of a scheme for the settlement of some 120,000 refugees in Bulgaria ;*

(2) *Observes with satisfaction that, by means of an advance of £400,000, this work has already been begun ;*

(3) *Expresses the hope that the total sum estimated for this work, namely, £2,250,000, may be successfully subscribed in the near future ;*

(4) *Desires to express its appreciation of the valuable work once more done by the Financial Committee, on whose advice the plan was adopted by the Council, and whose long and unique experience in such work of reconstruction has borne fruit in Austria, Hungary and Greece ;*

(5) *Expresses the belief that the execution of this plan will not only alleviate widespread suffering but will also benefit economic and social order within Bulgaria and consolidate and improve the political relations of Bulgaria with neighbouring countries.*

The resolution was adopted.

60. — WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE :
REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE :
RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion on the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Financial Committee (Annex 13. Document A. 85. 1926. II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Avramovitch, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform beside the Chairman of the Second Committee.)

The President :

Translation : M. Avramovitch, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Avramovitch (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), Rapporteur :

Translation : I have the honour, on behalf of the Second Committee, to submit to you the report of the Financial Committee. This involves an examination of questions which are perhaps of the same nature as those already dealt with, but which nevertheless have an importance of their own. I should like to mention, in particular, the Danzig question.

At the request of the Free City, the Council, which guarantees its Constitution, authorised M. Janssen, a member of the Financial Committee, to go to Danzig to study the financial situation and to consider what measures it might be necessary to take in that connection.

M. Janssen submitted his report to the Financial Committee at its July session in London, and the Committee in its turn submitted a report to the Council. The Committee recommended that the Free City should be given assistance in view of special difficulties arising out of unemployment and certain deficits due to the reduction in the Customs revenues.

The Financial Committee also urged in this connection that the Free City should cut down its general expenditure by at least 10 per cent. It then recommended the conclusion of an economic agreement between Danzig and Poland and the issuing of a loan of approximately thirty million gulden with the twofold object of (1) covering the deficits, arising out of exceptional circumstances, in the budget for 1926-27 and repaying the floating debt, and (2) meeting certain productive expenditure.

Your Second Committee was gratified to note that this agreement between the Free City and Poland was concluded on the very day on which the present report was being examined.

If, as is hoped, the Free City succeeds in reducing its expenditure and increasing its production and resources, the Council will perhaps be able in the near future — not later than next December — to recommend, on the proposal of the Financial Committee, that the loan in question should be authorised under the auspices of the League.

As a conclusion to this first question, for which I have the honour to be Rapporteur, I propose that the Assembly should adopt the following draft resolution :

“The Assembly has taken note of the Financial Committee’s two reports on the restoration of the public finances of the Free City of Danzig.

“It trusts that, in accordance with the conclusions of these reports, it may be possible for the Financial Committee, when the Free City has effected the necessary administrative and budgetary economies, to recommend the issuing of a loan designed to consolidate the financial and economic situation of Danzig.”

I now come to the second question, which concerns the suppression of counterfeiting.

The Council had to consider an application from the French Government requesting an examination of this matter, which disturbs the course of international relations, more particularly in those countries whose currency is counterfeited.

The question was referred for examination to the Financial Committee, which requested certain information. It drew up a questionnaire and asked, as the matter was, in its opinion, a most important one, that it might be given time to go into the question exhaustively and without incurring the risk of precipitate action.

It is hoped that the Committee, which has already given such tangible proof of its value in theoretical and practical matters and which has done such fruitful work in the past, will succeed in finding a satisfactory solution of the problem.

As a conclusion to this second question, I propose, on behalf of the Second Committee, that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :

“The Assembly has noted that, at the request of the Council, the Financial Committee has undertaken a study of the methods whereby the Governments and Banks of Issue might collaborate to prevent the issuing of counterfeit currency. It trusts that the Financial Committee’s work will be actively pursued, so that practical proposals may be submitted to the Council for consideration at the earliest possible date.”

The third question is that of double taxation and fiscal evasion, a problem which has occupied the League’s attention for some years. It was first studied by four eminent economists and was then referred to the Financial Committee, which examined it in its turn. The Committee’s report was submitted to exhaustive examination by experts of the countries concerned, namely: Germany, the Argentine, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland and Venezuela. They had been so chosen as to ensure that the Committee should be composed of nationals of countries whose interest and outlook in fiscal questions were as different as possible; countries which exported capital and new countries partially financed by foreign capital.

The similarity of views displayed by these experts made it possible to draw up three preliminary draft conventions regarding: (1) double taxation; (2) judicial assistance with regard to the recovery of taxes, and (3) fiscal evasion and administrative assistance.

These proposals were not definitive, the experts being undecided whether a general international convention or bilateral conventions would prove the most satisfactory solution. The Financial Committee decided, as the question called for more exhaustive examination, to deal with it at its next session, which will probably be held in December.

I have the honour, therefore, on behalf of the Second Committee, to propose the following draft resolution :

“The Assembly has taken note, according to the Financial Committee’s reports, of the results of the work of the last meeting of experts on double taxation and tax evasion.

“It trusts that their work will be continued and will serve as a useful preparation for the development and progressive unification of international law in the matter, by means of general conventions or of partial conventions based upon common principles.”

In conclusion, I should like to draw your attention to the economic and financial publications

of the Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat. Apart from the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, which appears on the last Saturday of the first fortnight of each month, the *Memorandum on Currency and Central Banks* for the period 1913-25 has already been published. This Memorandum has aroused great interest in the business world, especially in financial circles. A new edition of the *Memorandum on Public Finance* is now in course of preparation.

In view of the importance of these questions, I would urge you to adopt the draft resolutions which I have just submitted on behalf of the Second Committee.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions of the second Committee, which read as follows :

I. *The Assembly has taken note of the Financial Committee's two reports on the restoration of the public finances of the Free City of Danzig.*

It trusts that, in accordance with the conclusions of these reports, it may be possible for the Financial Committee, when the Free City has effected the necessary administrative and budgetary economies, to recommend the issuing of a loan designed to consolidate the financial and economic situation of Danzig.

II. *The Assembly has noted that, at the request of the Council, the Financial Committee has undertaken a study of the methods whereby the Governments and Banks of Issue might collaborate to prevent the issuing of counterfeit currency.*

It trusts that the Financial Committee's work will be actively pursued, so that practical proposals may be submitted to the Council for consideration at the earliest possible date.

III. *The Assembly has taken note, according to the Financial Committee's reports, of the results of the work of the last meeting of experts on double taxation and tax evasion.*

It trusts that their work will be continued and will serve as a useful preparation for the development and progressive unification of international law on the matter, by means of general conventions or of partial conventions based upon common principles.

The resolutions were adopted.

61.— WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion on the report of the Second Committee on the work of the Economic Committee (Annex 14. Document A. 94. 1926. II).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Nagai, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform by the side of the Chairman of the Second Committee.)

The President :

Translation : M. Nagai, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Nagai (Japan) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The report which I have to make, at the request of the Second Committee, concerns the work done by the Economic Committee during the past year.

As you will see, the report covers three pages containing a summary of the work done by the Economic Committee. On account of the diversity and the technical nature of the problems involved, the statement is naturally quite lengthy. But in view of the late hour, I shall refrain from reading it.

There is one point, however, which I must emphasise and which is dealt with in the following passage of the report :

"The Economic Committee is systematically pursuing the study of the various problems set before it, and is ascertaining in each case, by comprehensive and exhaustive enquiry, how far the proposals which it is considering are of practical value and capable of realisation in the international sphere."

I have now to submit for your approval the following resolutions :

The Assembly,

(1) *Again states its conviction that commercial relations would be greatly improved by the conclusion of an international convention for the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions;*

Notes with satisfaction the progress which has been made, thanks to the efforts of the Economic Committee, towards the realisation of the recommendation made by the Assembly at its ordinary session held in 1924;

Notes the Council's resolution to convene, for this purpose, at as early a date as possible, a Conference of representatives of the Governments of States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, and expresses the most earnest hope that the work of this Conference will be crowned with success.

(2) *It notes with satisfaction that the Protocol established in 1923 is still making its influence felt in the direction of a wider recognition of commercial arbitration, and that the Economic Committee has recently begun to consider the possibility of preparing an additional act, the object of which will be to ensure the execution of arbitral awards given abroad.*

(3) *It records the fact that the number of ratifications of the International Convention for the Simplification of Customs Formalities is increasing and notes that this international act has had a beneficent influence on the conclusion of certain treaties of commerce.*

(4) *It observes with satisfaction that most of the methods suggested by the Economic Committee to ensure more effective protection against unfair competition have been embodied in the new provisions of the Convention of the Union for the Protection of Industrial Property revised at The Hague in November 1925.*

(5) *It follows with interest the enquiries being conducted by the Economic Committee with regard to measures for the repression of false Customs declarations; the standardisation of legislation with regards to bills of exchange and cheques; the unification of economic statistical methods; the protection of the buyer against worthless goods, and the Committee's research work regarding the causes of excessive fluctuations in economic activity.*

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions of the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolutions were adopted.

62.— WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION : REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Second Committee

on the work of the Health Organisation (Annex 15. Document A. 63. 1926. III).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Fernandez y Medina, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform by the side of the Chairman of the Second Committee.)

The President :

Translation : M. Fernandez y Medina, delegate of Uruguay, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Fernandez y Medina (Uruguay), Rapporteur, read his report and the following draft resolutions :

I. The Assembly,

Having taken note of the reports dealing with the work of the Health Organisation (documents A.6. 1926, A.6(a).1926 and A.17.1926);

Notes with satisfaction the growth and increasing usefulness of that work with its tendency to universality;

Expresses its gratification at the work undertaken and the results obtained by the Health Committee and its organs as well as by the various experts entrusted with special missions, and wishes to express its sympathetic interest with the scientists of the International Commission on Sleeping-Sickness who are conducting their sometimes dangerous enquiry in Equatorial Africa.

II. The Assembly,

Notes with satisfaction the close collaboration established with the sanitary and medical authorities of Japan as a result of the interchange and the conferences held in that country; and with the sanitary administrations of other Far-Eastern countries, through the intermediary of the Advisory Council of the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau of the League at Singapore;

Notes, in particular, the plan of research work and special enquiries into health problems of the Far East in which the administrations of British India, China, the Dutch Indies, French Indo-China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Siam have promised their assistance;

And requests the Council to refer the resolutions proposed by the Cuban¹, Czechoslovak² and Uruguayan³ delegations to the Health Committee for consideration.

¹ The Second Committee, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Assembly at its fifth and sixth ordinary sessions on the subject of infant mortality and the protection of children, requests the Council to ask the Health Committee to consider to what extent it could, at a suitable time, enlarge its scheme of international enquiry to include other problems of eugenics.

² The Second Committee, considering the importance of physical culture as a means for preventing disease and in view of the interest which numerous countries take in that question, asks the Council to instruct the Health Committee to consider the inclusion in the programme of its work of the international investigation of physical culture, including scholastic hygiene, and to decide what special problems may necessitate a comparative study and a co-ordination of national research work and national enquiries.

³ The Second Committee, having taken note that the International Economic Conference's plan of enquiry is to include an examination of the problem of nutrition (document A. 24. 1926. II), points out the interest which would attach to the supplementing of this enquiry by a study of the problem from the standpoint of race improvement. This study should take into account the work of the Health Organisation regarding infant mortality, as well as the reports by the Japanese Institute of Research into Nutrition Problems included in the publications of the Health Committee.

III. The Assembly,

In view of the importance of the work of the Singapore Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence as the first institution of the League of Nations in the Far East, and in view of the utility of its work not only for the Far-Eastern countries but also for other States Members of the League;

Decides that provision for the expenses of the Bureau should be made in the budget of the League for 1927.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the resolutions of the Second Committee as adopted.

The resolutions were adopted.

63. — CHILD WELFARE: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion on the report of the Fifth Committee on Child Welfare (Annex 16. Document A.77.1926.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Dr. Riddell, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Dr. Riddell, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Riddell (Canada) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have been requested by the Fifth Committee to present to the Assembly its report on child welfare, and I have accepted that honour realising that it is a tribute to the great interest shown by my country in this subject.

The Rapporteur then read his report and continued as follows :

It has been a matter of great satisfaction to the child-welfare organisations and multitudes of laymen throughout the world that this subject of child welfare has been included in the work of the League by the unanimous consent of all its Members. There are, in fact, few questions with which the League deals which appeal to a wider constituency, or are more suitable for comparative study and research.

During the last two or three decades, great progress has been made in certain countries through organised effort to promote the welfare of children, and surely it is an object worthy of the League that this experience and knowledge should be made available to all its Members. It is possible that the study of child welfare may not prove as fruitful of international agreement as some other questions before this Assembly, but the results will be none the less valuable for the prestige of the League and for the well-being of generations yet unborn.

I hope you will give this report your most careful consideration and your approval.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions of the Fifth Committee, which read as follows :

The Assembly :

1. Takes note of the report presented by the Child Welfare Committee and desires to express its thanks for the work done by the Committee ;

2. Approves the proposals contained in Resolutions III, V and VIII adopted by the Committee for pursuing the enquiries into the protection of infant life, the age of consent and of marriage and the subject of family allowances ;

3. Approves Resolution XIV, subject to the conclusions it contains being confirmed by subsequent investigations into the general problem of alcoholism ;

4. Expresses its concurrence with Resolution VI relating to child labour ;

5. Considers that the enquiry into children's courts can most suitably be undertaken by the Child-Welfare Committee, but, in the circumstances, agrees with the course proposed to be taken by the Council in regard to Resolution XIII ;

6. Expresses the wish that the Committee should actively pursue the enquiry into the effect of the

cinema on children with a view to the presentation of a report for the information of the Governments ;

7. (a) Recognises the importance of recreation in the life of children and young persons as expressed in Resolution XI, but, as doubts have been expressed how far the subject is one which is suitable for action by the League of Nations, the Assembly, in view of the sanction of the study of this subject given last year by the Council and Assembly, approves its continued study by the Advisory Committee, but considers that it should be confined, as indicated in the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its fifth ordinary session, to the comparative study of those aspects of the subject on which "the comparison of the methods and experiences of different countries . . . and international co-operation" may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with these problems ;

(b) Recommends that the subject of biological education, regarding which similar doubts have been expressed, should be postponed for the present ;

8. Agrees generally with the resolutions adopted by the Council on June 9th and September 2nd, 1926.

The resolutions were adopted.

The Assembly rose at 8.10 p.m.

SIXTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, September 25th, 1926, at 10 a.m.

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64. — COMMUNICATIONS NOT CONNECTED WITH QUESTIONS ON THE AGENDA : INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The President :

Translation : I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to the proper interpretation of certain provisions of the Rules of Procedure, which lay down that delegations may ask the President's consent to make communications not connected with questions on the agenda of the meeting.

Rule 13 of the Rules of Procedure reads as follows:

"At the beginning of each meeting the President shall present to the Assembly all communications addressed to the Assembly or to the League the importance of which appears to him to warrant such action."

Further, paragraph 1 of Rule 15 lays down:

"No representative may address the Assembly without having previously obtained the permission of the President."

While the President is bound to be liberal in giving leave to delegations to make communications to the Assembly, the delegations are under an obligation to inform him in advance of the object and nature of such communications, so that he may have a full knowledge of the facts before giving his consent.

I believe that my remarks, which I felt it my duty to make, are in accordance with the intentions of those who drew up the Rules of Procedure.

I am sure that with this reminder all delegations will conform to the Rules.

65. — ARBITRATION, SECURITY AND THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES: REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President:

Translation: The first item on the agenda is the discussion of the report of the Third Committee on the progress in general security brought about by the conclusion of Conventions and Treaties. (Annex 17. Document A. 79. 1926. IX.)

(On the invitation of the President, M. Villegas, Chairman of the Third Committee, M. Motta, Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Markovitch, Rapporteur of the Third Committee, took their places on the platform.)

The President:

Translation: M. Markovitch, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Markovitch (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), Rapporteur, read his report and continued as follows:

Translation: With your permission I will add a few general remarks to the report of the Third Committee which I have just read.

If it were possible to solve once and for all the questions of arbitration and of the pacific settlement of international disputes, the face of the world would immediately be changed and a lasting peace would be ensured. The efforts of the Assemblies of the League and likewise of the Governments of the various countries have all been directed towards this ideal. In past years we have sometimes strayed from the right path. But we have sought ways and means of solving the problem, and this in itself is evidence of a firm desire to obtain concrete and practical results.

I do not propose to recount the various steps taken by the League. It first adopted the celebrated Resolution XIV of 1922; next, in 1923, it drew up the Treaty of Mutual Assistance; and in 1924 went so far as the Protocol. The Protocol was intended by its authors to be an instrument of general scope for the permanent settlement of all international disputes by pacific or judicial methods.

Last year it was stated that the Protocol was far in advance of the realities of the international position. While the validity of the general principles laid down was admitted, it was nevertheless affirmed that the States were not in a position to adopt it as a general rule for the guidance of the foreign policy of their countries. But though last year we were, I regret to say, checked in our advance towards the pacific settlement of international disputes, we yet retained the hope that the negotiations being conducted between the Western Powers with a view to the conclusion of a pact of guarantee — and these negotiations were in no way secret — would yield favourable and concrete results.

In its report to the Assembly, the Council dwells on the fact that the Treaties of Locarno — which can be brought into force now that Germany has been admitted to the League — mark an appreciable advance towards pacification, the restoration of mutual confidence and the progression of Europe and the world generally towards peace. The Third Committee, examining these results, was struck by the capital, the vital importance of the general provisions of the Locarno Treaties.

Those Treaties contain certain principles which, if taken as a general rule for the foreign policy of all countries, would contribute largely to the maintenance of peace and the permanent restoration of international confidence. I venture to recall the fact that, in the Locarno Treaties, the signatory States, Germany and France, Germany and Belgium, and Germany, France, Belgium and Great Britain, guarantee jointly and severally to maintain the territorial *status quo* and the inviolability of their frontiers.

The same States give a mutual undertaking not to engage in any attack or invasion or to have recourse to war in any circumstances.

As a logical complement to the above undertaking, they agree to settle pacifically all disputes of whatever nature which may arise between them and which are not amenable to the normal diplomatic procedure.

Here, then, we have a very important step towards the pacific settlement of international disputes. Germany, France, Great Britain and Belgium solemnly undertake to settle all their disputes and all their quarrels, of whatever nature, by pacific methods. By signing arbitration conventions they have pointed out the way which we all — for we are equally concerned in the maintenance of peace — should follow and adopt as the practical policy of our countries.

I must remind you that, in so far as they have been used as the basis of the Third Committee's resolution, the Locarno Treaties have been regarded solely from the political point of view. We considered this the best guide in laying down the direction to be followed in our future endeavours to establish peace.

The Third Committee did not go into details, nor did it examine any particular clauses in the Locarno Treaties. It confined itself to a purely political examination, and the resolution it proposes to the Assembly is essentially a political resolution.

It considered that the Powers in question, whose antagonism dates back to the most distant historical times and covered very serious problems, showed both boldness and common sense when they signed the Locarno Treaties. They removed all danger of war and undertook publicly and in the sight of the whole world not to have recourse to war in any circumstances. The Third Committee believes that other countries in other parts of Europe might similarly be induced to wipe out a past that all desire to forget, and thereby to ensure peace and turn their eyes towards a brighter future.

In view of this fact, the Third Committee decided to recommend, as regards political matters, that all States should follow the road laid down by the Locarno Treaties.

I will not detain you on this subject. I have tried to give a brief explanation of the resolution proposed to the Assembly by the Committee. I wish to add only one word concerning a passage in the resolution which I consider essential; I refer to the passage in which the Council is requested to offer its good offices when it judges such action opportune.

The Council, of course, retains complete liberty of action in this matter, but we believe that, being an independent and impartial body, it should avail itself of the general atmosphere of confidence, reassurance and hope which now prevails, to complete the pacification of Europe and the revival of mutual trust, and so facilitate the great work of disarmament, which is of vital concern to all men and all nations.

I therefore ask the Assembly to adopt the resolution proposed by the Third Committee. I believe that the resolution marks a further stage in the spiritual evolution leading to the permanent settlement of the problem of peace and the institution of stable and pacific methods, which will render war a futility and will prevent the nations from ever again having recourse to arms.

The President :

Translation : M. Motta, first delegate of Switzerland, Chairman of the First Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. Motta (Switzerland), Chairman of the First Committee :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have no report to submit or speech to deliver. I have only one observation which the First Committee has instructed me to make.

The First Committee's task was a very simple one. The Third Committee had already, so to speak, prepared our work.

We studied the draft resolution drawn up by the Third Committee, and we were able to give it our unreserved support. Some delegations, however, were afraid that to accept the resolution would involve them in actual interpretations of the Covenant of the League. We do not think that this is the purport or scope of the resolution submitted to you. Moreover, Dr. Markovitch in his eloquent speech said that the resolution was not constitutional or judicial, but purely political in character. I am glad to state that the First Committee entirely concurs in this view.

We welcome the work done at Locarno. We approve the main idea underlying the Locarno Treaties, the setting up of a procedure of conciliation, judicial settlement, arbitration and security through mutual guarantees against

unprovoked aggression. That is the essence of the resolution. The Covenant is unaffected. We have no intention of laying down any interpretation of it on this occasion.

Another question was raised in the Committee, namely, whether the magnificent opportunity provided by Locarno should not be utilised to urge all States once again to reconsider the question of accepting the compulsory jurisdiction clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

However, we came to the conclusion that it was unnecessary to mention this aspect of the question in the draft resolution. We thought that this great, this vital question of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court was, if I may say so, still on the "agenda" of mankind and was therefore one which concerned the Government of every country.

The President :

Translation : M. Marks von Wurtemberg, delegate of Sweden, will address the Assembly.

M. Marks von Wurtemberg (Sweden) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Swedish delegation supports the proposed resolution. The Third Committee and its distinguished Rapporteur have emphasised the importance of the Locarno Treaties and have shown how desirable it is that the main ideas underlying these treaties regarding conciliation and judicial settlement, and the mutual guarantee of States against unprovoked aggression, should be put into wider practice by the conclusion of further international conventions.

The Swedish delegation fully shares the Committee's views on these points and sees in this development of international relations an effective means of ensuring peace and mutual confidence between nations and of facilitating the general reduction of armaments, which is ardently desired by the Swedish nation.

In this connection, however, I should like to draw attention to two points in the Committee's report to which our delegation attaches special importance. The report shows that certain States are in a position to go further and to accept a more strictly judicial system than that of the Locarno Treaties. Sweden is one of those States. She is, in fact, one of those that have concluded conventions entailing a judicial settlement of all disputes without exception. This settlement applies, therefore, not only, as in the Locarno Treaties, to disputes of a legal character, but also to political disputes. Sweden has recently concluded such treaties with her neighbours, Denmark and Finland. Our Government and Parliament have further declared themselves in favour of concluding a similar treaty with Norway, and there is every reason to believe that they would be prepared to make similar agreements with other countries. We therefore think it desirable to point out that the stipulations of the Locarno Treaties concerning the judicial settlement of international disputes, although they certainly represent a very considerable advance, should not bar the way to the conclusion of treaties providing for an even wider application of the principle of judicial settlement.

The report points out, moreover, that certain States do not consider it necessary to identify themselves strictly with the system of mutual guarantee provided for in the Treaties of Locarno.

Sweden has always sided with these States, and will probably continue to do so in the future.

The views I have just expressed are, it is true, embodied not only in the report but also in the resolution itself, which expressly recognises that there are certain countries whose interests do not require the conclusion of treaties on the same lines as those of Locarno.

Having drawn special attention to the above-mentioned passages in the report and the resolution, the Swedish delegation welcomes the proposed resolution and gives it its unreserved support.

The President :

Translation : M. Cassin, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Cassin (France) :

Translation : Gentlemen—The French delegation gives its entire support to the resolution submitted to the Assembly by the Third Committee, and this not only because France is one of the signatories of the Locarno Agreements, but also for certain general and fundamental reasons to which special reference must be made.

This resolution contains the elements of the continuity necessary in the work of successive Assemblies. Since public opinion always feels a sense of disappointment at inconsistency, the confidence of the nations in the League is bound to be strengthened if it can be shown that the decisions and recommendations of the Assemblies are followed up by practical action.

The resolution reaffirms the continuity of the method selected in 1924, and, as in 1925, the Assembly will proclaim its continued adherence to the triple and indivisible formula: arbitration, security and reduction of armaments. The League of Nations and the States Members must rely on this for the maintenance of world peace.

These fundamental considerations justify the unanimous approval of the resolution submitted by the Third Committee.

The President :

Translation : If no one has anything further to say, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Third Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly,

Having examined the reports of the Council on Arbitration, Security and the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes ;

Records the fact that the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session, to the effect that the most urgent need of the present time is the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations, has had definite results. It sees clear proof of this in the ever-increasing number of arbitration conventions and treaties of security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Geneva Protocol (Arbitration, Security and Disarmament). It emphasises in particular the importance of the Treaties of Locarno, the coming into force of which has been rendered possible by the admission of Germany into the League of Nations and the principal object of which is to ensure peace in one of the most sensitive regions of Europe ;

Sees in the last-mentioned Treaties a definite step forward in the establishment of mutual confidence between nations ;

Considers that agreements of this kind need not necessarily be restricted to a limited area but may be applied to different parts of the world ;

Asserts its conviction that the general ideas embodied in the clauses of the Treaties of Locarno, whereby provision is made for conciliation and arbitration and for security by the mutual guaranteeing of States against any unprovoked aggression, may well be accepted amongst the fundamental rules which should govern the foreign policy of every civilised nation ;

Expresses the hope that these principles will be recognised by all States and will be put into practice as soon as possible by all States in whose interest it is to contract such treaties ;

And requests the Council to recommend the States Members of the League of Nations to put into practice the above-mentioned principles and to offer, if necessary, its good offices for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security—the indispensable conditions of the maintenance of international peace—and, as a result, to facilitate the reduction and limitation of the armaments of all States.

The resolution was adopted.

66. — EXAMINATION OF THE SECTION OF THE REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL DEALING WITH THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the section of the report on the work of the Council dealing with the work of the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law.

M. Motta, Chairman of the First Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. Motta (Switzerland) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—I rise once more to make a short announcement to the Assembly. There is no report on the question and I shall certainly not make a speech.

This section of the report on the work of the Council was referred to the First Committee on the proposal of the Netherlands delegation. The First Committee studied it with great care and came to the conclusion that a general discussion on the codification of international law would not be advisable for the moment.

The codification of international law is of course one of the most important of the League's activities. It is closely connected with two other major questions—the pacific settlement of international disputes and disarmament.

The question has been referred for examination to a Committee of Jurists, who are now engaged upon this work, so that a debate in the Assembly would be neither wise nor helpful.

The First Committee confined itself to an exchange of views. It decided that the Minutes of its discussions should be transmitted through the Secretary-General to the Committee of Jurists. We may rely upon the wisdom and experience of the Committee to make such use of them as may seem expedient in the circumstances.

The President :

Translation : If nobody has anything further to say, I shall consider that the Assembly has taken note of the statement made by M. Motta, Chairman of the First Committee. (*Assent.*)

67. — EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN QUESTIONS REGARDING THE ELECTION OF THE NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL: RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the appointment by the Council of a Committee to examine certain questions regarding the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

(On the invitation of the President, M. Zahle, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform by the side of the Chairman of the First Committee.)

The President :

Translation : M. Zahle, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Zahle (Denmark), Rapporteur :

Translation : In a memorandum dated May 12th, 1926, Viscount Cecil, delegate of the British Empire, drew the attention of the Committee on the Composition of the Council to the system of the single transferable vote in regard to the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council. As you know, the memorandum is annexed to the report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council, which Committee, as you are aware, did not examine the question, as it considered it to lie somewhat outside its scope.

The Norwegian delegation, in view of the advantages which the adoption of this system might entail, submitted the following resolution to the Assembly :

"The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee :

"(1) To study the question of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general, as regards the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

"(2) To report on the method of election of the non-permanent Members in sufficient time to lay the question before the Assembly at its next ordinary session."

The First Committee examined the Norwegian delegation's resolution. On that occasion, the Norwegian delegate drew attention to the great importance which the Norwegian Government attached to this question, on the ground that the Council should represent as completely as possible the different opinions and interests existing within the League. In the Norwegian Government's opinion, the object in view cannot be attained under a system of elections by majority. The Norwegian delegate pointed out, moreover, that in the present instance it was not a question of ordinary political elections. The objections usually advanced against the system of proportional representation as applied to political elections were not valid here.

During the examination of the proposal by the First Committee, the Norwegian delegate submitted the following amended proposal :

The Assembly requests the Council to instruct the Secretariat to study the system of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general, in connection with the problem of the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, in order that this question may be laid before the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

You will see that there is a substantial difference between the two draft resolutions. In the first, the Council is requested to appoint a Committee to study the question, whereas in the amended resolution the Council is only requested to instruct the Secretariat to study the system.

I should like to point out that the First Committee did not discuss the substance of the question. The Chairman of the Committee found that the resolution did not affect the question, but left it intact. Moreover, it did not entail any expenditure by the League.

The States Members of the League will be able, if they wish, to send memoranda on the subject to the Secretariat.

As Rapporteur of the First Committee, I have the honour to submit to the Assembly the amended resolution.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I shall consider the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee as adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

68. — WORK OF THE ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF FACILITIES TO BE ACCORDED TO JOURNALISTS ATTENDING THE MEETINGS OF THE LEAGUE AT GENEVA: REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Second Committee's report on the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit (Annex 18. Document A.96.1926.VIII.) and the proposal of the delegation of Chile concerning facilities to be accorded to journalists who attend the meetings of the League of Nations at Geneva.

(On the invitation of the President, Mr. Fitzgerald, Chairman of the Second Committee, and M. Jaramillo, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Jaramillo will address the Assembly.

M. Jaramillo (Colombia), Rapporteur, read his report.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions of the Second Committee, which are as follows :

The Assembly,

Notes the progress accomplished by the Organisation for Communications and Transit since the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, and especially the success obtained by the European Conference on the Measurement of Vessels employed in Inland Navigation and the Conference on the Passports Regime ;

Trusts that the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, which will be held in 1927 and which will examine in particular the general questions of organisation and documentation, will consider the question of improving, as far as possible, technical liaison between the work of the

Organisation for Communications and Transit and the specialised administration and experts of non-European countries ; and

Notes, finally, the conclusion of the work of the Special Committee of Enquiry into the Reform of the Calendar, and associates itself with the findings and suggestions made by the Advisory and Technical Committee.

The Assembly,

Desiring that all possible assistance should be given to journalists attending the meetings of the League at Geneva ;

Takes note of the liberal statements made at the time of the Passports Conference with regard to the facilities for crossing frontiers to be granted to bearers of identity cards issued by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations

The resolutions were adopted.

69. — INTERPRETATION OF THE PREAMBLE AND OF ARTICLES 3 AND 4 OF THE COVENANT: REPORT AND RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY THE FIRST COMMITTEE: MOTION OF ADJOURNMENT PROPOSED BY M. BENES (CZECHOSLOVAKIA).

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the First Committee on the interpretation of the Preamble and of Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant (Annex 19. Document A. 102.1926.V).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Motta, Chairman of the First Committee, and M. Joseph Barthélemy, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Joseph Barthélemy will address the Assembly.

M. Joseph Barthélemy (France), Rapporteur :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Viscount Cecil has submitted a proposal the object of which was to request the Council to appoint a special Committee to draw up a report defining the sphere of action of the League of Nations.

The British delegate withdrew the first part of his proposal, in which the Council was requested to appoint a special committee, and putting forward various considerations, more particularly the necessity for economy, he proposed simply that the First — the Legal — Committee should appoint a Sub-Committee to draw up a report on this subject.

The First Committee rejected the proposal thus made, for reasons which I will explain. It refused to define the League's sphere of action ; it merely recommended that the letter, and more especially the spirit, of the Covenant should be observed. It considered that the Covenant was sufficient in itself, and accordingly proposes the adoption of the following resolution :

"The Assembly,

"Having considered with the deepest interest Viscount Cecil's proposal and the memorandum of the British delegation annexed to the present resolution ;

"Shares the feelings which inspired these two documents ;

"Recognises that the League of Nations should avoid dissipating its activity upon subjects which might divert it from its lofty mission of promoting the peace of the world and facilitating co-operation between nations for the peaceful progress of mankind ;

"Recommends that each body forming part of the League, before taking into consideration any proposal submitted to it, should satisfy itself that the proposal is in accordance with the objects of the League as indicated by the Covenant and possesses real importance from the point of view of the attainment of those objects ;

"Decides that in case of doubt, and if so requested by a member of the body, the question shall be submitted to the Council, in the interval between the sessions of the Assembly, and, during those sessions, to the Committee appointed by the Assembly for legal and constitutional questions.

"The present resolution shall be brought by the Secretary-General to the knowledge of the various bodies forming part of the League."

I must first submit to the Assembly certain observations on the text which has just been read. In the first place, Viscount Cecil's proposal and the memorandum submitted by the British delegation in support of this proposal are annexed to the resolution. This does not mean that the proposal was adopted or that the Committee agreed absolutely, and to the letter, with the conclusions set forth in the memorandum. It only means that the high standing of the authors, the importance of the great country they represent and the importance of the question raised in these two documents — the proposal and the memorandum — deserve the fullest consideration.

You will doubtless have noticed, too, that the Assembly, which is happy, on occasion, to assert its sovereignty, uses in paragraph 4 the timid word "recommends". The reason is that the Committee did not wish to settle the extremely delicate question of the relations between the Council and the Assembly. These bodies have parallel powers, and there is no established hierarchy. For this reason the Assembly, in addressing the Council, "recommends".

The recommendation is addressed to the organs of the League. This point, however, had aroused the susceptibilities of the International Labour Office, and we were instructed to state that the International Labour Office is not an organ of the League. The only certain and incontestable right of the Assembly — and it is a right which we shall always defend — is the voting of the necessary credits for the International Labour Office.

I now pass to the fourth point to which I would draw your attention. When a special and new subject is submitted to you for discussion there is no need to hold a special debate on it, terminating with a vote on the question whether action in the matter would be in order or desirable. In the words of the proverb of the sunny south, so appositely quoted by the distinguished representative of Italy : "Do not scratch the cicada to make it sing"; do not force the League to engage in superfluous discussions.

We simply wish to draw the particular attention of the organs of the League to this point — that they must not blindly accept any subject whatever and bring it within the League's sphere of action.

When submitting his proposal, Viscount Cecil undoubtedly had some retrospective purpose in mind, and as the League has now been in existence and at work for six years, it seems at first sight a little strange to say after all this time : "Well, we

have been working for six whole years. It is time we decided what we ought to be doing !”

Doubtless, Viscount Cecil has discovered that the League has exceeded its powers in some respects, or is in danger of doing so ; but he has not thrown any light on this point, although it would have been of especial interest.

To define is to limit, and to limit is to restrain ; but the Committee has shrunk from the difficulty of finding a definition. A definition must contain the whole *res definita*, and it must contain nothing else. Indeed, have not lawyers and theologians always throughout the ages said, *Omnis definitio periculosa* (“any definition is dangerous”) ? A definition is doubly dangerous both because it is difficult to make and because, when once it is made, it may have very vexatious consequences.

The honourable delegate of Canada, Sir George Foster, whose warm and hearty eloquence we all so greatly appreciate, said : “No, all definitions are not dangerous. On the contrary, they are necessary. and in life no progress is possible without definite rules of conduct.”

I trust the honourable delegate of Canada will believe that the French delegation also considers rules of conduct necessary both in private and public life. But we consider, too, that a hard-and-fast definition is not invariably a good thing. If, for example, we were asked to define the phrase “fully self-governing” which appears in the article of the Covenant providing that any State desiring to become a Member of the League must be fully self-governing, if I myself were asked to define this phrase, which covers such a multitude of things — and it has been my profession for thirty years to define what a free government is — I should refuse the task.

The British delegation had in mind a universal, abstract, sound and clear definition — a surprising fact, seeing that it is usually my country which is accused of an excessive fondness for universal definitions, a taste for abstractions, a superstitious reverence for the written word ; and we have always thought that one of the many great qualities of the British mind was its practical nature, its wariness in committing to paper, its trust in established custom and its preference for dealing with difficulties as and when they arise.

But, as M. Scialoja remarked, we owe some gratitude to the British delegation, since both the proposal and the memorandum might have been written by a professor of a Latin country — and there can be no derogatory implication in the term, seeing that it comes from the eminent delegate of Italy, who represents here the world-famous University of Rome, and from myself, who all too unworthily represent the great University of Paris.

Viscount Cecil’s proposal is confined to a suggestion to nominate a Committee, but there is a memorandum attached to the resolution. This memorandum first sets out a certain method of interpreting the Covenant ; secondly, it supplies the material for a definition of the League’s sphere of action, and, thirdly, it lays down a certain procedure which the League’s activities would have to follow.

The memorandum begins by laying down a method of interpreting the Covenant. There are two possible methods. When considering a document we can look at it with the eyes of a jurist, scrutinising every letter, twisting the text, studying its grammatical interpretation, giving it what some would call a judaical and others a jesuitical interpretation. The text may be subjected to an *interpretatio strictissima*, as if the French

Cour de Cassation were hearing a plea regarding a party wall or in a criminal case, where the *interpretatio strictissima* must be taken whenever it benefits the accused.

Is this the best method to apply when dealing with a document like the Covenant ? My very eminent and eloquent friend, M. Paul-Boncour, who is now the head of the French delegation, said the other day that the more one studied the Covenant the more gratitude one was bound to feel towards those who, on the immediate morrow of the war, when the earth still reeked with the smoke of battles, raised this imperishable monument, conceived this precious and precise instrument for the organisation and maintenance of peace. No one has a greater admiration for it than I have ; but for the very reason that the Covenant was drawn up at a time when deep emotion was everywhere prevalent, it is essential that we should make it a rule to distinguish, if we can, between what the authors of the Covenant said and what they intended to say.

Turn to the Preamble. Two of the League’s objects are set out therein, namely, the promotion of international co-operation and the attainment of international peace and security.

The words used are : “In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security”.

Let us go further and, in a common-sense spirit, taking a somewhat higher view than the man in the street ; let us read Article 23. “The Members of the League will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children.” Article 25 : “The mitigation of suffering throughout the world.” Article 22 : “The well-being and development of such people”, that is, the inhabitants of mandated territories. All these articles assert the sacred mission of civilisation, and, since we have this text, which glows with the spirit of the Covenant, what right have we, in drawing up a list of the special missions of the League, to declare such a list to be limitative instead of simply enumerative or, as the jurist would say, *ad exemplum constitutus*.

Personally I think that the spirit of the Covenant is sufficiently lucid and clear to justify all the activities of the League in the sphere of international co-operation and the maintenance of peace.

Secondly, the British delegation’s memorandum provides material for a definition. The League may deal with (1) the object of a treaty ; (2) whatever may become the object of a treaty ; (3) a treaty dealing only with international questions (this idea, perhaps, is not very sharply defined). As regards national questions, the League may, if I understand the British memorandum aright, only collect information.

Before reverting to what I have already said, I would ask what would be the use of a science which produced no practical results, or of information not intended as a preliminary to action. To my mind the League may legislate on anything that is likely to promote international co-operation and the maintenance of peace.

The disadvantage of a restrictive definition is that it would both add to the Covenant and limit it. There is the risk that it might reflect upon some of the past work of the Assembly, and even on some of the noble work in which Viscount Cecil has enthusiastically participated. I have in mind the restoration of Austria, the financial assistance rendered to Hungary, the assistance given to Greek and Bulgarian refugees, Armenians, Russians and others—in fact, all the work conducted by Dr. Nansen.

There are certain evils so serious and deep-rooted that the countries suffering from them constitute a definite element of unrest in the world — evils so serious and deep-rooted, especially when resulting from the war, that peace cannot be regarded as secure until they have been eradicated.

To take another point: a restrictive definition would eventually become a handicap. Supposing that at some distant date, perhaps so distant that we shall not be here to see it, measures were contemplated to remedy the money market troubles which exist, as you know, both in countries with depreciated currencies and in those whose currencies are somewhat paradoxically described as favourable; supposing that we were one day asked to deal with some great humanitarian work beyond the power and resources of a single State; should we declare such work outside our sphere of action?

If this proposal for the restrictive definition of the Covenant is designed to prevent the League from dealing with questions like children's baths or swimming pools for adults — to return to the examples already quoted to you — the fable would be reversed and instead of the mountain bringing forth a mouse, the mouse would bring forth a mountain. Or, to quote another fable, it would be like the bear which, in order to rid its master of the fly on his nose, proceeded to break his head.

The maintenance of peace is indisputably the chief, the primary object of the League. But does that mean that we shall ensure peace simply by meeting in this hall and making statements of doctrine. Is peace a matter of courts and magistrates, of public prosecutors or judges' robes and wigs? Can peace be manufactured by the machinery of the law?

No, if the triune godhead of the League, — arbitration, security and disarmament — is to come down on earth and live among us, preparing the way for peace, we must create the proper atmosphere for its reception. We must teach the nations that the interests which they have in common are more numerous than those which divide them and are also more real, more profound and more permanent. Collaboration and co-operation between the peoples create an atmosphere favourable to the maintenance of peace.

In the British delegation's memorandum an attempt is made to establish a line of demarcation between national and international affairs. This is an intricate problem; it is as difficult as the definition of public order, morality or decency, which by their very nature are conceptions liable to change. One speaker in the Committee referred to the fact that it was formerly considered improper for a woman to show her feet. Well, standards of decency change. The bathing costume of to-day is not what our grandmothers would have worn. It does for seaside bars and restaurants, but is, so far, prohibited in city streets and restaurants. Everything is a question of latitude, of period, of the state of opinion at the moment. Questions are continually extending beyond the bounds of national affairs and coming within the international purview. Some questions which were once international are no longer even national, but simply matters for the individual.

Mr. Latham, delegate of Australia, spoke of a uniform religion for all Members of the League as a sheer absurdity. It would indeed be an absurdity at the present day, when religion has become a purely individual matter; yet less than two hundred years have elapsed since the Holy Alliance.

We have seen the evolution of religion from the international to the national plane and from the national to the individual plane, on which it finally stands.

Let me now turn to the question of the internal constitution of States.

Viscount Cecil, the eminent delegate of the British Empire, gave an excellent example of the national purview when he spoke of the reform of the House of Lords. That is obviously an essentially national question, but it is too forceful an illustration to provide us with a definition. It is as if we had hold of the two ends of the chain but could not find the intermediate links.

Does this mean that, from the international standpoint, the internal constitution of States is a matter of indifference? Parliamentary democracy is for some of us the most satisfactory constitution from the international point of view, and, in the view of some, the democratic control of diplomacy is calculated to prevent war.

Is it not, moreover, in keeping with the spirit of the Covenant, under which, as I have just said, none but States "*qui se gouvernent librement*", or, in the more explicit wording of the English text, "fully self-governing" States, may become Members of the League? At the same time nobody here would wish to raise in this hall these burning questions, which are so essentially legal in character, for the simple reason that the problem is not a legal one within the competence of the First Committee, but a matter of expediency and tact which concerns every organ of the League.

Hygiene was once unknown, hence the terrible epidemics of the Middle Ages. It became a national affair, and fearful scourges still occurred, such as the Marseilles plague. At length it became an international question, and cholera and plague are decreasing day by day.

Social and labour legislation, which at one time did not exist, were first national affairs and are now tending more and more to become questions of international concern.

How is it possible to distinguish between the national and international aspects of such questions? Can we decide, for example, that an epidemic disease is international, that a non-infectious and non-epidemic disease is essentially national and that an infectious but non-epidemic disease is a mixture of the two? Can cholera be included among international and arterio-sclerosis among national diseases? Can cancer be included in the national category because it is not considered to be transmissible, while tuberculosis would be considered as half and half?

Such hair-splitting would lead us into endless difficulties.

A third point: the British delegation's memorandum — and now I am dealing with an essentially technical matter, which is both intricate and difficult — suggests that a certain procedure should be adopted for action by the League.

This is a question which requires mature consideration. The British delegation's memorandum not only proposes to restrict action by the League to a certain sphere, but proposes to lay down certain rules for the exercise of the League's activities within that sphere itself. The League could only act by framing an international treaty or creating an international bureau. The Committee felt, however, that in each specific case the League should be left to decide whether the matter in question was of sufficiently general

interest for it to take up, or whether it was preferable to leave the Powers most directly concerned to settle it.

Once this point is decided, it is for the Assembly to select the procedure which it considers most suitable. In particular, resolutions adopted by the Assembly in accordance with the Covenant and the Rules of Procedure may constitute a perfectly satisfactory basis for action by the League. The rule of unanimity imposed upon members of the Assembly is an adequate guarantee that they will not overstep the limit.

The Covenant is enough in itself, and we have the necessary organs to interpret it whenever a proposal is referred to them, namely, either the Council or the Assembly — on the report of the Legal Committee, that is to say, the First Committee — or the Hague Court (when purely technical questions are involved).

Wherein, then, would the disadvantages of a legal definition lie? It would mean that the League would be shown the immensity of its domain, as when the Devil took Jesus upon a high mountain and offered him the kingdoms of the earth; and we should have to say: Take care, be cautious, be wise, do not attempt everything at once.

An old English jurist once said: "Parliament can do anything except change a man into a woman". That is an excellent legal definition, and I think it is a very good legal definition of the sphere of action of the League of Nations.

This legal definition does not mean that the British Parliament is bound to do everything short of changing a man into a woman, and the Assembly and its organisations should not take up every question *ad absurdum*. What I mean is that a distinction must be made between the question of legal competence and the question of expediency.

On the question of expediency we see eye to eye with the British delegation, and the Committee shares the feelings which inspired the British memorandum and draft resolution.

Are we to take up every question without a preliminary study of its constitutionality and expediency? Think how overburdened our agenda is, how the meetings of the Committees are crowded together and how the most important questions are rushed through in the charming intimacy and friendliness of the closing period of a session! Account must be taken of political contingencies, practical and financial possibilities. In this latter connection I am particularly glad of the support of the eminent representative of Czechoslovakia on the First Committee, M. Osusky, who emphasised the importance of financial considerations.

What is the resolution now before us? It is a recommendation not to accept everything indiscriminately, not to admit all those who knock insistently at our doors. It is a recommendation to select. There are questions of major importance which fall within the legal competence of the Assembly but which cannot be taken up, either because we are incapable of settling them at the moment or because we do not possess the necessary funds, or because the matter is a very delicate one affecting the internal policy of States.

There are also minor questions which it is not for the League to examine. The League must not be made to appear an academy of cranks or the last refuge of a school of sentiment. The League must be wary in taking up the more or less ingenious schemes of reform conceived in the

brains of bachelors or old maids or of the childless, or even — I would add, lest I fail to carry the whole Assembly with me — of men with family cares. Questions such as heliotherapy, hydrotherapy, language reform, rational food and clothing belong to a school of sentiment into which we cannot penetrate. The League's task is obviously not to provide children's baths or swimming-baths for adults. If the Assembly were asked to deal with a question which for some hours occupied the attention of the French Parliament, namely, the question of babies' dummies, and to recommend the international prohibition of their use, I should most certainly ask it to refrain.

There are certain problems which should only be dealt with when public opinion is ripe. I must confess that when, in a few days' time, I return to our farmers in the south of France and tell them of the great work the League is doing, I do not propose to mention the reform of the calendar, important as that question undoubtedly is.

It is essential, moreover, to realise that the importance of any question is purely relative and varies considerably according to latitude and country. For example, certain countries regard opium as a burning question; others attach capital importance to infectious diseases, while others again — and these constitute the majority — regard the maintenance of peace as the primary work of the League.

The meaning of our resolution is perfectly clear: no questions must be taken up without due reflection, for fear of damaging the League's prestige.

We maintain that certain unwritten rules are implicit in the Covenant: the sense of expediency, a comprehension of practical possibilities and respect for what Roosevelt once called "sublime common sense". I think the Assembly ought to be unanimous on all these points.

We have, however, refused to consider any rigid or restrictive legal definition which might one day hamper the League in the performance of its duties, in the attainment of its instinctive aims and in the realisation of those great hopes which the world looks to it to fulfil.

The President:

Translation: M. Beneš, first delegate of Czechoslovakia, will address the Assembly.

M. Beneš (Czechoslovakia):

Translation: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am not going to oppose the resolution submitted by the Committee, but simply to make a small observation.

You have heard the views of the First Committee and the Rapporteur's observations on the British proposal, and, since this proposal might have far-reaching consequences, I will ask the Assembly to consider the following suggestion.

I quite agree with Viscount Cecil that the League should not engage in work outside the sphere of international co-operation or work which is not in keeping with its other objects. Moreover, I regard the drafting of any resolution on the question as a very important matter; it concerns not only the First Committee, but also the other Committees whose work it affects or might affect.

At the same time, I recognise and call special attention to the weight attaching to the

Rapporteur's arguments and the large measure of truth which they contain.

For all these reasons, and in view of the fact that the other Committees have had neither time nor opportunity to study the draft resolution and its possible effect on the work which concerns them more particularly, I venture to propose that the examination of the resolution should be postponed until the next session of the Assembly.

The President :

Translation : Viscount Cecil, delegate of the British Empire, will address the Assembly.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — It is probably one of the chief difficulties of the League of Nations that the mentality of the French race is so different from the mentality of the British race, so that, however clearly we try to express our thoughts, we find ourselves constantly misunderstood by our French friends; and it may be that the converse happens with equal frequency.

We have listened to a most interesting and a most versatile discourse by the distinguished representative of France. It was very elaborate and, in parts, very entertaining; but it was based on a complete misapprehension of the central topic with which he dealt, namely, the British memorandum on the question before us. He conceived — indeed, he asserted in the most emphatic way — that we desire to lay down a hard-and-fast definition of what is and what is not within the competence of the League of Nations. No conception could have been further from our thoughts, and I can only say that I do not think that any English person reading our memorandum could have arrived at so strange a conclusion.

The memorandum consists of an argument to show what perhaps it was not worth while so elaborately to show, namely, that the League is constituted to deal with international matters and not with national matters; it has not to take the place of organs of national opinion or of national constitution.

When an attempt is made to draw a line between what is international and what is national, there are obvious and immense difficulties to be encountered. As M. Barthélemy very truly said, not only is it very difficult to draw the line at any particular moment, but the line necessarily changes from time to time. This is all quite true and is all recognised or implied in the British memorandum. An endeavour has been made there to give examples of what may be thought to be clearly on one side of the line or clearly on the other side. I recognise, of course, that the statement is not a complete one, and that it could not be made complete unless it were a good deal longer. It was merely put forward as the basis for discussion, and I hoped very much that the First Committee would have seen its way to elaborate it and to make it — I will not say quite complete, because I doubt whether it could ever be made so — but more widely embracing, so as to give a more useful indication of what is and what is not within the competence of the League.

I think that our French colleague pointed out very truly one subject which was entirely omitted — and it is a grave omission — from the British memorandum, namely, such spheres of activity as the assistance of refugees and the action which

the League has taken — so happily and usefully from an international point of view — in Hungary, Austria, Greece, Bulgaria and other countries. It may be — I trust it will be — that such action is only the prelude to other action of the same kind. A man must indeed be a lunatic if he thinks that such action is not clearly international in character.

The whole basis, therefore, of that part of the French orator's speech which attacked and criticised with some severity the British memorandum because it sought to lay down a strict definition was based — I must say so quite plainly — upon a complete misunderstanding of what that memorandum essayed to do.

I do not desire to withdraw anything I said when I first laid this matter before the League. I do think it is important that the League should confine itself to matters of international concern, though I quite admit that any attempt rigidly to define what are international matters would be mistaken and impossible. I did not bring this question forward, as the French delegate appeared to think, merely because some Advisory Committee had recommended swimming-baths, or for any reason of that kind. I took that suggestion as an illustration, an obvious and a harmless illustration, of the kind of thing which seemed to me to be clearly outside the competence of the League.

This is not a trifling matter, and it is a grave mistake to suppose that it is. There is a danger that our critics, the enemies of the League — and there are enemies of the League in every country, perhaps as many in France as in my own country — may be able to say that Geneva is the home of cranks and fanatics. It would be grossly untrue to say so, but it is very important that we should take care not only that it is untrue but that there is not even a scintilla of basis for such a charge.

It is for this reason, and in order to reassure public opinion in certain countries and to make it quite certain that there is no intention of interfering with national sovereignty, no intention of utilising international machinery in order to accomplish a strictly national object, or, still less, to interfere with national independence and sovereignty, that I desire to bring this matter seriously to the consideration of the League, and I had hoped that we should have had a more helpful kind of speech than that to which we have just listened.

I personally greatly prefer the report of the Committee to the argument by which it has been recommended, and I do not doubt that the essential paragraph, which suggests that "each body forming part of the League should satisfy itself that the proposal is in accordance with the objects of the League as indicated by the Covenant", does lay down a useful guide which might be considered carefully by those bodies. It does not amount to a definition, because it does not say what the objects of the League are or what exactly is meant or indicated by the Covenant. I think the authors of the definition were very wise not to attempt rigidity.

I believe that, broadly speaking, the objects of the League are, for the reasons given in the British memorandum, matters of international concern, and I agree with the very able argument of M. Barthélemy to the effect that in interpreting the League it is necessary to take into consideration the whole League. It is necessary to take the Preamble of the Covenant as indicating the object in view, and the articles as illustrating how that general object may, in particular cases, be attained. With all this I agree, and personally

I should have been quite satisfied to have adopted this report as it stands without further delay. My friend M. Beneš, however, has suggested that further consideration is desirable, and has pointed out with undeniable force that, owing to the great haste in which we have been conducting our business for the last week, we have not perhaps had an opportunity of considering as fully as we ought the exact wording which should be adopted in dealing with this very important matter.

I personally should be the last to oppose his suggestion, and if he desires that this matter should be postponed to the next session of the Assembly, I am very ready to agree, particularly as my chief object was to draw the attention of the League to the dangers of unduly expanding its activities, rather than to lay down any rigid and unalterable rule as to what those activities should be.

I therefore accept the proposal of M. Beneš.

The President :

Translation : Sir George Foster, delegate of Canada, will address the Assembly.

Sir George Foster (Canada) :

Ladies and gentlemen — Do not be in the least afraid that I am going to impose a speech upon you. That would be altogether out of place, but I find myself in a certain difficulty.

All those who have listened to the speech made by M. Barthélemy, the honourable delegate of France, and who contrasted with that speech the very meagre and insufficient English interpretation which followed it, will appreciate my difficulty. I do not understand all the arguments brought forward by that distinguished orator, and I do not therefore know exactly what was the close connection between the arguments he used and the resolution which we are asked to pass. From my imperfect knowledge of French I judged, if I may be allowed to use my judgment, that he was combating something which had not been asserted.

We have a phrase in our country which we use when, for example, an advocate tries to get the better of an opponent before a popular audience; we say that he puts up a "man of straw". In the most valiant fashion he beats that "man of straw" and at last administers the final "knock-out blow". It is a great victory — for the advocate himself; and I was wondering, when my friend M. Barthélemy was speaking, whether or not, if he had been delivering such a speech in an assembly in my country, we should have classed him under the style of advocate I have just mentioned. But, of course, for sedate and cultured Europe to undertake that kind of advocacy is out of the question! I have not the least suspicion that it would ever be undertaken.

This is my difficulty. If I am asked to vote for this resolution I am asked also to admit the value of and to support the argument by which it was placed before this Assembly, and I do not know what that argument was. Consequently, I am in some doubt lest, in voting for a resolution which seems fairly reasonable, I shall be endorsing an argument which I should consider to be somewhat unreasonable. For that reason, I would suggest that it is of importance that this Assembly, in view of the duty which it owes to itself and the duty which it owes to the great public which is listening to it, should not regard this debate as ended, but should make it possible for it to be continued at another session of the Assembly. It is not possible, at the present session of the Assembly, for the other side of the argument to be adequately presented, and I think therefore that we should do well to resume this discussion at another time.

I want to endorse what Viscount Cecil said — that there is a very real and continuing danger ahead of the League. There is a suspicion on the part of a great many people in the different countries of the world, there is even an apprehension — I cannot think that it is well grounded — that the League of Nations is pursuing methods which make it liable to be regarded as entrenching upon the national rights and privileges of the countries of the world. That is considered in some quarters to be its object, or at all events one of its methods. I meet that criticism — I have to meet it and overcome it as best I can — when I am upholding the League.

I believe that the League must be very careful not to give any prominence or support to actions which could give rise to that suspicion. I believe it is perfectly possible to have the general scope of its action fairly well defined and understood and carried out, leaving each proposal as it arises to be judged by circumstances and to be brought to the test whether it is within the sphere of the League of Nations or not. I must not, however, run into argument or take up more of your time. I simply wish to approve and support very strongly the proposal made by Dr. Beneš that this debate be adjourned and that the subject be held over for further discussion by a future session of the Assembly.

The President :

Translation : M. Motta, Chairman of the First Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. Motta (Switzerland) Chairman of the First Committee :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I have no desire to presume upon your patience, but I think that as Chairman of the First Committee I ought to give you my views on the proposal for postponement submitted by Dr. Beneš, first delegate of Czechoslovakia.

In view of present circumstances and of the stage which the discussion has reached, postponement is clearly advisable. I trust, therefore, that in agreeing to the discussion being held over until next year I am faithfully interpreting the views of the delegations and their representatives on the First Committee.

I do not think that any harm can come of postponement. The question is a difficult one, involving serious issues, and may still require lengthy discussion. A long discussion hardly appears desirable at this late hour.

It is quite true that, owing to the large number of questions to be dealt with by the First Committee, we were perhaps unable to devote as long as we should have liked to the discussion of each one of them. Fortunately, however, we succeeded in arriving at a unanimous agreement on the basis of the resolution expounded by M. Barthélemy.

The essential feature of this resolution was a recommendation that each body forming part of the League, before taking into consideration any proposal submitted to it, should satisfy itself that it comes within the scope of the Covenant and is of real importance from the point of view of the League's activities.

We shall accordingly resume the discussion of the question under consideration next year, though we feel that, while postponement is desirable, the discussion this year has been equally so.

I trust no one will imagine that the resolution refers to action already undertaken or work already begun by the League. This was by no means the Committee's intention.

As regards any fresh activity subsequently suggested to the League, this discussion will, I feel sure, constitute a sufficient recommendation to proceed with caution, moderation and, best of all, common sense.

The President :

Translation : We have before us two proposals : first a resolution submitted by the First Committee and, second, a motion for postponement submitted by Dr. Beneš, delegate of Czechoslovakia. Under the Rules of Procedure the motion for adjournment must be taken first. I note that it has been agreed to by the Chairman of the First Committee and by all the previous speakers. I will ask the Assembly whether it is in favour of postponement.

As nobody has anything to say I declare the motion for postponement adopted. (*Agreed.*)

70. — MANDATES : RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE SIXTH COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Mandates question.

(*On the incitation of the President, M. de Brouckère, Chairman and Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, took his place on the platform.*)

The President :

Translation : M. de Brouckère, Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, will address the Assembly.

M. de Brouckère (Belgium), Rapporteur :

Translation : The Sixth Committee has adopted and now submits to the Assembly the following resolution :

"The Assembly,

"Having taken cognisance of the report to the Council relating to the mandated territories and of the discussion on the subject which has taken place in the Council ;

"And having heard the Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission :

"Thanks the Permanent Mandates Commission for the devotion and the zeal with which it has carried out its delicate task ;

"Has confidence in the members of this Commission as well as in the Members of the Council to ensure the application of the principles of Article 22 of the Covenant in a cordial spirit of co-operation with the mandatory Powers."

Such is the very brief report drafted after somewhat lengthy proceedings which were marked at times by a certain animation, but were inspired throughout by the loftiest sentiments.

I have already acquainted you with the conclusions reached by the Committee as the result of its proceedings. It is not for me as Rapporteur to give an official account of the various arguments advanced. Anyone interested in the question will find them in the Minutes. At the same time I shall not, I think, be exceeding my duty if, in a verbal report engaging only my personal responsibility, I endeavour briefly to set forth those ideas upon which I feel — indeed I am sure — that the Sixth Committee was unanimous.

In the first place we were all agreed in testifying most gratefully to the zeal and devotion displayed

by the members of the Mandates Commission in the performance of a difficult task. Certain doubts on this point have been expressed, not in the League, but among the public. The proceedings of the Sixth Committee, following on the very clear and definite statements of the members of the Council, will serve to dispel these doubts once and for all.

The members of the Mandates Commission have a supremely difficult task to fulfil.

They have to obtain detailed information concerning the most varied kinds of peoples. That is a singularly thankless task, since they are never called upon for assistance when things are going well, but are nevertheless obliged to intervene whenever there is the menace of a dispute calling for settlement. Lastly, their duties are, I need hardly say, of a particularly delicate nature.

With years of experience behind us we can testify that, no matter how difficult their task, they have always succeeded in performing it with credit to themselves.

There is a second point on which unanimous agreement was reached, and it calls for special mention. I refer to the importance universally attached to the work for which the Mandates Commission is responsible. No one dreams of undervaluing that work or of restricting the Commission's powers, which are clearly defined in the last paragraph of Article 22 of the Covenant :

"A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates."

I might remind you that this general provision was further defined and elucidated by the famous report which we owe to one whose presence for many years shed a special lustre on the Belgian delegation : I refer to M. Paul Hymans.

As you are all aware, the League is directly involved in the administration of the mandates. It is specifically laid down in Article 22 that States entrusted with the duty of tutelage shall exercise such tutelage as Mandatories on behalf of the League. This means that the League can never divest itself of its responsibility in regard to the way in which the mandate is exercised.

Nor must it be forgotten that this task involves the application of an entirely novel principle and also the regulation of the relations between the mandated territory and the mandatory Power on the one hand and between the League itself and the mandatory Powers on the other. It is obvious that the adjustment of relations of such recent growth cannot be brought to perfection in a day. Such a task calls for long experience, and, until that experience has been acquired, the only means whereby the various interests can be reconciled and the necessary co-operation established is to continue to act with tact and circumspection, a rule to which, I repeat, the Mandates Commission has constantly adhered.

That body, it should be noted again, has clearly affirmed its intention to carry out its mission, but not as a body of magistrates examining persons lying under a charge, since the mere fact of giving a State a mandate and entrusting it with the execution of so high a mission constitutes a proof of confidence which must carry with it certain implications. No, the Mandates Commission has openly proclaimed its intention of collaborating with the mandatory Powers. Collaboration does not preclude advice or even criticism, provided that the criticism is constructive and designed to help the Mandatory to do better.

One word more. Two definite questions occupied the special attention of the Sixth Committee, the first being that of the questionnaire. You know what that means. The Mandates Commission drew up a questionnaire a long time ago, in order to assist the mandatory Powers in drawing up the annual report to be submitted under Article 22 of the Covenant. It is now proposed to revise this questionnaire. Naturally, such a step cannot be taken until the mandatory States have been consulted. This is now being done, and I have no doubt that the conciliatory attitude to which I have just referred will result in complete agreement being reached between the mandatory States and the Mandates Commission.

As regards the reorganisation of the right of petition, I would emphasise the Commission's very explicit declaration that it had never contemplated the establishment of a system conferring upon petitioners any unilateral right to be heard.

In this connection I desire to make the following statement, not in my capacity as Rapporteur, but as delegate of Belgium.

I desire to state that my Government maintains intact its original view as to the exercise of the right of petition. It cannot agree to any system whereby the mandatory Powers could be arraigned. It does not, however, reject *a priori* a procedure by which the Commission would be empowered, in certain strictly defined cases, to carry out investigations and to hear the statements of both parties.

I have no more to say. The word "crisis" has been used in connection with the meeting of the Council at which the report of the Mandates Commission was discussed. It has become the fashion to employ that word in connection with all the League's activities. It is perfectly true that discussions do sometimes take place in the League, and that these discussions are sometimes more heated than used to be the case. What is the reason? It is that the League has grown into a more tangible reality, and that the concrete interests of the nations are more closely affected.

But this, as has often been pointed out, is simply a phenomenon of growth. When an organisation is in process of development, fresh problems crop up and old problems reappear in a different form. The overcoming of such obstacles and difficulties constitutes the very life-blood of any organisation. Progress will not be achieved simply by following the course of events peacefully and, if I may say so, apathetically, but by surmounting difficulties, just as the human body overcomes its physical disabilities. This organic determination to rise above difficulties and expand is perhaps the most vital factor both in physical and in moral well-being.

It was Anatole France, I think, who once defined the will by likening it to the persistent determination of the tree to burst into leaf in the springtime.

The League will triumph over difficulties, great and small alike, because mankind remains persistent in its determination to blossom forth in the coming springtime of peace and justice.

The President :

Translation : Dr. Nansen, delegate of Norway, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Nansen (Norway) :

I wish to say a few words in support of the formal report containing the very important resolution which has just been laid before the Assembly by

the Chairman of the Sixth Committee. I shall not detain you for more than a few moments, but I do not feel able to leave without comment here this resolution and the debates from which it resulted.

In the first place I should like to say that in my view the value of those debates was seriously reduced by the atmosphere of haste in which, from beginning to end, they were conducted. I desire on behalf of my delegation to add my protest to that which has been made by the British delegation against the practice of seeking to end the Assembly on a fixed day decided upon before the work of the Assembly has properly begun. I have to express our ardent hope that in future years it will be decided that adequate time shall be allowed for the full and satisfactory discussion of every subject which comes before the Assembly. It is for the Assembly to give the necessary impetus to the whole work of the League for the succeeding year in all its branches, and it is certain that it must often be very difficult for the Assembly to show the wisdom that is required if attempts are made to take the work too fast.

As regards the debates on mandates questions in the Sixth Committee, I do not propose to raise again the issues with which we dealt. I only desire to say that those debates, curtailed though they were, had, in my opinion, the greatest possible value. The resolution to which we agreed is less comprehensive than other draft resolutions which were submitted, but none the less it carries out adequately the purpose which every member of the Sixth Committee had in view. That purpose was to express in the most solemn manner possible the full and unabated confidence of the whole League of Nations in the members of its Mandates Commission.

Resolutions similar to this have been passed in previous years, but I think that our resolution this year has more than the usual significance. Anyone who has studied the reports of the Mandates Commission knows that it had, between the sixth and seventh sessions of the Assembly, a year of extraordinary activity. It held ordinary and special sessions, and issues of the greatest possible gravity were submitted for its consideration. Throughout, as the Sixth Committee has unanimously recognised, it fulfilled its duties, with great courage, great wisdom and great devotion, in accordance with the Covenant and the decisions of the Council and previous Assemblies. I feel sure that I am speaking for every member of the Sixth Committee when I say that they were deeply impressed by the high-minded conception of its task which the Commission has, as witnessed, in particular, by the speeches made before the Sixth Committee by the Vice-Chairman of the Commission, M. van Rees, and that they have the greatest admiration for the determination of the Commission to do its duty.

There are other matters in connection with the mandates concerning which I had hoped that the Sixth Committee might be able to make positive recommendations, in particular, concerning the subject of the liquor traffic in some of the mandated areas. Owing to the circumstances to which I have referred this has not been possible. I hope that, if satisfactory solutions are not reached before that time, the next Assembly will very carefully consider the matter.

In the meantime, I desire to say again that, by the resolution which is now before it, the Assembly is expressing its confidence in the Mandates Commission, both in respect of the work which it has done during the past year and that

which confronts it in the year to come, and that it is expressing its approval of the action taken by the Commission during all its sessions, both ordinary and special, held during the past year.

The Assembly is also, as I understand it, expressing its unabated confidence in the rightness of the mandates system, by means of which, we all believe, the mandatory Powers may be able to build up new principles of co-operation between the advanced and backward peoples of the world, for the mutual benefit of both. No one who follows these matters can doubt that these relations constitute one of the gravest of the problems which the twentieth century has to face, and that towards its solution the Mandates Commission may have a great contribution to make.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak I will put to the vote the resolution of the Sixth Committee, which reads as follows :

The Assembly,

Having taken cognisance of the report to the Council relating to the mandated territories and of the discussion on the subject which has taken place in the Council ;

And having heard the Vice-Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission :

Thanks the Permanent Mandates Commission for the devotion and zeal with which it has carried out its delicate task ;

Has confidence in the members of this Commission as well as in the Members of the Council to ensure the application of the principles of Article 22 of the Covenant in a cordial spirit of co-operation with the mandatory Powers.

The resolution was adopted.

The Assembly rose at 1.25 p.m.

SEVENTEENTH PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, September 25th, 1926, at 3.15 p.m.

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President : M. NINTCHITCH.

71. — SLAVERY CONVENTION : REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The first item on the agenda is the Sixth Committee's report on the Slavery Convention (Annex 20. Document A.104.1926.VI).

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Brouckère, Chairman of the Sixth Committee, and Viscount Cecil, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Viscount Cecil will address the Assembly.

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (British Empire), Rapporteur :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Before I say anything with regard to the question of slavery, may I be permitted to make one observation concerning a declaration made by the Norwegian delegate, Dr. Nansen, this morning? He then explained what, I think, has been in the minds of a great many delegates and others, namely, that we have been working under conditions of great pressure, particularly during the last few days. That pressure manifested itself to some extent when we were dealing with this question of slavery, and I gather that it has been much more severe in connection with other questions. I venture therefore to express the earnest hope that care will be taken to avoid such pressure

in future Assemblies and that it will be recognised that it is really impracticable for the Assembly to get through its work with due efficiency and dignity unless at least four weeks are allowed for the purpose.

In spite of any imperfections which may have resulted from the conditions I have described, I now have the honour to lay before you the results of the work of the Sixth Committee in connection with the question of slavery. The Committee has succeeded in agreeing, unanimously, upon a Convention on this subject. That Convention is, in the main, similar to the draft Convention of last year, and deals with three main subjects. It recalls the unanimous resolve of all civilised nations to put an end once and for all to the slave trade. It makes some provision to facilitate that great object. It proposes that slavery, in all its forms, shall, as soon as possible, come to an end, but it recognises that in some countries this must still take a little time; the Convention, therefore, requires that it should be done progressively and as soon as possible. Lastly, it deals, for the first time in international documents, with the question of forced labour, which, as everyone who has studied the subject knows, may, in some of its forms, easily degenerate into conditions not very far removed from slavery.

You will remember that last year the Assembly had under consideration a draft Convention dealing with all these problems. It was examined with a great deal of care by the Sixth Committee and a revised text was submitted to the Assembly. We had hoped that it would have been signed at once, but for various reasons this turned out to be impracticable and it was arranged that the matter should be adjourned until this Assembly, when the draft Convention would be reconsidered, and that the various Members of the League should be invited, as far as possible, to authorise their representatives at this Assembly to sign such a Convention if they agreed with it. Accordingly, we have gone very carefully through the Convention again clause by clause and, I may say, line by line. We have made certain amendments, to which I will draw your attention, and we are going to ask, and indeed we do ask, all the States which are represented here to sign the Convention.

I do not propose to read at length the report of the Sixth Committee. It is necessarily rather a lengthy document, because an effort has been made to make it a full commentary on the text of the Convention and, therefore, a good deal that was in last year's report has been again repeated. I ought, perhaps, to add a word of warning; there are passages in last year's report which have been omitted in order to save space, and anyone who wishes to know what is the full policy of the Assembly in this matter will still have to refer to last year's report also. One example of this, perhaps the most important, is that in last year's report some attempt was made at a definition of what was meant by public services, and that passage does not reappear in this year's report.

I think that the best way in which I can be of assistance to the Assembly is to take the Convention article by article, mentioning anything to which I think it worth while to call your special attention, referring you for any fuller comment to the report of this year, supplemented by the report of last year.

Article 1, which defines slavery and the slave trade, calls for no further remark.

In Article 2, which provides for the suppression of the slave trade and the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms as soon as possible, a slight

but important change has been made since last year. In the article last year the phrase "domestic slavery and similar conditions" was included. Those words have now been left out because it is hoped and believed that the definition of slavery as contained in the Convention will cover all those conditions, at any rate, in their more objectionable form. In connection with every legal definition there is always some possibility of doubt, and you will find that in the report the definition is expanded and explained by the statement that it includes the maintenance by a private individual of rights over another person of the same nature as the rights which an individual can have over things. In my judgment this is not in any respect wider than the actual definition so far as the English text is concerned, though I am advised that, without that explanation, there might be a little doubt as to the full meaning of the French text.

As regards Article 3, which is an attempt to improve existing provisions dealing with the suppression of the slave trade at sea, the British Government was anxious, and would still prefer, to have done that by the simple process of declaring the slave trade as being on the same level as piracy. That would have given very wide powers to deal with any slave trader who was found pursuing his nefarious purpose. Objections, however, were raised to the proposal, and we fell back on the idea that we might perhaps apply the provisions of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms to the slave trade so far as maritime search was concerned.

Even that idea proved to be rather further than some of those represented on the Committee were prepared to go, and in the clause in the Convention we arrived at this compromise: that the parties will negotiate a general Convention including provisions of the same nature as those found in the Convention on the International Trade in Arms, subject to the necessary adaptation, and we have provided, in order to meet the anxiety of a certain Power, that this provision does not imply a preference for any one of the signatory States over any other—all of them are to be treated on the same terms.

Some anxiety, I believe, exists about the wording of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms, and I think that statements to that effect will be made from this tribune. I will only say that, while fully recognising the right of any State to make such a reservation, I hope and believe very strongly that it is quite unnecessary in this case, because the obligation in the Convention itself, which does not extend to every detail of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms, will leave any question of the wording to be settled by negotiation afterwards. In addition, we have provided that any two or three Powers may make special agreements carrying, if they so choose, the rights of search, and so on, further than the Convention on the International Trade in Arms would carry them. We hope that in that way a real step forward may be made toward increasing the powers whereby any slave trade still existing may be suppressed.

Article 4 calls for no comment. It provides that every nation is to give assistance to others in putting a stop to this evil. The special method by which something of the kind might perhaps be done may be by the effective exercise of the rights of manumission which exist in certain countries, those rights to be exercised by the Consul of certain of the Powers represented there. We have exercised that right fairly freely ourselves in one country, and we trust, and I daresay with some foundation, that other countries are doing likewise.

I now pass to Article 5, which deals with forced labour. The terms of that article are almost exactly the same as last year. It provides, as you probably remember, that forced labour for private purposes is, in principle, to be abolished, and that forced labour for public purposes is declared only to be permissible if it does not in any way resemble slavery. We were urged to add certain specific provisions providing for adequate remuneration, particularly in the case of forced labour for public services. We considered this proposal very carefully, but were faced with great practical difficulties in including such a provision in the Convention, because in many cases, or in some exceptional cases, forced labour for public services is not, strictly speaking, paid for, though it is taken in the place of taxes and things of that kind. We therefore agreed, while stating the whole of our view in the report (which I trust those who are interested in the subject will read), also to urge the Assembly to pass a special resolution on the subject, which, although it will not form part of the Convention, will indicate the strong feeling of the League on this question. You will find it as resolution No. III of the report. It says :

“III. The Assembly,

“While recognising that forced labour for public purposes is sometimes necessary ;

“Is of opinion that, as a general rule, it should not be resorted to unless it is impossible to obtain voluntary labour and that it should receive adequate remuneration.”

In addition, we have made one change. We said last year that, in principle, forced labour may be exacted, only for public services. That provision has been somewhat strengthened, and we now say that, subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph 2, forced labour shall only be exacted for public purposes. In other words, we make clearer what we always meant, namely, that forced labour for private purposes ought to come to an end as soon as possible.

A possible ambiguity has been pointed out to me. I do not see how it could arise, but it has been suggested. The use of the term “transitional provisions” does not mean that recourse may be had to any new forced labour for private purposes however transitory the period involved ; on the contrary, no new case of forced labour for private purposes should, under any circumstances, be admitted. Only in those cases where it already exists can it be treated with this kind of transitory toleration until steps can be effectively and justly taken to put an end to it.

Meanwhile, in the same way as last year, we lay down certain principles which in no case must be evaded, even in connection with forced labour of a transitional character for private purposes. Even during the transitional period these principles must be observed. They are as follows: the labour shall only be exacted for exceptional reasons, it shall always receive adequate remuneration, and — most important of all — it shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence. That, to my mind, is almost the most important provision in the whole of the Convention. This is as far as we have attempted to go in regulating forced labour. We thought that to do more would be to go beyond our province. An institution exists — the

International Labour Office — whose business it is to deal with the conditions of labour, and to make enquiries, studies and recommendations with regard to labour conditions all over the world, whether free labour or forced labour, and we were aware that the International Labour Office had already begun enquiries which would enable it to consider this question of forced labour. We thought it right, therefore, in order to remove any possible doubt or ambiguity on the subject, to recommend the Assembly to pass the following resolution :

“IV. The Assembly,

“Taking note of the work undertaken by the International Labour Office in conformity with the mission entrusted to it and within the limits of its constitution ;

“Considering that these studies naturally include the problem of forced labour :

“Requests the Council to inform the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of the adoption of the Slavery Convention, and to draw its attention to the importance of the work undertaken by the Office with a view to studying the best means of preventing forced or compulsory labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.”

One other condition applies to all forced labour, whether private or public, namely, that it must be exacted only under the responsibility of the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

Article 6 deals with the penalties to be inflicted. I need say nothing about that.

Article 7 provides that the High Contracting Parties shall furnish to the League of Nations the laws and regulations which they enact with a view to the application of the provisions of the present Convention. We went a little further than that and were anxious that the League of Nations should not lose touch with this question but should continue to watch over it. We did not see our way to recommend — at least the majority of the Committee did not see its way to recommend — that an annual report should be made by the Members of the League. They were anxious that an opportunity should be given every year for the matter to come up for debate or discussion before this Assembly, if it were so desired, and they accordingly agreed to the following resolution, which we ask the Assembly to pass :

“The Assembly,

“Desires that the League of Nations should continue to interest itself in securing the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto and therefore begs that the Council will prepare and communicate to the Assembly every year a document mentioning the laws and regulations which parties to the Convention on Slavery, in accordance with Article 7, will have communicated to the Secretary-General, and that the Council will include therein any supplementary information which the Members of the League may be disposed spontaneously to furnish with regard to the measures taken by them to this end.”

The Sixth Committee believes that this resolution, if carried out, as no doubt it will be, will prove a very valuable safeguard in dealing with this serious, though happily diminishing, evil.

Article 8 is new. It adds to the Convention what is now a very usual clause — namely, that the Permanent Court of International Justice shall be entitled to settle any dispute with regard to the construction or application of the Convention. I do not know that I need say anything to justify this provision, because it has become such a very usual clause in all modern Conventions, particularly those signed under the auspices of the League.

The remaining articles, though they have been a little changed in form, remain substantially the same as last year. They deal with the coming into force of the Convention, its possible denunciation and similar matters.

One other change has been made since last year. In the previous Convention there was an article — Article 8 — which provided that all provisions of an international character anterior to the date of the Convention should be regarded as abrogated. That applied particularly to such Conventions as the Brussels Convention and the Berlin Convention. Considerable doubt exists as to the exact international position of those Conventions, and it was felt that, from every point of view, it would be much better to leave them on the Treaty Record — on the International Statute Book, so to speak — for what they are worth. The article in question was, therefore, abolished, and it is only right to say that in taking that course the Sixth Committee had in view the strong representations which had been made to the League by the Apostolic Nuncio at Berne.

I have now come to the end, I trust, of my short *exposé* of the provisions of this Convention. I have only to add that, as soon as it has been approved, as I trust it will be, by the Assembly, the Convention will be open for signature in a room at the back of the Presidential Chair.

I am glad to know that a considerable number of States have already signified their intention to sign the Convention. The following is the list of those States: Abyssinia, Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, the British Empire, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Estonia, Germany, Greece, India, Lithuania, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Uruguay. I have also been informed by the first delegate of New Zealand that he is only prevented by a mere formality from signing the Convention; this means, I hope, that he has no doubt, as I have no doubt, that his Government is thoroughly in favour of the Convention and will sign it very shortly.

Certain countries, of course, as anyone who has listened to the list will see, are omitted from it. I have no reason whatever to think that those omissions are due to any doubts as to the desirability of the Convention, and I think there is little question that, in the course of a very few days at the latest, the signatures of those States will also be appended to it.

The President:

Translation: Count Bonin-Longare, delegate of Italy, will address the Assembly.

Count Bonin-Longare (Italy):

Translation: The Italian delegation has welcomed the opportunity of co-operating in the noble and philanthropic work of framing a Convention for the suppression of slavery. No country,

we can safely say, has taken up a firmer or more decisive attitude towards slavery than Italy. The moment she set foot in the territories which now form her colonial possessions, she decreed in every one of those territories the abolition of slavery in every shape and form. Although sometimes her task has thereby been rendered more difficult, she has all the greater satisfaction in the knowledge that she has never compromised. Our delegation is delighted at the conclusion, under the auspices of the League, of a general agreement providing that the campaign against slavery shall be carried on with increased energy and by all countries.

Because that campaign requires to be waged with increased energy, the Italian delegation would have preferred to retain the text drafted in 1925. However, in order to meet the views of other delegations, we readily discussed any amendments to the 1925 draft which seemed suitable, and endeavoured solely to secure the rejection of any clause that might complicate and consequently handicap the work of suppression. Nothing is more harmful to a good cause than the employment of unsuitable or dangerous instruments, which may give rise to difficulties or distract from the main object those who are attempting to bring the work of suppression to a successful conclusion.

We were accordingly grateful to the British delegation for not pressing its amendment to Article 3, the object of which was to place the slave trade in the same category as piracy. Though justifiable on moral grounds, the embodiment of this clause in the Convention would, we believe, have overshot the mark. A different wording was adopted, though we should have liked this wording to be more comprehensive. We were quite ready to accept it, however, because it leaves the door open to special agreements between Powers which stand in a special position as regards the slave trade, and such agreements assuredly provide the most effective and vigorous means for the suppression of the trade. We should also have preferred the total withdrawal of Article 6 of the draft — a step which would have entailed the abolition, rather than the regulation, of forced labour in all its forms. We realised, however, that in certain colonial territories a period of transition was indispensable to enable this form of slavery to be gradually abolished.

We readily agreed to the withdrawal of the former Article 8 in the light of the very pertinent observations communicated to the Secretariat by the Apostolic Nuncio at Berne, who urged the necessity of maintaining the lofty and humanitarian provisions regarding missions and the improvement of moral conditions among natives — provisions, too, which are to be found in other Conventions.

The slave trade and slavery, although restricted to a small region of the earth, are none the less a slur, a moral stigma of which our civilisation must rid itself as soon as may be. Italy made this work a feature of her colonial policy from the very beginning, and she has never looked back. She could have wished that it had been possible to make greater progress than we are making to-day. But "*le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*", and the best reforms are those that are applied by easy stages and with caution.

The Italian delegation, therefore, wholeheartedly approves the Convention, and trusts that special agreements of the kind suggested in Article 3 will shortly be concluded so as to complete the work which has been undertaken, for they will greatly aid in the abolition of slavery, the scourge which the League is bound to combat until it is completely suppressed.

The President :

Translation : Sir William Vincent, first delegate of India, will address the Assembly.

Sir William Vincent (India) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I am advised that it is incumbent on me to read out here certain reservations which India will make on signing this Convention. I am not satisfied that this is strictly necessary or that this practice has always been followed in the past. But *ex majori cautela* I am prepared on the present occasion to adopt this course.

Under the terms of Article 9 of this Convention I declare that my signature is not binding, as regards the enforcement of Article 2, sub-section (b), and Articles 5, 6 and 7 of this Convention, upon the following territories; namely, in Burma, the Naga tracts lying west and south of the Hukawng Valley, bounded on the north and west by the Assam boundary, on the east by the Nanphuk River and on the south by the Singaling Hkamti and the Somra tracts; in Assam, the Sadiya and Balipara frontier tracts, the tribal area to the East of the Naga Hills district, up to the Burma boundary, and a small tract in the south of the Lushai Hills district; nor on the territories in India of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty.

I also declare that my signature to the Convention is not binding in respect of Article 3 in so far as that article may require India to enter into any Convention whereby vessels, by reason of the fact that they are owned, fitted out or commanded by Indians, or of the fact that one-half of the crew is Indian, are classified as native vessels, or are denied any privilege, right or immunity enjoyed by similar vessels of other States signatories of the Covenant, or are made subject to any liability or disability to which similar ships of such other States are not subject.

But, Sir, it is not only these reservations, but the great importance of the resolutions now under discussion which justifies my taking a few moments of your time to-day to explain the attitude of India on this question of slavery. I regard this Convention as a tangible and effective achievement of great moment and as a practical illustration to the world, in one direction at least, of the great work done for humanity by the League.

I have no desire to enter into the history of previous efforts to eradicate the slave trade and slavery, but the truth is that, in various forms and disguises, they still do subsist in certain parts of the world, and the present Convention, if it is accepted, as we hope it will be, by the Powers here present, constitutes a definite advance not only in increasing the effectiveness of measures against the slave trade proper and eradicating slavery generally but in preventing and putting a stop to those more insidious forms of servitude which approximate to slavery though called by other names.

The principles laid down, particularly in regard to forced labour, taken in conjunction with the action of the International Labour Office, cannot fail to have far-reaching effects throughout the world and, so far as I know, this is the first occasion on which a definite undertaking, or at any rate so complete an undertaking, in regard to forced labour has been accepted. I refer particularly to forced labour for private purposes. May I say that India heartily welcomes the conclusion of this Convention

and is glad to undertake the duty of making every effort to root out conditions of servitude which approximate to slavery.

It is true that we have to make certain reservations on signing the Convention, but one of these, which relates only to the search of ships suspected of carrying slaves, need in no way impede the execution of an effective agreement on this subject. I can assure the Assembly that, in fact, no Indian ships are engaged in the slave trade, and that the law of India prohibits slavery and the slave trade under penal clauses of great severity.

Another reservation which we have been compelled to make relates to Indian States, and a small area of unadministered territory. The reason for this reservation as regards the Indian States is not that slavery is prevalent there, for this is not the case at all; it arises from the constitutional position which these States occupy, a position which I have fully explained in the Sixth Committee. The Convention will, however, be brought to the notice of all States, and provision exists in the Convention for extending its obligations to these areas should this be necessary or desirable in the future.

In the meantime, in the unadministered areas of which I spoke, tracts situated on the extreme north-eastern frontier of British India, the population of which is estimated at a few hundred thousand persons only, steady, systematic efforts are being made by the local governments to eradicate traces of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. In one of these areas already over 3,000 slaves have been released (last year) on payment of substantial compensation to their owners. In another area a special expedition has been sent this year charged with the mission of securing, by persuasion and payment of compensation, the release of all slaves in that territory.

But the efforts of the Government of India have by no means been confined to measures of this kind. In other provinces steady progress has for many years been made in the direction of measures to prevent any condition of forced labour approaching to slavery, or even likely to lead to oppression. Forced labour for private purposes is not legally recognised in India. In the province in which the greater part of my career in India was spent, where forced labour was in some parts exacted as a pre-dial obligation, and also in lieu of debt, the pre-dial obligation has been commuted into cash payments and an enactment has been passed which prohibits any kind of servitude for debt or the enforcement of contracts of that nature. Similar efforts have been made in other parts of India, and indeed the enforcement by penal sanctions of any form of indentured labour or of contracts to labour has been abolished. Generally, it may be said that the Government of India has made and will continue to make every effort to get rid of the evils against which this Convention is directed.

Lastly, may I say that such has been the moral influence of the work of the League and of the high ideals for which it stands, that I saw in the *Times* the other day a statement, and I have no reason whatever to doubt it, that the State of Nepal, an independent State not in India but on the northern frontier, has recently completed the liberation of 59,000 slaves at a cost of £275,000 paid by the State. That is a result on which the State of Nepal may, I think, be congratulated, and is clear evidence of the influence of the League in the East.

My object in placing these details before you is to indicate by direct evidence that India, if apt to scrutinise with jealousy any agreement which is proposed, has gone a great way towards the goal which is the aim of the Convention. If we examine the terms of these agreements in detail, it is because we are careful to enter into no solemn undertaking which we are not prepared fully to implement, and because we have also to consider the effect of such an agreement on a vast population, one-fifth of the population of the world, living in very varying conditions and permeated by varying traditions and customs. But, as I have said, India is behind no State in its desire to eradicate slavery, and if the present Convention does not meet the approbation of all, it achieves a great deal. Further, should necessity arise in the future, it can, and no doubt will, be supplemented by further agreements, until slavery and conditions akin to it, truly described in the Committee as a crime against the human race, are utterly and wholly rooted out.

The President :

Translation : M. Freire d'Andrade will address the Assembly.

M. Freire d'Andrade (Portugal) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I should like to give you a brief and succinct account of my Government's views on slavery ; but, before doing so, I am very glad to be able to inform you that the head of my delegation has just received full powers to follow the example of my colleagues by signing the Protocol.

The Portuguese delegation has made known, both here and elsewhere, the Portuguese Government's firm resolve to combat and check every form of slavery. My country has given in the past, and will continue to give, its full and entire approval to any and every measure which the Assembly may judge necessary to combat this scourge of humanity.

The Portuguese delegation received powers to sign the Convention which was approved last year, after having duly forwarded its observations in a letter communicated to the Secretary-General in compliance with the provisions of paragraph (a) of the Assembly resolution dated September 26th, 1925.

On its arrival at Geneva, however, our delegation found that the discussion of this subject was to be revived and the Convention was at once to be radically changed. In our opinion this step was not perhaps the best or most effective that could have been taken to attain the object in view without delay, since the Convention is to be applied universally, and better results would have been obtained had this very serious question been given full consideration. Remember the Latin proverb, "*Festina lente*".

With your permission, I will recapitulate the past history of this important question. For two years a Special Commission—the Temporary Slavery Commission—was at work with the object of submitting to the League of Nations the most practical suggestions it could devise for the suppression of slavery. The Commission's report, the authors of which, I would observe, were not mere theorists and philanthropists but were anxious to attain practical results, was approved by the Sixth Committee and the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, and the British Government thereupon authorised Viscount Cecil to propose

a Convention as being the best way of giving effect to the Slavery Commission's proposals and of accomplishing the work undertaken by the League of Nations for the suppression of this scourge.

The Sixth Committee discussed at great length the draft Convention submitted to it. A Sub-Committee was appointed, but, as it failed to reach complete agreement, a smaller Sub-Committee was appointed, containing spokesmen of all the different views which had been expressed. The Committee and Sub-Committee were occupied with the question for some considerable time, and the draft Convention was not ready for approval until the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly had almost come to an end. The draft was to be signed at the beginning of the present session.

This year, however, as I said, the discussion was revived, despite all that had taken place. The Temporary Slavery Commission's report seemed to be fading into the background, and this year the proposals which were rejected last year were taken up afresh and approved. In consequence, I am sorry to say that several States may no longer be able to sign this Convention at once, because the text is not the same as that which had previously been submitted to them and which had already been considered by their Governments.

Between the last and the present session of the Assembly a new factor has arisen. The International Labour Office has taken steps to prepare for an International Conference on native labour ; and it would perhaps have been wiser to await the outcome of this action before modifying the Convention in its original form.

Changes of opinion on this question, which is of great importance for the whole of mankind, are due, I think, to transitory influences. In our opinion, these changes reflect the struggle between idealism and reality, and the decisions which are taken lean to one side or the other according to whichever school of thought happens to be in the ascendant.

The Slavery Commission's report, which has been approved by the Assembly, takes into account the rights of the individual, but it also takes the view that, if changes are abruptly introduced in existing situations which cannot be immediately liquidated, the result will be complete disorganisation or even disaster. Accordingly, the Slavery Commission's suggestions were used as the basis of the Convention which was discussed last year.

The two most controversial articles of the new draft Convention are (1) the article dealing with measures to suppress the slave trade by sea, and (2) the article dealing with forced or compulsory labour.

As regards the former, it was agreed that the suppression of this form of the slave trade was necessary, but opinions differed as to the means of accomplishing it.

As regards the second point, there was general agreement that forced labour for the benefit of private undertakings, including those in which Governments participate, should be formally condemned. At the same time it was recognised, not only in the Slavery Commission's report but also under the terms of the mandates, that forced labour should be resorted to in the public interest, this idea being expressed in the present Convention by the term "for public purposes".

Thus we have laid down that compulsory labour is to be prohibited or tolerated according to whether it is intended for private undertakings or for public purposes.

The Portuguese Government, in its letter to the Secretary-General, stated — although this point would not have prevented it from signing the Convention — that in its view it was highly desirable that compulsory labour should be defined, just as slavery had been defined, and this not only in order to prevent abuses but also to avoid any possibility of censure.

I put this point to the Sub-Committee of the Sixth Committee, and was thereupon invited by the Chairman to submit an amendment embodying this definition. I replied that I had no means of doing so, that only an organisation such as the International Labour Office was equipped for such a task, and that for that reason the Portuguese delegates had long been in favour of asking the Labour Office to study this difficult question, which is largely the key to the future of these peoples, both in mandated territory and elsewhere, which are not yet capable of governing themselves.

I am glad to say, however, that the measures which my Government has been advocating for so long are now embodied in one of the resolutions to be submitted to the Assembly.

Last year Article 6 of the Convention was fiercely attacked by M. Palacios, delegate of Spain, a country to which we are attached by many ties of affection, and which I sincerely regret to see absent to-day, as I regret also the absence of our kinsmen from Brazil. We shall not cease to feel these regrets until the day comes — as I am sure it will — when these nations return among us and take the places which are their due through the distinguished services they have rendered the League.

As I was saying, M. Palacios fiercely attacked Article 6 of the Protocol, but I am sure his arguments would have lost a great deal of their weight if we had had a formula defining forced labour.

In a document such as that which we have been discussing it is most important that there should be no possible ambiguity, so that those who sign it, with the intention of strictly complying with the duties which it imposes, should be quite clear as to what those duties are.

The suggestions put forward by the Temporary Slavery Commission in Chapter VII, paragraph B of its report, which was approved by the Assembly, merit our closest attention, and I also think that the statement made in paragraph A of the same chapter should be our guide in defining the "public purposes" referred to in Article 5 (1) of the Convention.

In conclusion, I am glad to have been able to announce that our delegation would sign the proposed Convention, for this is a token that the Portuguese Government, which has already approved the Temporary Slavery Commission's report, is happy to associate itself with the humanitarian action of the British Government, which has been so eloquently advocated by its distinguished delegate, Viscount Cecil.

The President :

Translation :

His Highness Prince Arfa will address the Assembly.

Prince Arfa (Persia) :

Translation : Mr. President — In giving my adhesion to the Slavery Convention I wish to state, with reference to Article 3, that my signature will not bind Persia to accede to any arrangement or convention classifying her vessels, of whatever tonnage, as "native vessels" within the meaning of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms.

I desire that my interpretation of Article 3, as adopted with the Persian delegation's amendment, be duly noted.

Having made this necessary stipulation, I beg to offer the League my sincere congratulations upon the establishment of this Convention on slavery, and I earnestly hope that it will contribute towards the final abolition of the shameful traffic in slaves.

Persia abolished slavery long since, and she now desires to afford all the help in her power to put an end to it in every corner of the world.

The President :

Translation : M. Serot, delegate of France, will address the Assembly.

M. Serot (France) :

Translation : The French delegation will recommend its Government to sign this Convention, although it does not yet know exactly what its final form will be, as the Committee dealing with it has only just concluded its work.

This Convention, the principles of which have for long been applied in the French colonies, is largely a reproduction of the Convention drawn up last year, but it has been given an added force and precision which will help it to bring about the complete abolition of slavery and analogous conditions. The most important modification relates to the slave traffic, and in this connection the French delegation is glad to see that the Committee has adopted its proposal to the effect that the Convention on Slavery should as far as possible be modelled on the Convention on the International Trade in Arms. It trusts that on this basis a general Convention may shortly be concluded which will put an end for all time to the abominable crime of slavery.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak I will put to the vote the resolutions of the Sixth Committee, which read as follows :

I. The Assembly,

Approves the Slavery Convention drafted by its Sixth Committee and earnestly trusts that it will be signed and ratified as soon as possible by all the Members of the League of Nations ;

Instructs the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to bring the Convention officially to the knowledge of all States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations which may not have signed it before the end of the present session of the Assembly, to the end that they may sign or adhere to it in accordance with the provisions of Article II of the Convention.

II. The Assembly,

Desires that the League of Nations should continue to interest itself in securing the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto and therefore requests the Council to prepare and communicate to the Assembly every year a document mentioning the laws and regulations which parties to the Convention on Slavery, in accordance with Article 7, will have communicated to the Secretary-General, and that the Council will include therein any supplementary information which the Members of the League may be disposed spontaneously to furnish with regard to the measures taken by them to this end.

III. The Assembly,

While recognising that forced labour for public purposes is sometimes necessary :

Is of opinion that, as a general rule, it should not be resorted to unless it is impossible to obtain voluntary labour and should receive adequate remuneration.

IV. The Assembly,

Taking note of the work undertaken by the International Labour Office in conformity with the mission entrusted to it and within the limits of its constitution ;

Considering that these studies naturally include the problem of forced labour ;

Requests the Council to inform the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of the adoption of the Slavery Convention, and to draw its attention to the importance of the work undertaken by the Office with a view to studying the best means of preventing forced or compulsory labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery. The resolutions were adopted.

The President :

Translation : I have to inform you that the Convention on Slavery is open for the signatures of delegations from to-day, September 25th, 1926. It may be signed in the Secretary-General's Office.

72. — SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the discussion of the Fifth Committee's report on the settlement of Armenian refugees (Annex 21. Document A. III.1926.IV).

(On the invitation of the President, Count Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Chairman of the Fifth Committee, and Dr. Breitscheid, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : Dr. Breitscheid, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

Dr. Breitscheid (Germany), Rapporteur :

Translation : I have the honour to read to you the Fifth Committee's report on the settlement of Armenian refugees and the accompanying draft resolution.

On behalf of the Fifth Committee I ask you to approve these resolutions and, by doing so, to pay a tribute to the distinguished delegate of Norway, Dr. Nansen, and to the work he has accomplished.

The President :

Translation : If no one wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions of the Fifth Committee, which read as follows :

The Assembly,

(1) Takes note of and adopts the report of the Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission, (Document C. 328. M. 135. 1926. II.) and expresses its appreciation of the valuable work done by this Commission in the elaboration of a workable scheme, found after careful enquiry to be technically sound, which it is estimated will result in the settlement of at least 25,000 Armenians in their national home ;

(2) Takes note of the resolution of the Council of September 16th, 1926, stating that, if the money to finance the initial outlay required by the scheme

is forthcoming, the Council would, subject to certain conditions and if requested to do so by the parties interested, be willing to appoint a person or persons to supervise the due expenditure of that money for the objects specified in the scheme ;

(3) Requests the Council to consider the possibility, after due enquiry, of setting up a small committee, under the chairmanship of a member appointed by the Council and consisting partly of representatives of private organisations interested in the promotion of this scheme, to investigate the possibility of obtaining the sum required, and of using it for the purposes of the scheme in the Republic of Armenia ;

(4) Decides that a sum of 15,000 francs be allowed, subject to the conditions already set forth, in order to provide for the printing and distribution of literature regarding the proposed financial operation and to permit Dr. Nansen — or his representative — to lay his proposals before possible contributors in Europe or America.

The resolutions were adopted.

73. — QUESTIONS CONCERNING ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN REFUGEES: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the examination of the question concerning Russian and Armenian refugees (Annex 22, document A.109. 1926.IV).

Dr. Breitscheid, delegate of Germany and Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, will address the Assembly on this subject.

Dr. Breitscheid (Germany), Rapporteur :

Translation : The Fifth Committee has adopted the following resolution, and now submits it to the Assembly :

The Assembly,

(1) Having carefully examined the reports of the High Commissioner and of the International Labour Office on the refugee questions: (Document A. 44. 1926.)

Approves those reports :

Expresses its high appreciation of the important work which they have accomplished for the refugees ;

Expresses the opinion that this work should be prosecuted to a satisfactory conclusion in the interests both of the refugees themselves and of political, economic and social order ;

(2) Having regard to the precarious position of thousands of Armenian refugees in the Near East;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and the High Commissioner for Refugees to consider the possibility of making an effective response to the appeals for their co-operation in the permanent settlement of these refugees and of co-ordinating the activities of private organisations working for the refugees ;

Urges the Governments of the States Members to further the settlement of unemployed Russian and Armenian refugees by giving notice as soon as possible of their ratification of the Arrangement drawn up by the Inter-Governmental Conference on May 12th, 1926, particularly as regards contributions to the working capital fund ("revolving

fund") and the issue of visas to refugees on the recommendation of the High Commissioner and of the International Labour Office; and

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to appoint a co-trustee to be responsible jointly with Dr. Nansen for the administration of the fund in question;

(3) Considering the necessity of maintaining a delegation of the Refugee Service in Berlin in view of the large number of refugees in Germany;

Takes note of the possibility of a contribution of one-half the cost being made by the German Government;

Decides to increase the Refugee Budget by 18,750 francs in order that the important delegation of the Refugee Service may be maintained in Berlin.

This credit was approved by the Fourth Committee.

You will find all the considerations which were adduced in the report which has just been distributed to you. I will beg leave, however, to say one word on the reduction of the German contribution for the refugees agency in Berlin.

In evidence of the interest it feels in the work in question, the German Government, before entering the League, used to pay an annual contribution of 30,000 marks. Now that she has joined the League, however, Germany, like the other Members, pays a contribution towards all the League's organisations, and therefore considers that she would, in principle, be justified in withdrawing her special contribution to the Berlin agency. In view of the humanitarian character of the work, however, she is willing to pay 15,000 marks annually instead of 30,000.

Thanks to the conciliatory spirit displayed in the Fourth Committee, the difficulties arising out of the German Government's decision have been overcome.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolution of the Fifth Committee.

The resolution was adopted.

74. — QUESTION OF EXTENDING TO OTHER ANALOGOUS CATEGORIES OF REFUGEES THE MEASURES TAKEN TO ASSIST RUSSIAN AND ARMENIAN REFUGEES: RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY THE FIFTH COMMITTEE.

The President :

Translation : We will now pass to the next item on the agenda: the resolution proposed by the Fifth Committee on the draft proposal put forward by the Belgian delegation regarding the question of extending to other refugees the measures taken to assist Russian and Armenian refugees.

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Brouckère, Rapporteur, took his place by the side of the Chairman of the Fifth Committee.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. de Brouckère (Belgium) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — The Fifth Committee has adopted the following

motion, proposed by the Belgian delegation, and submits it to the Assembly.

The Assembly invites the Council to request the High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Labour Organisation to consider how far the measures already taken to give protection to, to provide employment for, and to afford relief to, Russian and Armenian refugees can be extended to other analogous categories of refugees.

There is no need to say much concerning this proposal. We are all familiar with the great services rendered by the League in protecting and settling Russian and Armenian refugees. I should like to call your attention, however, to a coincidence which occurred in this morning's debate on the proper limits to the League's activities. Two speakers, desiring to indicate, in support of arguments which in some respects were opposed to one another, the type of activity which fell definitely within the sphere of the League's competence, both cited the work of protecting and settling refugees.

At the present time, however, the League's work is confined to protecting and settling Russian and Armenian refugees, and I need not remind you that there are, unhappily, many other refugees, other groups, in a similar position, and that sometimes groups of Russian and Armenian refugees include persons belonging to other nationalities. Should we not attempt on behalf of these other groups what we have already achieved on behalf of those belonging to the two nationalities I have mentioned?

Our proposal does not settle the question once and for all. We have been satisfied to bring it to your notice. The proposal asks for information. It suggests that an enquiry should be made, so that the exact position may be ascertained by next year, and you may then be able to take a decision after due consideration of the facts. You will realise that the proposal is a very modest one, and I need say no more in support of it.

The President :

Translation : Does anybody else wish to speak? If no one else wishes to speak, I will consider the resolution adopted.

The resolution was adopted.

75. — PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the Fifth Committee's report on the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East (Annex 23. Document A.106.1926).

(On the invitation of the President, Dame Edith Lyttelton, Rapporteur, took her place upon the platform by the side of the Chairman of the Fifth Committee.)

The President :

Translation : Dame Edith Lyttelton will address the Assembly.

Dame Edith Lyttelton (British Empire) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — With your permission, I do not propose to read the whole report which is now before you. The Assembly,

I think, is very familiar with the wonderful work done by Miss Jeppe in the Near East. The bravery, courage and resource that she has shown are worthy of the highest praise. I wish to add that the Fifth Committee very much regrets the decision of the Fourth Committee not to continue the subsidy to Miss Jeppe's work. We have, of course, bowed to the decision, but we have a slight feeling that, if there had not been so much hurry, we might perhaps have been able to soften the hearts of the members of the Fourth Committee as regards this matter. I say "soften the hearts", but their hearts are not hard at all. It is only when it is necessary to translate human things into figures that it is very difficult to keep alive the imagination which enables the heart to be softened.

I am glad to say that, in spite of the fact that she is not going to get a grant from the League of Nations, Miss Jeppe has, nevertheless, determined to continue her work. She succeeded last year in raising more money than she had had before, chiefly from England, though I am glad to be able to say that Germany also gave a very handsome contribution. Now that the League has refused her more money, Miss Jeppe has to add to her duties the work of getting enough funds to continue; but although our supply of money has ceased, it is a great pleasure to be able to report that Miss Jeppe is to continue to be a League of Nations Commissioner. I am very glad that this is so for her sake, because I think it will help her, and I am very glad for the League that this wonderful piece of work should still bear its imprimatur. I pass over the anomalous position that the League of Nations will get the palm without the dust for the next year, but that is something which cannot be helped.

Miss Jeppe will work under precisely the same conditions this year as she did last year; that is to say, under the supreme control of the mandatory Power. She speaks in the highest terms of the assistance which has been given her on every occasion by French officials. She has found them courteous and helpful in the highest degree, and asks for nothing better than to go on working with them. Last year 300 women and children and boys were rescued by the efforts of Miss Jeppe. This year, owing to the fact that some Kurdish tribes have come over into Syria and have a considerable number of girls with them, she believes that she will be able to rescue a good many more.

The reason why she feels that her work is nearly over is, in one sense, a sad one and, in another sense, a happy one. The happy side of it is that she has been able so far to rescue the greater part of the women, girls and children who were unhappy; and, perhaps, the sad side of it is that there are many women who, for the future, will always remain with the people who have taken them. It is difficult for women ever to be quite free, and when the troubles and joys of motherhood are added to their fate it is difficult for them not to resign themselves and to continue the life which they have been forced at one time to lead. I think there are people who feel that the women should not be so reconciled. I cannot agree with them there, but I think we should extend our sympathy to those who have been forced against their will and by the claims of motherhood to remain in an alien country and subject to an alien fate.

A similar decision to that taken about this work has been taken about the work done in Constantinople at the League of Nations Neutral

House. The Fourth Committee had decided that this House must now be closed, but the Fifth Committee asks the Assembly, as Miss Mills, like Miss Jeppe, has already determined to carry on the work for another year with money subscribed from outside, and because, in a smaller sphere, she is doing precisely the same work, to grant her not the House, but the equipment of the House for another year; that is to say, the Committee asks that its value should not be realised now but that Miss Mills should be allowed to use it for another year. I think this is the least we can do as a sign of gratitude for the very remarkable work which this American lady has performed.

With your permission, I will now read the resolutions which the Fifth Committee puts before you:

The Assembly,

(1) *Desires to express its admiration for the work Miss Jeppe has performed and its gratitude for the devoted way she has carried it out;*

(2) *Approves Miss Jeppe's report (Document A. 25. 1926. IV.) and expresses its satisfaction with the results obtained during the course of the past year;*

(3) *Decides that the mission for the rescue of women and children, which has been entrusted to Miss Jeppe by the League of Nations, shall be prolonged for one year more under the conditions fixed by the Assembly, at its last ordinary session, that is to say, under the high authority of the Power which holds a mandate in Syria under the League of Nations;*

(4) *Seeing that the work of Armenian colonisation and any other work undertaken by Miss Jeppe personally in connection with the mission for the rescue of women and children entrusted to her by the League of Nations fall within the class of work entrusted by the mandatory Power, in the general interest, to a central organ representing the Refugee Service at the International Labour Office and the direction of the International Red Cross Committee, invites Miss Jeppe to come to an understanding as regards the general direction of the work mentioned under paragraph 3, with the liaison organisation established by the mandatory Power;*

(5) *Seeing that Miss Jeppe is of opinion that her task will be discharged during the coming year, requests her to submit to the next ordinary session of the Assembly a final report on all the results of her mission;*

(6) *Thanks Miss Mills for her devoted and excellent work and regrets that it has not been found possible to continue the grant from the League of Nations for another year.*

Before I leave the tribune, I should like to express my personal regret that these resolutions are more in the form of a vote of thanks for work done than the basis for new work.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolutions of the Fifth Committee as adopted.

The resolutions were adopted.

76. — AUDITED ACCOUNTS AND BUDGET OF THE LEAGUE AND OTHER FINANCIAL QUESTIONS: REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE: RESOLUTIONS.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the report of the Fourth Committee on financial questions (Annex 24. Document A.105.1926.X).

(On the invitation of the President, M. Titulesco, Chairman of the Fourth Committee, and M. Oldenburg, Rapporteur, took their places on the platform.)

The President :

Translation : M. Oldenburg, Rapporteur, will address the Assembly.

M. Oldenburg (Denmark), Rapporteur :

Translation : I have the honour to submit the general report of the Fourth Committee. The report has been printed and distributed, so I shall make only a few brief comments.

The Fourth Committee has this year instructed me as Rapporteur on general questions to deal with all the subjects placed on its agenda, with the exception of that of contributions in arrears, which, in accordance with precedent, was referred to a special Sub-Committee. The Fourth Committee's proposals on this latter point form the subject of a special report to the Assembly.

At the beginning of its report, the Committee desires to pay its tribute to the First Financial Director of the League of Nations, who has just relinquished his duties as a member of the Secretariat. The sound financial organisation of the League is in no small measure due to the untiring efforts and thorough technical knowledge of Sir Herbert Ames.

The Committee has held many sessions and done a great deal of hard work. It subjected the budget to a meticulous examination and noted the orderly and methodical manner in which the League's finances are managed.

The Committee further noted the energetic action taken by the Supervisory Commission and its care in going into matters of detail.

A perusal of the report will have shown that the Fourth Committee requests you to approve the General Budget for the financial year 1927 amounting to 24,512,341 gold francs. The 1926 budget amounted to 22,930,633 gold francs.

This latter figure was divided into 937 units, the amount of each unit thus being 24,472.39 francs. The total budget for 1927 has to be divided into 1,015 units, each unit being approximately equal to 24,150 francs, or a little less than last year.

If arriving at this sum, we took into consideration the amount of 1,400,000 francs, which will be distributed in 1927 among those States which, by the prompt payment of their contributions, assisted in the constitution of the Building Fund. This fund now amounts to 7,972,135.51 francs.

The Working Capital Fund, which is regarded as the property of the States who contribute to it, amounted on December 31st, 1925, to 4,389,497 francs.

I will not dwell upon the serious danger to the finances of the League arising out of the very high figure for contributions in arrears. The League is owed as much as 6,451,318.67 francs under this head. M. de Vasconcellos, Rapporteur for this special question, will make a statement on the subject later.

The President :

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

M. Hambro (Norway) :

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — Before I make a few general remarks upon the budget which has been laid before us, I want to associate myself with the observations made by the distinguished delegate of the British Empire, Viscount Cecil, some time ago and to call attention to the hurried way in which we have had to pass even the budget of the League. I should like to call attention to Rule 17 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, which states : "As a general rule, no proposal shall be discussed or put to the vote at any meeting of the Assembly unless copies of it have been circulated to all representatives not later than the day preceding the meeting". We have been voting, all the afternoon, documents which have been placed before the delegates this very afternoon. We even had to pass over one item on the agenda because the draft resolution was not yet printed.

I would also like to call attention to what is stated in Rule 14, paragraph 6, of the Rules of Procedure, which says that each Committee "shall keep a register of its discussions and Minutes, which shall be published at the earliest possible date, but not until they have been approved by the Committee. They may at any time be consulted by any member of the Assembly". I know, Mr. President, that my point can be answered by saying that all delegations are represented on every Committee. But I want to call attention to the fact that we have been obliged to comply with the wishes of the Bureau and to have meetings of our Committee while the Assembly was in session here and when members of our Committee had to be here. We finished our work in the Committee this morning, after a session lasting two hours, but all the draft resolutions have not yet been printed; some of them have been distributed without being printed.

I do not raise any formal objection to this mode of procedure, but I call the attention of all the Members of the League and the attention of the Bureau to it, and I wish to add that, if I personally do not object, it is because I have the greatest trust in the financial organs of the League of Nations whose work we have been discussing in my Committee, because I have full confidence in the work done by the Supervisory Commission, and because I think that all the members of the Fourth Committee also have the greatest confidence and trust in the work done by our Rapporteur. But I think it is necessary to remind the Bureau of the Rules of Procedure and to remind them of the words spoken by the President of the Second Assembly, namely, that he presided in the spirit that we should comply on every point with the Rules of Procedure and the resolutions passed by the Assembly.

We have been discussing here the way in which interest can be aroused in the work of the League and the way to create respect for the dignity of the Assembly and to make propaganda. I want to say that there is no better propaganda than the work done in the Assembly and by the Assembly, and if we cannot interest the Members of the Assembly in it, if we cannot interest the Bureau, how can we interest the public and the Press ? To-day we have seen the opinions which have been circulated in the Press concerning the attitude of public opinion. I will not dwell upon it, but I will mention the impression which this procedure, this rushing of our work, this informal way of doing things which would not occur in any parliament which sends delegates here, must make upon new delegates who, like myself, come for the first time to the Assembly of the League and who

hold the very highest conceptions of its dignity and of the high moral character of the work done here.

I had certain reservations to make with regard to the draft resolution on the budget, but I am not going to deal with any of them here. I think it is unnecessary to do so. I have called attention to certain points in the Committee, and that will be sufficient for the moment.

I want, however, to emphasise the two things which have found expression in the report submitted by the Fourth Committee to the Assembly. I might emphasise the need of all small nations and all distant nations for a better representation on the Secretariat and on the International Labour Office. I do not criticise and I do not complain, especially as my country has no reason to complain. I do not complain because I know what has been felt, what we all have felt when we have met members of the Secretariat—we have felt the spirit of the League of Nations. We have felt an independence of national aspirations; we have met in eagerness to further the work of the League of Nations. This being so, no member of the staff will be hurt by the words that I have uttered.

It is a fact, however, that all those nations which are not French-speaking or English-speaking are under a disadvantage when they wish to be represented on the personnel of the staff, and I ask you to remember, and I ask the Council also to remember it, when appointing the superior officers of the League, that we are constantly labouring under a difficulty in being unable to speak our own language here and in having to try to express our thoughts in a language which we but imperfectly command. I am satisfied with the remarks made by the Secretary-General and inserted in the report, to the effect that only for certain classes of the staff of the Secretariat shall a perfect knowledge of the two languages be made a condition. Qualifications which are independent of language will be taken into consideration. I want, however, to call the attention of the Council to the fact that, when it is going to appoint new superior officers of the League and Under-Secretaries or Chiefs of Sections, it will have to take care not to give the world at large the impression that only the subjects and citizens of the great Powers will have the opportunity to fill those positions. I want to remind you that in the Mixed Courts of Justice in Egypt the small nations have been privileged, because it was felt that they were more likely to be politically impartial, and that the first President of the Permanent Court of Justice was a Dutchman, while the second was a native of the country whose guests we are. This is proof enough that, where people are under equal conditions, the men of the small nations have an opportunity to obtain the posts which we all want them to have.

I also wish to remind the Council of the fact that it is perhaps rather difficult for it to understand the full importance of these considerations; it is perhaps also rather difficult for a good many members of the Assembly to understand them. Many of the representatives of the Members of the Council are Ambassadors or Ministers to Paris or London and so have a perfect command of one of the official languages of the League. They must remember, however, that it is important for every delegate who comes here to be able to meet on the staff some man or woman who can understand him when he is talking his own language and asking for help in his own language.

I am perfectly confident that the leaders of the Bureau will do everything in their power, as has been promised and as is stated in this report. I am

convinced that one of the great dangers for the League of Nations and its work would be undue impatience. I prefer the idea of proceeding by fractions of an inch rather than taking any step which we might afterwards have to retrace. I know the obstacles of pride and prejudice and prestige that have to be overcome in dealing with these questions, but I have spoken these words with the feeling that, being the delegate of a nation which is in the happy position of living in friendship with every neighbouring nation, and never having had any claim upon the League, it is also our duty to try to express the wishes felt by the delegations of all the small nations, wishes to which not every delegation can feel it politically wise to give expression from this rostrum.

The President :

Translation : Baron Marks von Wurtemberg, delegate of Sweden, will address the Assembly,

Baron Marks von Wurtemberg (Sweden) :

Translation : Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen — I do not wish to detain you or to try the patience of those who are anxiously looking forward to the termination of this session of the Assembly. I cannot, however, forgo this opportunity of associating myself with the Norwegian delegate's remarks in so far as they concern the haste which has characterised the proceedings of this Assembly. This mode of procedure is neither compatible with the dignity of the Assembly nor likely to be productive of good results.

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I will put to the vote the resolutions of the Fourth Committee, which read as follows :

1. *The Assembly, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, finally approves the audited accounts of the League for the seventh financial period, ending December 31st, 1925.*

2. *The Assembly, in virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League,*

Approves, for the financial year 1927, the general Budget of the League, of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the total amount of which including supplementary credits is 24,512,341 gold francs ;

And decides that the said budgets shall be published in the "Official Journal".

3. *The Assembly adopts, in so far as they have been approved by the Fourth Committee, the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted to its consideration.*

4. *The Assembly approves the schedule showing the proportional interest of each Member of the League in the League Building Fund (Document A.39.1926).*

5. *The Assembly fixes at 79 the number of units allocated to Germany in the scale of apportionment of the League's expenditure.*

6. *The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee (Document A. 105. 1926. X.).*

7. *The Assembly,*

Notes that the Internal Control Service of the League of Nations experiences difficulty and is caused considerable trouble by the fact that members of Committees and other persons who have to submit requests for repayment do not always take into consideration the exact terms of the various Regulations governing the financial administration of the League of Nations and, therefore,

Requests members of Committees and all other persons performing work of any kind whatever at the request and at the expense of the League of Nations to comply strictly with the above Regulations, and, in case of doubt, to apply for information beforehand to the competent officials.

8. *The Assembly,*

While appreciating the results of the sale of publications and approving the proposals submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General relative to the extension of these sales and a stricter supervision of the employment of the grants for printing ;

Decides to draw the attention of the Advisory Committees and the Conferences convened by the League to the heavy expense entailed by the publication of their Minutes and requests them to consider whether the publication of their discussions would not frequently be better effected by means of a detailed report giving as exactly as possible an account of their work ;

Decides that the Minutes of Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General ;

Requests the Supervisory Commission to report to it again next year on the printing expenses and to indicate the saving effected in consequence of this decision.

The resolutions were adopted.

77. — CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS : REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE : RESOLUTION.

The President :

Translation : The next item on the agenda is the Fourth Committee's report on Contributions in Arrears (Annex 25. Document A.95.1926.X).

(On the invitation of the President, M. de Vasconcellos, Rapporteur, took his place on the platform by the side of the Chairman of the Fourth Committee.)

The President :

Translation : The Rapporteur will address the Assembly.

M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal), Rapporteur :

Translation : Ladies and gentlemen — The task of the Rapporteur on contributions in arrears is always a thankless one. For one thing, the subject in itself is very uncongenial, and then the Rapporteur is not allowed to expound his report, because it is confidential and the discussions have been held in secret.

I must therefore content myself with saying that, after having been drafted, the report was carefully discussed at great length, and at the end of its proceedings the Committee arrived at the conclusions which I am about to read to you. You are asked to pass what is in effect a vote of confidence. You favoured the Committees of preceding Assemblies with this vote, and I trust you will give it to the present one also.

The following are the conclusions which I have the honour to submit on behalf of the Fourth Committee :

The Assembly,

(1) *Authorises the Secretary-General, as the result of previous negotiations, to write off from the accounts of the League the sum of 22,478.71 gold francs due from Panama for the financial year 1925 ;*

(2) *Requests the Secretary-General :*

(a) *To give his support, when necessary, to any steps which he may consider useful with a view to the recovery of arrears ;*

(b) *To submit to the Council at its session of June 1927 a detailed report on the position with regard to contributions in arrears ;*

(3) *Requests China to propose effective and concrete methods, acceptable to the League of Nations, with a view to the payment of her contributions in arrears ;*

(4) *Requests the Council to cause a study to be made of the legal position of States which do not pay their contributions to the League of Nations, with a view to giving the Assembly information on the matter at its eighth ordinary session.*

The President :

Translation : If no one else wishes to speak, I shall regard the resolutions of the Fourth Committee as adopted.

The resolutions were adopted.

78. — CLOSE OF THE SESSION : SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.

The President :

Translation : When opening this session of the Assembly on September 6th, the President of the Council stated that a year ago in this hall you drew up the programme of work which the organisations of the League were to carry out in the course of the year. He thus drew attention to a very valuable feature of your work — its continuity — and to the fact that, in addition to the direct results obtained by the League of Nations, your former discussions had helped to create by degrees the atmosphere in which the main political negotiations have been conducted during the past twelve months.

Now, at the end of our meetings, may I, relying on the confidence you have bestowed on me and the privilege you accord me to-day of saying a word of farewell to your delegations, say that the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly has enriched the tradition established by its predecessors and has greatly contributed to the progress of the League ?

I feel that I am faithfully interpreting your wishes in thanking the Swiss Confederation and the Republic and Canton of Geneva for the cordial hospitality which they have offered us and all the facilities they have placed at our disposal, and for the friendly atmosphere which is so noticeable every year when we come here to work together for the cause of peace — a cause so dear to this noble country.

I do not think I need bestow any further praise upon the Secretariat; you are already so well acquainted with its devotion to the League. But I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my regret, which is certainly shared by all the delegates, that two distinguished members of the Secretariat, two who have rendered invaluable service to the League, will no longer be with us when we meet next year — at any rate in their present capacity. I refer to Dr. Nitobé and M. Mantoux.

I hope they will accept this expression of our thanks for all that they have done and our best and most sincere wishes for the future. If I have not mentioned Sir Herbert Ames, it is not because he is not included in this expression of our gratitude but because he is present with us as a delegate, and I would scarcely dare to ask him to sit and listen to his own praise.

I shall not attempt to summarise your work. You have carefully considered in your Committees all the problems with which the League has had to deal; you have given your opinions on the results obtained, you have shown the path to be followed, and you are now relying on the Council to carry out the work of the future. It would therefore ill become me to remind you in detail of the results of which you are resolved, when you return to your respective countries, yourselves to be the advocates.

I am convinced that the effects of our work will soon make themselves felt and that the resolution here adopted to hasten the ratifications of the conventions drawn up by the League of Nations will, thanks to your united efforts, shortly become a reality.

The special characteristics of this Assembly, which will assuredly pass into history, should not cause us to forget the vast amount of solid work we have accomplished. That each of the six Committees has done its ample share is proved by the resolutions adopted and, on certain points, the definite agreements which have been concluded, as for instance that on slavery.

If in other respects the Assembly during its seventh ordinary session has contented itself with preparing the way for other meetings, it has, in this respect at least, displayed a lively determination to arrive at tangible results. I refer, in particular, to the Economic Conference and to the Disarmament Conference, which in this Assembly have formed the subjects of such interesting and encouraging discussions. Certainly these are serious questions, fraught with difficulties of every kind, which you yourselves have defined with eloquence. But at the same time the real scope of

the Economic Conference, even if the powers of that Conference are limited, has been established, and, on the other hand, we have all been made to realise the great hopes raised by the first endeavour to attain that general and loyal disarmament which will gain for the League the whole-hearted support of all peoples. This is the programme of work for the ensuing year. We leave a tremendous task to the organs of the League. I hope, as you all hope, that the two proposed Conferences will have been crowned with success before the eighth session of the Assembly.

But the two dominant features of this session will always be the reorganisation of the Council and the entry of Germany into the League. You are all aware of the many discussions which, in the past few years, have taken place around the question of elections to the Council. We have all heard the League of Nations criticised in this connection, and the uninitiated have expressed surprise that this question should involve such minute investigation, such long negotiations. But is there, in reality, any problem of greater importance for the future of the League than that of the Council, and is it not a true sign of progress that the Members of the League should be taking an interest in the details of its procedure, its organisation and the perfecting of this international machinery which has been placed at the disposal of all our Governments?

In order that this new institution should operate surely and smoothly it is indispensable that the rules provided for it should be known in all countries and by all our national administrations, and that the representatives, delegates and experts of all the Members of the League should realise as clearly as possible both its potentialities and the exact limits of its activity. Naturally, the crisis which you have satisfactorily solved has given us cause for serious anxiety, but I am sure that it will produce at least one good result — it will make the principal organs of the League better known and their high importance more generally understood.

I should like to add, in the hope that the authority you have been good enough to confer upon the President of the Assembly will enable his words to penetrate far beyond these precincts, that one of the arguments generally advanced by the opponents of the League has henceforth lost all force and power. The adversaries of international understanding were all agreed that our League included only a portion of the nations of the world, those who were not separated from one another by any difficulties of vital importance. But during this session we have in this hall witnessed a great event. We have seen nations which had been divided by hideous strife sit side by side and work together under the common ideal of voluntary obedience to the Covenant of the League. If the League of Nations is not yet universal, events have shown that it can and will be so.

Ladies and gentlemen; I declare the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly closed.

The Assembly rose at 6.10 p.m.

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ANNEX 1.

AGENDA OF THE SEVENTH ORDINARY SESSION
OF THE ASSEMBLY, 1926, AND SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF ITEMS.

(Circulated in accordance with Rule 4¹, paragraph 1, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly).

1. Election of the Committee to report on the Credentials of Delegates.
 2. Election of the President.
 3. Examination and Adoption of the Agenda.
 4. Nomination of Committees and Election of Chairmen of these Committees.
 5. Election of Six Vice-Presidents.
 6. Report on the Work of the Council since the last General Session of the Assembly, on the Work of the Secretariat and on the Measures taken to execute the Decisions of the Assembly.
- A.6.1926.
A.6(a).1926.

ITEMS INSERTED BY THE ASSEMBLY AT ITS SIXTH SESSION.

7. Pacific Settlement of International Disputes: Report by the Council on Proposals, Declarations and Suggestions made for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes².
 8. Arbitration, Security and Reduction of Armaments: Report by the Council on the Progress in General Security brought about by the Conclusion of Conventions and Treaties³.
 9. Protection of Women and Children in the Near East: Report on the Work of Miss Jeppe and Dr. Kennedy for 1925-26⁴.
 10. Contributions in Arrears: Report⁵ by the Council².
- A.32.1926.IX.
A.25.1926.IV.

ITEM INSERTED BY THE ASSEMBLY AT ITS SPECIAL SESSION OF MARCH 1926.

11. Consideration of the Report of the First Committee of the Special Assembly on the Request of the German Government for Admission to the League of Nations³.
- A.21.1926.VII.

ITEMS PROPOSED BY THE COUNCIL.

12. Such Report or Proposals as the Council may decide to make after, considering the Report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council appointed by the Council Resolution of March 18th, 1926⁴.
 13. Report on the Work of the Economic and Financial Organisation, including the Financial Reconstruction of Austria, the Financial Reconstruction of Hungary, the Work of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, establishment of Bulgarian Refugees, etc.
 14. International Economic Conference: Report on the Work of the Preparatory Committee.
 15. Report on the Work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit.
 16. Report on the Work of the Health Organisation of the League.
 17. Report on the Work of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs.
- A.30.1926.II.
A.24.1926.II.
A.31.1926.VIII.
A.17.1926.III.
A.22.1926.III.
A.20.1926.XI.

¹ The text of the Rule is quoted in Appendix V.
² The resolution is quoted in Appendix I.
³ The resolutions are quoted in Appendix II.
⁴ The resolution is quoted in Appendix III.
⁵ The Report will be communicated to the Fourth Committee (see Resolution adopted by the Council on June 7th, 1926).

18. Report on the Work of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People:
- (a) Report of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children.
 - (b) Report of the Child-Welfare Committee.
- A.18.1926.IV.
A.19.1926.IV.
- A.26.1926.XII.
A.27.1926.XII.
A.28.1926.XII. } 19. Report on the Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.
20. Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments: Report on the Work of the Preparatory Committee¹.

BUDGET AND ACCOUNTS.

- A.4.1926.X.
A.4(a).1926.X.
A.4(b).1926.X.
A.8.1926.X.
A.23.1926.X.
A.3.1926.X.
A.5.1926.X.
A.11.1926.VI. } 21. Budget for 1927, including the Budgets of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
Audit of Accounts for the Seventh Financial Period (1925).
Reports of the Supervisory Commission.
League Building Fund (Proportional Interest of Members)².

OTHER ITEMS.

22. Appointment of the Non-Permanent Members of the Council.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF ITEMS CIRCULATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 4³, PARAGRAPH 3, OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

- A.9.1926.VI.
A.10.1926.VI.
A.10(a).1926.VI. } 1. Conclusion of an International Convention on Slavery and Conditions Analogous thereto.
- A.29.1926. } 2. Conference on Russian and Armenian Refugee Questions: Measures taken by Governments to give effect to the terms of the Arrangement concluded at the Conference.
3. Staff Provident Fund: Amendment to Article 6 of the Regulations provisionally made by the Council.

Appendix I.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY.

I. *Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.*

(Resolution adopted on September 25th, 1925.)

I. The Assembly,

- In view of the importance of making a thorough study of the views which have been expressed in the Assembly and the Council on the subject of pacific settlement of international disputes; Convinced that such study will contribute to the development of a system of pacific settlement of international disputes:

Requests the Council to submit to careful examination the proposals, declarations and suggestions made at the Assembly and the Council with a view to pacific settlement of international disputes, and to report to the Seventh Assembly upon the progress which can be made in this matter.

II. The Assembly,

Reserving the question whether it is at present desirable to embody in a new general convention the provisions concerning compulsory arbitration contained in the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes;

Recalling the guarantees provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations:

Calls the attention of States Members of the League to the desirability, from the point of view of their security, of concluding particular conventions for arbitration or for the judicial settlement of disputes.

¹ The resolution of the Sixth Assembly is quoted in Appendix I.

² The recommendation of the Fourth Committee adopted by the Sixth Assembly is quoted in Appendix IV.

³ The text of the Rule is quoted in Appendix V.

2. *Arbitration, Security, and Reduction of Armaments.*

(Resolution adopted on September 25th, 1925.)

The Assembly,

Taking note of the declarations submitted to the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations in respect of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and of the fact that the said Protocol has not up to the present received the ratifications necessary for putting it into operation immediately;

Convinced that the most urgent need of the present time is the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations;

Declaring afresh that a war of aggression should be regarded as an international crime:

Regards favourably the effort made by certain nations to attain those objects by concluding arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Protocol (Arbitration, Security, Disarmament);

Records the fact that such agreements need not be restricted to a limited area but may be applied to the whole world;

Recommends that, after these conventions and treaties have been deposited with the League of Nations, the Council should examine them in order to report to the Seventh Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements;

Undertakes again to work for the establishment of peace by the sure method of arbitration, security and disarmament;

And, in conformity with the spirit of Article 8 of the Covenant, requests the Council to make a preparatory study with a view to a Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments in order that, as soon as satisfactory conditions have been assured from the point of view of general security as provided for in Resolution XIV of the Third Assembly, the said Conference may be convened and a general reduction and limitation of armaments may be realised.

3. *Protection of Women and Children in the Near East.*

(Resolution adopted on September 25th, 1925.)

1. The Assembly approves the reports submitted by Dr. Kennedy and Miss Karen Jeppe. It expresses its high appreciation of the work they and their assistants have accomplished.

2. Whereas the Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East set up in fulfilment of the resolutions adopted by the First and Second Assemblies is in practice composed of two distinct missions in Constantinople and in Syria respectively, the Assembly decides that these missions shall be divided and that separate credits shall be voted to Dr. Kennedy for the "Neutral House" at Constantinople and to Miss Jeppe for the protection of women and children in Syria.

3. The Assembly decides that the "Neutral House" of the League of Nations at Constantinople shall continue for another year. Should Dr. Kennedy be unable to continue his present appointment, it invites the Council to take all the necessary measures for the continuation of this work.

4. The Assembly decides that, under the supreme control of the Power which holds a mandate in Syria under the League of Nations, Miss Jeppe will continue for another year her work for the protection of women and children. It requests the mandatory Power to continue to give its aid and patronage to Miss Jeppe.

5. The Assembly decides that the sum of 45,000 francs shall be allocated for the work of Miss Jeppe and the sum of 30,000 francs for the work of Dr. Kennedy during 1926.

A report on their work will be submitted by them to the Seventh Assembly.

4. *Contributions in Arrears.*

(Resolution adopted on September 26th, 1925.)

The Assembly,

Having considered the report which was submitted to it by its Fourth Committee:

(1) Decides to approve the settlement of the Argentine Republic's debt;

(2) Expresses its satisfaction with the efforts made by certain Members to pay their debts to the League;

(3) Makes a pressing appeal to Members whose contributions have not yet been paid to take the necessary measures for the settlement of their debts to the League of Nations and requests the Secretary-General to make further urgent representations to these Members;

(4) Invites the Secretary-General to report to the Council, at its session of June 1926, on the results of these representations in order to enable the Council to examine the question of contributions in arrears and report to the Seventh Assembly.

Appendix II.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SPECIAL ASSEMBLY OF MARCH 1926.

Request of the German Government for Admission to the League of Nations.

(Resolutions adopted on March 17th, 1926.)

1. The Assembly regrets that the difficulties encountered have prevented the attainment of the purpose for which it was convened and expresses the hope that, between now and the ordinary September session of 1926, these difficulties may be surmounted so as to make it possible for Germany to enter the League of Nations on that occasion.

2. The Assembly postpones until its ordinary session in September consideration of the report of its First Committee on the request of Germany for admission to the League.

Appendix III.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL.

Report of the Committee to consider the Composition of the Council.

(Resolution adopted on March 18th, 1926.)

The Council,

Considering that it is desirable that a thorough study should be made of the problems connected with the composition of the Council and the number and the method of election of its Members:

Decides to appoint a Committee for the purpose.

This Committee shall give particular attention to the claims up to now put forward by or on behalf of any Members of the League and shall be authorised to invite the Governments of any Members of the League which so desire to lay before it any statement, whether in writing or through an official representative, in support of their case, or containing their views on any of the problems falling within the competence of the Committee. It shall bear in mind the various proposals on the subject which have been previously discussed by the Council or the Assembly, and, in particular, the resolution regarding "geographical and other considerations" repeatedly adopted by the latter body.

The Committee shall consist of representatives of the Members of the Council and of the following States: The Argentine, China, Germany, Poland and Switzerland. The names of these representatives shall be communicated to the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

The Committee shall meet on May 10th, 1926, and shall prepare a report to the Council, which shall be communicated to the Members of the League for information as soon as possible. In case it is not able to make a unanimous report, it shall make such majority and minority reports as may be necessary in order to acquaint the Members of the League with the full results of its deliberations.

Appendix IV.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE, ADOPTED BY THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY.

League Building Fund.

(Recommendation adopted on September 26th, 1925.)

(a) That from the consolidated 1924 surplus (amounting to 9,395,721.35 francs) there be taken the sum of 2,110,420 francs in order to complete the sum of 3,200,000 francs agreed to for the erection of the office building for the International Labour Office (including interior and exterior installation) and to cover the contribution of the League, amounting to 50,000 francs,

for the construction of the new sewer, and that the sum thus withdrawn be placed at the disposal of the Director of the International Labour Office as and when required for the payment of the final construction expenses.

(b) That the remainder of the surplus of 1924 (amounting to 7,285,301.35 francs) be placed in a special bank account as from October 1st, 1925, the said account to be henceforth known as the "League Building Fund", the interest on the unemployed portion, as thereafter earned, to be added to the principal of the fund.

(c) That the contributions received from the Argentine Republic in respect of the fourth and fifth financial periods (when the Argentine was not included in the allocations statement) be also included in the League Building Fund, together with such interest as shall have accrued thereon since October 20th, 1924.

The Committee further recommends:

1. That the Argentine contribution in respect of the sixth financial period be likewise included in the League Building Fund as from date of payment.

2. That a recommendation to the Seventh Assembly should be approved to the effect that the consolidated surplus, if any, arising from the financial operations of the seventh financial period (1925) be, on July 1st, 1926, added to and included in the said fund.

3. That a statement be furnished to the Seventh Assembly showing, as on July 1st, 1926, the proportional interest of each Member in the League Building Fund.

Appendix V.

RULE 4 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

1. The agenda shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General with the approval of the President of the Council. The complete agenda shall be circulated as nearly as possible four months before the date fixed for the opening of the session.

2. The agenda of a general session shall include:

(a) A report on the work of the Council since the last session of the Assembly, on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly;

(b) All items whose inclusion has been ordered by the Assembly at a previous session;

(c) All items proposed by the Council;

(d) All items proposed by a Member of the League;

(e) The Budget for the next fiscal period, and the report on the accounts of the last fiscal period.

3. Any Member of the League may, at least one month before the date fixed for the opening of the session, request the inclusion of additional items in the agenda. Such items shall be placed on a supplementary list, which shall be circulated to the Members of the League at least three weeks before the date fixed for the opening of the session. The Assembly shall decide whether items on the supplementary list shall be included in the agenda of the session.

4. The Assembly may, in exceptional circumstances, place additional items on the agenda; but all consideration of such items shall, unless otherwise ordered by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly, be postponed until four days after they have been placed on the agenda and until a committee has reported upon them.

5. No proposal for a modification of the allocation of expenses for the time being in force shall be inserted in the agenda unless it has been communicated to the Members of the League at least four months before the date fixed for the opening of the session.

ANNEX 2.

REPORT TO THE SEVENTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL, ON THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT AND ON THE MEASURES TAKEN TO EXECUTE THE DECISIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

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1.

LEGAL QUESTIONS.

I. COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, appointed under the resolution of the Assembly of September 22nd, 1924, met for its second session at Geneva from January 12th to January 29th, 1926. The terms of reference of the Committee are as follows :

- (1) To prepare a provisional list of the subjects of international law the regulation of which by international agreement would seem to be most desirable and realisable at the present moment ;
- (2) After communication of the list by the Secretariat to the Governments of States, whether Members of the League or not, for their opinion, to examine the replies received ; and
- (3) To report to the Council on the questions which are sufficiently ripe and on the procedure which might be followed with a view to preparing eventually for conferences for their solution.

The Committee drew up a number of questionnaires which were forwarded to the Secretary-General for transmission to the Governments. It asked the Secretary-General to request the Governments to send to him by October 15th, 1926, for transmission to the Committee, their opinion upon the question whether the regulation by international agreement of the subjects treated, both in their general aspects and as regards the specific points mentioned in the questionnaires, was desirable and realisable in the near future.

The subjects dealt with in the questionnaires were as follows :

- No. 1. Nationality.
- No. 2. Territorial waters.
- No. 3. Diplomatic privileges and immunities.
- No. 4. Responsibility of States in respect of injury caused in their territory to the person or property of foreigners.
- No. 5. Procedure of international conferences and procedure for the conclusion and drafting of treaties.
- No. 6. Piracy.
- No. 7. Exploitation of the products of the sea.

The Committee will examine the replies received from the Governments and report subsequently to the Council on the questions which appear to be sufficiently ripe and on the procedure to be followed for their solution.

In addition to the subjects on which questionnaires were drawn up, the Committee examined and decided not to include in its list the subjects of " extradition " and " criminal competence of States in respect of offences committed outside their territory ". The reasons for this decision are set out in reports which have been distributed to the Governments. Finally, the Committee presented to the Council a report on the subject of " the legal status of Government ships employed in commerce " which was placed on the agenda of the Council's session of June 1926 and will be further dealt with in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

The Committee has also appointed Sub-Committees to report to it at its next session upon the desirability of including in its list of subjects to be submitted to Governments for their opinion all or any of the following matters :

- (1) Is it possible to establish, by way of a general convention, provisions concerning the communication in criminal matters of judicial and other documents (*actes judiciaires et actes extra-judiciaires*), and concerning commissions to take evidence (*commissions rogatoires*) in criminal matters ?
- (2) Is it possible to establish by way of a general convention provisions concerning the legal position of private, non-profit-making international associations and private international foundations ?
- (3) Are there questions concerning the conflict of laws in the matter of domicile of which a solution by way of a convention could be contemplated without encountering political obstacles ? In the affirmative, what are these questions and what solutions might be found for them ?
- (4) Is it possible to establish by way of a general convention provisions as to the legal position and the functions of consuls, and, if so, to what extent ?

(5) Is it possible to reach an international agreement determining, in the absence of special provisions, the effect of the most-favoured-nation clause ?

(6) Is it desirable to revise the classification of diplomatic agents made by the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle ? In the affirmative, in what form should this revision be made ?

(7) Is it possible to establish, by way of a convention, international rules concerning the competence of the courts in regard to foreign States, and, particularly, in regard to States engaging in commercial operations (excluding the questions already dealt with in the report sent to the Council of the League of Nations by the Committee of Experts at the Committee's second session) ?

(8) Is it possible, without encountering political or economic obstacles, to formulate by way of a convention international rules concerning the nationality of commercial corporations and the determination of the question to what State the right of affording them diplomatic protection belongs ?

(9) Is it possible to establish by way of a convention international rules concerning the recognition of the legal personality of foreign commercial corporations ?

(10) Is it possible to establish by way of a convention international rules for the settlement of conflicts of laws concerning contracts for the sale of goods ?

(11) Whether, and to what extent, it would be possible to draw up treaty provisions concerning the application in international law of the conception of prescription, whether as establishing or as barring rights, and what such provisions should be.

At its session of March 1926 the Council referred to the Committee for examination the question of the admissibility of reservations to general conventions.

II. FOUNDATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE UNIFICATION OF PRIVATE LAW.

On September 30th, 1924, the Assembly of the League of Nations invited the Council to accept, in the name of the League, the Italian Government's offer to found and maintain an International Institute for the Unification of Private Law. The Council was invited at the same time to conclude with the Italian Government, after consultation with the competent organs, all agreements necessary to ensure the establishment, continuity and proper working of the Institute.

On October 3rd, 1924, the Council of the League of Nations, in pursuance of this decision, accepted the Italian Government's offer and requested the latter to communicate to it any suggestions which it might desire to put forward as a basis for future discussions.

Having received a communication from the representative of Italy forwarding a draft statute for the proposed Institute, the Council instructed the Secretary-General of the League, on December 13th, 1924, to invite the competent organs referred to by the Assembly to give their opinion on this draft statute.

The Secretary-General complied with these instructions and forwarded to the Council the opinions thus obtained (document C. 41. 1926. V).

On March 15th, 1926, the Council of the League of Nations adopted, at the same time as the draft statute, annexed thereto¹, a report by the Italian representative, which stated, in particular, that the final terms of the Italian Government's offer would be embodied in a letter addressed to the Council by that Government. As this letter had not yet arrived in its official form, the Council, at its meeting of March 18th, 1926, authorised its President to receive this letter and to reply to it, accepting the offer of the Italian Government.

This letter, to which was attached the Organic Statute of the Institute, was sent on March 31st, 1926, by the Italian Government to the President of the Council². The latter replied on April 20th following and accepted the offer, in accordance with the Council's resolution of March 18th, 1926.

In conformity with the Assembly's resolution of September 30th, 1924, the communication of March 31st, 1926, and the Statute annexed thereto, provide for the organisation and working of the Institute on the basis of general principles analagous to those laid down in connection with the Institute for Intellectual Co-operation recently established at Paris. In particular, the undertaking given in the communication of March 31st, 1926, is subject to legislative approval and will not become definitive until this approval has been notified to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. It should be added that, in conformity with Article 14 of the Organic Statute and paragraphs 4 and 8 of the letter of March 31st, 1926, the rules of procedure of the Institute for the Unification of Private Law, the regulations for its financial administration and its staff regulations are to be established later by the Governing Body of the Institute with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations.

¹ See *Official Journal*, April 1926, pages 577-579.

² See *Official Journal*, June 1926.

III. CONFERENCE OF THE STATES SIGNATORIES OF THE PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

On March 18th, 1926, the Council, on the proposal of the British representative, decided to invite the signatories of the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Government of the United States of America to send delegations to a meeting to be held at Geneva on September 1st, 1926, for the purpose of discussing questions arising in connection with the admission of the United States to this Protocol under the terms of the resolution of the United States Senate of January 27th, 1926.

By the resolution in question, the Senate gave its advice and consent to the admission of the United States to the Protocol on the condition that the signatory Powers accepted the conditions, reservations and understandings contained in the resolution.

A summary of the replies to the Council's invitation will be given in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

IV. INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT AND OTHER POINTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The Assembly, on September 21st, 1925, on the proposal of the Netherlands delegation, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Assembly requests the Council of the League to invite the Governments of States Members of the League which find in the report of the Special Committee of Jurists appointed under the resolution of the Council of September 28th, 1923¹, doubtful points which require elucidation, or which may have other comments to make on this report, to forward their observations to the Secretariat of the League of Nations before February 1st, 1926, with a view to a possible examination of the matter by a Committee to be appointed by the Council. ”

The Council considered this request of the Assembly on September 26th, 1925, and adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council, at the instance of the sixth Assembly, instructs the Secretary-General to invite the Governments of the States Members of the League which find, in the report of the Special Committee of Jurists appointed under the resolution of the Council of September 28th, 1923, doubtful points which require elucidation or which may have other comments to make on this report, to forward their observations to the Secretariat of the League of Nations before February 1st, 1926, with a view to a possible examination of the matter by a committee to be appointed by the Council. ”

The Secretary-General communicated this resolution to all the Members of the League. Replies were received from twenty-one Governments, some of which indicated that they did not desire to present any observations, while others made reservations or criticisms relating to some or all of the replies of the Special Committee of Jurists.

The Council considered whether it was desirable to refer the problems raised in these communications to a new committee. On the whole, it was of opinion that, while the initiative of the Netherlands Governments had produced a most valuable result in evoking statements of their opinion from so many Governments, there would not be any practical advantage in attempting to carry the matter further by appointing a new committee which would reconsider the answers given by the Special Committee of Jurists to the questions addressed to it by the Council and formulate new answers to these questions.

The Council was of opinion that the questions answered by the jurists were general questions of interpretation of the Covenant and of international law upon which it was felt desirable that the Council should take the advice of a strong legal committee but which cannot be authoritatively and finally settled by a report from any committee, however competent.

The Council also pointed out that, in noting the original replies of the Special Committee, it had not intended to accept them for itself or to impose them upon the Members of the League as a final and exhaustive statement of the law on the points examined. On the contrary, certain members of the Council, while approving the replies as a whole, had made certain reservations as to their application in certain cases. A similar opportunity to express their views had now been enjoyed by all the Members of the League, and the essential object aimed at by the proposal of the Netherlands Government had accordingly been attained.

There could be no dispute as to the competence of the original Committee, and the fact that it felt it desirable to give general answers to the questions put, without attempting to lay down detailed rules governing the infinite variety of cases which might arise in practice, was in itself a reason for thinking that these questions were hardly susceptible of any other treatment. On the other hand, when a case presented itself in which it might be appropriate for the Council to look for guidance to the replies of the jurists, it was obvious that the Council would at the same time take into consideration the observations on the replies which it would have the advantage of having received from so many Members of the League.

¹ See Report to the Fifth Assembly on the Work of the Council, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 23, page 251.

The Council, therefore, decided to abstain from appointing a new committee, but, at the same time, it instructed the Secretary-General to distribute the communications received from the various Governments to all the Members of the League. These communications have accordingly been printed and distributed in document C. 57. 1926. V, dated February 6th, 1926 (see also document C. 212. M. 72. 1926. V, dated March 22nd, 1926).

V. RATIFICATION OF AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT.

Since the drafting of the report for 1925 on the work of the Council and of the Secretariat, none of the Protocols on the amendments to the Covenant adopted in 1921, 1924, and 1925 have come into force. (The amendments to Articles 6, 12, 13, and 15 of the Covenant came into force in 1924).

The amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant adopted in 1921 was ratified by France on May 19th, 1926, so that nine Members of the Council have now ratified it.

At the meeting of the Council held on June 10th, 1926, the Spanish representative stated that his Government had decided to ratify the same amendment.

As soon as the Spanish instrument of ratification has been deposited with the Secretariat, the unanimity of the Members of the Council required for putting this amendment into force will have been obtained and the amendment can come into force as it has also already been ratified by the majority of the States Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEAGUE.

I. GENERAL FINANCIAL POSITION.

During the course of the year 1925, 84.2 per cent of the amount of the contributions due for that year was received from the States Members, as against 83.2 per cent of the Budget for 1924 during that year.

With regard to payments on account of arrears during 1925, the total amount was 3,114,746.92 gold francs, as compared with 8,266,396.61 gold francs in 1924.

The net loss on exchange during 1925 amounted to 80,148.53 gold francs, which compares unfavourably with the profit obtained during 1924, owing to the fact that during 1924 the Swiss franc had not yet reached parity with the gold franc, whilst in 1925 the Swiss franc was frequently above par.

On December 31st, 1925, the three autonomous organisations of the League showed the following surpluses :

	Gold francs
(a) Secretariat	2,365,985.98
(b) International Labour Office.	409,334.78
(c) Permanent Court of International Justice	52,334.05
Total	2,827,654.81

The administration of the finances of the League since the last Assembly may perhaps be most conveniently illustrated by reference to the work of the Supervisory Commission, which has met on two occasions since last September.

The Commission was composed of the same members and of the same officers as last year, namely :

- M. Stefan OSUSKY, Czechoslovakia, *Chairman*.
- Lord MESTON OF AGRA, India, *Vice-Chairman*.
- Dr. J. A. NEDERBRAGT, Netherlands, *Rapporteur*.
- M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD, France.
- M. Luis WADDINGTON, Chile.

II. ACCOUNTS FOR 1925.

The Commission made an exhaustive study of the questions raised in the report drawn up by the League's Auditor, M. Ceresa. The Commission recommended that certain improvements should be made in the method of presenting the accounts of the Secretariat and in the

system of deducting appropriations in aid ; it further recommended certain rulings with regard to transfers in the Budget.

The Commission considered the suggestions put forward by M. Ceresa to the effect that a single balance-sheet showing the assets and the liabilities of the League of Nations as a whole should be furnished. After due deliberation it was decided not to recommend for the present the abolition of separate balance-sheets for the Secretariat and the autonomous organisations. On the instructions of the Commission, however, the Secretariat will in future compile a condensed balance-sheet, drawn up in gold francs alone, for the League of Nations as a whole, which will be communicated each year to the Members of the League, together with the accounts of the different organisations.

The Commission accepted the proposal of the Auditor to deduct from the contributions in arrears pertaining to the financial period 1924 a part of each contribution proportionate to the amount appropriated for reconstituting the Working Capital Fund, the Assembly having decided to refund in 1925 this sum to the Members of the League. The effect of this arrangement will be to reduce the arrears of the financial period 1924 by a total sum of 145,629.33 gold francs.

In agreement with the Auditor, the Commission recommended that the sums paid by Germany in 1925 to the International Labour Office as contributions for the years 1922-24 should be added to the surplus of the year 1925, which will therefore amount to 3,367,847.28 gold francs.

III. LEAGUE BUILDING FUND AND SURPLUS FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1925.

The sixth Assembly having decided to create a League Building Fund from part of the surplus of 1924 and the Argentine contributions for the fourth and fifth financial periods, the Commission further recommended that to this Fund should be added the Argentine contribution for the sixth financial period as well as the consolidated surplus of 1925. It was, moreover, considered only logical that the whole cost of the International Labour Office Building and the sale price of the Hotel National should be added to the Building Fund. The Commission has devoted a most careful study to the questions connected with the administration of the Building Fund and the apportionment of the annuities included every year in the Budget. The Assembly will be asked to approve the recommendations of the Commission in this respect. The Commission has suggested for the administration of the Fund that two accounts should be kept, one showing the capital cost and the other recording the sums contributed by certain Members of the League, to enable the building scheme to be financed at once.

The Commission has studied the question of determining the shares which different Members of the League have contributed to the Fund, as the distribution of the annual repayment of 1,400,000 francs must depend on the proportion of these shares. After examining in detail the variety of methods of treating this question, the Commission arrived at a solution which it can confidently recommend to the Assembly. The system agreed upon will be published in August 1926 ; allowance can thus be made for all arrears that may be paid by States up to the end of the previous month.

IV. BUDGET FOR 1927.

The Budget for 1927 as forwarded to the Members of the League for consideration by the Council and the Assembly amounts to 24,615,097 francs, as compared with a budget on 22,930,623 francs for 1926 and 22,658,138 francs for 1925.

The Commission noted that the increase in the amount as compared with 1926 was due to the fact that the Budget was prepared on the understanding that Germany would be a Member of the League in 1927.

Although the gross expenditure provided for 1927 is greater than that for 1926, the net burden on each Member of the League may, for certain reasons, such as the building fund annuity repayment, be less in 1927 than in 1926.

The Commission strongly recommended the exercise of greater economy in the printing and publishing expenses of the League, being convinced that Committees did not always fully appreciate the financial consequences when deciding to have documents printed and published. The Commission noted, on the other hand, that the sale of the League's publications was increasing from year to year.

V. BUDGETARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS.

The Commission was requested by the sixth Assembly to study the question whether, in view of the fact that, by a decision of the fifth Assembly, the Chiefs of Division of the International Labour Office were not entitled to participate in the Provident Fund, it should re-establish in their favour the article of the original Staff Regulations which provided for an indemnity on the termination of contract. Seeing that the Assembly itself had treated Chiefs of Division and Directors of the Secretariat on the same footing, by excluding them both from participation in the Provident Fund, the Commission unanimously agreed that the

re-introduction of this article for the benefit of the Chiefs of Division would be founded neither on equity, as compared with the position of the Directors of the Secretariat, nor on law.

The Commission, at the request of the Fourth Committee of the sixth Assembly, has considered whether it would not be possible, without increasing the credits voted, to publish at least once a year a bibliographical bulletin giving a list of all the publications which had appeared dealing with the League and its work. The Commission has arrived at the opinion, however, that without increasing the staff it is not possible to issue a list of periodical publications containing articles on the League. Members of the League will doubtless have noted that the Library of the Secretariat has issued as an annex to the *Monthly Summary* a list of important publications dealing with the League and its work.

VI. ALLOCATION OF THE EXPENSES OF THE LEAGUE.

The sixth Assembly, in 1925, approved for the years 1926, 1927 and 1928 the scale for the allocation of the expenses of the League which had been drawn up by the Committee on the Allocation of Expenses. The Assembly, moreover, requested the Council to ask the Committee to follow the economic development of the various Member States with a view to submitting a revised scale to the Assembly in 1928.

The Committee was convened on March 8th, 1926, during the special session of the Assembly in order to be in a position immediately to advise on any point in connection with the allocation of expenses which might have been put to it.

3.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

On September 25th, 1925, the sixth Assembly, on the proposal of the First and Third Committees, adopted the following resolutions with regard to the pacific settlement of international disputes, arbitration, security and the reduction of armaments and the permanent organisation of the Council for work on disarmament:

“ I. The Assembly,

“ In view of the importance of making a thorough study of the views which have been expressed in the Assembly and the Council on the subject of pacific settlement of international disputes ;

“ Convinced that such study will contribute to the development of a system of pacific settlement of international disputes :

“ Requests the Council to submit to careful examination the proposals, declarations and suggestions made at the Assembly and the Council with a view to pacific settlement of international disputes, and to report to the seventh Assembly upon the progress which can be made in this matter.”

“ II. The Assembly,

“ Reserving the question whether it is at present desirable to embody in a new general convention the provisions concerning compulsory arbitration contained in the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes ;

“ Recalling the guarantees provided in the Covenant of the League of Nations :

“ Calls the attention of States Members of the League to the desirability, from the point of view of their security, of concluding particular conventions for arbitration or for the judicial settlement of disputes.”

“ III. The Assembly,

“ Taking note of the declarations submitted to the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations in respect of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and of the fact that the said Protocol has not up to the present received the ratifications necessary for putting it into operation immediately ;

“ Convinced that the most urgent need of the present time is the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations ;

“ Declaring afresh that a war of aggression should be regarded as an international crime :

“ Regards favourably the effort made by certain nations to attain these objects by concluding arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security conceived in

the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Protocol (Arbitration, Security, Disarmament);

• “Records the fact that such agreements need not be restricted to a limited area but may be applied to the whole world ;

“ Recommends that, after these conventions and treaties have been deposited with the League of Nations, the Council should examine them in order to report to the seventh Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements ;

“ Undertakes again to work for the establishment of peace by the sure method of arbitration, security and disarmament ;

“ And, in conformity with the spirit of Article 8 of the Covenant, requests the Council to make a preparatory study with a view to a conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments in order that, as soon as satisfactory conditions have been assured from the point of view of general security as provided for in Resolution XIV of the third Assembly, the said conference may be convened and a general reduction and limitation of armaments may be realised. ”

“ IV. The Assembly :

“ Takes note of the Council resolution dated October 3rd, 1924, establishing the Co-ordination Commission ;

“ And invites the attention of the Council to the suggestions made during the proceedings of the Third Committee, as contained in the report (A. 99. 1925) submitted to the Assembly, with regard both to the designation and the composition of that Commission, and also to the necessity of determining its rules of procedure. ”

I. ARBITRATION, SECURITY AND PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

At its September session 1925 the Council dealt more particularly with the resolutions of the Third Committee of the Assembly, and on December 12th, 1925, it adopted the following resolution with regard to the resolutions proposed by the First Committee and adopted by the Assembly :

“ The Council,

“ Taking into consideration the resolutions adopted by the Assembly on September 25th, 1925, concerning arbitration, security and the reduction of armaments and the report adopted by the Council on September 26th, 1925 ¹ :

“ Invites the Secretary-General to prepare in due time before the next ordinary meeting of the Council : (1) a complete *exposé* of all the proposals, declarations and suggestions made at the sixth Assembly and at the Council with a view to the pacific settlement of international disputes ; (2) a systematic survey of the arbitration conventions and the treaties of mutual security which have been deposited with the League of Nations in order to enable the Council to prepare a report for submission to the seventh Assembly on the progress which has been achieved and can be made in these matters. ”

In execution of this resolution, the Legal Section of the Secretariat submitted to the March session of the Council “ an *exposé* of the proposals, declarations and suggestions made at the sixth Assembly and at the Council with a view to the pacific settlement of international disputes ” (see document C. 33. 1926. V), and a “ systematic survey of the arbitration conventions and the treaties of mutual security which have been deposited with the League of Nations ” (see document C. 34. 1926. V).

On March 18th, 1926, the Council was of opinion that the reports prepared by the Secretariat demanded careful examination on the part of the Council, and it decided to appoint a Committee of the Council consisting of the Rapporteur, M. Benes, and the representatives of Japan and Sweden. This Committee was asked to carry out a preliminary examination ; it prepared two reports from the Council to the Assembly which were examined by the Council at its session held in June 1926, and will be inserted in the supplementary Report to the Assembly.

II. PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

As was mentioned above, the Council gave immediate effect to the resolutions adopted by the sixth Assembly on the proposal of the Third Committee, namely, the last paragraph of Resolution III already quoted and Resolution IV concerning the Co-ordination Commission. The Council, taking account of the desire expressed by the delegations to the Assembly that the preparatory investigations required for dealing adequately with the question of the reduction and limitation of armaments should be undertaken as soon as possible in order that, as soon as satisfactory conditions had been assured from the point of view of general security,

¹ See *Official Journal*, October 1925, page 1387.

the Council might convene an international conference without further loss of time, decided to take advantage of the existence of the Committee of the Council which was established in accordance with the resolutions of the fifth Assembly, to undertake in the Council's name the work connected with the carrying out of the Protocol. On September 26th, 1925, it adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council,

“ In view of the report of the Third Committee to the sixth Assembly and of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly relating to arbitration, security and disarmament, dated September 25th, 1925 :

“ Decides to refer the report, resolutions and Minutes of the Assembly, of the Third Committee and of the Sub-Committee of the Third Committee, to the Committee of the Council for examination, requesting it to meet as soon as possible during the interval between the September and December sessions in order :

“ (1) To examine the observations made during the sixth Assembly on the constitution and working of the Co-ordination Commission and submit definite proposals to the Council on the following questions :

“ (a) The composition and name of the Co-ordination Commission ;

“ (b) Status of its different members ;

“ (c) Procedure ;

“ (2) To make the necessary studies for determining the questions which need to be submitted to a preparatory examination with a view to a possible conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments, and draft definite proposals to be submitted to the Council on this subject.

“ The Committee of the Council is requested to submit a report on this matter in time for examination by the Council at its session in December. ”

Accordingly, the Committee of the Council met at Geneva under the presidency of M. Paul-Boncour from December 3rd to 7th, 1925, and it submitted to the Council proposals regarding the name, composition and procedure of the Committee which was to prepare for the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, and also regarding the questions to be submitted to a preparatory examination with a view to the proposed Conference.

The Council approved the proposals of the Committee of the Council relating to the composition and working of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, and on December 12th, 1925, it adopted M. Benes' report and the following resolution :

“ The Council,

“ In view of the report of M. Paul-Boncour on the work of the Committee of the Council regarding the permanent organ of the Council for work on disarmament,

“ Decides :

“ 1. To adopt the scheme for the constitution of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference submitted by the Committee of the Council, as shown in the Annex to this report (see Annex 1 below) ;

“ 2. To adopt the present report ;

“ 3. To request the President to invite the Governments of the States named below to appoint representatives to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference :

BULGARIA,
FINLAND,
NETHERLANDS,

POLAND,
ROUMANIA,
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES ;

“ 4. To request the President to invite the Governments of GERMANY, the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and the UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS to appoint representatives to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference ;

“ 5. To request the Secretary-General to communicate the present report to all the States not represented on the Commission and to draw their attention to the facilities provided for in the scheme for the organisation of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, which enable States not represented on the Commission to state their points of view, and to forward to them the list of questions to be submitted to the Commission, together with the report attached thereto. ”

° Appendix 1.

COMPOSITION AND WORKING OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

I. Name.

The Commission will be entitled "*Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference*, being a Commission to prepare for a Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments".

II. Composition.

(1) The Commission will consist of :

- (a) Representatives of States Members of the Council ;
- (b) Representatives of countries chosen amongst those which, by reason of their geographical situation, occupy a special position as regards the problem of disarmament and which are not otherwise represented on the Commission.

(2) Any State not represented on the Commission shall be entitled :

- (a) To submit memoranda on matters in which it is specially interested ;
- (b) To be heard in support of these memoranda.

(3) Moreover, the Commission will always have the right, in the case of special questions, to call in the assistance of any State which, in the opinion of the Commission, may be particularly interested in these questions.

(4) If the constitution of the Council is altered during the proceedings of the Commission, the Council may change the composition of the Commission in order to ensure the continuity of its work.

III. Working of the Commission.

(1) The Preparatory Commission will decide on the proposals for the Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments to be submitted to the Council and will assure the control and co-ordination of the work preparatory to the Conference. For that purpose it will be empowered by the Council to obtain the co-operation and advice of the competent organisations of the League. The latter, in their turn, may submit to it on their own initiative any suggestion which they feel called upon to make with regard to the work in progress. This co-operation will be effected as follows :

- (a) With the Permanent Advisory Commission in the case of any questions relating to the military, naval or air aspect of the questions under consideration ; and
- (b) In respect of the economic aspect of these questions, with a Joint Commission, constituted as follows :

Two members each of the Economic, Financial and Transit Organisations, to be appointed by the Council after consultation with the Chairmen of the respective Committees ;

Two members of the Employers' Group and two members of the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office appointed by the Governing Body.

The Joint Commission may call in other experts under the same conditions as provided in the case of the Permanent Advisory Commission.

(2) Under the standing authority of the President of the Council, the Chairman of the Preparatory Commission may request the Chairman of the Permanent Advisory Commission or the Joint Commission to assemble these Commissions on a given date.

(3) The Preparatory Commission may at any time summon and hear the Chairman and Rapporteur of the Permanent Advisory Commission and of the Joint Commission to explain the views of their respective Commissions.

(4) It may also summon and hear any persons whose special qualifications are calculated to facilitate its work on a given subject.

(5) The authority referred to in sub-paragraphs 3 and 4 above is accorded to any Sub-Committees which it may establish within itself.

The Council also decided that "when the Preparatory Commission convenes the Chairman and the Rapporteur of the Technical Commissions (Permanent Advisory Commission and Joint Commission), these latter would express not their personal views but the views of their respective Commissions", and that "members of the organisations of the League sitting on the Joint Commission would not be required to present the point of view of their respective organisations at that Commission". Further, the Council decided "that the Joint Commission itself would call in any experts it wished to consult. If a member of the Commission asked for

an expert to be heard, it would be for the Commission to decide whether it would grant this request”.

As regards the list of questions to be submitted to the Preparatory Commission, the Council adopted on December 12th, 1925, the following resolution and amended list :

“ The Council,

“ Having regard to the report of the Committee of the Council concerning the list of questions to be examined by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference,

“ Decides :

“ (1) To adopt the list of questions prepared by the Committee of the Council in the amended form in which it appears in Annex I of this report (see Annex 2 below);

“ (2) To refer this programme, together with the Minutes of the Session of the Committee of the Council and of the present Session of the Council relating to the problem of disarmament, to the Preparatory Commission, constituted by its decision of to-day ;

“ (3) To convene a meeting of this Commission on February 15th, 1926, at Geneva in order that it may be duly constituted and that it may engage in a preliminary exchange of views regarding the accompanying list of questions, and may refer, if necessary, to the Technical Commissions attached to it the examination of the military and economic aspects of the questions which it has to consider. ”

Appendix 2.

LIST OF QUESTIONS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION.

Question I.

What is to be understood by the expression “ armaments ” ?

(a) Definition of the various factors — military, economic, geographical, etc. — upon which the power of a country in time of war depends.

(b) Definition and special characteristics of the various factors which constitute the armaments of a country in time of peace ; the different categories of armaments (military, naval and air), the methods of recruiting, training, organisations capable of immediate military employment, etc.

Question II.

(a) Is it practicable to limit the ultimate war strength of a country, or must any measures of disarmament be confined to the peace strength ?

(b) What is to be understood by the expression “ reduction and limitation of armaments ” ?

The various forms which reduction or limitation may take in the case of land, sea and air forces ; the relative advantages or disadvantages of each of the different forms or methods : for example, the reduction of the larger peace-time units or of their establishment and their equipment, or of any immediately mobilisable forces : the reduction of the length of active service, the reduction of the military equipment, the reduction of expenditure on national defence, etc.

Question III.

By what standards is it possible to measure the armaments of one country against the armaments of another, e.g., numbers, period of service, equipment, expenditure, etc. ?

Question IV.

Can there be said to be “ offensive ” and “ defensive ” armaments ?

Is there any method of ascertaining whether a certain force is organised for purely defensive purposes (no matter what use may be made of it in time of war), or whether, on the contrary, it is established for the purposes in a spirit of aggression ?

Question V.

(a) On what principle will it be possible to draw up a scale of armaments permissible to the various countries, taking into account particularly :

Population ;

Resources ;

Geographical situation ;

Length and nature of maritime communications ;

Density and character of the railways ;

Vulnerability of the frontiers and of the important vital centres near the frontiers ;

- The time required, varying with different States, to transform peace armaments into war armaments ;
- The degree of security which, in the event of aggression, a State could receive under the provisions of the Covenant or of separate engagements contracted towards that State ?

(b) Can the reduction of armaments be promoted by examining possible means for ensuring that the mutual assistance, economic and military, contemplated in Article 16 of the Covenant, shall be brought quickly into operation as soon as an act of aggression has been committed ?

Question VI.

(a) Is there any device by which civil and military aircraft can be distinguished for purposes of disarmament ? If this is not practicable, how can the value of civil aircraft be computed in estimating the air strength of any country ?

(b) Is it possible or desirable to apply the conclusions arrived at in (a) above to parts of aircraft and aircraft engines ?

(c) Is it possible to attach military value to commercial fleets in estimating the naval armaments of a country ?

Question VII.

Admitting that disarmament depends on security, to what extent is regional disarmament possible in return for regional security ? Or is any scheme of disarmament impracticable unless it is general ? If regional disarmament is practicable, would it promote or lead up to general disarmament ?

* * *

In conformity with these resolutions, the President of the Council invited the following Governments to be represented on the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, the first session of which was to be held at Geneva on February 15th, 1926 :

BULGARIA,	ROUMANIA,
FINLAND,	KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES,
GERMANY,	UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS,
NETHERLANDS,	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
POLAND,	

All these States accepted the invitation except the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which, in a letter from M. Chicherin to the President of the Council dated January 16th, 1926, declared that the Soviet Government welcomed every step and every movement towards disarmament and was genuinely anxious to be represented at the Disarmament Conference and on the Preparatory Commission. Pending the settlement of its dispute with Switzerland, however, it could not send delegates to commissions or conferences meeting on Swiss territory, and it must take note that it was consequently deprived of the opportunity of attending the Preparatory Commission unless the meeting-place of the latter was changed. M. Chicherin's Government held the Council of the League of Nations responsible for its inability to be represented on the Commission.

At its March session the Council replied to this letter and brought to the notice of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics a letter addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations by the Political Department of the Swiss Confederation on December 30th, 1925. The Council declared itself in full agreement with the following view expressed by the Government of the Swiss Confederation :

" The relations between the Government of the country in which the League of Nations is established, or of any country in which the League may from time to time arrange meetings, and the Government of any other country, whether a Member of the League or not, should in no way interfere with free negotiations between the organs of the League of Nations and the representatives of the last-named State ; nor should the co-operation between the League of Nations and any State directly influence the relations between that State and the country in which the League of Nations is established, or in which a conference may be held under the auspices of the League. "

The Swiss Federal Council gave assurances that :

" . . . Any delegates whom the Soviet Government may send to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference would receive at Geneva the same treatment as the delegates of any other Governments, and, in particular, would enjoy the same facilities for entering Switzerland, the same privileges and immunities in the conduct of their mission, and such measures of protection as the Swiss authorities might think it necessary to take in order to ensure their safety "

The Council declared its conviction that, in view of the desire expressed by the Soviet Government to co-operate in the efforts made to alleviate as far as may be practicable the burden of armaments, that Government would not wish to insist on exceptional treatment being accorded to it in regard to the work of the Preparatory Commission. The Council expressed the hope that the Soviet Government would send representatives to the Preparatory Commission, the first meeting of which would take place at Geneva on May 18th, 1926.

On April 7th, 1926, the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in a letter to the Secretary-General, repeated its refusal to be represented on the Commission. The Soviet Government first pointed out that the assurances given by the Swiss Government, of which the Council had taken note, were known to the Soviet Government before the despatch of its letter of January 16th, and did not constitute any new fact from which it could be concluded that the Swiss Government had changed its attitude. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government accuses the Council of not having taken account of its objections to a meeting in Switzerland and claims to see in that fact proof that the Council was not sincere either in the invitation it sent to the Soviet Government or in its wish to solve the problem of disarmament. The Soviet Government declares incidentally that, not being present at the work of the Preparatory Commission, it will not be able to take part in the Disarmament Conference proposed by the League of Nations, and it will await the day on which the initiative will be taken in some other quarter before participating in a conference convened for the same purpose.

On January 30th, 1926, the Secretary-General received a joint letter, signed by the representatives on the Council of the French, Italian, Japanese, Czechoslovak and Uruguayan Governments, asking that the opening meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, which had been convened for February 15th, should, in the general interest, be adjourned, on the understanding that another date should be fixed by the Council at its March session, this date to be not later, however, than May 15th. The other members of the Council, having been consulted by telegram, as well as the States invited to be represented on the Commission, agreed to the adjournment and to the procedure proposed. At its March session, therefore, the Council again considered the question of the date of the first meeting of the Commission and decided that it should meet at Geneva on May 18th, that the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions should meet on May 19th, and that the Joint Commission should not be convened until the Preparatory Commission was able to fix its agenda.

It was at the same meeting on March 18th, 1926, that the Council decided, after a fresh study of the composition of the Preparatory Commission, to invite the Argentine Republic and Chile to send representatives to serve on the Commission and to invite all the States represented on the Preparatory Commission to appoint military, naval and air experts, who would sit on the Permanent Advisory Commission on a footing of equality with members of that Commission whenever it was convened to assist the work of the Preparatory Commission.

Further, the Council, after taking note of a letter from the Chairman of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit informing it of the different qualifications of the members of that organisation, decided to add to the Joint Commission four members specially competent to deal with questions connected with industry and transport and to include a national of each of the following States : Germany, the United States of America, Japan and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

III. PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

On September 25th, 1925, the sixth Assembly adopted the following resolution :

“ The Assembly adopts the declaration inserted in its Final Act by the Conference for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War which met at Geneva in May and June 1925, declaring that the Convention concerning the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War ‘ must be considered as an important step towards a general system of international agreements regarding arms and ammunition and implements of war, and that it is desirable that the international aspect of the manufacture of such arms and ammunition and implements of war receive early consideration by the different Governments ’.

“ The Assembly invites the Council to continue the preliminary work on the subject of the control of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war so that a draft convention may be prepared as speedily as possible and that the Council may summon an international conference to consider it, if possible, before the next Assembly.

“ It is of opinion that the co-operation of a representative of the United States Government in the preliminary work for this convention is indispensable to the success of the Conference and begs the Council to invite the said Government to co-operate as soon as it considers such a step possible. ”

This question of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war had been entrusted to the consideration of the Co-ordination Commission, which had prepared a draft questionnaire to be sent to all the Governments concerning the “ evil effects ” of the private manufacture of arms mentioned in Article 8 of the Covenant. As the Co-ordination Commission was to be re-organised by the Council in accordance with proposals submitted to it by the Committee of the Council, it was decided to refer also to the Committee of the Council the study of the question of private manufacture.

The duties of the Committee of the Council were defined in the following resolution adopted by the Council on September 26th, 1925 :

" The Council

" Has considered the resolution passed by the sixth Assembly on September 25th, 1925, with regard to the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

" Acting upon this resolution, the Council decides to refer this resolution for the consideration of the Committee of the Council which is to meet between the September and December sessions, drawing the attention of the said Committee to the wish expressed by the sixth Assembly that a draft convention should be prepared as speedily as possible so that the Council may be in a position to submit it to an international conference to be convened if possible before the next Assembly.

" Requests the Committee of the Council to submit to it a report as to the steps to be taken to carry out the desire of the Assembly, so that the question may be considered by the Council at its December session."

The Committee of the Council examined the questionnaire prepared for the Co-ordination Commission by its Committee of Enquiry and also the observations submitted by the technical organisations of the League. In the light of these observations and the results obtained by the Conference on the Control of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, the Committee decided upon an amended text of this questionnaire and submitted it for the consideration of the Council.

On December 12th, 1925, the Council adopted the following resolution with regard to this question :

" The Council,

" In view of the Assembly's resolution dated September 25th, 1925, and the report of the Committee of the Council on the control of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war submitted to the Council on December 9th, 1925 :

" Decides :

" To approve the questionnaire prepared by the Committee of the Council in the form in which it appears in the above report ;

" To request the Secretary-General to communicate this questionnaire to the Governments Members and non-Members of the League of Nations and to draw their attention to the importance of any replies they may wish to make reaching the Secretariat of the League of Nations before June 1st, 1926 ;

" To adopt the proposal submitted by the Committee of the Council to the effect that the Committee of Enquiry, consisting of M. Cobián, M. Guani and M. Veverka, should undertake forthwith the necessary preliminary investigations for drawing up a draft convention on the control of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war ;

" To entrust the study of this question to the Committee of the Council, so that, when it considers that it is in possession of the necessary information, and particularly of the replies to the above-mentioned questionnaire, it may prepare a draft convention to serve as a basis for the discussions of an international conference."

In conformity with this resolution, the Secretary-General, on January 9th, 1926, sent the questionnaire to all the States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations with the request that they should forward their observations before June 1st.

Replies were received from the following Governments :

South Africa, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Japan, Latvia, New Zealand, Poland, Turkey, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In execution of paragraph 3 of the above resolution, the Committee of Enquiry met on April 12th, 1926, under the Chairmanship of M. Guani and prepared a preliminary draft convention, which it submitted to the Committee of the Council.

IV. STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON THE TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

On September 22nd, 1925, the sixth Assembly adopted the following resolution :

" The Assembly :

" Taking into account the provisions of the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva on June 17th, 1925 ;

" Considering the advantage to be derived from the standardisation of nomenclature and statistical systems for this trade ;

" Considering paragraph 3 of the resolution of the fifth Assembly dated September 27th, 1924, in virtue of which " States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations are invited to transmit to the Secretariat all documents which they may deem likely to be of assistance in the preparation of a collection of statistical data concerning the trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war " ;

" Recommends all States, so soon as they may find it possible, to adopt the models given in Annex I to the said Convention for their national statistics and for

the documents they supply to the Secretariat as data for the preparation of the above mentioned collection."

On September 26th, 1925, the Council considered the above resolution passed by the Assembly and requested the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to bring this resolution to the knowledge of the States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Secretary-General forwarded on October 24th, 1925, to all States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations a copy of the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, drawing their attention to Annex I of the Convention. That Annex contains the forms which the resolution of the Assembly recommends as models to be used in supplying the Secretariat with data which might be helpful in preparing the collection of statistical information on the trade in arms and might give uniformity to the 1926 edition.

Up to the present time, the Spanish Government alone has made use of the tables in forwarding to the Secretariat information, furnished by the Ministry of War, regarding imports and exports of war material during the last quarter of 1925.

The British Government replied on December 29th, 1925, that "a change of system entails considerable administrative inconvenience and expense, which His Majesty's Government does not feel justified in incurring until obliged to do so by the entry into force of the Convention. The returns published under the existing practice contain much detail and will in the meantime, it is hoped, prove adequate for the purpose in view".

On December 31st, 1925, the Roumanian Government reported that the Roumanian departments in question had adopted the models recommended, for the use of their internal services.

On February 10th, 1926, the French Government informed the Secretary-General that it could not adopt the tables annexed to the Convention on the Trade in Arms for its national statistics, because the statistics at present in use had a purely economic and commercial basis and were strictly subordinate to commercial policy, and therefore to the nomenclature employed in the Customs tariffs. Accordingly, the statistics relating to the trade in arms could not be drawn up according to the models annexed to the Convention until the Convention had entered into force and the system of licences was in operation. The French Government, therefore, could only establish the information to be supplied to the League Secretariat in accordance with the system of Customs statistics now in use.

V. MILITARY YEAR-BOOK.

(GENERAL AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR ARMAMENTS.)

On September 25th, 1925, the sixth Assembly adopted the following resolution :

"The Assembly declares that the Year-Book of General and Statistical Information regarding the armaments of the various countries is of great assistance in connection with the work for the reduction and limitation of armaments, and it trusts that the Secretary-General will arrange for the continuation and enlargement of this publication on the lines laid down in the resolution of the fifth Assembly."

It will be remembered that the fifth Assembly, after taking note of the first edition of the *Military Year-Book*, requested the Council to arrange for the continuation of this work and, more particularly, to develop that part of the Year-Book which dealt with industrial and economic resources capable of being utilised for war.

The new edition of the Year-Book contains monographs on 57 countries (the first edition contained only 37 monographs), and, in an annex, the armament limitations imposed by the Treaties of Peace which appeared in the first edition. Regard has been paid to all important changes in military legislation and in the composition and organisation of the armed forces of the different countries generally.

All the monographs have, as far as possible, been brought up to date and amplified in accordance with the most recent documentary information. In the case of certain countries regarding which the first edition only contained summary information, monographs have been compiled this year on the lines approved by the Assembly. Certain chapters in most of the monographs have been expanded; more detailed information is given, in particular, with regard to war fleets (the number and characteristic features of the different units), air forces, and, finally, industries adaptable to warlike purposes. In particular, as regards this last point, information has been added concerning the production of and trade in foodstuffs (cereals and potatoes), live-stock and preserved meat.

The work of this last year has shown the desirability of introducing in the next edition a number of changes of form, with a view to reducing the size of the volume.

4.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

I. QUESTION OF THE FRONTIER BETWEEN TURKEY AND IRAQ.

A. RECAPITULATION¹.

The report submitted to the sixth Assembly contains an account of the procedure adopted by the Council with regard to the determination of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq. It will be remembered that the Council had decided to send into the disputed territory a Commission of Enquiry, consisting of M. af Wirsén (Sweden, President), Colonel Paulis (Belgium) and Count Teleki (Hungary). This Commission, after getting into touch in London and Angora with the two Governments concerned, remained from January to April 1925 in the disputed territory.

B. CLOSE OF THE COMMISSION'S WORK AND SUBMISSION OF ITS REPORT TO THE COUNCIL.

Towards July 16th, 1925, the Commission completed its report, which was immediately forwarded to the Members of the Council.

It may be advisable briefly to recall the principal features and conclusions of this report.

The report begins with an account of the methods of work adopted by the Commission. The latter had collected its information by interrogating all persons and groups who appeared to be in a position to represent the wishes and interests of the population of the disputed area : " In view of the fact that the Turkish Government had based its case on the necessity of consulting the peoples concerned, and that the British Government also had laid stress on the importance of this factor, it was essential for the Commission to endeavour to obtain the widest and most thorough knowledge of the wishes of the population. "

The Commission found it impossible to agree with the opinion of the Turkish Government, which demanded that the population should be consulted by means of a plebiscite. On this point the Commission came to the conclusion that, owing to the backward state of education among these people, the primitive nature of the social organisation and the impossibility of establishing a provisional neutral administration, the practical difficulties would have been insurmountable, and there would have been serious reasons for doubting the genuineness of the vote. The Commission therefore considered that the procedure proposed by the British Government was the one most appropriate for furnishing the Council with the information it required for the settlement of the dispute. It adopted that procedure in carrying out its work and endeavoured to bear in mind the wishes of the Turkish Government and to neglect no means and no opportunity of ascertaining the desires of the population. .

After a summary of the arguments put forward respectively by the British and Turkish Governments, the report contains a critical analysis of these arguments classified as follows : geographical, ethnographical, historical, economic, strategic and political.

The analysis of the geographical arguments includes a description of the two frontiers proposed — the one by the British Government and the other by the Turkish Government ; an account of the geographical, geological and climatic characteristics connecting the disputed territory and the neighbouring territories to the north and south ; an examination of the roads and communications.

The analysis of the ethnical arguments includes a study of the population and the percentage of races, an examination of religions and sects, their territorial distribution, the character of the town of Mosul, the character and affinities of the various races, the system of property, etc.

The historical arguments relate to the actual duration of Turkish sovereignty over Mosul and the interdependence of the Mosul and Bagdad districts.

As regards the economic relations of the Mosul Vilayet with Anatolia on the one hand and Iraq on the other, the Commission indicates and compares the replies of the two Governments to the questionnaires forwarded to them by the Commission. The latter distinguishes three main economic sectors and considers what effect union with Turkey or with Iraq would have on each of these sectors.

In the strategical part, the lines proposed by Great Britain and Turkey respectively, and also the Brussels line, are considered from the point of view of the security of the two neighbouring countries.

The examination of the political arguments is followed by a description of the views of the population in the various parts of the territory, as ascertained by the Commission.

The Assyrian problem is dealt with in a special chapter.

The last part of the report contains the conclusions arrived at by the Commission on each of the questions examined in the different chapters enumerated above, the object of these

¹ See Records of the Sixth Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, pages 192-197.

detailed opinions being to support the general conclusion with which the report ends. The text of this final conclusion, which contains the proposals of the Commission for the settlement of the dispute, is as follows :

“ Looking at the question entirely from the point of view of the interests of the populations concerned, the Commission considers that it would be to some advantage that the disputed area should not be partitioned.

“ On the basis of this consideration, the Commission, having assigned a relative value to each of the facts which it has established, is of opinion that important arguments, particularly of an economic and geographical nature, and the sentiments (with all the reservations stated) of the majority of the inhabitants of the territory taken as a whole, operate in favour of the union with Iraq of the whole territory south of the ‘ Brussels line ’, subject to the following conditions :

“ (1) The territory must remain under the effective mandate of the League of Nations for a period which may be put at twenty-five years ;

“ (2) Regard must be paid to the desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services.

“ The Commission is convinced that if the League of Nations control were to terminate on the expiry of the four-years Treaty now in force between Great Britain and Iraq, and if certain guarantees of local administration were not to be given to the Kurds, the majority of the people would have preferred Turkish to Arab sovereignty.

“ The Commission is also convinced that the advantages of the union of the disputed territory with Iraq would in that case be exchanged for very serious political difficulties, and considers that, under those circumstances, it would be more advantageous for the territory to remain under the sovereignty of Turkey, whose internal conditions and external political situation are incomparably more stable than those of Iraq. Whatever decision may be taken, it is essential, however, that Iraq should retain the Diala region, which is necessary for the solution of the irrigation problem.

“ The Commission feels bound to leave it to the Council of the League of Nations to appraise the legal and other political arguments stated in its report, and to decide what relative weight should be given to them as compared with the other arguments. Should the Council, as the outcome of its examination, consider it equitable to partition the disputed territory, the Commission would suggest that the best line would be that approximately following the Lesser Zab. This line is described in greater detail elsewhere in the present report. ”

This conclusion is followed by a few special recommendations concerning measures likely to ensure peace within the country, the protection of minorities, notably non-Moslem minorities, and, lastly, measures which might be adopted to encourage the resumption of commercial relations.

C. THE QUESTION BEFORE THE ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL IN SEPTEMBER 1925.

During its session in September 1925 the work of the Council in connection with the settlement of the dispute assumed three distinct aspects.

In the first place, the Council, after taking note of the report of the Commission of Enquiry and of the observations made on it by the two Governments, instructed a Committee to draw up a possible solution in regard to the main problem at issue.

Next, the work of that Committee showed that a question of competence had first to be settled with a view to determining the nature and character of the decision subsequently to be taken by the Council. It will be seen that this difficulty led the Council to apply to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion.

Lastly, the complaints submitted by the two interested Governments regarding incidents which had occurred in the districts adjoining the provisional Brussels line were repeatedly discussed by the Council, which finally decided to send a League commission to the spot.

A brief account of each of these three aspects of the Council's work will be given in the following pages.

1. *Consideration of the Report by the Commission of Enquiry and Preparatory Work for the Settlement of the Dispute.*

At its meeting on September 2nd, 1925, the Council heard its Rapporteur, the Swedish representative, who recalled the circumstances in which it had decided to set up a Commission of enquiry and, in this connection, quoted the resolution adopted by the Council on September 30th, 1924. He reminded the Council that the British and Turkish representatives had undertaken on behalf of their respective Governments to accept the Council's decision on the question of the determination of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq. He congratulated the members of the Commission on their work and on the way in which they had discharged their duties.

The Council then heard, in the course of several successive meetings, the observations of the representatives of the two interested Governments on the conclusions embodied in the

report of the Commission of Enquiry, the main problem at issue and the procedure to be adopted in order to arrive at a settlement.

The British representative first discussed the conclusions of the Commission of Enquiry's report in which the view was put forward that the disputed area was still, from a legal point of view, under the sovereignty of Turkey. Admitting that, in a strictly theoretical sense, this might be true, he emphasised the fact that the Turkish Government, in virtue both of Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne and of the declaration made by its representative before the Council, had agreed in advance to renounce sovereignty over all territory beyond the line which the Council might decide upon as the boundary.

Legal sovereignty, therefore, would pass automatically at the moment when the Council gave its decision.

The British representative drew attention to passages in the Commission's report referring to the insuperable practical difficulties in the way of organising a plebiscite. The fact that the Commission had, during its enquiry, neglected no means and no opportunity of ascertaining the wishes of the population lent particular authority to its conclusions on the substance of the question.

Commenting on the text of the final considerations of the report reproduced above, and with particular reference to the conditions under which the disputed area might be attached to Iraq, the British representative declared that his Government interpreted the Commission's suggestion for the prolongation of the League of Nations mandate for a period of 25 years as constituting no departure from the present statute of Iraq in the form of the Treaty in force between Great Britain and Iraq. Subject to this interpretation, the British Government declared that, before the expiration of this Treaty in 1928, it was prepared to replace it by a treaty of longer duration in such a way as to continue the responsibility of the mandatory Power towards the League until such time as the Council was convinced that those conditions of stability which the Commission postulated were realised or until it might be considered possible to admit Iraq into the League.

With regard to the second condition mentioned in the report, relating to guarantees to be given to the Kurdish population, the British representative declared that his Government could give an assurance that the existing system, which did to a large extent carry out the recommendations of the Commission, would be continued and made even more effective.

He objected to the conclusions of the Commission recommending that the provisional Brussels line should be accepted as the final frontier between Iraq and Turkey. The British Government, in its statement of claims formulated on behalf of Iraq, had insisted, when first the question came before the Council, on its demand that the provisional frontier should be extended somewhat further north in order that Iraq might be given greater security from a strategic point of view and in order at the same time to enable the survivors of the Assyrian nation to return to one of the principal centres of their traditional home. Any other frontier less satisfactory from the military and economic points of view than that proposed by the British Government would involve serious risks, and any impairment of the territorial unity of Iraq might compromise progress towards the regeneration of that country. In particular, the suggestion that the frontier might be determined along the line of the Lesser Zab ought to be rejected, not only because such a frontier would offer small security but because it would divide districts economically connected with one another and would exclude from Iraq the great Arab centre of Mosul as well as the Christian populations of the north, without including in Turkey the greater part of the Turkish element in the Vilayet.

The question of the Assyrians led the British representative to express his views on the Commission's suggestion to send to the locality for a prolonged period a representative of the League of Nations to supervise the application of the guarantees given to the different elements of the population. Without being opposed to this proposal in principle, the British Government could not, however, accept it as regards Iraq unless the Turkish Government also accepted it for the areas placed under its administration. The representative of the League of Nations was merely to act as an observer and would have no executive or administrative power.

In conclusion, the British representative repeated the assurance given by his Government that it would loyally accept any solution proposed by the Council, and he expressed the hope that a final decision might be taken during that same session of the Council.

The observations of the Turkish representative on the contents of the Commission's report and his reply to the British representative's observations bore principally on three points: the facts noted by the Commission in the disputed area, the legal situation of that area, and the general conclusions embodied in the Commission's report.

According to the Turkish delegation, the facts noted by the Commission proved that, from the geographical, historical and racial points of view, the contested territory was closely connected with the neighbouring parts of Turkish territory.

From an economic point of view, the report, while emphasising the community of interests between the disputed area and the vilayet of Baghdad, admits, on the other hand, that the sincerity of the evidence obtained on that subject was not always above suspicion. The Turkish representative added that, according to the Commission itself, the interests of the inhabitants might be safeguarded by economic agreements, whatever solution was found for the territorial problem.

As regards the legal status of the territory, the Turkish Government considered that the Commission had fully recognised the force of the Turkish arguments.

Examining next the Commission's proposal to place the disputed area under a mandate for 25 years in the event of its being attached to Iraq, the Turkish representative pointed out

that, in considering any question submitted to it, the Council was bound by the treaties concluded between the interested States. Could Turkey, which had not recognised by any Treaty the right to establish mandates over parts detached from the former Ottoman Empire, agree to the establishment of a mandate over territory still forming an integral part of her national heritage as an essential preliminary condition for the detachment of that territory ?

The Turkish representative criticised the "unusual solution", which it was sought to justify by considerations based upon the comparative degree of development of the countries concerned. It was quite apart from any consideration of this kind that Turkey based her demand to keep the contested territory. In her opinion that territory had not ceased to form an integral part of her country, and its inhabitants demanded the maintenance of Turkey's sovereignty. The Turkish representative concluded by saying that the members of the Commission had exceeded the limits of their powers in giving an opinion on a question which was not raised : namely, that of establishing a mandate in any form and for any period whatever. Moreover, "the idea of introducing the effective mandate of the League of Nations would result in attributing to the League the character of a claimant when the League had in fact been resorted to, as a mediator". Consequently, the final conclusions of the Commission should be considered, from the political as well as the juridical point of view, altogether apart from the question of the mandate.

The two following meetings of the Council on September 4th, 1925, were devoted to a further discussion between the Turkish and British representatives on the conclusions embodied in the report. At the end of the afternoon meeting, the Council, on the proposal of its Rapporteur, decided to appoint a committee to examine the data supplied by the Commission and the parties concerned, the latter having the right to submit to that Committee any observations, and to furnish it with any information which they might consider desirable. The Turkish Government had already collected a number of documents in a *Red Book* which had been distributed to the members of the Council before the session. This publication contained :

- (a) The text of the Convention of Mudros ;
- (b) A number of official documents relating to the occupation of the town and part of the vilayet of Mosul since the Armistice, and to a series of facts regarded by the Turkish Government as violations of paragraph 2 of Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne, which decreed the maintenance of the *status quo* until a decision was reached on the subject of the frontier ;
- (c) The Minutes of the Constantinople Conference on the Mosul question (May 19th-June 5th, 1924) ;
- (d) The Minutes of the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Sessions of the Council ;
- (e) The questionnaire sent by the Commission of Enquiry to the Turkish Government and the replies to that questionnaire.

The Committee of the Council was composed as follows : M. Undén (Sweden), Rapporteur ; M. Quiñones de León (Spain), and M. Guani (Uruguay).

2. Report of the Committee of the Council : Request for an Advisory Opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The work of the Committee of the Council was not concluded until September 19th, 1925, when the Swedish representative was able to submit to his colleagues the following report :

"The Committee of the Council instructed by the latter to study the question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq has been led, since the beginning of this study, to consider a certain number of preliminary questions. Two of these have seemed to it particularly important..... :

"In view of the purely juridical character of these questions, the Committee feels that, while continuing its work, it should propose to the Council to submit them, for an advisory opinion, to the Permanent Court of International Justice by adopting the following resolution :

"The Council of the League of Nations, having been seized of the question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, by application of Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne, decides, for the purposes of elucidating certain points of law, to request the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion on the following questions :

1. What is the character of the decision to be taken by the Council in virtue of Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne — is it an arbitral award, a recommendation, or a simple mediation ?

2. Must the decision be unanimous or may it be taken by a majority ? May the representatives of the interested parties take part in the vote ?

"The Permanent Court is requested to examine these questions, if possible, in an extraordinary session.

"The Council requests the Governments of Great Britain and Turkey to be at the disposal of the Court for the purpose of furnishing it with all relevant

documents or information. It has the honour to transmit to the Court the Minutes of the meetings of the Council at which the question of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq has been examined.

“ The Secretary-General is authorised to submit the present request to the Court, together with all the relevant documents, to explain to the Court the action taken by the Council in the matter, to give all assistance necessary in the examination of the question, and, if necessary, to take steps to be represented before the Court. ”

The British representative, in commenting on the Committee's proposals, expressed his regret at the postponement which the adoption of these proposals by the Council would necessarily involve. As far as the British Government was concerned, the competence of the Council could not be called into question. His Government was, however, bound to point out that its pledge to the Council, which was based upon an explicit stipulation of the Treaty of Lausanne, was binding upon it to exactly the same extent to which it was binding on the Turkish Government. If any doubt remained on the questions raised in the report by the Committee of the Council, the British Government was willing that this question should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In this case, however, it was important to avoid any further causes of delay. The British Government, in consenting to the proposal that the questions specified by the Committee should be referred to the Court for an advisory opinion, assumed that there was “ no doubt with regard to the question of the competence of the Council, but only doubt with regard to the two questions which were to be placed before the Court ”. The British representative urged that these questions should be examined by the Court as soon as possible in a special session.

The Turkish representative declared that his Government saw no necessity for consulting the Permanent Court of International Justice on questions which, in the opinion of his Government, were essentially political questions. The advisory opinion of the Court could not in any way affect the rights of the Turkish Government or modify the admitted rights of the Council, both being based exclusively on the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, on the Minutes of the meetings of the Conference which resulted in the conclusion of that Treaty and on such stipulations as existed in the Covenant of the League on July 24th, 1923, concerning the powers of the Council in regard to international disputes.

The Turkish representative added that the Grand Assembly of Turkey did not consider itself bound by any undertaking except the Acts which it had ratified, and any declarations or undertakings given by the Government which modified the stipulations contained in those Acts could not constitute any engagement until that Assembly had approved them. The fact that the Council considered it necessary to ask a third party whether or not the Council's role was that of an arbitrator (a role which, by the essence of arbitration, was of necessity and explicitly accepted and defined in advance by the parties to the dispute) was sufficient to show that there was here no question of arbitration in the commonly accepted meaning of that word.

After hearing these statements the Council adopted the Committee's proposals without discussion.

The President announced that the Court at The Hague would be requested to give its opinion as soon as possible in order that the Council might consider it at its next session. He reminded both parties of the engagement they had made at the meeting of the Council held at Geneva on September 30th, 1924 :

“ Pending the decision upon the subject of the frontier, no military or other movement shall take place which might modify in any way the present state of the territory whose final fate will depend upon that decision. ”

3. *Complaints of the Two Interested Governments regarding Incidents in the Neighbourhood of the Provisional Line : Despatch of a Commission to the District.*

At one of the first meetings of the session, on September 3rd, 1925, the Council had been called upon to consider incidents which had occurred in the neighbourhood of the provisional line, to which the Turkish Government had drawn attention in telegrams dated August 15th, 26th and 28th, whilst similar complaints had been made by the British Government in a letter dated August 27th, 1925. The Turkish Government had protested against the activity of volunteer bands which it alleged had attacked Turkish military posts in the neighbourhood of the provisional line, and against the fact that British aeroplanes had flown over Turkish territory north of that line. It further protested against the movements of the British fleet in the Aegean Sea, which, in its opinion, had “ a significance which could not be attributed to mere chance ”.

On the other hand, the British Government claimed that Turkish troops had crossed the provisional Brussels line and had attacked Christian villages from which they had expelled the inhabitants. The British Government also protested against the fact that the Turkish Government was systematically deporting the Christian populations inhabiting the territory between the provisional Brussels line and the area claimed by the British Government on behalf of Iraq.

At the request of the British Government, and in order to ensure the maintenance of the *status quo* along the Brussels line, and above all to obviate the disadvantages of reports which were sometimes difficult to verify, the Council decided at its meeting of September 28th to send to the spot a representative of the League of Nations. At the same meeting it appointed General Laidoner (Esthonia), with two assistants, as the representative of the League of Nations to keep the Council informed of the situation in the locality of the provisional line.

The British representative declared that his Government and the Government of Iraq would give to the representative of the League of Nations all the assistance necessary. The Council hoped that the Turkish Government, whose representative had declared that he did not possess the necessary powers, would subsequently be able to give similar assurances in respect of the area north of the Brussels line.

D. THE QUESTION BEFORE THE ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF DECEMBER 1925.

The Council's work during its December session may be summarised as follows :

- (a) Adoption of the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice ;
- (b) Adoption of a resolution on the main problem at issue ;
- (c) Consideration of General Laidoner's report on the position in the frontier districts.

(a) *Adoption of the Advisory Opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

At its meeting on December 8th, 1925, the Council took note of the advisory opinion of the Court on the questions raised during the previous session.

The Court had expressed this opinion on November 21st, 1925, in a document concluding with the following words :

“ The Court is of opinion :

“ (1) That the ‘ decision to be taken ’ by the Council of the League of Nations, in virtue of Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne, will be binding on the parties, and will constitute a definite determination of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq ;

“ (2) That the ‘ decision to be taken ’ must be taken by unanimous vote, the representatives of the parties taking part in the vote but their votes not being counted in ascertaining whether there is unanimity. ”

The Swedish representative, acting as Rapporteur, having stated the view that the opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice supplied an answer to the questions submitted to it, proposed that the Council should note and adopt this opinion. The British representative confirmed his previous statements that his Government regarded itself as bound in advance by any decision the Council might take on the basis of the Court's opinion.

The Turkish representative said that he could not accept an interpretation of Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne contrary to that adopted by the Turkish National Assembly when it ratified that Treaty. He maintained that the Turkish Government could not be considered as bound by the opinion of the Court. Although the Turkish Government had not refused to supply the Court in writing with information for which it had been asked regarding certain points of detail, the advisory opinion, according to the Turkish representative, “ was given after hearing only one of the parties to the dispute, which developed its case at length ”. He concluded that “ the Court was only able to obtain information from one party, and the result would appear to be that the Court was influenced by arguments, which no one refuted, from one party of which a national sat as a judge of the Court ”.

He further observed that “ the advisory opinion was not asked for by unanimous vote. The Turkish representative, who, for the Mosul question, had the same rights as any other member of the Council, had voted against it ”. Even if Turkey had voted with the rest, the Council would have to decide whether the opinion of the Court had to be adopted by a unanimous vote, including those of the Turkish and British representatives.

“ The Government of the Turkish Republic ”, he went on, “ considered that the meaning given to Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne by the Court, according to which the parties would appear to express the desire to ensure a definitive and binding solution of the dispute (penultimate paragraph, p. 19 of the Advisory Opinion of the Court) by recourse to the Council, was not a fair interpretation of this article and was even less like the meaning which the signatory States considered that article to possess

“ . . . Turkey had never intended, by postponing the solution of the question, to create a pretext or excuse for accepting what her delegates refused at Lausanne, by leaving the solution of so important a question to the luck of arbitration ”.

In the opinion of the Turkish Government :

“ (1) Arbitration being excluded as long as it was not recognised in a definite clear text that the Council had the right to use that method, the essential duty of the Council under the terms of the Covenant was to exercise a conciliatory and mediating influence ;

“ (2) Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne did not confer on the Council of the League of Nations the power to take a decision which must be accepted — that is to say, the right to intervene decisively. ”

The Turkish Government, while maintaining that a compulsory decision could only be given with the consent of the parties to the dispute, recognised the Council's right to act as a mediator and as a conciliator. The Turkish representative concluded his statement by expressing the hope that the Council would carry out this duty.

The Rapporteur said that all the members of the Council would agree with the Turkish representative that it must not lose sight of the conciliatory action which was one of its essential attributes and which must always be resorted to before a decision was taken.

A discussion then ensued between the Rapporteur and the Turkish representative with regard to the form in which the Council should pronounce on the Court's opinion. The Rapporteur held the view that this question should be treated in the same way as the principal dispute, the votes of the parties concerned not counting in ascertaining whether there was unanimity.

The Turkish representative maintained, on the contrary, that the votes of the parties concerned should be counted. The President of the Council pointed out that this was a preliminary question with regard to the action to be taken as a result of the advisory opinion. The Turkish representative then intervened and made the following statement :

“ I have, in the long statement which I have just made, declared that the Government of the Republic has entrusted the solution of the vital question with which we are dealing to the intermediary action of the Council but that it could not leave the destinies of the disputed territory to the luck of arbitration.

“ It follows that, in all the phases of the negotiations, the approval of the parties to the case is an essential and indispensable condition for enabling a recommendation made by the Council to be regarded as a decision.

“ Moreover, when the Grand National Assembly of Turkey ratified Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne, it was in this sense that it understood the meaning of the article in view of the text of that article, in view of the Covenant and in view of the Minutes of the Conference. It follows that the Government of the Republic, and therefore its delegation, can be authorised to take part in all the stages of the negotiations for reaching a solution by conciliation, but that their powers do not enable them to settle the question by arbitration or to defend their case before an arbitrator ”.

The President of the Council expressed the view that the Council might even perhaps vote by a simple majority, since, in the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court, there was no question which dealt directly with the main problem. The opinion merely dealt with questions of competence. He thought, however, that, in the present case, the Council might follow a stricter rule, in accordance with the principle contained in Article 15 of the Covenant, which contemplated a unanimous vote, but, in reckoning unanimity, the votes of the interested States should not be counted.

The question having been put to the vote by roll-call, the report of the Swedish representative recommending the acceptance of the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice was unanimously adopted, the representative of Turkey voting against.

The latter expressed regret that his Government's observations had been rejected. In the circumstances, he considered the vote of the Council not as a decision but merely as a recommendation of which he would take note as such and which he would communicate to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. The Rapporteur observed that in taking this decision the Council had never had any idea of renouncing its duties as mediator. The Committee of the Council, consisting of the representatives of Sweden, Spain and Uruguay, would therefore continue its conciliatory action.

(b) Final Attempt at Mediation and Adoption of a Resolution regarding the Main Problem at Issue.

During the week from December 8th to 16th, 1925, fresh efforts were made by the Committee of the Council to offer a solution to each of the parties. As it had already done on various occasions during the discussions, the Committee lost no opportunity for making suggestions and proposals which would serve as a basis for negotiation and agreement. To this end the Committee had frequent conversations with the Turkish representatives, but none of the suggestions put forward by either party appeared to the Committee to be of a nature to provide a basis of discussion permitting mediatory action with a view to a friendly settlement.

At its meeting of December 16th, the Council considered the report of its Committee and, having noted that every effort at conciliation had proved unavailing, announced its decision on the main problem under dispute. The Turkish representative was not present at the meeting, but he had communicated to the Secretary-General a letter dated December 16th which contained the following declarations :

“ I would take this opportunity of repeating the statements made by Munir Bey at the meeting of December 8th with regard to the powers possessed by our delegation.

“ I should add that, as all the proposals which I have previously made with the object of reaching an agreement and of facilitating the role of mediator and conciliator which we have always recognised the Council to possess have had no result, and as the Council has decided not to carry out this role, I find myself obliged to inform you that these proposals are now *ipso facto* null and void.

“ I desire further to declare that the sovereign rights of a State over a territory can only come to an end with its consent, and that therefore our sovereign rights over the whole of the Vilayet of Mosul remain intact. ”

The Rapporteur of the Council recapitulated the history of the dispute since the moment when it had been laid before the Council in pursuance of Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty

of Lausanne until the last attempt at mediation which had been made through the Committee of the Council during the previous week. He pointed out that the Council had not thought fit to formulate any proposals chiefly because such proposals should have been made by the parties themselves with a view to a compromise; but, even so, it could not act as mediator if the divergence between the proposals were so wide as to exclude all hope of conciliation. Moreover, the Council was bound to maintain its absolute right to take a decision — a right of which it would avail itself, if necessary. “The decision of the Council”, the Rapporteur added, “will, in accordance with the finding of the Court in its advisory opinion, be binding on both parties and will constitute a final determination of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq”. Recalling the provisions of Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Rapporteur pointed out that Turkey had declared that she “renounced all rights and title whatsoever over or respecting the territories situated outside the frontiers laid down in the present Treaty and the islands other than those over which her sovereignty is recognised by the said Treaty, the future of these territories and islands being settled or to be settled by the parties concerned”.

“This decision of the Council”, the Rapporteur went on, “cannot be based on a more solid foundation than that provided by the report of the Commission of Enquiry, whose exhaustive investigations were conducted with a conscientiousness to which both parties paid a tribute”.

Having read the Commission’s final conclusions, the Rapporteur added that the Committee of the Council, in the course of its work, had carefully weighed the advantages and disadvantages of each of the solutions indicated. Taking into account all the considerations put forward by the Commission of Enquiry in the different parts of its report, the members of the Committee arrived at the conclusion that two solutions were possible, *viz.*: (1) the allocation to Iraq of all the territory south of the so-called “Brussels line”; or (2) the partition of the disputed territory by a line for the most part following the course of the Lesser Zab.

In view of the great complexity of the problem, the members of the Committee thought that they would benefit by consulting the opinion of the other members of the Council, and in the end the first of the solutions appeared to them the better adapted to solve the problem submitted to the Council under Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne. Nevertheless, one of the essential conditions of this decision, without which it would not become definitive, was the continuation for twenty-five years of the regime laid down by the Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Iraq and by the undertaking entered into by the British Government and approved by the Council on September 27th, 1924. Article 7 of this undertaking was as follows:

“On the conclusion of the period for which the Treaty of Alliance has been concluded, the Council of the League of Nations shall, if Iraq has not been admitted to the League, be invited to decide what further measures are required to give effect to Article 22 of the Covenant.”

Furthermore, the Commission of Enquiry, in its conclusions, had thought it necessary to grant the Kurds certain guarantees of local administration, and if the Council took a decision allocating the territory to Iraq it would no doubt ask the mandatory Power to acquaint it with the measures which it proposed to take in this connection. The Council would also wish to know the measures which would be taken to secure pacification and to afford equal protection to all the elements of the population and also to promote the resumption of commercial relations.

After this explanatory statement the Rapporteur read the following resolution:

“The Council,

“Having regard to Articles 3 and 16 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Lausanne on July 24th, 1923;

“In view of the conclusions of the report of the Commission of Enquiry:

“Adopting the reasons and proposals contained in the report of the Committee of the Council:

“Decides:

“1. (description of the proposed frontier which coincides with the provisional line fixed at Brussels);

“2. The British Government is invited to submit to the Council a new Treaty with Iraq, ensuring the continuance for 25 years of the mandatory regime defined by the Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Iraq and by the British Government’s undertaking approved by the Council on September 27th, 1924, unless Iraq is, in conformity with Article 1 of the Covenant, admitted as a Member of the League before the expiration of this period.

“As soon as, within a period of six months from the present date, the execution of this stipulation has been brought to the knowledge of the Council, the Council shall declare that the present decision has become definitive and shall indicate the measures required to ensure the delimitation on the ground of the frontier-line.

“3. The British Government, as mandatory Power, is invited to lay before the Council the administrative measures which will be taken with a view to securing for the Kurdish populations mentioned in the report of the Commission of Enquiry the guarantees regarding local administration recommended by the Commission in its final conclusions.

“4. The British Government, as mandatory Power, is invited to act, as far as possible, in accordance with the other suggestions of the Commission of Enquiry

as regards measures likely to ensure pacification and to afford equal protection to all the elements of the population, and also as regards the commercial measures indicated in the special recommendations of the Commission's report."

The President having reminded the Council that, in accordance with the advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice, its decision must be adopted unanimously, the votes of the interested parties not being counted, a vote by roll-call was taken. The report was unanimously adopted and the President stated that the decision which had just been taken constituted the "decision of the Council" in virtue of Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne.

The British representative said that his Government accepted on its own behalf and on that of Iraq the decision of the Council and would loyally conform to it. He added that he hoped to submit to the Council at an early date a new Treaty between Great Britain and Iraq the execution of which would give final effect to the decision taken by the Council. He announced his Government's intention of laying before the Council proposals for giving effect to the recommendations of the Commission of Enquiry as regards local administration in the Kurdish districts, the pacification and protection of all the elements of the population and the establishment of a liberal system of commercial intercourse.

The President then read the following declaration in the name of his colleagues :

"The Council,

"Having taken the decision which it was called upon to take under Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne,

"Urges the two parties which have laid the question before it to reach friendly agreements in order to put an end to the regrettable state of tension existing between them owing to the dispute for which a solution has just been found. By doing so, they will assure the strengthening of the foundations of peace, which is the essential object of the League of Nations."

In reply to this declaration, the British representative read the following statement on behalf of his Government :

"The British Government have no wish to take up a rigid or uncompromising attitude towards Turkey. If they have pressed for a decision by the Council, it is only because they believed that, until the Council had pronounced upon the question submitted to it by the Treaty of Lausanne, it was impossible to find a common basis on which to found the discussion of an agreement with the Turkish Government. The British Government most earnestly desire to live on terms of peace and amity with the Turkish Government. The Council having given its decision, His Majesty's Government will gladly lend themselves to conversations with the Government of the Republic of Turkey in order to see whether, while taking due account of the Council's decision, it may not be possible to render the relations between our two countries easier and safer. With this object in view, the British Government are ready to take into consideration any proposal made by the Turkish Government which is compatible with their duty as Mandatory to protect the interests of the people of Iraq."

(c) Consideration of General Laidoner's Report.

It will be remembered that during its ordinary September session in 1925 the Council, in response to repeated complaints from the two Governments concerning incidents in the region of the provisional Brussels line, and at the request of the British Government, decided to send to this region a representative of the League of Nations — General Laidoner — who, with the help of two assistants, was to keep the Council informed of the position in the neighbourhood of the provisional Brussels line. His assistants were Colonel Jač (Czechoslovak) and M. Markus (Estonian).

The Council took note of General Laidoner's report at its meeting of December 10th, 1925.

The Turkish representative was invited to attend the meeting of the Council but declined this invitation in a letter recalling the attitude taken up by the Turkish delegation on behalf of its Government with regard to the adoption by the Council of the Court's advisory opinion on the question of competence. He could not accept the resolution taken in this connection, as, in his view, the unanimity required should, contrary to what had been decided, have included the votes of the parties concerned. He further maintained his opposition to the compulsory character of the Council's decision on the main problem. For these reasons he regretted that his instructions did not permit him to avail himself of the Council's invitation.

The principal points of the report submitted by General Laidoner were as follows :

Before his departure the General had been informed by the Committee of the Council that his duties would be confined to making an investigation in the district to the south of the Brussels line, as the Turkish Government had refused to admit a representative of the Council to the north of the line. He was given entire freedom of action as to the scope of his duties and the means to be employed in conducting the investigation, and he was free to decide what incidents deserved investigation, while refraining from doing anything to aggravate the situation. The obligation to confine his investigation to the zone south of the Brussels line had naturally reduced, in its application, the scope of the resolution adopted on September 24th, 1925.

The various incidents previously brought to the Council's attention might be classified as follows :

(1) Raids by tribal and village chiefs in the wild and mountainous frontier district, where tribes frequently attacked one another without taking any account of the Brussels line. The latter did not constitute a natural frontier, and the prolongation of a provisional situation had been favourable to brigandage. As long as the frontier question was not finally settled and the line marked out on the ground, it would be difficult to prevent the recurrence of attacks of this kind.

(2) Occupation of certain villages by Turkish military posts and patrols. During the summer of 1924, the British Government had made numerous protests against the action of the Turkish authorities in sending patrols to certain villages south of the Brussels line and establishing posts there. General Laidoner had found that the existing maps did not accurately represent the various localities and that several of the villages were not shown in their true positions. This uncertainty might have given rise to confusion. The Turkish local authorities were now much better acquainted with the line, however, and there was reason to hope that in future they would refrain from sending military patrols to certain points.

(3) Flights over the line by British aircraft. The Turkish Government had complained that British aircraft had on several occasions flown over the districts to the north of the provisional Brussels line. The British Government had affirmed that its aircraft had never crossed that line. The Commission came to the conclusion that it was very difficult to determine the exact position of aircraft from a single spot on the ground.

(4) Deportations of Christians. General Laidoner ascertained that there were already 3,000 fugitive Christians in the district of Zakho, and every day isolated groups continued to arrive. These refugees all came from villages situated in the zone between the Brussels line and the line previously claimed by the British Government. The statements of these refugees agreed one with another.

The report goes on : " In order to ascertain the real causes of these deportations, it would be necessary in the first place to hear the explanations of the Turkish authorities and then to make an enquiry in the localities where the evacuated villages are situated, which I have not been able to do. Definite evidence that all the Christian refugees were constrained by force and violence to leave their villages and their homes is, however, to be found in the fact that they have arrived in Iraq without any means of subsistence.

" Among all the incidents which have taken place in the zone of the Brussels line, it is beyond question that the deportations of Christians constitute the most important fact, especially if we consider that a fairly large population has been deported from the villages and that these deportations are still going on, for, as I have already mentioned, further arrivals of refugees in Iraq are taking place every day. "

E. THE QUESTION BEFORE THE ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL IN MARCH 1926 : ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE COUNCIL'S DECISION OF DECEMBER 16TH, 1925, DETERMINING THE FRONTIER BETWEEN TURKEY AND IRAQ.

The entry into force of the decision assigning to Iraq the disputed territory bounded on the north by the Brussels line was made subject, as already stated, to the acceptance of certain conditions by the British Government. In the first place, the British Government was to submit to the Council a new treaty with Iraq ensuring the continuance for twenty-five years of the mandatory régime ; secondly, the British Government was invited to lay before the Council the administrative measures which it proposed to take with a view to giving the Kurdish population the necessary guarantees ; and, lastly, the British Government was invited to act in accordance with the suggestions of the Commission as regards measures likely to ensure pacification and to afford protection to all the elements of the population.

On March 2nd, 1926, the British Government forwarded to the Secretary-General for communication to the Council the new treaty which had been signed at Baghdad on January 13th, 1926, and accepted by the Iraq legislature on January 18th, and which has since been approved by the British Parliament. The Turkish Government was immediately informed and invited to send a representative to the meeting of the Council at which this treaty was to be submitted for the latter's approval. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs replied in a telegram dated March 8th, 1926, that, as his Government was still ignorant of the contents of the treaty, the despatch of which had been announced, its participation in the Council session was physically impossible. He added that the Turkish Government's views on the question of Mosul had not changed, and that it regarded this question as still open.

Having taken note of the terms of the treaty concluded between Great Britain and Iraq, the Council adopted a resolution in which it stated that it " considered that this treaty, which was brought to its knowledge within the time-limit laid down in its resolution, ensured the continuance for twenty-five years of the mandatory régime under the conditions laid down by it, and accordingly declared that its decision of December 16th, 1925, had become definitive ".

On the same day the Council approved a resolution submitted by its Rapporteur forwarding to the Permanent Mandates Commission a memorandum from the British Government regarding the administration of the Kurdish districts of Iraq. The outcome of the examination of these texts by the Mandates Commission is described in the chapter of the present report which deals with that Commission's work.

II. THE QUESTION OF MEMEL: PROCEDURE IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE 17 OF THE MEMEL CONVENTION.

In a resolution dated March 14th, 1924, the Council of the League of Nations took note of Lithuania's acceptance of the Convention concerning the Memel Territory and the annexes thereto and recommended the acceptance of those texts by Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

The Convention was signed at Paris on May 8th, 1924; Lithuania's ratification was deposited on September 27th, 1924, and those of the other signatory Powers on August 25th, 1925. The Secretary-General received a copy of the *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications from the Conference of Ambassadors on September 9th, 1925, and it was laid before the Council on September 25th.

By the transitory provision signed simultaneously with the Convention on May 8th, 1924, Lithuania had undertaken "immediately to ratify the Convention, and, pending its ratification by the other Parties thereto, to begin without delay and to continue to give effect to all the provisions of the Convention and its annexes".

The Convention and its annexes came into force on the date of the deposit of ratifications: namely, August 25th, 1925.

Article 11 of the Convention reserves to the Council, as regards the Memel Territory, the same rights as the Declaration concerning the protection of minorities made by the Lithuanian Government before the Council at its meeting on May 12th, 1922. By Article 17 of the Convention, "the High Contracting Parties declare that any member of the Council shall be entitled to draw the attention of the Council to any infraction of the provisions of the present Convention".

During the period which elapsed between Lithuania's ratification and the coming into force of the Convention, the Secretary-General received communications drawing attention to certain alleged infractions of some of the provisions of the Convention.

In a report submitted to the Council on September 28th, 1925, the Uruguayan representative pointed out that whereas the procedure for applying Article 11 — which was identical with the Council's usual procedure for dealing with minority petitions — was specified in the Article itself, the Convention contained no provision dealing with the preliminary procedure for carrying Article 17 into effect.

He asked the Council to choose between two methods. The first would consist "in adopting the same procedure in regard to information received either by the Members of the Council or by the Secretariat in regard to the questions dealt with in Article 17, as has been adopted in regard to petitions relating to the protection of minorities. The right given to Members of the Council by this Article is described in terms similar to those used in Article 9 of the Declaration concerning the protection of minorities made by the Lithuanian Government to the Council on May 12th, 1922"¹.

The other method would be to instruct the Secretary-General to transmit to the Members of the Council for their information all documents which he might receive concerning acts which might give occasion for the exercise of the right laid down in Article 17 of the Convention.

The Rapporteur proposed that the procedure adopted should be applied to communications received by the Secretary-General during the period which had elapsed between the ratification of the Convention by Lithuania and its entry into force.

The representative of Lithuania said that the procedure to be followed in applying Article 11 was clearly described in the article itself. He added that the Memel Convention went further as regards the use of the German language than the Declaration concerning minorities, in as much as Article 27 of Annex I made provision for the recognition of the German and Lithuanian languages on the same footing as the official languages in the Territory of Memel. With reference to Article 17, he observed that the Rapporteur's proposal ignored the provisions of the second paragraph of the article. The entire article read as follows:

"The High Contracting Parties declare that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall be entitled to draw the attention of the Council to any infraction of the provisions of the present Convention.

"In the event of any difference of opinion in regard to questions of law or of fact concerning these provisions between the Lithuanian Government and any of the Principal Allied Powers Members of the Council of the League of Nations, such difference shall be regarded as a dispute of an international character under the terms of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Lithuanian Government agrees that all disputes of this kind shall, if the other party so requests, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. There shall be no appeal from the Permanent Court's decision, which shall have the force and value of a decision rendered in virtue of Article 13 of the Covenant."

In the opinion of the Lithuanian representative, if a Member of the Council desired to make use of the right conferred on it by Article 17 in the event of an infraction of the Convention, it had to collect, on its own initiative and through its own channels, all the information concerning the alleged circumstances and submit it to the Council. Article 17 gave no right to, and imposed no obligation upon, the Secretariat, nor did it give citizens of the countries which had signed the Convention the right of presenting petitions in the event

¹ See *Official Journal*, June 1922, page 524.

of those countries not carrying out the provisions of the Convention. The authors of the Convention had endeavoured to prevent any pressure from the great Powers on a small Republic.

The Council was a political organisation, of which four Members were the great Power which had signed the Convention, and for this reason the Convention provided, in the event of any difference of opinion "in regard to questions of law or of fact concerning its provisions", for reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice. If, as the Rapporteur proposed, petitions were to be published and submitted to Members of the Council, the Lithuanian representative said that his Government would protest, as representative of a country which had signed the Memel Convention and was a Member of the League of Nations. It could not be deduced from the right conferred on the Members of the Council by Article 17 that they had the right to use the staff of the Secretariat or the budget of the Secretariat to see that the contracting parties executed the Convention. In his opinion the procedure outlined by the Rapporteur would be contrary to Article 17 of the Convention and to the principles of international law as at present established. In those circumstances, such a solution could never be accepted by Lithuania.

Turning to the second part of the report, concerning the petitions received between the date of Lithuania's ratification of the Convention (September 27th, 1924) and the date of the Act regarding the deposit of ratifications (August 25th, 1925), the Lithuanian representative considered that it was based upon a mistaken interpretation of the transitory provision. In his view, the sole object of that provision had been to prevent delay in execution, due to the time that would be required to enable the Japanese Government to ratify. He did not think that the Members of the Council could exercise the right provided in Article 17 in connection with events which had taken place before the Convention came into force. He concluded that the proposal to adopt a procedure in regard to communications which had already reached the Secretariat should not even be discussed.

The Rapporteur pointed out that his report merely contained a proposal to adopt one of two alternatives. The question was whether the Council should give preference to the method followed in regard to minority petitions, or whether it should instruct the Secretary-General to forward to the Members of the Council, for information, all documents reaching him concerning matters which might call for the exercise of the right stipulated in Article 17 of the Convention.

During the discussion which followed, the Members of the Council endeavoured to find a formula, which, while giving due weight to certain of the Lithuanian representative's remarks, would ensure that the right provided in Article 17 of the Convention could be exercised. The representative of Italy proposed that the question of information received before the Convention came into force should not be considered. With reference to the procedure to be followed thereafter, he observed that a Member of the Council would not put any matter before the Council without due reflection, but would, before moving in the matter, take all the necessary precautions. "The Secretariat would forward information received to the Council, and if the latter had before it a question submitted by one of its Members and thought that the information put forward was not sufficient, it could itself proceed to an enquiry; then, if a question of law or fact arose between Lithuania and another Power, the Permanent Court of International Justice would be called upon to decide it".

The British representative then proposed the following resolution:

"The Secretary-General is instructed to forward to Members of the Council information unsought of a serious character as to an infraction of the Memel Convention. This information should be sent forward without comment."

The Lithuanian representative withdrew, after making a formal protest.

The Belgian representative proposed that the Council should amend the text in such a manner as to avoid anything which might appear to be an invitation on the part of the Council to collect information, and the resolution was finally adopted in the following form:

"If the Secretary-General should receive spontaneous communications addressed to the Council or the League of a serious character, bearing on infractions or alleged infractions of the Memel Convention, he is authorised to forward the same as a matter of information and without comment to the Members of the Council."

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III. FRONTIER INCIDENT BETWEEN BULGARIA AND GREECE.

In the afternoon of October 19th, 1925, shots were exchanged between two sentries on the Greco-Bulgarian frontier near Demir Kapu (N.-N.-E. of Salonika). The Greek sentry was killed; the frontier detachments seized their arms and firing ensued. A Greek officer — Captain Vassiliadis — who advanced under cover of a flag of truce, was shot dead a few hundred yards from the firing line.

The Bulgarian Government at once proposed to the Greek Government the appointment of a mixed commission to decide who was responsible. At the same time, the Greek Government demanded apologies and reparation, and, having received news, which subsequently proved untrue, that a Bulgarian battalion was attacking the Greek post at Demir Kapu, issued orders to the Third Army Corps to advance into the valley of the Struma. On October 22nd the Greek forces penetrated Bulgarian territory in the direction of Petritch. On the same day the Bulgarian Government sent a telegram to the Secretary-General asking that a special meeting of the Council should be summoned in virtue of Articles 10 and 11 of the Covenant. It added

that, trusting to the intervention of the Council, it had given orders to its troops not to resist the invasion.

The telegram reached Geneva in the early hours of Friday, October 23rd, 1925. In virtue of powers conferred upon him, in the event of war or the threat of war, by paragraph 1 of Article 11 of the Covenant, the Secretary-General immediately summoned an extraordinary session of the Council, and, in agreement with M. Briand, the Acting President of the Council, he appointed Paris as the place and Monday, October 26th, 1925, as the date of the meeting. On the same day the President of the Council sent a telegram to both Governments reminding them of the "obligations undertaken by them as Members of the League of Nations under Article 12 not to resort to war and of the grave consequences which the Covenant lays down for breaches thereof". "I further exhort the two Governments", he added, "to give immediate instructions that, pending consideration of the dispute by the Council, not only shall no further military movements be undertaken but that troops shall at once retire behind their respective frontiers." It afterwards transpired that the effect of this telegram was to prevent an encounter between the Greek and Bulgarian forces in front of Petritch — an event which might have had serious consequences.

1. CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND EVACUATION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

The Council met on the date appointed — *i.e.* three days after the appeal by the Bulgarian Government. The Bulgarian and Greek Governments were represented by their Ministers in Paris : M. Maroff and M. Carapanos.

At the opening of the session the President drew a clear distinction between the two questions before the Council. One of them — that of ascertaining the facts and responsibility and, if necessary, fixing the amount of reparation due — must, he said, be examined with all necessary care and deliberation. The other, which was of an urgent character, concerned the cessation of hostilities and the immediate withdrawal of the Bulgarian and Greek troops to their respective territories.

The President asked the representatives of the two parties what action had been taken on the recommendation with regard to the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of troops, and what was the present situation. The Bulgarian representative declared that at no moment and at no point had Greek territory been invaded or occupied by the Bulgarians. The representative of Greece stated that his Government agreed without hesitation to comply with the invitation of the President of the Council to evacuate Bulgarian soil as soon as the Bulgarians had quitted Greek territory.

The Council then decided, on the report of the British representative, to request the representatives of the two States to inform it within twenty-four hours that the Bulgarian and Greek Governments had given unconditional orders to their troops to withdraw behind their respective national frontiers, and within sixty hours that all troops had been withdrawn within the national frontiers ; that all hostilities had ceased and that all troops had been warned that the resumption of firing would be visited with severe punishment. The Governments of France, Great Britain and Italy were requested to direct officers who were within reach to repair immediately to the region where the conflict had broken out and to report direct to the Council the execution of its decision, the time-limit provided in this decision having begun to run at 8 p.m. on October 26th.

At a meeting on the following day — October 27th — the Council heard statements on the facts by the representatives of the two Governments concerned. The Greek representative mentioned certain suggestions which had been made for a direct agreement between Greece and Bulgaria for the evacuation of the occupied territories. The President of the Council replied that he hoped that the resolution passed on the previous day would be accepted and fully carried out. On the morning of October 28th, the Council took note of a telegram from the Bulgarian Government announcing that strict orders had been given to the military authorities to abstain from all action in the frontier region and to withdraw immediately any Bulgarian troops which might be on Greek territory. In its turn, the Greek Government announced that, as soon as it had been informed of the Council's resolution, it had repeated and confirmed the instructions previously given for the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of troops. Effect had thus been given to the first part of the decision taken on the evening of October 26th by the Council of the League, the troops of both parties having received orders to cease hostilities and evacuate all occupied territory.

Regarding the execution of these orders, the Council, at its meeting of October 29th, took note of two telegrams, one from the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs stating that his Government would neglect no steps to ensure that Bulgarian territory was evacuated by the hour laid down, the other from the military attachés of Great Britain, France and Italy at Belgrade — who had reached the scene of the conflict at mid-day on Wednesday, October 28th — announcing that both parties had formally undertaken to refrain from any further hostile act and to warn their troops that any resumption of firing would be visited with the severest penalties. They added that calm reigned on the whole front and that the arrangements made afforded reason to hope that no further incident was to be feared.

On the following day — October 30th — the Council learned, through a communication from the military attachés and by a telegram from the Greek Government, that the Greek troops had concluded the evacuation of Bulgarian territory on October 28th at midnight — eight hours before the time-limit fixed — and that this evacuation had given rise to no incident of any kind.

During the discussion on this first point, the President of the Council and the Rapporteur made important statements which met with the unanimous approval of their colleagues.

“ Such incidents as that which has caused our present meeting ”, said the British representative at the meeting of October 26th, “ have sometimes had very serious consequences in the past, when there was no machinery such as that offered by the League for their peaceful adjustment and for securing justice to both parties ; but it would be an intolerable thing if, with all the machinery of the League at their disposal and with the good offices of the Council immediately available — as this meeting shows — such incidents should now lead to warlike operations instead of being submitted at once for peaceful and amicable adjustment by the countries concerned, to the Council, which will always have regard to their honour and to the security of their nations ”.

At the meeting on October 28th, the French representative spoke as follows regarding the argument derived from the necessities of legitimate defence: “ It was essential that such ideas should not take root in the minds of nations which were Members of the League and become a kind of jurisprudence, for that would be extremely dangerous. Under the pretext of legitimate defence, conflicts might arise which, though limited in extent, might cause most regrettable injury ; and, once these conflicts had broken out, they might assume such proportions that the Government which started them under a feeling of legitimate defence would no longer be able to control them. The League of Nations, through its Council and through all the methods of conciliation at its disposal, offered the nations a means of avoiding such deplorable events ”.

2. CREATION OF A COMMISSION FOR PURPOSES OF INVESTIGATION AND SETTLEMENT.

Having fulfilled the first part of its duty, the Council set to work to find a complete solution of the difficulties which had led to its intervention.

On October 26th it had heard the explanations of the two parties. The Bulgarian representative had declared that the Bulgarians had at no moment occupied Greek territory and had reminded the Council that his Government had, at the very outset, proposed the appointment of a Mixed Commission. He demanded an enquiry, the release of prisoners and compensation for the damage sustained. The representative of the Greek Government had stated that the object of the measures taken by his Government had been the defence of national territory. He attributed the origin of the incident to the activity of *comitadjis* in the region, the Bulgarian Government not having been able to impose the application of the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly. He demanded that enquiry should particularly be made into the local causes of the incident.

At its meeting on October 29th the Council decided, on the report of the British representative, to appoint a Commission to carry out a full enquiry, establish the facts enabling the responsibility to be fixed, and to supply the necessary material for the determination of any indemnities or reparations which might be considered appropriate. The Commission was to submit a report before the December session, and it was requested, either in the report or subsequently, to submit to the Council “ any suggestions as to measures which in its opinion would eliminate or minimise the general causes of such incidents and prevent their recurrence ”. It was empowered to take final decisions on the restoration of property or regarding indemnities due to private persons. The military attachés, who were present on the spot, were to continue to watch the situation and place at the disposal of the Commission on its arrival all information which they had been able to obtain. The representatives of the two parties gave the assent of their Governments to the Council's resolution and further stated that they accepted in advance any decisions which the Council might eventually take.

At the conclusion of the discussions the Acting President thanked the representatives of Bulgaria and Greece for the rapidity with which their Governments had complied with the invitation of the Council.

“ Throughout this affair ”, he said, “ which ends in so fortunate a manner, there is neither victim nor vanquished. There are two nations which, forming part of the same great family, have shown their desire for conciliation by agreeing immediately to accord to reason and justice the last word in the dispute in which they are engaged ”. At the same time the Rapporteur emphasised the importance of the precedent which had just been established. “ Thanks to the readiness with which the Powers concerned had immediately submitted their case to the Council, thanks to the promptitude with which the Council had met before a dangerous situation had got out of control, it had succeeded, with the willing assent of the parties, in bringing to a happy close an incident which had threatened their peace. The work which had just been achieved was an example of the conduct which might be expected of Members of the League of Nations between whom some dispute arose which threatened the peace of the world. It was an example of the manner in which the Council could use the authority and the powers entrusted to it by the Covenant for conciliation, for removing causes of dispute and, above all, for preserving the peace of the world ”.

3. REPORT BY THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY.

The Commission of Enquiry was composed as follows : Chairman : Sir Horace Rumbold, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid ; Members : General Serrigny (France) ; General Ferrario (Italy) ; M. Droogleever Fortuyn, Member of the Netherlands Parliament ; H. E. M. de Adlercreutz, Swedish Minister at The Hague.

The Commission, which met at Geneva on November 6th, 1925, left on the following day for Belgrade, where it met the military attachés of Great Britain, France and Italy and took note of the information they had gathered. From Belgrade it went to the scene of the incident

and then proceeded to obtain information from the two Governments concerned, first at Athens and later at Sofia. With the authorisation of the Acting President of the Council, it communicated its report on November 28th, to the two Governments in order to facilitate the examination of the question by the Council at the December session.

The report consists of an introduction referring to the constitution and itinerary of the Commission, followed by three chapters : Enquiry, Responsibilities and Indemnities, Recommendations.

A. Enquiry.

1. *The Demir Kapu Incident.*

With regard to the original incident, the Commission declared that it was impossible to determine which of the two sentries fired the first shot and whether or not the Greek sentry was killed on Bulgarian territory. The same uncertainty prevails regarding the death of Captain Vassiliadis, who, hastily proceeding from his command headquarters to stop the fight, was killed a few hundred yards from the line just as he was advancing accompanied by a soldier carrying a white flag. During the day the two opposing detachments had been reinforced partly by armed civilians. The firing continued through part of October 20th, and, intermittently, on the 21st, casualties being few in number. The local commands on both sides made attempts to stop the affray, while the Bulgarian Government was trying to obtain from the Greek Government, through diplomatic channels, the appointment of a mixed commission of enquiry.

The affray itself was only one incident among many. The mentality of frontier populations consisting partly of refugees, in whom the memory of recent grievances is still fresh, reacts on the mentality of the soldiers living in their midst. The too close proximity of the opposing posts, the defective organisation of the frontier guards, and certain instructions too closely resembling those which would be issued to outposts in the field, accounted for the occurrence of such incidents.

2. *Greek Military Action in Bulgarian Territory.*

This is explained by the impression produced in Greece by reports which became exaggerated in the course of transmission. On news being received at Athens, on the morning of the 20th, that the Bulgarians had attacked with one battalion, the Minister for War had ordered the Third Army Corps to advance into the Struma Valley. On October 22nd, Greek troops had crossed the frontier and had advanced until close on Petritch. An operation against this place was to have been carried out on the 24th, at 8.30 a.m., but orders for the suspension of operations were received from Athens two and a-half hours before the time when the attack was to begin.

On the Bulgarian side reinforcements had been sent up towards Petritch with orders to make only slight resistance, to protect the population, to prevent panic and, above all, not to expose the troops to unnecessary losses, in view of the fact that the incident had been laid before the Council of the League of Nations, which was expected to stop the invasion.

The covering operations carried out in the first place by the Commander of the Third Greek Army Corps were considered by the Commission to be perfectly regular, but, however real the danger, the frontier line gave them an entirely adequate covering position. There could be no question of premeditation on either side. The incident would not have assumed such disquieting proportions had not the Bulgarian post at Demir Kapu been reinforced by Bulgarian civilians organised into an armed force in violation of the Treaty of Neuilly. Feeling in Athens was quite naturally alarmed at the news that a Greek sentry, and an officer who had gone out on "parley", had been killed, as well as by other reports depicting the situation as much more serious than it really was. Nevertheless, the Commission was of opinion that the operation carried out by the Greek troops was not justified on technical grounds.

B. Responsibilities and Indemnities.

The Commission considered that the Bulgarian Government had acted in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations and that the fact that Bulgarian soldiers at Demir Kapu might have at one moment penetrated a few yards into Greek territory could not be held to be a violation of the territorial integrity of Greece. With regard to the Greek Government, the Commission, although taking into account the emotion aroused by the news received, considered that by occupying a part of Bulgarian territory with its military forces Greece had violated the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Commission rejected the indemnity claims submitted by the Greek Government, except as regards the claim on account of Captain Vassiliadis. The reparation to be made as compensation for damage caused in Bulgarian territory was divided into two parts. The first consisted of compensation for losses sustained by the population in respect of household furniture, moveable property, implements of work, cattle, cereals, etc. The Commission, exercising powers conferred upon it by the Council's resolution, fixed the sum to be paid under this heading at 20 million levas.

The second group of indemnities concerned the killed, the wounded (not including members of local levies armed in violation of the Peace Treaty) and certain material and moral damage sustained by the population as a result of the invasion (ill-treatment, loss of working days, etc.). For this category of damage the Commission recommended that the Council should fix the sum to be paid to the Bulgarian Government at 10 million levas. In determining this amount, allowance was made for the death of the Greek Captain Vassiliadis, who was killed under cover of the white flag.

C. Recommendations.

This final part of the report began with a summary of the particular problems presented by this frontier region (material and moral situation of the Bulgarian and Greek refugees ; action of the Revolutionary Macedonian Committee ; part played by the *comitadjis*).

This summary was followed by recommendations, military and political.

1. Military Recommendations :

(a) Measures to prevent frontier incidents: The system of guarding the frontier must be reorganised on both sides, and the opposing posts must be placed at least one kilometer from one another. On each side of the frontier a neutral officer, placed at the disposal of each of the two Governments for two years and attached to the headquarters of the frontier guards, would ensure that the reform was carried out on parallel lines in both countries.

(b) Measures to limit the effects of incidents: If the presence of neutral officers of the same nationality did not suffice to ensure the settlement on the spot of any incident by the local military authorities, a conciliation commission should intervene: it would consist of one Greek and one Bulgarian officer, each of whom would be assisted by one of the two neutral officers, with another neutral, who would be appointed in advance, as Chairman. In order to allow the Commission to meet without delay, this Chairman should be selected from the staffs of the organisations working in the Balkans which are attached to, or have relations with, the League of Nations.

(c) Measures to enable the League of Nations to take rapid action in cases of conflicts: The report pointed out that the rapidity with which the League had intervened in the Greco-Bulgarian incident had greatly helped to limit its serious nature.

The attack by the Greek troops on Petritch, which was to start at 8.30 a.m. on October 24th and which would no doubt have led to serious fighting, was stopped by orders which arrived from Athens at 6 a.m. on that day. These orders followed immediately upon the receipt of the urgent telegram sent to the Bulgarian and Greek Governments by the Acting President of the Council on October 23rd.

In order to hasten intervention by the League of Nations in such cases, the Commission recommended that special facilities for communications and transit might be granted to Governments and to the Secretariat in case of a threat of war, particularly as regards the use of wireless telegraphy and of priority messages.

2. Political Recommendations.

In compliance with the Council's request that it should offer any suggestions which it might consider suitable as to the best means for eliminating or diminishing the general causes of such incidents, the Commission gave its opinion that it would be necessary in the interests of friendly relations between Bulgaria and Greece to remove two sources of discontent.

In the first place, it recommended that the liquidation of property, undertaken in accordance with the Convention for the voluntary exchange of Greek and Bulgarian populations, should be hastened and that all vexatious measures should be avoided. It next pointed to the difficulty caused by the presence in Bulgaria of a number of persons of Bulgarian race but of Greek nationality who had come from Greece at different periods, leaving property behind them. According to Articles 3 and 4 of the Treaty between the Principal Allied Powers and Greece concerning the treatment of minorities, these persons, not having renounced Greek nationality, had the right to return to Greece, and, in any case, to retain their immovable property in that country. The Greek Government, however, under pressure of circumstances, had employed their land to settle Greek refugees from Turkey. The Commission, recognising that the application of the Treaty provisions pure and simple had become a practical impossibility, recommended that the Greek Government should offer equitable compensation to the persons who had suffered in this way in return for the surrender by these persons of their Greek nationality.

The Commission concluded as follows :

“Taken as a whole, the measures proposed in the present report may be expected to contribute in a large degree towards reducing the tension between the populations of the two countries, particularly in the neighbourhood of the frontier.”

“In the first place, the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee's influence would decrease as it found fewer and fewer grievances and sufferings among the refugees in Bulgaria to exploit. Secondly, the Greek population settled near the frontier would have less to fear from *comitadjis* and from the rancour of the Bulgarian population they have displaced. As the causes of discontent and grievance disappeared, relations between the two countries — and even in the Balkans as a whole — would become less strained.

“In conclusion, the Commission considers that it would be well for the Council to request the two Governments to keep it informed at fairly frequent intervals of the progress made in carrying out the measures recommended by the Council.”

4. DECISION BY THE COUNCIL.

The report by the Commission of Enquiry was submitted to the Council at its thirty-seventh session. Bulgaria was represented by M. Kalfoff, Minister for Foreign Affairs and

Greece by M. Rentis, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs. At the meeting on December 7th, 1925, the Council heard the observations made on this report by the representatives of Bulgaria and Greece. On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the British representative, the report and the statements made by the representatives of the two parties were referred for examination to a Committee composed of the Rapporteur himself and the representatives of Belgium and Japan:

The report of this Committee was submitted to the Council on December 14th, 1925.

"The fact", said the Rapporteur, "that the Greek Government acted without premeditation, under the impression produced by information received from the frontier posts and exaggerated in transmission to Athens, has not escaped our attention. But, even if this information had been accurate, the Greek Government would not have been justified in directing the military operations which it caused to be undertaken . . . We believe that all the Members of the Council will share our view in favour of the broad principle that, where territory is violated without sufficient cause, reparation is due, even if at the time of the occurrence it was believed by the party committing the act of violation that circumstances justified the action. We believe this to be a principle which all Members of the League of Nations will wish to uphold and which both Bulgaria and Greece would wish to support, even if they had not already accepted in advance whatever decision the Council might reach on this point."

The report was adopted with the assent of the two parties.

The Council approved the work of the Commission and the conclusions in its report and also — subject to a few amendments to which the Governments concerned agreed — the military and political recommendations proposed by the Commission. The figures proposed for the indemnities, which had been examined at the request of the Greek representative, were upheld: the time allowed for payment was fixed at two months, the Council to be informed as soon as payment should have been effected.

The Swedish Government was requested to provide the two officers to assist in the reorganisation of the frontier guards, while the Council itself would appoint the Chairman of the Conciliation Commission on the recommendation of these officers.

The Council noted with satisfaction the desire of the two Governments to accelerate the procedure for the liquidation of landed property, in accordance with the provisions of the 1919 Convention on Voluntary Emigration, and requested them to keep it informed of the progress made. It further requested them to report to the Council at its next session as to the effect given to its recommendation with regard to persons of Bulgarian race and Greek nationality living in Bulgaria. It called upon the Greek Government (which had already stated its willingness to extend, in favour of these persons, the time-limit laid down for making declarations of voluntary emigration) to consider the means of granting them equitable compensation, and it called on the Bulgarian Government to use its influence to induce them to accept compensation in return for the surrender of their rights.

The Council referred to the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit the examination of the suggestion made by the Commission regarding special facilities for communication and transit which ought, in its opinion, to be granted to Governments and to the Secretariat of the League in case of a threat of war. It gladly took note of the fact that, from the moment when the Council intervened, both Governments had conformed to its decisions and had executed them loyally.

☐ The indemnities laid down in the Council's resolution were paid in two equal instalments, on February 15th and March 1st, 1926, in accordance with an arrangement concluded between the two Governments concerned. At its March session the Council was informed of this payment and of the appointment of the two Swedish officers placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian and Greek Governments with a view to the reorganisation of the frontier guards. It also received from the Bulgarian and Greek Governments reports on the progress achieved in the execution of its recommendation of December 14th, 1925, regarding the question of Greek nationals of Bulgarian race living in Bulgaria. Negotiations on this question and the liquidation of property in accordance with the Convention on Voluntary Emigration were to be continued and were to form the subject of further reports.

IV. MEDIATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL IN CONNECTION WITH AN INCIDENT ON THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN FRONTIER.

(a) Statement by the Italian Representative concerning the Situation in Regard to the Incident.

At a meeting of the Council held on March 15th, 1926, the Italian representative informed his colleagues of the satisfactory results of the action he had taken, as Acting President of the Council, with a view to the amicable settlement of an incident which had occurred on the Polish-Lithuanian frontier near Kernava.

He concluded that in the circumstances it would not be necessary to include the question in the agenda of the session of the Council.

(b) Request by the Lithuanian Representative.

In a letter dated March 15th, 1926, the Lithuanian representative asked that the question should be included in the agenda of the Council, pointing out that in a letter to the Acting President of the Council dated March 3rd he had requested, on behalf of his Government, that an enquiry should be conducted on the spot.

(c) *Statement by the President of the Council.*

At a meeting on March 18th, 1926, the Japanese representative, Acting President of the Council, made a brief statement concerning the circumstances attendant upon the Italian representative's mediation.

In a letter dated February 24th, 1926, the Lithuanian Government had requested the Council to intervene in connection with an incident which had occurred in a forest near Kernava. The Polish forces had advanced on February 17th into a part of the forest which was held by the Lithuanians to be situated in their territory, but the Lithuanian militia had driven them back on February 19th. On the same day, however, the Lithuanians were in turn expelled by the Polish frontier-guards, who took eight of them prisoner.

In a reply dated February 26th, the Polish Government admitted that on February 22nd the Polish police had arrested eight Lithuanian militia men belonging to a detachment which, it was stated, had unjustifiably advanced three days previously into a part of the forest that had hitherto been under Polish control.

The President of the Council, after giving some details as to the locality in which the incident had occurred, observed that, owing to the Lithuanian Government's objections, both to the Council's resolution of February 3rd, 1923, and to the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of March 15th of the same year, there was not at the present time any line traced on the ground separating the Polish and Lithuanian territories.

When this incident had been brought to the notice of the League, the Italian representative was Acting President of the Council, and in that capacity he had immediately begun and since continued to endeavour to find some basis for a friendly settlement. After hearing the observations of both Parties, the Italian representative proposed to them, in identical letters, the following solution :

“ (1) Every member of the police or armed forces who was concerned in this incident should immediately return to the place in which he was on February 15th.

“ (2) All persons still held prisoners as a result of this incident should immediately be set free and sent to the place nearest the locality in which the incident occurred.”

In submitting these proposals to the representatives of the two Governments, the Italian representative added that if both countries accepted them and carried them out immediately, the incident might be regarded as closed.

The proposals were accepted by the Lithuanian Government on March 10th, and by the Polish Government on March 11th. The latter observed, however, that the Polish frontier-guards were posted along a line which had been occupied prior to February 15th, 1926.

On March 18th, the Lithuanian representative sent a letter to the Acting President of the Council admitting that the prisoners held by the Polish authorities had been set at liberty and repatriated but denying that the Polish forces had been withdrawn to the positions which they occupied on February 15th.

On the same day the President of the Council received from the permanent Polish representative a verbal assurance of the most categorical kind to the effect that his Government intended scrupulously to carry out the recommendations which had been accepted by both Parties as it had proved by setting the Lithuanian prisoners at liberty.

(d) *Council's Decision not to go into the Details of the Incident.*

The President concluded his report by stating that he did not think it desirable to discuss the substance of the question, as the matter was practically, if not absolutely, settled. He invited his colleagues to express an opinion on this previous question. All the members of the Council except the Lithuanian representative stated that they shared the President's view that it was unnecessary to discuss the substance of the question.

In noting this decision of the Council with respect to the procedure to be followed, the President added that, if the Lithuanian Government so requested, the question could be included in the agenda of the next session of the Council.

The Lithuanian representative expressed his regret at the decision reached by the Council, his Government having proposed that a committee of enquiry should be sent to the spot or that some other method of direct investigation should be adopted.

The President of the Council closed the discussion by appealing to the Lithuanian representative's spirit of conciliation — a spirit which the Council had itself displayed with a view to securing a speedy settlement of the incident.

V. DELIMITATION OF THE FRONTIER BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY.

The question of the delimitation of the frontier between Greece and Turkey at the Maritza delta was brought to the notice of the Council by a telegram dated February 26th, 1926, from the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Greek Government stated that a dispute had arisen on this subject between itself and the Turkish Government. It was of opinion that the western branch of the Maritza delta, called the Little Maritza, and the territory lying between this

branch and the eastern branch, formed an integral part of the territory of Greece and must therefore not be included in any work of the Delimitation Commission established by the Treaty of Lausanne.

The Greek Government had proposed to the Government of Angora that the dispute between them should be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice, but this proposal was not accepted.

For its part, the Turkish Government, which was invited to send a representative to the Council, observed in a telegram dated March 8th, 1926, that, while accepting the invitation, it was opposed to the request on the grounds that the Council was not competent to deal with the matter, since, in its opinion, the Mixed Delimitation Commission was, according to the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, the body competent to settle all disputes of this kind by a majority vote.

At its meeting on March 16th, 1926, the Council considered this question, Greece being represented by M. Dendramis, Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, and Turkey by Chukri Kaya Bey, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, assisted by Munir Bey, Turkish Minister at Berne.

The Greek representative, in explaining his Government's view, observed that Article 2 of the Treaty of Lausanne laid down, as the frontier between Turkey and Greece in the area under consideration, the course of the Maritza — that is to say, according to Article 6, the median line of the principal branch of the river. The map attached showed this frontier as running along the eastern branch of the Maritza. The Turkish Government had maintained that there was a divergence between the text and the map, in which case, according to Article 4 of the Treaty, the text should prevail. If that view were admitted, it would be equivalent to a revision of the Treaty, seeing that, by the Convention of Sofia of September 6th, 1915, Turkey had abandoned to Bulgaria her rights over the Maritza delta, and that, under the Treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria had ceded it to the Allied Powers with the whole of Western Thrace; moreover, the declaration of all the delegates at the meeting of the Conference of Lausanne on April 24th, 1923, and the provisions of the Treaty itself had completely convinced the Greek Government that the delta was situated in Greek territory. Were the Commission to carry out delimitation work in this territory, it would, therefore, be exceeding its powers. It was on this point that the Greek Government requested the Council to ask the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion.

The Turkish representative reminded the Council of the powers accorded to the Commission. The latter, in the opinion of the Turkish Government, would not be exceeding its powers by undertaking topographical or hydrographical work on the two branches of the Maritza in order to determine which was the principal branch of this river. The Turkish Government held that there was a divergence between the Treaty and the map because the map gave definite indications which could only be determined as a result of work which had been begun by the Delimitation Commission but had been suspended owing to the Greek Government's objections. The Turkish representative therefore requested the Council to refuse the request of Greece, and cited paragraph 1 of Article 15 of the Covenant, which empowered the Council to refuse to examine a dispute at the request of one of the parties when the dispute has already been submitted to arbitration or judicial procedure.

The Council instructed the Brazilian representative to examine the question with the assistance of the jurists accompanying the members of the Council.

In a report submitted to the Council on March 18th, the Brazilian representative communicated the conclusions of the jurists, M. Botella (Spanish), M. Krčmář (Czechoslovak), and M. Rolin (Belgium). He was of opinion that before proceeding to examine the arguments put forward by each of the two parties in support of its interpretation of the delimitation clause, and before discussing the possibility of referring that question to the Court for an opinion, the Council must decide as to the plea of incompetence urged by the Turkish Government.

After examining the articles of the Treaty concerning the point in dispute, the jurists came to the conclusion that it was for the Delimitation Commission itself to delimit the frontier in accordance with the indications given in the Treaty. In this work it should make use of all information obtained from the parties as to the real intentions of the authors of the Treaty; and the map attached to the Treaty should, in accordance with Opinion No. 8 of the Permanent Court of International Justice, page 33, be regarded as a highly important, though, of course, not predominant, factor. It was, however, the duty of the Commission and of each of its members to obtain for the performance of its functions the opinions of persons qualified to deal with any special questions which might be raised. Only if, after exhausting all these sources of information, the Commission should announce that it found itself too much in doubt to decide on these questions or should flagrantly exceed its powers, would the parties be justified in attempting to reach a settlement of such difficulties in accordance with international law. The jurists considered that in the absence of the circumstances indicated above, the Council could not then take cognisance of the question under Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, to which the Greek Government had made reference.

The Council, in adopting its Rapporteur's conclusions, requested the two Governments to take note of this opinion and to be good enough to communicate it to the President of the Commission for his guidance. It expressed the conviction that the President would follow the lines indicated in the jurists' opinion and would, if he thought necessary, obtain advice to assist him in removing such difficulties or doubts as might at present be impeding the Commission in the performance of its duties.

The conclusions of the report, which were accepted by the representatives of the two parties, were adopted by the Council.

VI. APPLICATION BY GERMANY FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

A. SUMMARY OF THE SITUATION AT THE TIME OF THE APPLICATION.

The report submitted to the sixth Assembly¹ contained the correspondence between the German Government and the Council regarding the conditions which would govern the admission of Germany to the League, should the question arise.

On December 12th, 1924, the German Government had addressed to the Secretary-General a letter accompanied by a memorandum which had already been forwarded to the Governments of the States Members of the Council.

At its session in March 1925 the Council drew up a memorandum replying to each of the points raised in the German Government's letter and expressing its desire to see Germany associated in its work.

It should further be stated that at Locarno, in October 1925, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, all Members of the League of Nations, negotiated treaties with Germany which were not to come into force "until such time as Germany shall become a Member of the League of Nations" (Protocol of Locarno, Annex A, Article 10, paragraph 2). These treaties were signed by the plenipotentiaries of the High Contracting Parties in London on December 1st, 1925.

B. GERMANY'S APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE.

On February 8th, 1926, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Empire despatched to the Secretary-General the following letter with annexed note :

[*Translation.*]

"With reference to the German memorandum of September 1924 to the Governments represented on the Council, and to the German Note addressed to you on December 12th, 1924, and the reply thereto of the Council of the League dated March 14th, 1925, as well as to the Note of the other parties to the Locarno Treaties of December 1st, 1925, of which a copy is attached, I have the honour, in accordance with Article 1 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to propose herewith, in the name of the German Government, the admission of Germany to the League of Nations. I beg you to put this proposal on the Agenda of the Assembly as soon as possible.

(Signed) STRESEMANN."

"Note (*Annex F to the Locarno Agreements*).

London, December 1st, 1925.

"The German delegation has requested certain explanations in regard to Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"We are not in a position to speak in the name of the League, but in view of the discussions which have already taken place in the Assembly and in the Commissions of the League of Nations, and after the explanations which have been exchanged between ourselves, we do not hesitate to inform you of the interpretation which, in so far as we are concerned, we place upon Article 16.

"In accordance with that interpretation, the obligations resulting from the said article on the Members of the League must be understood to mean that each State Member of the League is bound to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account.

(Signed) Emile VANDERVELDE.
Aristide BRIAND.
Stanley BALDWIN.
Austen CHAMBERLAIN.
Vittorio SCIALOJA.
Alexander SKRZYNSKI.
Eduard BENES."

As soon as he had received this communication and advised the Members of the League, the Secretary-General, on behalf of the Acting President of the Council, convened an extraordinary meeting of the Council to take appropriate action.

¹ See Records of the Sixth Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 203.

C. EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

This meeting was held at Geneva on February 12th, 1926, the Italian representative acting as President. Having examined Germany's application for admission to the League, the Council decided, in conformity with Article 1, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, to summon a special session of the Assembly for March 8th at 3 p.m., that being the date of the Council's ordinary session.

The Council then decided to include in the agenda of the special session the following questions :

- (1) Request of Germany for admission.
- (2) Decisions of the Assembly on the proposals which might be made by the Council in application of Article 4 of the Covenant.

With reference to the inclusion of the second question, in the form proposed, in the agenda of the special session of the Assembly, the Brazilian representative, at the Council meeting on February 12th, drew attention to the fact that Article 4 of the Covenant consisted of two sentences. The first dealt with the increase in the number of the permanent Members of the Council, and the second with the increase in the number of the non-permanent Members.

" In case of the increase in the number of permanent Members, the Council named the new permanent Members, and the Assembly approved this nomination. In the case of the increase in the number of the non-permanent Members, the Council proposed the increase to the Assembly for approval ; when this approval had been obtained, the Assembly selected from among the Members of the League those which would be represented on the Council. "

D. ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OPENING ON MARCH 8TH, 1926.

The special session of the Assembly and the ordinary session of the Council opened on the same day—March 8th, 1926.

The examination of Germany's application by the Committees of the Assembly does not fall within the scope of this report. We merely reproduce below those questions connected with the Assembly's work which were submitted to the Council during this period¹.

(a) *Opinion of the Permanent Advisory Commission (in Application of Article 9 of the Covenant).*

At its meeting on March 8th, 1926, the Council, on the proposal of the President, adopted, in accordance with precedent, the following resolution :

" The Council, in view of the request of Germany for admission to the League of Nations, asks the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions to examine the request of Germany for admission from the technical military, naval and air point of view, in fulfilment of Article 1 of the Covenant. "

On the same day, the Chairman of the Permanent Advisory Commission forwarded to the Secretary-General, for transmission to the Council, the following reply adopted unanimously by the Commission :

" The question of the status of the military, naval and air forces of Germany is regulated by the Treaty of Versailles of June 28th, 1919, and does not require to be considered by this Commission. "

This reply was at once forwarded by the Acting President of the Council to the Chairman of the First Committee of the Assembly.

(b) *Question regarding the Proposals which might be made by the Council to the Assembly (Item 2 on the Agenda of the Special Session of the Assembly).*

It may be worth while to quote again this item, which has already been reproduced above :

" Decisions of the Assembly on the proposals which might be made by the Council in application of Article 4 of the Covenant. "

Simultaneously with the question of attributing to Germany a permanent seat on the Council, the Council was called upon to consider the position of a number of States Members of the League — Brazil, China, Poland and Spain — which desired permanent seats on the Council in the event of an increase in its permanent membership.

The Council did not see its way to submit a proposal to the Assembly on this question, and accordingly decided on March 18th, after informing the Assembly of its intention, to appoint a committee " to study the question of the composition of the Council ".

¹ For the work of the First Committee of the special Assembly and the report favourable to the admission of Germany to the League, see Records of the Special Session of the Assembly (March 1926), *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 42.

Recalling various suggestions which had been made as to the composition of such a committee and its terms of reference, the Rapporteur proposed that it should include representatives of countries not at present Members of the Council and that the different continents of the world should be represented. The appointment of this committee, and its composition on the lines indicated, cannot affect the principle of the Council's competence and responsibility in these matters, inasmuch as it is to the Council that the committee will report.

The Council agreed to these proposals and adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council,

“ Considering that it is desirable that a thorough study should be made of the problems connected with the composition of the Council and the number and the method of election of its Members :

“ Decides to appoint a Committee for the purpose.

“ This Committee shall give particular attention to the claims up to now put forward by or on behalf of any Members of the League, and shall be authorised to invite the Governments of any Members of the League which so desire to lay before it any statement, whether in writing or through an official representative, in support of their case, or containing their views on any of the problems falling within the competence of the committee. It shall bear in mind the various proposals on the subject which have been previously discussed by the Council or the Assembly, and, in particular, the resolution regarding ‘ geographical and other considerations ’ repeatedly adopted by the latter body.

“ The Committee shall consist of representatives of the Members of the Council and of the following States : the Argentine, China, Germany, Poland and Switzerland. The names of these representatives shall be communicated to the Secretary-General as soon as possible.

“ The Committee shall meet on May 10th, 1926, and shall prepare a report to the Council which shall be communicated to the Members of the League for information as soon as possible. In case it is not able to make a unanimous report, it shall make such majority and minority reports as may be necessary in order to acquaint the Members of the League with the full results of its deliberations.”

The Committee met from May 10th to 17th, 1926. It adopted a provisional report, which, together with the Minutes of the session, was submitted to the Council at its ordinary session held in June¹.

5.

ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS.

I. SAAR TERRITORY.

During its sessions in September 1925, December 1925 and March 1926, the Council dealt with various questions concerning the Saar Territory, more especially with the appointment of the Chairman and the members of the Governing Commission, the question of French troops and the development of the local gendarmerie, and the question of the provisional measures to be taken in view of the plebiscite. The Italian representative acted as Rapporteur. The Council has been kept informed of the various questions relating to the Saar by periodical reports from the Governing Commission (published in the *Official Journal* of December 1925, March 1926 and May 1926) and by a general report from the Secretary-General for the period from April to December 1925.

GOVERNING COMMISSION.

On March 18th, 1926, the Council appointed the five members and the Chairman of the Governing Commission for a period of one year as from April 1st, 1926.

The Commission now consists of the following members :

- M. KOSSMANN (Saar) ;
- M. LAMBERT (Belgian) ;
- M. MORIZE (French) ;
- M. STEPHENS (Canadian), Chairman ;
- M. VEZENSKY (Czechoslovak) ;

¹ See also the Supplementary Report to the Assembly (Annex 2 a).

On the same occasion, the Council thanked M. Rault, Chairman of the Governing Commission, who had requested the Council not to renew his appointment, for the services he had rendered to the League of Nations during his six years of office in the Saar.

The Council also decided that the exceptional measures approved on March 15th, 1924, by which the salaries of the members of the Governing Commission and the entertainment allowance of the Chairman of the Commission were increased by 25 per cent during the financial period 1924-1925 and 1925-1926, should remain in force during the period 1926-1927. It was also decided that certain allowances should be granted to the members of the Governing Commission at the expiry of their term of office.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOCAL GENDARMERIE AND PRESENCE OF FRENCH TROOPS.

On March 14th, 1925, the Council adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council of the League of Nations,

“ After having heard the Italian representative's report, the observations of the representative of Great Britain, and the explanations of the Chairman of the Governing Commission :

“ (1) Approves the Governing Commission's proposal to increase the local gendarmerie by 250 men during the financial year 1925-26 ;

“ (2) Requests the Governing Commission to submit to it, for consideration, a report on the manner in which it would be possible, in the absence of troops, to carry into effect sub-paragraph 3 of paragraph 30 of the Saar Annex to the Treaty of Versailles, which lays down that it will be the duty of the Governing Commission to provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property in the Saar Basin. In preparing its report, the Governing Commission should take into account the possibility of obtaining the assistance of troops stationed outside the Saar Territory;

“ (3) Requests the Secretary-General to communicate a copy of this resolution to the German Government in reply to its Note of February 19th, 1925. ”

In response to the Council's request, the Governing Commission, on January 28th, 1926, submitted a report which was examined by the Council at its meeting on March 18th, 1926.

With regard to the first paragraph of the Council resolution, the Governing Commission stated that the programme for the development of the local gendarmerie during the year 1925-1926 would be completely carried out by March 31st, 1926, on which date the strength of the local gendarmerie would be 1,005 men.

As regards the second paragraph, the Governing Commission stated that, although a local gendarmerie of 1,005 men was amply sufficient to ensure the maintenance of order in normal circumstances, it was distinctly inadequate to allow the Governing Commission to “ provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property ” in conformity with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. For the protection of persons and property, the League of Nations, which was represented by the Governing Commission, was answerable to the Saar population and the owners of property, particularly to France, the owner of the mines, and to Germany, the owner of the railway system of which the Governing Commission had only the right of user. The Governing Commission therefore stated that it could only assume these grave responsibilities in all cases if the strength of the local gendarmerie were increased to at least 3,000 — an increase which was not possible, mainly for financial reasons. It was therefore essential that the Governing Commission should be entitled at any time and immediately to call upon troops stationed outside the Saar Territory and in the vicinity of its frontiers. Such a possibility had been contemplated by the Council of the League of Nations in its resolution of March 14th, 1925, and the Governing Commission was of opinion that it also resulted from the above-mentioned provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

Finally, with regard to the presence of French troops in the Territory, the Governing Commission stated that, since the 250 gendarmes recruited during the financial year 1925-1926 would take up their duties on March 31st, 1926, it had requested the French Government to withdraw from the territory a battalion of light infantry (*chasseurs à pied*) stationed at Saarbrück, so that the garrison troops would only consist of one regiment of infantry and one regiment of cavalry.

The French Government confirmed this information and announced that by May 31st, 1926, the battalion of *chasseurs* would have been withdrawn. It further stated that the withdrawal of the remainder of the troops stationed in the Territory would be proceeded with step by step.

The Council noted the report of the Governing Commission and adopted the following conclusions in the report of its Rapporteur :

“ Pending the completion of this withdrawal, the attention of the Governing Commission should be drawn to the fact that it is its duty to ensure, in all cases, freedom of transport and transit over the railways of the Territory, and the measures required for this purpose should be prepared ; in particular a railway committee possessing the necessary powers should be at the disposal of the Governing Commission.

“ The Council will no doubt be of opinion that the Commission should be invited to submit to it proposals on this subject for consideration at its next session. ”

DOCUMENTS PRESERVED WITH A VIEW TO THE PLEBISCITE IN 1935.

(a) *M. de Reynier's Mission.*

In October 1925, the death of M. Bonzon, Provisional Records Commissioner for the Saar Plebiscite, occurred, and at its meeting on December 10th, 1925, the Council asked M. de Reynier (Swiss), formerly President of the Danzig Harbour Board, to proceed to the Saar to complete the work begun by M. Bonzon. M. de Reynier was instructed more especially to ascertain the conditions on which the documents handed over by the German Government to the Governing Commission of the Saar in February 1924 were preserved and to examine what action had been taken on the request which M. Bonzon addressed to the Governing Commission concerning the handing-over by the German Government of certain additional documents. If these documents had been handed over to the Governing Commission, M. de Reynier was to consider what further measures should be taken for the distribution of these documents among the various Saar authorities and for their preservation.

On March 18th, 1926, the Council examined M. de Reynier's report in which he gave an account of his mission. He informed the Council that he had first visited the eight places in which the documents transferred from Germany in February 1924 were deposited. He found that the conditions might, on the whole, be considered satisfactory in all districts except one. In that place, he had suggested that the district archives should be entrusted to the Governing Commission until such time as the district should have at its command a suitable place for their disposal.

With regard to the additional documents which M. Bonzon had desired the German Government to hand over, M. de Reynier informed the Council that they had been delivered in February 1926 to the Saar authorities and that he had entrusted these documents provisionally to the Landrat of the Saarbruck rural district. In order to distribute risks and responsibilities, he proposed that they should in future be entrusted to the Governing Commission and kept at the Government building.

The Council adopted the recommendations made by M. de Reynier and invited him to communicate with the Governing Commission and the competent local authorities in the Saar with a view to a definite settlement of the question.

M. de Reynier re-visited the Saar in April, and in a report dated April 15th, 1926, he informed the Council that the recommendations it had made had been put into execution.

(b) *Changes affecting Documents preserved with a View to the Plebiscite.*

M. Bonzon, Provisional Records Commissioner for the Saar Plebiscite, had, in his report dated October 31st, 1923, made certain recommendations to the effect that the Secretariat of the League of Nations and the Governing Commission should be notified of any change in the position — as indicated in the original returns prepared by him — of documents preserved with a view to the plebiscite.

In pursuance of these recommendations, the seven Landräte of the Territory and the Bürgermeister of the town of Saarbruck have sent in periodical reports on the period from April 1st, 1925, to March 31st, 1926, and the Governing Commission has also sent in periodical reports for the year 1925. The local authorities have continued to send in a special notification in the case of every change in the position of documents as was stipulated in the recommendations referred to above.

PETITIONS FROM INHABITANTS OF THE SAAR TERRITORY.

Several petitions from organisations or private individuals established in the Saar Territory have been submitted to the Council for its information by the Governing Commission, in pursuance of the Council's resolution dated May 17th, 1920. These petitions were accompanied by the observations which the Commission thought it desirable to make in each case. They deal principally with the position of officials who have passed from the service of the German Reich, Prussia and Bavaria to the service of the Governing Commission, and also with social insurance, labour legislation, and the administration of the Saar Territory.

GENERAL QUESTIONS.

On May 17th, 1920, the Council approved an arrangement by which the Governing Commission should furnish the League of Nations with detailed information on all political, economic, financial, social and other questions of interest to the League of Nations, together with all the official publications of the Governing Commission.

In accordance with this arrangement, the Governing Commission addressed to the League of Nations its Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Periodical Reports on the third and fourth quarters of the year 1925 and the first quarter of 1926. Some of the questions dealt with in these reports are given below.

1. *Political Situation.*

The Advisory Council and the Technical Committee of the Saar held their usual sessions during the period from July 1st, 1925, to March 31st, 1926. The chief subject of their discussions was legislation concerning housing and fiscal questions.

2. *Economic and Social Situation.*

In July 1925, a miners' strike broke out in the Saar in consequence of demands for increased wages. The Governing Commission applied to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the miners' representatives had conversations with the French Ministers of Public Works and Labour. As a result of these negotiations, an agreement was reached which put an end to the strike a week after it had begun. No serious incident occurred during the strike. According to the Commission's report, the strike had a two-fold effect on the economic situation of the Territory. In the first place, coal production was greatly reduced during July, and the coal consumers in the Territory, particularly the great metallurgical industry, were obliged to obtain coal at a high price. Secondly, in consequence of the rise in wages, the price of Saar coal was raised on August 1st, 1925. To facilitate the importation of foreign coal and, as far as possible, to prevent unemployment in the metallurgical industry during the strike, the Governing Commission suspended the partial tax on coal coming from outside the Territory. It also considered the position of workmen affected by the strike.

The fluctuations in the foreign-exchange market having brought about a considerable rise in the cost of living, wages disputes arose in the wood industry and building trade during the last quarter of 1925, and the number of unemployed, which in October was 1,331, rose in December 1925 to 5,900. During the first quarter of 1926, the labour situation improved considerably. The lock-out in the building trade, which affected nearly 3,000 workers, was ended on January 15th, 1926, by an agreement which granted higher wages.

3. *Customs Régime.*

One consequence of the coming into force on January 10th, 1925, of the French Customs régime on the frontier between the Saar and Germany was the complete removal on October 1st, 1925, of the Customs barrier which since 1920 had been maintained on the frontier between the Saar and France. Although the negotiations undertaken with a view to the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Germany and France had not yet proved successful, the delegations of the two countries decided to conclude an agreement regarding the Customs régime of the Saar Basin. This agreement, signed on July 11th, 1925, at Paris, provided for the importation into the Saar of certain products originating in and coming from Germany, either duty-free or at the minimum tariff rate, within the limits of fixed quotas, and, further, for the importation into Germany of products originating in and coming from the Saar Territory, duty-free and within the limit of fixed quotas. Although the agreement has been ratified by the German and French Parliaments, it has not yet come into force, because the understanding between the French and Saar metallurgical industries necessary for its coming into force has not yet been reached.

In order to facilitate the application of the French Customs régime in the Saar Territory, the competent service of the Commission, during the first quarter of 1926, entered into various negotiations with the French Customs authorities, chiefly concerning the importation of animals for slaughter coming from Germany, the importation under certain conditions of Belgian horses, made-up medicaments of German origin, etc.

4. *The Creation of a Chamber of Labour.*

After consulting the parties concerned (workers' and employers' organisations, the Advisory Council and the Technical Committee), the Governing Commission definitely settled in September 1925 the terms of a decree for the creation of a Chamber of Labour. This Chamber is intended to lessen the number and violence of disputes between workers and employers and to ensure uninterrupted co-operation between the Saar Territory and the International Labour Organisation of the League. The Chamber of Labour held its first session in March 1926. It appointed as President a worker-member of the Chamber, and, as Vice-President, an employer.

5. *Negotiations with the German Government.*

In October and December 1925 negotiations took place between the Governing Commission and the German Government at Baden-Baden with regard to the position and the pensions of German officials placed at the disposal of the Governing Commission, and also various administrative questions. An agreement was signed on December 21st, 1925, on the questions relating to the officials. With regard to administrative questions, an agreement was concluded on October 27th, 1925, dealing in particular with the maintenance of disabled service men, public relief, measures to prevent the duplication of German and Saar taxes, co-operation in collecting taxes, the drawing-up of documents of nationality, formalities in connection with the repayment of German public loans, etc.

As a result of the Baden-Baden negotiations, an agreement was also concluded with regard to the application in the Saar Territory of the procedure of compensation for the settlement of pre-war debts and claims.

In January 1926, discussions took place at Frankfort-on-Main between the representatives of the Reich Ministry of Labour and the Department of Social Insurance of the Saar Territory, on mutual agreements concerning social insurance in the two countries.

6. *Administrative Activity of the Commission.*

The periodical reports of the Governing Commission contain detailed information on various questions concerning the administrative activity of the Commission, more especially in regard to the development of the local gendarmerie, the financial situation of the Territory (a series of decrees has been drawn up with a view to stabilising the budget), measures in favour of State officials and workmen, public works, justice and education, industry and labour, public relief, social hygiene and agriculture.

II. FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

During its sessions in September and December 1925, the Council dealt with various questions concerning the Free City of Danzig and, in particular, with the appointment of a new High Commissioner, questions relating to the Polish postal services in the territory of the Free City, and the Polish depot for munitions in transit in the Port of Danzig. Certain questions concerning the financial situation of the Free City are set forth in the chapter of the present report dealing with the work of the Financial Committee.

The Spanish representative acted as Rapporteur, except for financial questions.

The President of the Danzig Senate and the Polish diplomatic representative at Danzig (both accompanied by experts), the League High Commissioner at Danzig and the President of the Harbour Board were present at the Council meetings when questions concerning Danzig were discussed.

The Secretary-General submitted to the Council a general report on Danzig questions for the period March to December 1925.

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

At the Council meeting held on December 12th, 1925, the President expressed to Mr. MacDonnell, High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig, whose term of office was about to expire, the Council's thanks for the services he had rendered to the League of Nations during his three years of office at Danzig.

On the same occasion, Dr. van Hamel (Dutch), Director of the Legal Section of the Secretariat of the League, was appointed High Commissioner for a period of three years as from February 22nd, 1926. His salary was to remain at 80,000 gold francs per annum. The cost of maintaining the High Commissioner's office is borne in equal parts by the Danzig and Polish Governments.

POLISH POSTAL SERVICES IN DANZIG TERRITORY.

During its session in June 1925, the Council instructed a Committee of Experts to submit to it, through the intermediary of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig, proposals concerning the delimitation of the Port of Danzig for the purposes of the Polish postal services. This opinion was to take into account the statement of reasons contained in the advisory opinion given by the Permanent Court of International Justice.

On September 19th, 1925, the Council examined the conclusions set out in the report of the Committee of Experts which was forwarded to it by the High Commissioner, together with certain observations made by the latter and by the Danzig and Polish Governments. The Council adopted the conclusions of the report by the representative of Spain. In the terms of these conclusions, and in conformity with the opinion of the experts, the Council decided that the Port of Danzig, for the purposes of the Polish postal service, should include not only the portion of the territory of the Free City on which the technical constituents of the harbour were situated but also that portion of the Territory on which the economic constituents of the harbour were grouped. The Council approved the proposed boundaries of the harbour as traced by the experts. In order to make allowance for possible changes in the position of the technical and economic constituents of the harbour, the delimitation is subject to revision, at the request of either of the parties, after a period of five years.

The Council further invited the parties to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement concerning the distribution of postal matter addressed to the Polish authorities established outside the harbour, and also the possibility of addressees dwelling outside the harbour having their communications sent to any address they might choose within the harbour. Pending the conclusion of the agreements which were to result from these negotiations, the Free City of Danzig was asked to grant provisionally to Poland all the necessary facilities in this matter.

The Council also invited the two Governments to come to an agreement regarding a series of secondary questions.

DEPOT FOR POLISH MUNITIONS IN TRANSIT IN THE PORT OF DANZIG.

(a) Delimitation of the Polish Munitions Depot on the Westerplatte.

In June 1925, the Council postponed the consideration of a request from the President of the Danzig Harbour Board, which had been transmitted to it by the High Commissioner and which related to the application of a Council resolution dated March 14th, 1924. In accordance with this resolution, the Westerplatte peninsula in the Harbour of Danzig had been placed at the disposal of the Polish Government for the discharge, storage and despatch to Poland of war material and explosives in transit. The President of the Harbour Board had proposed, for technical reasons, that the Westerplatte should be so delimited as to enable the Harbour Board to carry out the duties incumbent upon it with regard to the maintenance and administration of the Harbour. At the request of the High Commissioner, this question was considered by the Council during its session in September 1925.

On September 19th, 1925, the Council decided that the Harbour Board should proceed to the delimitation of the Westerplatte peninsula and that there should be no appeal against the decision of the Board. The question of risk of accidents having been raised by the Polish Government, the Harbour Board, before giving its decision, was to take the advice of one or two experts chosen in agreement with the Secretary-General. The Council also decided that the peninsula of Westerplatte should be placed at the disposal of Poland not later than November 1st, 1925. Count Gravina (Italian) was appointed as expert by the Danzig Harbour Board in agreement with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, and the Westerplatte area, as defined by the decision of the President of the Harbour Board, was handed over to the Polish authorities on October 31st, 1925.

(b) Establishment of a Detachment of Guards for the Polish Munitions Depot on the Westerplatte.

In pursuance of the agreement concluded between Danzig and Poland on June 21st, 1921, the Polish Government had requested the High Commissioner to give his consent to the proposed arrangement concerning the permanent establishment of a detachment of Polish guards for the Polish Munitions Depot on the Westerplatte. The High Commissioner, before giving his consent, requested the Council in September 1925 to examine the question from the point of view of Article 5 of the Danzig Constitution, in virtue of which no military or naval base may be established in Danzig without the previous consent of the League of Nations.

The Council, which on September 28th, 1925, had postponed the consideration of the question, decided on December 9th, 1925, that the establishment of the detachment in question would not amount to the creation of a military base. The Council also decided that the detachment of the Polish guard, in conformity with the agreement which had already been arrived at, should not wear uniform outside the reserved areas, that this staff should only carry firearms strictly within the limits required to enable it to exercise the necessary supervision over the site in question, that this site should not be fortified, and that Polish warships should not anchor in the Polish basin of the Westerplatte.

RELATIONS BETWEEN DANZIG AND POLAND : GENERAL SITUATION AT DANZIG.

Since the last Assembly, the High Commissioner has given no decision under Article 39 of the Treaty between Danzig and Poland concluded at Paris on November 9th, 1920, in accordance with which any differences arising between Poland and the Free City shall be submitted to the decision of the High Commissioner. A certain number of questions have been settled by means of direct agreements between the Danzig and Polish Governments.

In a general report dated February 20th, 1926, Mr. MacDonnell, on relinquishing his appointment, communicated to the Council a summary of the relations between Danzig and Poland and of the general situation at Danzig.

At that date there were no Danzig-Polish questions pending before the Council under the terms of Article 39 of the Paris Treaty, and there were only one or two small matters formally before the High Commissioner which, in his opinion, could be settled by means of agreements. There were two important questions upon which direct negotiations were in course between the two Governments : the adaptation of Danzig legislation as far as possible to Polish legislation on monopolies, and the fixing of the percentage of the net Customs receipts to be allocated to Danzig in accordance with Article 15 of the Paris Treaty. Other questions upon which negotiations were being pursued or were shortly to begin were the Polish Marine Office in Danzig, the Treaty regarding the judicial relations between Danzig and Germany and Polish schools in the Free City. The following questions, already settled by decision or agreement, had still to be put into effect : the division of the property of the Vistula Administration, a financial convention for fixing the profits and losses of the Harbour Board between Poland and Danzig, the Polish postal services in Danzig, the provision of a steam ferry for the Holm, consular questions, the drawing-up of regulations for the transport of Polish material of war through the Territory of the Free City, and the Polish railway direction in Danzig.

With regard to the general situation of Danzig, the High Commissioner drew the attention of the Council to the difficult economic and financial condition of affairs in the Free City. In his opinion, the situation was due primarily to the difficult period through which Polish finance, industry and trade were passing. He added that the Senate of the Free City was giving serious consideration to the problem of reducing the expenditure and increasing resources so as to master adverse circumstances and balance its budget.

III. EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY.

RESIGNATION OF M. EKSTRAND FROM THE MIXED COMMISSION AND APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR.

Under the Greco-Turkish Convention of January 30th, 1923, the exchange of populations between the two countries is supervised by a Mixed Commission consisting of four representatives of each of the High Contracting Parties with three members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations from among nationals of Powers which did not take part in the war of 1914-18.

At its meeting on September 17th, 1923, the Council proceeded to appoint the three neutral members. At its meeting on March 18th, 1926, the Council was informed by the Mixed Commission that M. Ekstrand (Swedish) had resigned his seat on the Commission. The Council has appointed M. Hans Holstad (Norwegian) to be a member of the Mixed Commission in the place of M. Ekstrand.

6.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

I. GENERAL QUESTIONS.

At its meeting on September 22nd, 1925, the sixth Assembly adopted the following resolution :

“ The Assembly approves that part of the report on the work of the Council, the work of the Secretariat and on the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly, dealing with the procedure followed with regard to the protection of minorities. The Lithuanian representative having withdrawn the proposal submitted by him on September 14th, 1925, the Assembly requests the Secretary-General to communicate to the Council the discussion which has taken place in the Sixth Committee in this connection. ”

In the proposal mentioned in this resolution, the Lithuanian representative had suggested that the Assembly should “ set up a special committee to prepare a draft general convention, to include all the States Members of the League of Nations, and setting forth their common rights and duties in regard to minorities ”. This proposal was referred to the Sixth Committee of the Assembly. The discussion which took place in the Committee on September 16th, 1925, is summarised in its report as follows :

“ On the one hand, the attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that the treaties and declarations for the protection of minorities of race, language or religion are only the concern of certain States, while other States are exempt from such obligations, and this would not be in conformity with the principle of equality between States. On the other hand, several delegates pointed out that this way of looking at the question was not correct, since the special position of States bound by certain treaties or declarations was the result of circumstances prevailing in those States. ”

The discussion also led to an exchange of views on the procedure followed by the Council and the Secretariat for dealing with concrete questions relating to the protection of minorities. At the end of the discussion, it was proposed that the Committee should recommend the Assembly to give its formal approval to that part of the report on the work of the Council, etc., which dealt with this subject. This proposal was favourably received.

At the meeting of the Council on December 9th, 1925, a report on this question was presented by the Brazilian representative. The Rapporteur said that he did not feel called upon to do more than suggest that the Council should take note of the Assembly's resolution, both in as far as it concerned the discussion on the Lithuanian representative's proposal in the Sixth Committee and in regard to that part of the resolution which approved the existing procedure in respect of the protection of minorities. The Brazilian representative's proposal was accepted by the Council.

At the same meeting, the Brazilian representative, in his personal capacity as Rapporteur, also made a statement on minorities questions. He recalled the origin of the rights of minorities and their historical development and concluded that the question of racial and religious minorities was only raised on certain historic occasions, such as that of the incorporation of the territory of one State with that of another, or of territorial changes resulting from a war, or of the constitution of new States, or in the course of struggles on the part of certain States against oppression. Accordingly, he added : “ the mere co-existence of groups of persons form-

ing collective entities, racially different, in the territory or under the jurisdiction of a State, is not sufficient to create the obligation to recognise the existence in that State, side by side with the majority of its population, of a minority requiring a protection entrusted to the League of Nations. In order that a minority, according to the meaning of the present treaties, should exist, it must be the outcome of struggles going back for centuries or perhaps for shorter periods, between certain nationalities, and of the transference of certain territories from one sovereignty to another through successive historic phases. These factors, however, are not constant in all the States Members of the League of Nations."

He therefore considered that the idea of a general convention for the protection of minorities applicable to all the Members of the League of Nations was impracticable.

He then went on to deal with the procedure followed by the Council to ensure the application of the minorities treaties. In this connection, he examined certain suggestions for the amendment of this procedure, presented to the Assembly by Count Apponyi on September 14th, 1925. He did not see his way to accept the Hungarian delegate's opinion on the question, and submitted political and legal arguments in favour of his own view. He urged that those who had conceived the system of protection instituted by the minorities treaties had not dreamed of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organisation of the country. On the contrary, they had wished to ensure respect for the inviolability of the person and to prepare the way for conditions necessary for the establishment of national unity. "In order to attain the desired ideal", he observed, "it would suffice that the Governments should never depart from the rules of good faith and that the League of Nations should exercise its legitimate supervision; also that the persons belonging to the minorities should willingly fulfil their duties to co-operate, as loyal citizens, with the State whose nationals they have become".

Following upon this speech, the British representative drew attention to the importance of the definition which the Brazilian representative had given of the purpose of the minority treaties.

The Czechoslovak representative observed that the Brazilian representative's account of the origin of the minorities treaties corresponded exactly with the reality and that his declaration gave an exact idea of the development of the discussions which had taken place on this question during the successive Assemblies of the League of Nations. He himself had reached the same conclusions as the Brazilian representative: namely, that nations possessing minorities must respect the rights of those minorities but that minorities must realise that, if they went too far, the consequences might be deplorable and quite contrary to the wishes of those who had produced the minorities treaties.

The Belgian representative, after stating that the ideas put forward by the Brazilian representative were exactly in agreement with his own, recalled the fact that he had observed in the Sixth Committee of the Assembly that, if it were proposed to extend to all States the system of the protection of minorities, such a policy, instead of ensuring the peace of the world, would create internal conflicts in a great number of countries, in addition to the international conflicts which could not fail to arise.

II. GREEK MINORITY IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND TURKISH MINORITY IN WESTERN THRACE.

At the extraordinary session of the Council held at Brussels in October 1924, the Greek and Turkish Governments brought before the Council the question of the position of the Greek minority in Constantinople and the Turkish minority in Western Thrace. At its meeting on March 13th, 1925, the Council invited the neutral members of the Mixed Commission for the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations to make an enquiry into the situation of these minorities with regard to the rights granted to them under Article 16 of the Convention concerning the exchange of populations.

The Council was obliged several times to postpone consideration of the question, being informed by the neutral members that they were unable to complete the preliminary work necessary for drawing up their report. In a joint letter dated December 10th, 1925, the Greek and Turkish representatives informed the Secretary-General that the two Governments were engaged in negotiations for the settlement of the questions on which they had appealed to the Council, and that they were agreed in requesting the Council to suspend the procedure until they again made application. At its meeting on December 11th, 1925, the Council took note of this letter and decided to suspend the procedure in course.

III. MOSLEMS OF ALBANIAN ORIGIN IN GREECE.

In August 1924 the Albanian Government brought before the Council, by virtue of Article 11, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, the question whether the Greek Government was loyally carrying out the undertaking entered into at the Conference of Lausanne not to include in the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey Moslems of Albanian origin in Greece. On September 30th, 1924, the Council decided to treat this matter as a question

concerning the application of the Greek Minorities Treaty, and in December 1924 it appointed the three neutral members of the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations as the Council's mandatories for the protection of that minority.

In view of the relation between the duties of the neutral members of the Commission in connection with the execution of the Convention for the Exchange of Populations and their special duties as mandatories of the League of Nations to see that the Moslems of Albanian origin in Greece are exempt from exchange, the Council obtained an assurance of the consent of the Greek and Turkish Governments to this arrangement.

In November 1925 the Albanian Government informed the Secretary-General that the Greek and Turkish delegates to the Mixed Commission had decided to exchange 5,000 Albanians of the Chamuria district in Epirus for 5,000 Greeks from Constantinople, in contravention of the undertaking given by Greece at the Lausanne Conference. At its meeting on December 10th, 1925, the Council decided to treat the question as one concerning the Mixed Commission, and more particularly the neutral members, who were the Council's mandatories. The Chairman of the Commission — M. de Lara — was present at the Council meeting. The discussion referred particularly to the situation of 800 Albanian inhabitants of the villages of Gardiki and Dragumi. M. de Lara stated that of these 800 persons only those who were of Turkish origin would be exchanged. At its meeting on March 16th, 1926, the Council had before it an additional report from the mandatories, together with certain statements by the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the effect that the Greek Government considered that the exchange was now at an end and had decided not to demand the departure of the 800 persons in question. The Greek Government further stated that the population of Chamuria that had not been exchanged would enjoy the same treatment in law and in fact as other Greek citizens and that all exceptional measures which the Greek Government might have applied to this population, because it regarded it as subject to exchange, would be abrogated.

IV. MINORITIES IN UPPER SILESIA.

1. PETITION FROM M. KARL MICHALIK.

In pursuance of Article 157 of the Convention of May 15th, 1922, between Germany and Poland regarding Upper Silesia, the German Government communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations a petition addressed to the Council by M. Karl Michalik appealing against the decision taken by the administrative authorities of German Upper Silesia in respect of his claim for compensation and for the allotment to him of a domicile at his former place of residence in German Upper Silesia. An opinion had been expressed on this case by the President of the Upper Silesian Mixed Commission in conformity with Article 153 of the above-mentioned Convention.

The Council considered this case at its meeting on March 17th, 1926. The Rapporteur — the Brazilian representative — pointed out that the question of substance could not be profitably examined as long as any doubt persisted as to the petitioner's nationality. In this connection he drew the Council's attention to Article 55 *et seq.* of the Convention on Upper Silesia, which lays down the proper procedure for the solution of problems relating to nationality. This was the procedure the President of the Mixed Commission had had in mind when, in his opinion of February 17th, 1925, he referred the petitioner to the competent authorities in accordance with the Convention. On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the Council decided not to pronounce at that juncture on the preliminary question of the petitioner's nationality nor on the merits of his case but to request the Secretary-General to draw the petitioner's attention to those Articles in the Convention.

2. PETITION FROM THE "ASSOCIATION OF POLES IN GERMANY".

In virtue of Article 147 of the Convention between Germany and Poland of May 15th, 1922, on Upper Silesia, the Board of the "Association of Poles in Germany" addressed to the Council a petition dated May 26th, 1925, with regard to the payment by the German Government of compensation in Upper Silesia. The Secretary-General communicated this petition to the German Government for its observations. On November 21st, 1925, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs forwarded to the Secretary-General his Government's observations on this petition.

According to the petition, certain laws promulgated by the German Government concerning compensation for damage caused by riots, by the occupation of territory, and by acts of violence, tended to injure the interests of the Polish minority. In practice they were alleged to have led to the systematic rejection of the claims put forward by Poles in respect of damage sustained during the disturbances which took place at the time of the partition of Upper Silesia.

In its observations the German Government explained the legal basis for the laws referred to in the petition, particularly as regards the principle of the division of responsibilities, under which it was to be considered in each particular case how far the claimant himself contributed to causing the injury of which he was a victim. As regards the decisions annexed to the petition, with the exception of two cases which in no way affected the matter under dispute, the German Government stated that they all referred to persons who had actively contributed by their actions and words towards provoking the disturbances from which they had afterwards suffered.

At its meeting on March 17th, 1926, the Council, on the proposal of the Rapporteur — the Brazilian representative — decided to refer this question to its Rapporteur, assisted by the Spanish and Swedish representatives, for examination. It would depend on the outcome of this examination whether the subject should again be placed on the Council's agenda.

V. MINORITIES IN HUNGARY.

In connection with two petitions submitted respectively by the " Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association ", and the " Alliance Israélite Universelle ", the Council had already considered, at its session in September 1922, the question of the Hungarian Law XXV of 1920 on the *numerus clausus*¹. This law lays down that, in granting authorisation for inscription on the rolls of universities and other institutions for higher education in Hungary, care shall be taken (among other considerations) that the number of students of different races and nationalities shall be in proportion to the number of inhabitants of such races and nationalities in the country, and that each race or nationality shall be represented in a proportion of at least nine-tenths of its respective proportion in the country.

The Council then decided that it ought primarily to obtain information as to the manner in which the law was applied, and whether, in practice, the rights of minorities were disregarded. For this purpose, it requested the Hungarian Government to supply it with the necessary information in order that it might be in a position to make a detailed study, within a reasonable time, of the application of Law XXV of 1920. In compliance with this request, the Hungarian Government on several occasions furnished the Council with statistics.

On January 1st, 1925, the Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association forwarded a further petition to the League of Nations regarding the question of the *numerus clausus* in Hungary. This communication expressed the hope that the Council would see fit to submit the question of the validity of the Hungarian Law XXV of 1920 to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion. The petitioners pressed the arguments already submitted in their first petition, endeavouring to show that the law in question was in direct conflict with Articles 56, 57 and 58 of the Treaty of Trianon, which declare that all Hungarian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights, without distinction as to race, language or religion.

This further petition was communicated to the Hungarian Government, which, in its observations forwarded on May 19th, 1925, presented various new statistical tables giving the number of students at the universities and colleges in Hungary, together with the number and proportion of Jewish students. The Hungarian Government would not admit that the law in question constituted an infringement of Articles 56, 57 and 58 of the Treaty of Trianon. It considered that the principal question was whether the Jews were treated on an equal footing with other citizens of the country as regards admission to higher studies; and it maintained that here the reply must be in the affirmative, since not only was there no distinction drawn which was specially applicable to Jews but, in actual fact, it was the Jews alone who showed a higher percentage of students in the educational institutions in question than their percentage of the population of the country as a whole.

In accordance with the Council resolution of October 25th, 1920, the question was submitted to a Committee of the Council consisting of the representatives of Spain, Belgium and Japan. This Committee, after examining the additional information furnished at its request by the Hungarian Government, was of opinion that the time had come for the Council to reconsider the question in the light of the new information received.

The Council dealt with the question at its meetings held on December 10th and 12th, 1925. At the first of these meetings it heard a report by the Brazilian representative and a statement by the representative of the Hungarian Government. At the meeting on December 12th, in view of the fact that the Hungarian representative had stated at the meeting on December 10th that his Government regarded the *numerus clausus* as an exceptional and temporary measure necessitated by an abnormal social situation and had decided to amend the law directly that situation changed, the Council decided, on the proposal of its Rapporteur, not to touch on the question of law and to take no action in the matter at the moment but simply to take note of the statements of the Hungarian Government and await the amendment of the law in the near future.

The Hungarian representative accepted these conclusions and said that the Hungarian Government would do its utmost to act in conformity with the declaration which its representative had already made before the Council.

VI. MINORITIES IN LITHUANIA².

At its meeting on June 10th, 1925, the Council decided to postpone to its next session further consideration of the question of the position of minorities in Lithuania. At its meeting on September 5th, 1925, the Council heard a further report on this question by the Brazilian

¹ See Report to the Fourth Assembly on the Work of the Council and the Work of the Secretariat, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 13, page 225.

² See Supplementary Report to the Sixth Assembly on the Work of the Council and the Work of the Secretariat, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 306.

representative. In this report he communicated to the Council the information he had received from the Lithuanian Government on the various points on which he had thought it desirable to ask that Government for further particulars. This information may be summarised as follows :

The legislation regarding the participation of the various Parliamentary groups in the Commissions of the Diet concerns Parliamentary minorities and not racial, linguistic or religious minorities. The question which is a child's " own language " is decided in each case according to the parents' wishes. The decrees concerning the language to be employed on signs, inscriptions, etc. were annulled on July 23rd, 1925. The law does not, in principle, forbid the use of any particular language in account books ; it is for purely fiscal purposes that the ledger, the day-book and the cash-book have to be kept in the official language. The expropriated forests become the property of the Government which administers them in the public interest. The fundamental principle of the agrarian reform in Lithuania is that the first to benefit by the reform should be the agricultural workers living actually on or in the neighbourhood of the land expropriated. Minorities are allowed to take advantage of the agrarian reform. The question of the mortgages and other charges and liens attaching to estates taken over in virtue of the law on agrarian reform has not been settled by legislation. A bill is, however, before the Diet settling the question in accordance with the general principles of mortgage law applying to the partition or seizure of estates which are encumbered with such debts.

On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the Council, after having taken note of the information furnished by the Lithuanian Government and of the further explanations given by the Rapporteur himself, decided to rely upon the wisdom of the Lithuanian Government and expressed the hope that the latter would succeed in dissipating any apprehensions which might still exist among the minorities in the country, and in persuading them that the Government was firmly determined to apply the provisions of the Declaration of May 12th, 1922, relating to the protection of minorities.

At the same meeting the Council was informed that certain petitions from minorities in Lithuania had been received by the Secretariat and handed to the Rapporteur after he had prepared his report. On the Rapporteur's proposal, the Council decided to ask the Secretary-General to submit copies of these documents to all the members of the Council in order that they might be in a position to take action regarding any new questions which might be raised therein, and in order to enable the representative of Lithuania to make any observations he desired. The Lithuanian Government made certain observations in a memorandum which was distributed for the information of the Members of the Council on December 3rd, 1925.

VII. MINORITIES IN ROUMANIA.

In the supplementary report to the sixth Assembly it was stated that the Council, at its meeting on June 11th, 1925, had decided to defer to its next session consideration of the question raised by a petition dated February 18th, 1925, from farmers of Hungarian race in a number of villages in the Banat and Transylvania (Roumania).

During the three months which elapsed before the session of September 1925, this question was submitted to an exhaustive study by the Rapporteur (the Brazilian representative) and the representatives of the British Empire and Sweden, who formed with him a Committee of the Council to examine the question. The Roumanian Government, on its side, placed at the Committee's disposal an immense quantity of information. In particular, the Government caused a statement to be drawn up in respect of each colonist, showing the actual position of his property and the manner in which he had discharged his obligations under his colonisation contract. The principal particulars thus obtained were collated in a general statistical table.

The petitioners referred principally in their statement to two provisions of Roumanian law ; Article 10 of the Law for Agrarian Reform in Transylvania, the Banat, Crisana and Maramures of July 23rd, 1921, and Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Law of October 25th, 1921. Article 10 provides that " the holdings of colonist farmers who settled subsequently to January 1st, 1885, shall be expropriated in so far as they exceed the maximum area of land granted in the district to beneficiaries under Article 92 ". According to Article 97 of the Agrarian Law, the maximum area of these holdings is 7 jugars. The petitioners alleged that the system of expropriation whereby the maximum area retained by the owner was 7 jugars constituted an exception to the general rule applied to other farmers cultivating their own land, and an exception which only affected persons belonging to the Hungarian minority. According to this general rule, estates cultivated by their owners were to be expropriated in such a manner as to leave the owners considerably larger areas.

Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Law of October 25th, 1921, declares null and void any acts relating to State lands carried out after December 1st, 1918, by the Hungarian Government or its representatives in respect of territory transferred from Hungarian to Roumanian sovereignty. The petitioners asserted that their holdings had been formed out of land belonging to the Hungarian State ; that a certain number of holdings had not been entered in the land register, in consequence of administrative delay, until the spring of 1919, and consequently that those entries could be regarded, under the Roumanian Law of October 25th, 1921, as null and void in law and in fact. They said that their right of ownership, which had been acquired years before, could in this way be annulled without any compensation.

The question which the Council had to decide in connection with this petition was whether the application to the colonists of the provisions of Article 10 of the Agrarian Law for Transyl-

vania and of Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Law of October 25th, 1921, was consistent with the Roumanian Minorities Treaty, and especially with the clause whereby Roumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities should enjoy the same treatment and the same *de jure* and *de facto* guarantees as other Roumanian nationals.

In reply to the colonists' complaints, the Roumanian Government observed that such colonisation as took place after 1885 had no economic purpose and merely deprived of the possibility of acquiring land a large agricultural population which possessed no cultivable land at all. The result of these measures of colonisation had been that, when the Roumanian Agrarian Reform was introduced in the districts where colonisation had taken place, there were, on the one hand, large numbers of peasants with holdings of from 15 to 25 jugars (holdings distributed under the Agrarian Reform have a maximum area of 7 jugars), and, on the other, native peasants who were landless and living in direct poverty. Despite the expropriation of the large estates, there was still insufficient land in the district in which the colonies were situated to meet the claims of all those entitled to benefit by the agrarian reform. The stipulation contained in Article 10 of the Agrarian Law for Transylvania had therefore been necessary. The Roumanian Government added that, in the distribution of the allotments formed out of land expropriated, either from large land-owners or from colonist farmers, no distinction was made on the ground of the nationality of the beneficiaries.

In regard to the law concerning the cancellation of acts relating to land in the territory united to Roumania, the Government declared that it had in no way affected the position of the farmers who obtained their land by the regular procedure and could prove that they had paid their annual instalments to the proper authorities. The only entries revised or cancelled under the above-mentioned law had been those irregularly entered. Those cancellations had not involved any dispossession between 1918 and 1925, when the petitioners had submitted their complaints.

The question was discussed at the Council meeting on September 5th, 1925, when the Brazilian representative, after consultation with the British and Swedish representatives, submitted a report in which, after surveying the history of the case, he examined the statistics and other information furnished by the Roumanian Government. In particular, he drew attention to the following points: the number of farmers concerned was about 2,300. The total area of their farms was 42,000 jugars. Of this area, 25,000 jugars, or about 60 per cent of the total area, had been expropriated or was about to be expropriated in virtue of Article 10 of the Law on Agrarian Reform. The contracts dated on an average from about 1900. The farmers were required to pay for fifty years, starting with the third year (in some cases sooner), an annual sum for the amortisation of the capital and interest charges. During the first years these annual sums had consisted mainly of interest, and only a comparatively small amount represented amortisation of capital. The application of Article 10 of the Agrarian Law left the expropriated farmers with an amount of ground exceeding, and in some cases far exceeding, the standard holding for the district — that was to say, the portion of ground allotted by the Agrarian Reform authorities even to Roumanian farmers occupying the twenty-six village settlements. The expropriated farmers were left in possession of their houses, plantations and all installations on their farms. A considerable number (1,519 out of a total of 5,416) of the interested parties between whom the expropriated land was divided was made up of persons belonging to the families of the farmers.

The Rapporteur then informed the Council of the fact that the Roumanian Government had caused an examination to be made of the position of each farmer in regard to the fulfilment of all his contract obligations, and to the possibility of exercising the right of free purchase reserved to the Government by the contract in the event of the non-fulfilment of its clauses. The Rapporteur stated that in all probability a considerable number of farmers could be completely deprived of their holdings (including houses and other fixtures) if the Government were to make against them a strict application of all the clauses in their contracts. These contracts, which had been drawn up by the former Hungarian Government with the object of retaining a very comprehensive control over the farmers for fifty years, contained some stipulations which were extremely hard upon the farmers and would offer the Government many opportunities of exercising against the farmers a right of repurchase which, under existing circumstances, would deprive the farmers of their homes in exchange for a practically negligible compensation. The Roumanian representative had, however, strongly insisted upon the point that his Government had no intention of availing itself of this right of redemption at the expense of the farmers provided that there was no infringement of Article 10 of the Agrarian Law.

The Rapporteur then explained that the Roumanian representative had proposed to the Committee of the Council that a practical solution should be sought which should take into account the interests of the farmers in question without, however, relinquishing the legal standpoint adopted by his Government. The Roumanian representative had recognised that farmers subject to these measures of expropriation were in a special position on account of their geographical situation, and he had suggested that this situation should be taken into account and that the farmers should be offered compensation on humanitarian grounds, irrespective of the expropriation price fixed by the Agrarian Law. He had informed the Committee that his Government was willing to agree to such a settlement, and that the sum which it proposed to set aside for that purpose amounted to 700,000 gold francs. This arrangement was naturally understood to imply that the right of redemption would not be exercised by reason of failure in the past to fulfil any clause in the contracts, and that Article 2, paragraph 1, of the Law of October 25th, 1921, would not, as the Roumanian Government had already explained in a Note dated May 1st, 1925, be put into effect against the farmers. In regard to the distribution to the

farmers of the sum in question, the Roumanian representative had proposed that the necessary arrangements should be made after consultation with the Roumanian Government.

The Rapporteur suggested that the Council should accept the Roumanian Government's offer, which seemed to him better calculated to meet the interests of the farmers and to pacify the inhabitants directly concerned than a legal decision cancelling Article 10 of the Agrarian Law.

After hearing a detailed statement by the Roumanian representative at the same meeting (September 5th, 1925), the Council approved the Brazilian representative's report.

The necessary arrangements for the distribution of the sum of 700,000 gold francs among the farmers formed the subject of further negotiations between the Rapporteur, assisted by the British and Swedish representatives and the Roumanian representative. At its meeting on December 11th, 1925, the Council, on the proposal of the Rapporteur, accepted certain arrangements as the outcome of the negotiations. These arrangements are explained in detail in the Brazilian representative's report. They involved the appointment, for each colony, of delegates elected by the farmers themselves, to draw up, under the supervision of the Roumanian Government, schedules containing the particulars in regard to each farmer for the purpose of the allotment. A right of appeal was allowed. As soon as all the allotments and payments have been carried out, the Roumanian Government will notify the League of Nations and will forward at the same time the list of payments made to each farmer showing whether disputes have arisen, and, if so, how they have been settled.

VIII. MINORITIES IN TURKEY.

On February 27th, 1925, the Secretary-General received a petition signed by an Armenian refugee at Athens with regard to the return to Armenian refugees of their deposits in certain foreign banks in Smyrna and their property in Asia Minor.

In accordance with the usual procedure in minority questions, this petition was communicated to the Turkish Government on March 10th, 1925, for observations. The Turkish Government not having sent any observations within the time-limit fixed by the Council's resolutions, the Secretary-General circulated a copy of this petition for the information of the Council, and, in conformity with the Council resolution of October 25th, 1920, the document in question was submitted for consideration to a Council Committee composed of the representatives of Spain (Chairman), Italy and Sweden.

These members of the Council, after examining the question at several meetings, decided that, as the Turkish Government had not yet seen fit to make a statement on the matter, the facts referred to in the petition should be considered by the Council. They accordingly requested the Secretary-General, in a note dated September 26th, 1925, to take the necessary steps to place the question on the agenda of the Council session of December 1925.

Meanwhile, the Turkish Government, in a note dated October 20th, 1925, forwarded to the Secretariat its observations on the question. In this note, it referred, as regards the position of Armenians who had left Turkish territory before the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne, to the statements made by Ismet Pasha at the Lausanne Conference, recorded in Minute 13 of the meeting of July 17th, 1923. As regards the deposits in the Smyrna banks, the Turkish Government informed the League that it had already decided to raise the embargo on these deposits.

The Council dealt with this question at its meeting on December 14th, 1925. The Brazilian representative, acting as Rapporteur, observed that it appeared from the note in which the representatives of Spain, Italy and Sweden had brought this matter to the notice of the Council that they had done so in the absence of any observations on the part of the Turkish Government, and that, after the question had been placed on the agenda of the Council, the Turkish note of October 20th, 1925, had been received. In these circumstances, the Council decided, on the Rapporteur's proposal, to refer the question to the Committee composed of the representatives mentioned above so as to enable them to examine it again. It would depend on this examination whether the question would again come before the Council. The representative of the Turkish Government agreed to this proposal and reserved the right to state the point of view of his Government before the Committee and, if necessary, before the Council, should the question be laid before it.

7.

MANDATES.

I. IRAQ.

APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ARTICLE 22 OF THE COVENANT TO IRAQ, AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KURDISH DISTRICTS IN IRAQ.

As stated above¹ the British Government, by a letter dated March 2nd, 1926, communicated to the Council a Treaty between Great Britain and Iraq concluded on January 13th, 1926.

In examining this Treaty and the covering letter from the British Government from the standpoint of the requirements of Article 22 of the Covenant, the Rapporteur recalled that, by its decision of September 27th, 1924, the Council had approved, as giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 as regards Iraq, the terms of the communication which was then made to the Council by the British Government.

In this communication it was explained that it was the purpose of the Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Iraq to ensure the complete observance and execution in Iraq of the principles which the acceptance of the mandate was intended to secure ; and by the same communication the British Government agreed to a series of undertakings vis-à-vis the League of Nations. One of these undertakings was to the effect that no modification of the terms of the Treaty of Alliance would be agreed to by His Britannic Majesty's Government without the consent of the Council of the League.

By the provisions of the new Treaty, which constitute such a modification, the Treaty of Alliance of October 10th, 1922, and the various agreements subsidiary thereto are to remain in force for a period of twenty-five years from December 16th, 1925, unless before the expiration of that period Iraq shall have become a Member of the League of Nations.

The new Treaty further provides for the possible revision during this period of the agreements referred to in Articles 7, 10 and 15 of the Treaty of Alliance (concerning respectively military assistance, execution of certain treaties and certain financial questions) and also for the periodical review of the question whether it is possible for the British Government to press for the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations.

These are the only points dealt with in the Treaty.

The British Government having declared in its letter of March 2nd, 1926, that so long as the Treaty of Alliance remains in force it would regard as binding the undertakings given by it to the Council in September 1924, and would continue to act in conformity therewith ; and that it would not, without the consent of the Council of the League, agree to any modification of the new Treaty nor, as a result of its provisions, of the agreements subsidiary to the Treaty of October 10th, 1922, the Rapporteur proposed, and the Council adopted, the following resolution :

“ The Council of the League of Nations, supplementing its decision of September 27th, 1924, approves the terms of the letter from the British Government dated March 2nd, 1926, to which the text of the Treaty between Great Britain and Iraq dated January 13th, 1926, is annexed, as giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant. ”

At the same time the Council decided to forward to the Permanent Mandates Commission a memorandum from the British Government dealing with the administration of the Kurdish districts in Iraq, which was annexed to the letter of March 2nd, 1926, mentioned above. The Mandates Commission was requested to submit to the Council such observations upon this matter as it might deem desirable in view of the Council resolution of December 16th, 1925, paragraph 3², and of the recommendations on this subject made by the Commission of Enquiry on the frontier between Turkey and Iraq.

Finally, the Council decided to communicate to the Permanent Mandates Commission a copy of paragraph 4 of its resolution of December 16th, 1925, inviting the British Government to act, as far as possible, in accordance with the other suggestions of the Commission of Enquiry as regards measures likely to ensure pacification and to afford equal protection to all the elements of the population, and also as regards the commercial measures indicated in the special recommendations of the Commission's report. The Mandates Commission was requested to take the provisions of that resolution into consideration when the annual reports concerning Iraq are examined.

In accordance with the decision of the Council, certified copies of the letter of March 2nd, 1926, from the British Government, the Treaty annexed thereto and the report and resolutions adopted by the Council in this connection have been forwarded by the Secretary-General to

¹ See page 177.

² See the chapter on Political Questions, page 175.

all Members of the League. To facilitate reference, these documents, as well as the previous decision of the Council dated September 27th, 1924, and other relevant documents, have been published together as document C. 216.M.77. 1926. VI.

II. WORK OF THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION¹.

The documents relating to the proceedings of the sixth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission were considered by the Council on September 15th, 1925. In bringing the question to the attention of the Council the Rapporteur, representative of Sweden, outlined the work done by the Commission, called attention to the value of the Minutes of its meetings and to the collaboration of accredited representatives who had had direct experience with the situation in the territories, and suggested some drafting alterations in some of the proposed resolutions on general questions. Mr. J. Smit, representative of the Union of South Africa; Sir Joseph Cook, representative of Australia; Sir James Allen, representative of New Zealand; and M. de Vasconcellos, representative of Portugal, were present at this meeting of the Council; the latter for the question of the frontier zone between Angola and South-West Africa.

(1) As regards the special observations of the Commission on the administration of the various territories under mandate considered at its sixth session, the Council decided to forward these observations to the Government of the mandatory Power concerned in each case and to request it to take the requisite action. The Council further approved the conclusions of the Commission on the petitions examined, and instructed the Secretary-General to bring them to the knowledge of the petitioners and of the mandatory Powers.

(2) As regards the various questions of general interest arising out of Article 22 of the Covenant with which the Commission had dealt during the sixth session, the Council took the following action :

A. *Loans, Advances and Investments of Public and Private Capital.*

The Council, after an exchange of views between Sir Joseph Cook, Viscount Cecil and the Rapporteur, the representative of Sweden, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council,

“ In view of the discussion of the Permanent Mandates Commission, in the course of its sixth session, on the subject of loans, advances and investments of public and private capital in mandated territories, and in view of the earlier discussions and enquiries and of the statements of the mandatory Powers on this subject :

“ (1) Declares that the validity of financial obligations assumed by a mandatory Power on behalf of a mandated territory in conformity with the provisions of the mandate and all rights regularly acquired under the mandatory regime are in no way impaired by the fact that the territory is administered under mandate ;

“ (2) Agrees on the following principles :

“ (a) That the cessation or transfer of a mandate cannot take place unless the Council has been assured in advance that the financial obligations regularly assumed by the former mandatory Power will be carried out and that all rights regularly acquired under the administration of the former mandatory Power shall be respected ; and

“ (b) That, when this change has been effected, the Council will continue to use all its influence to ensure the fulfilment of these obligations.”

B. *Extension of special International Conventions to Mandated Territories.*

The Council, after remarks by Mr. J. Smit, Viscount Cecil and the Rapporteur, adopted the following resolution :

“ The Council approves the proposal of the Commission.

“ The Council therefore :

“ (1) Recommends that the mandatory Powers and also all States, whether Members or not of the League of Nations, which have concluded special treaties or conventions with the mandatory Powers should agree to extend the benefits of such treaties or conventions to mandated territories if circumstances render such extension possible and expedient and if the provisions of these international agreements are consistent with the stipulations of the Covenant and the mandate ;

“ (2) Requests the mandatory Powers, subject to the above reservations, to insert in any special treaties or conventions they may conclude hereafter a clause providing for the possibility of their application to mandated territories ;

¹ See Supplementary Report to the sixth Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 310.

“(3) Requests the mandatory Powers to indicate in their annual reports, if possible and expedient, the reasons and circumstances which have prevented the application to mandated territories of the special treaties or conventions which they may have concluded with other Powers during the period under review ;

“(4) Instructs the Secretary-General to bring this resolution to the attention of the mandatory Powers and all States Members of the League.”

C. *Frontier Zone between Angola and South-West Africa.*

The Council, after an exchange of views between M. de Vasconcellos, Mr. J. Smit, Viscount Cecil and the Rapporteur, decided to invite the Governments of Portugal and of the Union of South Africa to hasten the conclusion of an agreement to remove any differences concerning the territory situated between Angola and the mandated territory of South-West Africa. It also decided to request these Governments to keep the Council informed of the progress which may be made towards the conclusion of this agreement.

D. *Presentation of Annual Reports.*

In accordance with the proposals of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Council, after remarks by Viscount Ishii, Sir James Allen, Sir Joseph Cook and M. Paul-Boncour, who pointed out practical difficulties which might arise in certain cases, decided to request the mandatory Powers to make every effort to communicate their annual reports to the Secretariat before May 20th of each year in order to facilitate the work of the Mandates Commission. It also decided to request all the mandatory Powers to insert in the titles of their annual reports the explicit statement that they are addressed to the Council of the League of Nations in conformity with Article 22 of the Covenant.

E. *Communication of Legislative Texts.*

The Council decided to ask the mandatory Powers to forward to the Secretariat the legislative texts applicable to mandated territories in accordance with one of the two methods suggested by the Commission, *i.e.*, either in a bound annual volume or as an annex to the annual report.

F. *Communication of Mandates Documents to Officials in Mandated Territories.*

The Council, after remarks by Mr. J. Smit, Sir James Allen, Sir Joseph Cook and the Rapporteur, endorsed the proposal made by the Commission with regard to the communication of mandates documents to officials in mandated territories whom these documents may concern and called the attention of the mandatory Powers to this proposal.

• III. SEVENTH SESSION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

A. *WORK OF THE COMMISSION.*

The Permanent Mandates Commission met at Geneva from October 19th to 30th, 1925, and examined the annual reports on the administration of the following territories : Palestine and Trans-Jordan ; British Cameroons ; Ruanda-Urundi ; South Sea Islands under Japanese mandate ; Western Samoa ; Caprivi Zipfel (part of the mandated Territory of South-West Africa). All these reports, with the exception of the last, were examined in the presence of accredited representatives of the mandatory Powers.

The Commission further considered several petitions and certain questions of a general character arising out of the application of Article 22 of the Covenant and of the mandates. The report of the Commission and the Minutes of its meetings have been distributed to all the Members of the League.

At the beginning of the session, the Commission as usual heard a statement by its Chairman, the Marquis Theodoli, on the work of the Assembly and the Council in connection with the mandates question. The Chief of the Mandates Section, M. Catastini, gave an account of the work of the Section and the communications received since the last session of the Commission.

Iraq.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, explained the reasons for a proposal by the British Government that the examination of the report on Iraq, which covered the period from April 1923 to December 1924, should be adjourned.

The Commission, in view of the fact that the effects of the frontier dispute which concerned about a quarter of the territory were being felt throughout the territory and among all the

inhabitants, and desiring not to appear to anticipate a decision which must be pronounced in entire independence and impartiality by the League, decided to adjourn the examination of the report concerning Iraq until these obstacles had been removed.

Syria and Lebanon.

The Commission decided, in view of the crisis in Syria, to postpone the examination of the report for 1924 which was submitted by the mandatory Power. It considered that, in order to form an opinion in regard to the situation, detailed information was necessary with regard to the events of 1925.

The Commission accordingly decided to examine, at an extraordinary session in February 1926, the report for 1924 and a supplementary report on the present situation which the French representative, Count Clauzel, on behalf of his Government, agreed to supply.

The Commission assured the French representative that, while refraining for the time being from any discussion of the situation, it was following most attentively the position in Syria. It hoped that the supplementary report to be examined in February would furnish full explanations as to the causes of the present disturbances and the remedial measures proposed by the Mandatory. The Commission expressed the hope that peace might shortly be restored within the territory.

Observations of the Commission on the Reports Examined.

The observations of the Commission on the reports which it examined may be summarised as follows.

Territories under " A " Mandate.

Palestine and Trans-Jordan.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.)

The Commission recorded its special appreciation of the valuable report of the former High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, on the administration of Palestine for 1920-25.

At its fifth session, the Commission had laid special emphasis on the problems with which the Mandatory for Palestine had to cope in view of its duty not only to safeguard the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants irrespective of race and religion but also to place Palestine under such political, administrative and economic conditions as would secure the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people.

The Commission was impressed with the broad-minded view of the relations between the different racial and religious groups presented by the Mandatory. It expressed its regret that certain elements of the population did not appear to recognise that the essential principles embodied in the mandate provided the only substantial basis for the economic and political development of the country. On the other hand, it was glad to learn from the accredited representative that political agitation had decreased, and it trusted that, in the near future, an extension of co-operation between individuals of the various religious groups might be found possible, particularly in municipal and district affairs.

The Commission was glad to know that, in the opinion of the accredited representative, the enactment of the Palestine Citizenship Order in Council should do much to strengthen a sense of Palestinian nationality.

The Commission also recorded its satisfaction that the population, both Jewish and Arab, was increasing and that there was no unemployment of any account in the country. It seemed evident that these favourable conditions, so far as the Jewish element was concerned, were depending for the present in large measure on funds from abroad, but the Commission expressed the hope that they would still continue when these funds were no longer available.

With regard to Jewish immigration, it noted that measures had been adopted by the British Administration so that Palestine might readily absorb all immigrants admitted and offer them suitable employment. The Commission noted also that the Mandatory was ready to pay special attention to any requests made by or on behalf of such settlers for the acquisition of State or waste land, without prejudice to the rights of other sections of the population. It expressed a desire to be kept informed of the progress made in carrying out the survey of the country which is considered by the Mandatory as a necessary preliminary to the allocation of Government lands, and asked for information on the exact methods used or contemplated by the Government for disposing of any of these lands.

The Commission requested that future reports should contain fuller information concerning labour conditions in Palestine. In view of the increase in industrial activity, it asked for details of legislative and administrative action for the protection of workers and particularly for the regulation and control of child labour.

Particular interest was attached to the development of educational facilities in Palestine. The Commission expressed the hope that, when the financial situation improved, the

Government would be able to devote larger funds to the opening of village schools in Arab communities, and also that more substantial assistance might be given to Jewish schools in view of the constantly increasing number of pupils.

The Commission noted with satisfaction that the peace and order prevailing in Palestine had enabled the Mandatory to maintain only a very small armed force in the territory. Health conditions, it noted, were improving, and the Jewish Hadassah medical organisation had rendered important services to all sections of the population.

The Commission asked to be kept informed of any progress made in the delimitation of the frontiers of Trans-Jordan, and requested that the next annual report should contain much fuller information on this territory. It also asked for further data concerning public finance.

Territories under " B " Mandate.

British Cameroons.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : Major Ruxton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria.)

• While appreciating the information contained in the report concerning the part played by the natives in the administration of the country, the Commission asked for explanations which would enable it to form a clear view of the programme which guided the mandatory Power in developing the territory in the interests of the inhabitants, particularly in the moral and economic fields. It also requested information as to the measures contemplated to improve health conditions in the territory, as well as on certain points with regard to labour conditions, slavery, liquor traffic, education and public finance.

Ruanda-Urundi.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : M. Halewyck, Director-General in the Belgian Colonial Ministry.)

The Commission examined the text of the law on the administration of Ruanda-Urundi promulgated by the Belgian Government on August 21st, 1925, which had called forth adverse comment in certain quarters. It noted the explanations of the accredited representative of the mandatory Power as furnishing an authoritative interpretation of the text.

The accredited representative stated that his Government, conforming strictly to the terms of the mandate, was, in framing the law, in no wise influenced by any desire for annexation. He declared that no provision of the law was intended to confer upon the inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi the status of Belgian subjects — a measure which would have been contrary to the decision taken by the Council at the suggestion of the Permanent Mandates Commission. He added that the Belgian Government wished neither to change its policy of indirect administration, which had so far been attended with happy results, nor to diminish the prestige of the two native chiefs.

The Commission noted these statements as well as explanations given with regard to the text of certain articles of the new law upon which, in the Commission's opinion, an unfortunate construction might be placed.

Information was requested by the Commission as to the intentions of the Mandatory with regard to the development of means of communication to Ruanda-Urundi from the Congo and from the Indian Ocean ; the circumstances in which forced labour was exacted ; the importation and consumption of spirits ; native administration ; the police forces of the territory ; and the general educational policy of the Administration.

Satisfaction was expressed that the credits for the extension of the public health services had been increased. The attention of the Mandatory's representative was, however, drawn to the very high death rate in the Urundi prisons.

The Commission noted that the system of collection of the native tribute by native tax-collectors — which led to abuse — had been abolished, and asked for further data on certain financial questions.

Territories under " C " Mandate.

Caprivi Zipfel. (Part of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa.)

The Commission asked that the next report on the Caprivi Zipfel should contain fuller information on the population, the administrative staff, tribal organisations, public health work, the budget, and, in particular, on the administrative relations between the Caprivi Zipfel and the mandatory Power.

Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : Mr. Y. Sugimura, Assistant Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office in Paris.)

The Commission recorded its appreciation of the improvement in the form of the report, of the detailed information it contained, and also of the courtesy of the Mandatory in having, by means of a film, enabled the members of the Commission to obtain an impression of life

in the Pacific Islands. It expressed the hope that the next report would contain a clear statement with regard to the powers and activities of the native chiefs and the general policy of the mandatory Power of associating natives in the administration, and information as regards the measures taken to encourage officials of the mandatory Power to learn the native languages.

The Commission noted the explanation of the accredited representative that the Convention on the Traffic in Women and Children had not been made applicable to the mandated territories because no traffic in women and children existed in the territories.

The liberal public health measures adopted by the Mandatory and the fulness of the part of the report on education were noted.

The Commission requested further particulars on the production and sale of sugar-cane and on expenditure for the direct benefit of the natives, and expressed its desire to learn the results of the enquiry regarding native rights in land.

Western Samoa.

(Representative of the mandatory Power: the Hon. Sir James Allen, High Commissioner for New Zealand in London, assisted by Mr. J. D. Gray, Secretary of the External Affairs Department of New Zealand.)

The Commission, after hearing a statement by Mr. J. D. Gray, said that the information furnished enabled it to grasp the broad-minded policy which guided the Mandatory in its efforts to promote the welfare of the natives without neglecting the legitimate interests of the other inhabitants of the territory.

The Commission noted the constant attention paid both by the Administration and by the missions to the education of the natives. It also expressed its interest in the efforts of the Mandatory to obtain the adoption of a system of tenure for native land which would facilitate the transition from communal to individual ownership, and requested that the next report should furnish information on the application in Western Samoa of the provisions of the International Labour Conventions and Recommendations and of the New Zealand labour laws and regulations. The Commission also asked for additional information on the working and number of the district councils and village committees; and on the revenue and expenditure of the territory.

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Under the rules of procedure of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the accredited representatives of the mandatory Powers are entitled to comment upon the observations of the Commission. These comments are forwarded to the Council together with the report of the Commission.

The Belgian representative gave certain explanations with regard to the death rate in the prisons of Urundi. The other representatives intimated that they had no comments to submit.

Petitions.

The Commission considered a certain number of petitions from individuals and communities in mandated territories. These petitions had been forwarded through the mandatory Powers, whose observations upon them were in most cases also transmitted.

(1) Petition from the Ashkenasic Community in Jerusalem.

This petition was directed against certain administrative regulations now in force by which the Ashkenasic Community is affected, and also against a draft ordinance for the organisation of the Jewish communities in Palestine.

The Commission regretted that the Mandatory had not furnished it with any explanations which would enable it to consider the complaints of the petitioners with regard to certain administrative regulations concerning in particular the slaughter of animals, the tax on unleavened bread and the refusal officially to recognise the community. The Commission noted the intention expressed by the Mandatory not to interfere in any way with the religious freedom and liberty of conscience of the various religious sects and requested that the complaints of the Ashkenasic Community might be promptly examined by the responsible authorities.

As regards the proposed ordinance concerning the future legal status of Jewish communities in Palestine, the Commission noted a statement of the Mandatory that it was prepared to consider the wishes of the Ashkenasic Community.

(2) Two Petitions from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress.

The first petition, contesting the very principle of the Palestine mandate, was not taken into consideration by the Commission. As regards the second, the Commission doubted whether

On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the Council called the attention of the mandatory Powers to the proposals of the Commission in regard to petitions and information concerning the present situation of ex-enemy property. It also approved definite dates for the despatch of the annual reports of the Mandatories.

The Council associated itself with the strong desire expressed by the Commission for a prompt and satisfactory re-establishment of order in Syria. It approved the convocation of an extraordinary session of the Commission at Rome in February 1926 to consider the special report of the French Government.

With regard to Iraq, the Council noted the reasons which led the Commission to postpone the examination of the report of the British Government.

The Council decided to forward to the mandatory Powers for the requisite action the Commission's observations on the annual reports examined, together with its conclusions regarding the different petitions, which were approved by the Council. The Secretary-General was also requested to bring these conclusions to the knowledge of the petitioners.

IV. EIGHTH (EXTRAORDINARY) SESSION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION: SYRIA AND THE LEBANON.

A. WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

The Permanent Mandates Commission held an extraordinary session in Rome from February 16th to March 6th, 1926, to examine the report of the French Government on the situation in Syria and the Lebanon in 1924, a provisional report for 1925 and a certain number of petitions. M. Robert de Caix, former Secretary-General of the High Commissariat in Syria, attended the session as accredited representative of the mandatory Power.

(a) *Observations of the Commission on the Report for 1924.*

After hearing the accredited representative of the Mandatory and asking for explanations, with regard to certain points in the report for 1924, the Commission requested the Mandatory to furnish supplementary information, in particular, on the national status of the inhabitants in the different parts of the mandated territory, the number of French officials and the posts they occupy, distinguishing those in the pay of the Mandatory and those employed by the native Governments; the relations between army officers and the civil Government; regulations concerning the appointment of native officials; the success of the system of introducing French judges into the native courts of Great Lebanon; adherence to various international conventions; progress in the training of teachers for primary and secondary schools; granting of concessions; settlement of Armenian refugees; the regulation of prostitution; the antiquities law; the legal status and financial condition of the Hedjaz Railway; the treatment by the Customs officials of the imports from various countries; the substitution of a fixed tax for the farming of tithes; and demographic statistics. Satisfaction was expressed with the efforts made in the interest of public health, but further data were requested concerning infant mortality.

The Commission further requested the Mandatory to embody in its next report a complete account of all legislative or administrative decrees applying to forced labour, paid or unpaid; of the number of workers so employed and of the number of days of work during the year. In regard to the plans of the mandatory Power for the general improvement of economic conditions, particularly by the development of public works, industry and agriculture, the Commission expressed the hope that they would not prove too onerous for the possibilities of the country and that the full collaboration of the local authorities would be obtained.

Recalling the terms of Article 17 of the mandate, according to which copies of all laws and regulations promulgated during the year should be attached to the annual report, the Commission voiced its regret that the texts in question had not been communicated to it with any of the reports of the Mandatory.

In the course of the session, one copy of the administrative Acts of the High Commissioner during the period 1920-24 was received from the accredited representative, but no similar texts were communicated for 1925.

(b) *Observations of the Commission resulting from the Examination of the Provisional Report for 1925 and of certain Petitions.*

Before submitting its observations to the Council on the report for 1925, the Commission made a point of stating the conception it had formed of its mission. It recalled that, by the last paragraph of Article 22 of the Covenant, it was instructed "to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory Powers and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates". Basing its opinion also on its Constitution, adopted by the Council, the Commission considered that it possessed two salient characteristics: the Commis-

sion is a purely advisory organ and its deliberations are simply the result of the sum of the individual convictions of its members.

The Commission considered that its task was at the same time one of supervision and of co-operation.

“ It is its duty, when carefully examining the reports of the mandatory Powers, to determine how far the principles of the Covenant and of the mandates have been truly applied in the administration of the different territories. But, at the same time, it is its duty to do the utmost that lies in its power to assist the mandatory Governments in carrying out the important and difficult tasks which they are accomplishing on behalf of the League of Nations, and on which they render reports to the Council.

“ The procedure followed by the Commission and the character of the observations which it has the honour to submit to the Council have been dictated by its desire to carry out, so far as the circumstances enable it to do so, this double mission of supervision and co-operation. As it is anxious not to make the task of France in Syria and the Lebanon impossible of performance, it does not in the present instance recommend the Council to set up a commission of enquiry independent of the mandatory Power. Nevertheless, recognising its duty of supervision, it has not felt able to abstain from expressing certain criticisms. ”

From the outset, the Commission refrained from examining petitions claiming complete independence for Syria and also those protesting against the administration of that country being assigned to France, for the reason that this mandate was assigned to France at San Remo, in 1920, in virtue of a decision of the Supreme Council. In this connection it observed that any attempt to infer from this circumstance that these claims and protests had encountered tacit or indirect approval from the Commission would be singularly ill-inspired.

The Commission noted that the provisional report of the Mandatory, which it expected to constitute its principal source of information, contained lacunae not only in its statement of the immediate causes of the recent risings but also in regard to the underlying causes of an unrest which had in no way been brought out in previous reports. This document, it added, was not accompanied by any reports of enquiries into the general situation, nor on the extent to which the various representatives of the Mandatory in Syria might have incurred responsibility. No observations had been received from the Mandatory on the petitions, which, in conformity with the procedure approved by the Council, had been communicated to the French Government. The Commission noted that this inadequacy of the written documentation had had the effect of prolonging its debates. It pointed out, however, that the accredited representative had, on many points, supplied information which made up for the deficiencies in the report.

The Commission explained that its report only set forth such conclusions as affected the essential points examined during the session and that the Minutes must be regarded as an amplification of the report.

Before examining the provisional report, the Commission considered it desirable to afford the accredited representative of the Mandatory an opportunity of explaining the conception formed by his Government of its mission in Syria.

M. de Caix spoke as follows :

“ The idea which has governed, if not the whole exercise of the mandate, at any rate all the efforts made to organise it, is the following : The mandate is a provisional system designed to enable populations which, politically speaking, are still minors to educate themselves so as to arrive one day at full self-government. This presupposes that the mandatory Power will gradually create native organisations in the mandated territory such as may, when complete, be able to ensure entirely the government of the country and such as may, if they carry out their duties in a proper manner, render the intervention of the Mandatory unnecessary. It appears from this that there should not be any intervention on the part of the organs of the mandatory Power in the internal affairs of the native governments. ”

The Commission heard this declaration with very great satisfaction. It considered that the conception of the mandate, as thus defined, was in strict harmony both with the letter and the spirit of Article 22 of the Covenant and also of the mandate for Syria and the Lebanon ; it pointed out that the more unmistakably the mandatory Power gave evidence, by every act of its administration, that it remained true to this doctrine, and the more generally the inhabitants of the mandated territory were imbued with that doctrine, the more speedily and completely would peace be established.

The Commission then considered whether Syria presented a favourable field for applying the doctrine of the mandate as above defined.

It was admitted, in the first place, that the proclamation of the right of peoples to determine their own destiny, the war-time declarations of the French and British Governments and the text of the Covenant itself may have led the Syrians to expect complete and immediate independence. Furthermore, although it was the intention as early as 1919 that Syria should be placed under a French mandate, the authority of France was not established in the interior of the country for some time, and an incessant campaign was being waged there against France. Thus from the time when the mandate was first introduced, there had been in Syria, side by side with parties favourable to France, other parties which were hostile to French influence and to the mandatory system itself. The environment amid which France, as the Mandatory of the League of Nations, had to establish an efficiently conducted native government and organise the machinery of representative institutions consisted, in fact, of an upper class composed of

elements some of whom clung to a policy of systematic opposition and the remainder of whom were insufficiently prepared to play an effective part in the working of a modern State, and a majority which, for the most part, was passive and in a state of dependency.

In addition, the Commission noted that, within a population of only 2½ millions, the Mandatory had to deal with various races and with no fewer than eighteen different creeds more or less mutually antagonistic.

While rendering this tribute to facts, the Mandates Commission was far from aiming any reproach at peoples who, submissive during centuries to a regime which had never prepared them, to quote the words of the Covenant, "to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world", and who, in virtue of the sufferings they had endured and of the justice of some of their present aspirations, were deserving both of interest and of sympathy.

After thus reviewing the principal difficulties inherent in the administration of Syria, the Commission proceeded to examine the methods applied by the Mandatory.

On this occasion, it examined some of the grievances voiced by various petitioners.

As regards *the external policy* followed by France on behalf of the mandated territories, the Commission considered that the Mandatory, in virtue of Article 3 of the mandate, was alone responsible for the foreign relations of the mandated territories, and that, in consequence, the complaints of the petitioners that the inhabitants of Syria and the Lebanon had not been more closely associated with the action taken in this field were devoid of any legal foundation. It noted with satisfaction that representatives of the local authorities had several times been called upon to co-operate in international negotiations of a technical character.

As regards the political agreements concluded by the Mandatory, the Commission was not of the opinion that they had unjustifiably affected the territorial integrity of Syria and the Lebanon. The Commission noted with satisfaction M. de Caix's statement to the effect that the conventions recently concluded by M. de Jouvenel and the Angora Government would be communicated to the League for approval, so far as they affected the boundaries of the mandated territory, before being put into force.

Complaints had also been received with regard to *the territorial organisation* of Syria and the Lebanon. The Commission pointed out that Article 1 of the mandate provided that the Mandatory should enact measures to facilitate the progressive development of Syria and the Lebanon as independent States and should, as far as circumstances permitted, encourage local autonomy.

In the opinion of the Commission, it was clear that this passage, far from forbidding the Mandatory to set up a system of the widest local self-government, actually required it to do so, and the statements of the accredited representative showed that it was not the intention of the Mandatory to encourage a separatist policy. It nevertheless observed that disadvantages might have resulted, during the last few years, from the various alterations effected in the territorial organisation; and that a stable and definitive regime would be advantageous both for the Mandatory and the inhabitants of the mandated territories.

As regards the organisation of *the judicial system*, the Commission came to the conclusion that some degree of uncertainty and confusion had been created in the minds of the population owing to the multiplicity of civil, penal, administrative and military courts — native and French — and that it would be in the interest of good administrative order that the competence of the different courts should be clearly defined.

With regard to *the Moslem Wakfs*, the Commission took note of declarations of the accredited representative to the effect that the administration was conducted by the Mandatory in complete accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders as required by the mandate. It also noted with interest that a scheme was being considered under which the members of the Councils of the Wakfs would be appointed by a Moslem electoral college which would have the right to choose the general comptroller.

Certain petitioners — in particular, the Executive Committee of the Syro-Palestinian Congress — having criticised the operations of the Bank of Syria, as tending to extract and export the greater part of the gold of the country, the Commission pointed out that considerable quantities of gold still remained in the country, although the Bank had been at work for several years. As there were no regulations or statistics which gave colour to the idea that its operations had resulted in an appreciable export of gold, the Commission felt that it should not attach any weight to the complaint of the petitioners on the last point.

The Commission further considered that the allegation that the Mandatory was attempting to drain Syria of its gold currency was without foundation. It felt, however, that a *monetary system* based on the parity of the Syrian and French currencies had a twofold disadvantage for the mandated territories. In the first place, the fluctuations of the French franc might produce unfortunate effects on economic conditions in Syria and the Lebanon. In the second place, the Mandatory, by bringing the Syrian pound into close relations with a foreign currency, would run the risk of impeding the development of its own policy, which aims at preparing the mandated territory for the full exercise of its independence.

Complaints regarding the disbandment of *the old Syrian Army* did not form the subject of any recommendation to the Council, the Commission being of the opinion that the Mandatory, by disbanding an army which was animated by a spirit clearly hostile to its authority, had in no wise violated the terms of the mandate.

Finally, the Commission noted a declaration of M. de Caix to the effect that the present High Commissioner in Syria had been instructed by the French Government to institute a searching enquiry into the causes of the present situation in the territory considered in all its aspects, and to extend this enquiry to all the facts alleged in the petitions received by the Permanent Mandates Commission in regard to which it had not been in a position to form an opinion.

* * *

The events which had their origin in the Jebel Druse received special consideration by the Commission.

The fact that nothing in the previous reports of the Mandatory gave any grounds for anticipating the revolt which broke out in July 1925 led the Commission to conclude that the occurrence was due to immediate causes of recent origin. At the same time, it considered that, in order to gain an intelligent view of this insurrection, account must be taken of the very peculiar environment in which it broke out.

The Druse mountaineers are profoundly attached to their independence, a characteristic which was so clearly recognised by the representatives of the Mandatory that, as early as March 1921, a special agreement was concluded with the Druse chiefs, according to their country a very large measure of autonomy.

The Commission considered that one of the causes of the revolt was the failure of certain representatives of the Mandatory in the Jebel Druse to understand the peculiar conditions which led to the agreement of 1921, as illustrated in the too hasty pursuit of far-reaching reforms in regard to land tenure and public works.

The Commission considered that there was no doubt that such circumstances might have given rise in the minds of the Druses, who had been disturbed in their traditional habits and subjected to demands in the form of forced labour, to a deep feeling of resentment.

The Commission was impressed by the gathering discontent, the repeated and disregarded warnings, growing more intense, which culminated, after the dismissal of a Druse delegation, in the arrest, on July 11th, of a delegation of notables who had been summoned on the pretext of hearing their complaints. These proceedings had resulted in the recall—perhaps too long deferred—of General Sarrail, and the Commission did not think it should dwell any further upon them.

The spread of the disorders to Damascus and other parts of Syria appeared to have been due to the failure of the first attempts at repression; the intervention of unruly bands, eager for plunder; the propaganda carried on by inhabitants hostile to the mandate, assisted by the social influences at their disposal; and, above all, the unrest and latent discontent prevailing in different parts of Syria—more particularly at Damascus.

The Commission reserved its opinion on the measures of repression till able to examine them in the light of a report on the investigation to be conducted by the High Commissioner.

It confined itself to pointing out that it was part of the duty of the Mandatory to maintain order in the mandated territories, the governing consideration in such circumstances being to preserve its moral authority free from all blemish and to do nothing which might compromise the future success of its policy.

* * *

The Commission then endeavoured to form an opinion on the extent to which mistakes in policy might have contributed to the unrest and discontent which had developed in Syria.

Although realising that abrupt changes in policy could be accounted for by a conscientious endeavour to arrive at the best possible adjustment, the Commission was particularly struck by the lack of continuity which appeared to have marked the policy followed by the mandatory Administration in certain questions of primary importance, characteristic examples being the successive changes which had taken place within a period of five years in the territorial organisation of the country; in the internal administration of the different States; in the number of judicial bodies; and in the competence and composition of the courts.

From 1919 to 1925, there had been five High Commissioners — exclusive of acting High Commissioners. In the opinion of the Commission, inconsistency in the higher direction prevented continuity of policy and inevitably produced instability throughout all grades of the organisation. In this connection, the Commission queried whether the conception of the mandate as defined by M. de Caix had invariably guided the French Administration in Syria. It recognised the various difficulties inherent in the application of a political system so novel as that of the mandate; it considered, nevertheless, that the spirit of this institution emerged with sufficient clearness from the Covenant and from the mandate itself, which says:

“ Pending the coming into force of the Organic Law, the Government of Syria and the Lebanon should be conducted in accordance with the spirit of this mandate. ”

The preamble of the mandate indicated that the Mandatory “ shall be charged with the duty of rendering advice and assistance ” and alluded to “ the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory ”. According to Article 11, the latter may impose taxes and Customs duties. These provisions obviously assigned to the Mandatory an active rôle in the administration, and it is natural that it should have been led to intervene with particular energy in the earlier years of the mandate; but it seems clear that the French advisers had shown a too pronounced tendency to take the place of the native authorities.

In this way the mandate appeared to the Syrians to be gradually transforming itself into a system of direct administration.

The Commission, nevertheless, pointed out that the apathy and inefficiency of the native organisations accounted in a large measure for this departure of the French advisers from the rôle assigned to them. It expressed its regret that the staff which was at the disposal of the Mandatory for the most delicate and highest duties, even for those of State governors, did not constitute, owing to the diversity of its origin, a sufficiently coherent and experienced body of officials.

The Commission noted that the condition of public opinion had led the authorities to maintain a military intelligence service whose officials might in certain cases have been beyond the control of the local authorities. Further, the proclamation at intervals of martial law, with all that it implied, was bound to impede both the action of the civil power and the regular establishment of the mandatory regime. The result, the Commission considered, had been a certain degree of confusion, the evidence of which was particularly apparent when the duties of High Commissioner and Commander of the occupying troops were vested in one and the same person.

If the present events appeared to be attributable in a certain measure to the representatives of the mandatory Power in Syria, the Commission pointed out that but for the sacrifices made by France, amounting to thousands of human lives and milliards of francs, the inhabitants of the mandated territories would probably have long since fallen again under a foreign yoke, from which their unaided efforts would never have sufficed to free them. Their protests would, it added, have had more weight if they had appeared to be more aware of this elementary truth.

The Commission concluded as follows :

“ France proclaims that she is not pursuing in Syria and the Lebanon any other aim beyond that of assisting nations, which from henceforth are recognised as sovereign, to acquire the capacity to exercise this sovereignty themselves. It must be admitted that a refusal to collaborate in carrying out the mandate, far from hastening the day of complete emancipation, can only postpone it. The impatience of the Syrian patriots, which sometimes takes the form of an attitude indifferent and even hostile to the mandate, should henceforth find expression in a loyal and trustful collaboration. The Commission ventures to hope that the energy hitherto shown by certain Syrian parties in preventing the success of the policy of the mandatory Power within the country and in denouncing this policy outside will henceforth be devoted to supporting it.

“ Since the mandatory Power affirms solemnly and quite clearly that its policy has no other aim beyond the establishment of a free Government in Syria and the Lebanon, and since the new High Commissioner, Senator de Jouvenel, has conspicuously shown by his declarations and acts that he entirely adheres to this policy, it will be easy for those living under its administration, by associating themselves with the mandatory Power, to show proof of their wisdom and their maturity ; and, since their ideal is bound up with that of the country which is provisionally exercising a political guardianship over them, their efforts should tend to encourage and to hasten the realisation of this ideal. Henceforth, persistence in rebellion must be deprecated, not only by the mandatory Power and by the League of Nations, but by all those in Syria, in the Lebanon, or outside, who desire to see peace, prosperity and freedom prevailing in a country which is now divided by sterile bloodshed and strife.”

(c) *Comments submitted by the Accredited Representative of the Mandatory Power.*

M. de Caix, after expressing his appreciation of the conscientious work of the Commission, replied to certain criticisms formulated with regard to the French administration.

Referring to a passage of the Commission's report concerning the “ deeper causes of an unrest which had in no way been brought out in the reports for preceding years”, M. de Caix observed that the silence of the previous reports on this point was due to the fact that no unrest had existed to which they could draw attention, nor had there been anything to point to the existence of deeper causes which might have led up to, and given warning of, the events of 1925. To the accredited representative, these events appeared to be the result much less of fundamental causes of discontent denounced by the petitioners than of the purely incidental cause of the Druse rebellion, which the systematic opponents of the mandate had endeavoured to exploit by extending a disturbance which nevertheless had remained comparatively restricted.

As regards international relations, the accredited representative pointed out that he could not have declared that the conventions which had been concluded or which were to be concluded by the mandatory Power with Turkey, and which make purely local modifications in territorial boundaries, would be communicated “ for approval” to the League of Nations. Such a communication, which was not provided for in Article 3 of the mandate, could only be the communication stipulated in Article 18 of the Covenant of the League.

He said that the report very rightly drew attention to the moderating influence to be exercised on group rivalries and personal ambitions by a permanent and stable regime, particularly as regards the territorial organisation of the mandated countries. He pointed out, however, that the delay in the establishment of such a regime could hardly be imputed to vacillation, or lack of continuity in the policy of the Mandatory. In his opinion, there appeared to be little evidence of sudden reversals or changes of policy ; rather had there been gradual

development and the adaptation, with due regard to the wishes of the parties concerned, of an organisation which — as the High Commissioner had been careful to point out — was, during the whole of the first period, of a provisional character and subject to subsequent amendment.

Similarly, M. de Caix drew attention to the fact that the necessary modifications introduced in the judicial organisation of the mandated countries were not the outcome of changes of policy but of the necessity of providing for the transition of Syria and the Lebanon from a regime of capitulations to a regime of sovereignty in judicial affairs. He considered that these countries now possessed a judicial organisation which was much simpler than that of the Ottoman regime or of the period immediately following the war, and one which was beginning to afford them much surer guarantees than those given by the courts to which they could formerly apply.

While abstaining from dealing with all criticisms, the accredited representative felt bound to point out that the sequence of events did not justify the statement that the mandate appeared in the eyes of the Syrians to be gradually changing into a system of direct administration. The evolution that was taking place — characterised as it was by the steady growth in the organisation of native powers and the gradual transference to the national Governments of the services common to all which were at first administered by the High Commissioner — was moving rather in the opposite direction.

Moreover, although it might be true that the officials appointed to execute the mandate had not always held that community of traditions and of policy which would have helped them in their task, yet it should be remembered how new that task was and how little time there had been for the function to create the organ.

To conclude, M. de Caix declared that the Commission had shown that in its work a spirit of supervision went hand in hand with one of co-operation, on which, as it had stated, its work should in part be based. It was this spirit of co-operation, he said, which inspired the mandatory Power itself in its relations with the League.

B. ACTION TAKEN BY THE COUNCIL.

The Council, on March 17th, 1926, took note of the observations of the Permanent Mandates Commission, of the comments of the accredited representative and of a report which the Swedish representative submitted on the subject. The Chairman of the Mandates Commission was present at the meeting.

The Swedish representative outlined in his report the work of the Commission, drawing special attention to the Minutes of the session. He expressed the hope that the observations which the Commission had unanimously adopted would serve to enlighten public opinion on the recent happenings in Syria and assist the Mandatory in solving the problems which lay before it.

The Rapporteur added that the Council would appreciate the future efforts of the Mandatory to keep the Commission fully informed with regard to developments in the mandated territory by forwarding promptly all possible material, including the results of the enquiry undertaken by the present High Commissioner.

Referring to observations of the accredited representative in respect of the communication to the League of the Convention recently concluded by M. de Jouvenel, the Rapporteur thought that the Commission must certainly have had in mind not only Article 3 of the mandate but also Article 4, which reads :

“ The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no part of the territory of Syria and the Lebanon is ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of a foreign Power. ”

The Rapporteur considered that the powers vested in the Mandatory by Article 3 of the mandate did not include the right to cede or lease on its sole authority any part, however small, of the territory.

He pointed out that the insurrectionary movement was still going on, and that the Council could only regard the situation with grave concern and trust that it might soon be brought to an end by the efforts of all concerned.

He agreed with the Permanent Mandates Commission that the only possible and proper solution was the loyal co-operation of all the groups with the mandatory Power in the re-establishment of peace and normal administration on the basis of the policy which had recently been proclaimed by M. de Caix and M. de Jouvenel as representatives of the French Government, and which had been emphatically endorsed by the Mandates Commission.

In conclusion, the Rapporteur quoted the last two paragraphs of the Commission's report, which have been given in full above, and stated that he felt sure that the sentiments expressed in these paragraphs would find the ready support of all those who, whether as inhabitants of the country or as agents of the mandatory Power, were actively and directly concerned in the successful fulfilment of the programme for Syria which is laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant and in the mandate itself.

The Rapporteur asked the mandatory Power, if it thought it desirable, to distribute these two paragraphs widely throughout the mandated territory as an indication of the views of the competent organs of the League of Nations on the policy which they most wholeheartedly supported.

The French representative, M. Paul-Boncour, in his remarks, explained that the recent agreements with Turkey in respect of frontiers concerned only the final settlement on the spot

of the boundaries fixed by the agreements of 1921 and confirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne. He thanked the League of Nations and the Rapporteur for having invited the Syrian population to enter into a loyal co-operation with the High Commissioner, who had defined the duties of the mandatory Power in terms which the Permanent Mandates Commission had approved, and he thought that this would be the most effective conclusion of the report — a conclusion to be given by the League itself.

The Rapporteur, the representatives of the British Empire, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy, and the Chairman of the Permanent Mandates Commission then proceeded to an exchange of views on the replies to be made to petitioners. The Council postponed its decision in the matter.

On this occasion, the British representative made reservations in respect of that part of the Commission's report in which it explained its method and the spirit in which it interpreted its duty. The British representative said that he proposed to consider the matter further and, if necessary, to bring it before the Council at some later stage.

The Council then decided, according to the usual procedure, to forward the report of the Commission and the report of the Rapporteur to the mandatory Power with a request that it take the requisite action.

V. VIEWS OF THE MANDATORY POWERS ON GENERAL QUESTIONS.

In view of the fact that replies had not been received from some of the mandatory Powers to the request made by the Council in August 1924 for their views in respect of certain general questions to which the application of Article 22 of the Covenant had given rise (military recruiting of inhabitants of mandated territories outside such territories; State domain; definition of terms concerning the liquor traffic), the Council on December 9th, 1925, instructed the Secretary-General to ask these Powers to forward their observations for the consideration of the Council at its session in March 1926. As not all of the replies desired had been received at that time, the Council again decided to postpone the matter until its June session.

At the December session, the Swedish representative called attention to the fact that confusion occasionally arose in view of the different methods used by the mandatory Powers in replying to the requests by the Council for information or for observations on general or on special questions concerning the mandates, and expressed the view that the work of the Council and the Mandates Commission would be facilitated if the different Governments would follow the practice of dealing at as early a date as possible, and in a separate communication, at least with any general question to which their attention was drawn by resolution of the Council. The Council adopted a resolution in this sense.

VI. BOUNDARY BETWEEN KENYA COLONY AND THE MANDATED TERRITORY OF TANGANYIKA.

On September 25th, 1925, the British Government communicated to the Secretary-General a copy of the English text of the draft agreement between the British and the German Governments which had been prepared in 1914 to define the boundary between British and German East Africa. The British Government explained that the Acting-Governor of Kenya Colony had reported that certain minor difficulties had been experienced in connection with the exact representation of the boundary between that colony and Tanganyika Territory, and had requested that he might be furnished with a copy of the instrument defining the boundary. The British Government assumed that the boundary envisaged by the mandate was that defined in the above-mentioned agreement and accordingly instructed the Acting-Governor to adopt it as the correct boundary between the two territories.

The Council, at its meeting on December 9th, 1925, took note of the communication from the British Government.

VII. THE BELGIAN LAW OF AUGUST 21st, 1925, CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF RUANDA-URUNDI.

In a memorandum dated September 16th, 1925, the German Government called the attention of the Council to a law, dated August 21st, 1925, providing for the future administration of the mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, and, in its capacity as a signatory of the Treaty of Versailles, raised certain objections to that law, maintaining that it is not in conformity with Article 22 of the Covenant.

The Belgian Government, in a note dated October 16th, 1925, contested the right of Germany to intervene in questions relating to the application of Article 22 of the Covenant as long as she is not a Member of the League of Nations. On the other hand, in the same note, the Belgian Government expressed its intention to initiate through its accredited representative, at the seventh session of the Mandates Commission, a discussion on the legality of the status given to Ruanda-Urundi by the law in question.

After thus referring to the communications from the two Governments, the Rapporteur summarised the observations made by the Mandates Commission as the result of its careful examination of the law in question (see above under III) and expressed the following opinion :

“ Although it seems to me that the drafting of certain articles of the law might give rise to doubt, I have, after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that the authoritative interpretation furnished by the accredited representative is sufficient to dissipate any fears which may have been felt as to a possible covert annexation of the territory, and that the Council is justified in contenting itself with taking note of the explanations and assurances thus given. ”

The Council adopted the conclusions of the Rapporteur's report.

VIII. COMPOSITION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION AND QUESTION OF ALLOWANCES TO ITS MEMBERS.

In the course of the eighth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Chairman informed his colleagues of the death of M. Beau (French), recalling his work on the Commission, of which he had been a member from the very beginning, and paying a tribute to his memory.

M. Beau having informed M. Scialoja, Acting-President of the Council, before the eighth session, that he would be unable to attend on account of his illness, the latter, in view of the exceptional circumstances of the case, authorised M. Roume, Honorary Governor-General of the Colonies, to sit on the Commission for that session, as substitute for M. Beau.

On March 15th, 1926, the Council associated itself with the regrets expressed by the Mandates Commission at the death of M. Beau and asked the Secretary-General to express the sympathy of the Council with the bereaved family.

On the proposal of the French representative, M. Merlin, former Governor-General of Indo-China, Honorary Governor-General of the Colonies, was appointed member of the Mandates Commission to succeed M. Beau.

* * *

On December 10th, 1925, the Council considered a report by the representative of Sweden concerning the question of granting a fixed annual allowance to the members of the Mandates Commission in addition to the daily allowance of seventy francs usually received by members of League Committees during the sessions.

The Rapporteur pointed out that, according to the constitution of the Commission, its members could not hold any office putting them in a position of direct dependence on their Governments, a restriction which is not imposed in the case of other Committees; and also that, in so far as it concerned the financial administration of the League, the question fell within the special field of the Assembly. The British representative enquired whether the proposed arrangement would have any effect on other Committees of the League, and the Council decided to refer the matter to the Supervisory Commission for a report.

IX. MANDATES DOCUMENTS.

A. THE REPRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE MANDATORY POWERS.

In accordance with the resolution of the fifth Assembly¹, and on the basis of a credit of 25,000 francs included in the budgets for 1925 and 1926, the Secretariat has taken steps to make the annual reports of the mandatory Powers available to the Members of the League and to the general public.

All the reports received by the Secretariat during 1925 and considered by the Permanent Mandates Commission at its sixth and seventh sessions have been reprinted, distributed to the Members of the League, and placed on sale by the Secretariat.

On the other hand, the Publications Sales Department of the Secretariat has been able to secure from the mandatory Powers a certain number of copies of those of the annual reports published before 1925 which are still available in the original edition. The Secretariat has begun to reprint the reports which are now out of stock and which the mandatory Powers do not intend to reprint themselves, in order that a complete set of back reports may always be available.

As regards future reports, arrangements are being made by the Publications Sales Department to purchase from the various mandatory Powers a certain number of copies of the original editions of their reports. In the case of the reports on the Pacific Islands under Japanese mandate, the Japanese Government has offered to furnish 300 copies of future reports, free of charge, in addition to the 100 copies already supplied for official distribution.

¹ See report to the sixth Assembly, *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 225.

B. ANALYTICAL TABLES OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE MANDATES COMMISSION.

The fifth Assembly recommended that analytical tables should be drawn up as an annex to the reports of the Permanent Mandates Commission. In accordance with this recommendation, an index to the records of the Minutes and reports of the first five sessions of the Commission has been prepared by the Indexing Section of the Secretariat and was published in December 1925. It is proposed that this index shall be kept up to date by the publication of an annual supplementary volume.

8.

SLAVERY.

On September 28th, 1925, the Council decided, in accordance with the request of the sixth Assembly, to communicate the draft Convention on the Slave Trade, slavery and other similar conditions which was recommended for approval by the Assembly, as well as the report of its Sixth Committee concerning this Convention, to all the Members of the League and to the following Governments : Afghanistan, Ecuador, Egypt, Germany, Mexico, Russia, the Sudan, Turkey and the United States, requesting them to forward to the Secretary-General not later than June 1st, 1926, any observations they might desire to make regarding the provisions of the draft. These Governments were further urged to make every effort to adopt at once all possible measures in conformity with the draft Convention, and to assist one another forthwith in the abolition of the slave trade, slavery and analogous conditions by all practicable means and, in particular, by the conclusion of special agreements and arrangements.

The sixth Assembly also asked the Council to invite the Governments " to appoint at a later date plenipotentiaries, who will meet at the time of the opening of the seventh Assembly to re-examine, if necessary, the articles of the draft Convention and to sign immediately a text of the Convention which has been agreed upon ". As there was no urgency in the matter of determining the exact procedure to be followed for the purpose of concluding the Convention, the Council postponed its decision on the point until its session in June, and in order that it might then be able to act with as full a knowledge as possible of the views of the various Governments on the proposed Convention, the Council in March decided to draw the attention of the States to the desirability of despatching their observations so that they would reach Geneva not later than June 1st, 1926, and even earlier if possible.

Up to the present date, the views of the following Governments have been received : Abyssinia, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Esthonia, Finland, Great Britain, India, Japan, Latvia, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Salvador, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sudan, Switzerland and the United States of America.

9.

WORK OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.

I. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION

A. WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

1. COMMERCIAL ARBITRATION.

The Protocol on Commercial Arbitration¹ has received the following signatures, ratifications and accessions up to date :

Signatures. — Austria, Belgium, Brazil, British Empire (for Great Britain and Northern Ireland), Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania,

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 13, page 342.

Monaco, Netherlands (including the Dutch Indies, Curaçao, and Surinam), New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Roumania, Salvador, Siam, Spain, Switzerland, Uruguay.

<i>Ratifications.</i>			<i>Accessions.</i>	
Finland	July	10th, 1924	Southern Rhodesia	December 18th, 1924
Italy	July	28th, 1924	Newfoundland	»
Albania	August	29th, 1924	British Guiana	»
Belgium	September	23rd, 1924	Honduras	»
British Empire (for Great Britain and Northern Ireland)	September	27th, 1924	Jamaica	»
Germany	November	5th, 1924	Leeward Islands	»
Roumania	March	12th, 1925	Grenada	»
Denmark	April	6th, 1925	St. Lucia	»
Netherlands	August	6th, 1925	St. Vincent	March 12th, 1926
			Gambia	»
			Gold Coast	»
			Kenya	»
			Zanzibar	»
			Ceylon	»
			Mauritius	»
			Gibraltar	»
			Malta	»
			Falkland Islands	»
			Iraq and Palestine	»

The Committee has been able repeatedly to observe the value attached by the commercial world to the work already accomplished by the League of Nations towards establishing the validity and facilitating the execution of voluntary contracts for the settlement of commercial differences by arbitration.

At the same time, the Committee has observed a desire on the part of representative commercial organisations that the Protocol should be more generally adopted by States and that the necessity and possibility of some further international action, whether by bilateral agreements or otherwise, directed towards ensuring the execution of awards of arbitral tribunals made in another country should be explored. The Protocol, of course, contains no provision dealing with the execution of arbitral awards made abroad.

As regards the first point, the Economic Committee can only call the attention of the Assembly to the comparatively slow progress made in the ratification of the Protocol. It is glad, however, to observe that in France the measures for ratification are now practically complete and that in Poland the new uniform legislation presents no further obstacles to the ratification by that country of the Protocol, which it has already signed.

As regards the question of the execution of arbitral awards made in another country, the Committee has thought it desirable to make a preliminary study of the existing situation in the various countries with a view to ascertaining how far it may be practicable, by some form of international action, to ensure that better general arrangements shall be made for this purpose.

In its report to the Council on its session in December 1925, the Committee expressed the opinion that any practical action which may eventually be found possible in this matter requires, as an essential preliminary, the adoption of the Protocol on Commercial Arbitration by a much wider circle of States than have so far given effect to it. On the other hand, it has been brought to the Committee's notice that in certain States, notably in Central Europe, the adoption of the Protocol might be materially facilitated if a solution could be also found for the problem of the execution of awards.

The Committee is disposed to think that the study of this problem, difficult and complicated as it must be in any case, in view of the different legal systems and procedures prevailing in the various countries, would only be rendered more difficult by attempting, as was done at the Conference on International Private Law held at The Hague in October 1925, to deal at the same time with the wider question of the mutual enforcement of judicial decisions. But the Hague Conference itself appears to have had in view the question of the execution of arbitral awards independently of the larger question of judgments, apparently in the desire to respond to the wishes of the commercial world, which were strongly expressed at the International Chamber of Commerce.

The Committee proposes for the present, therefore, to confine its attention strictly to the specific question of providing better means for enforcing, within the territories of the other participating States, arbitral awards of a nature falling within the scope of the Protocol on Commercial Arbitration and given in the territory of a State party to that Protocol.

The Committee has already obtained sufficient information to make it clear that there are great variations of law and practice in this matter among the different countries. To begin with, there are wide differences in the legal provisions and procedures applicable to the execution of arbitral awards made within the country itself, and in the next place there are great variations in the extent to which the treatment of foreign awards in this respect is assimilated to, or differs from, the regime applied to awards made within a country. Some of these differences are closely connected with differences of legal system and traditional practice, and much

patient study will doubtless be necessary before any practical scheme can be envisaged for giving effect to the desire so strongly expressed by the commercial world. The Committee proposes to continue its examination of the question.

2. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE SIMPLIFICATION OF CUSTOMS FORMALITIES.

(a) The Committee is pleased to be able to state that, since September last, the Convention has received four further ratifications, viz., those of Roumania, Sweden, Hungary and China, thus making a total of eighteen ratifications and adhesions. In addition, the Committee has received official information that further ratifications can be expected shortly from a number of other States (Brazil, Czechoslovakia, France, Poland, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), draft bills to this effect having been laid before the respective Parliaments.

(b) *Application of the Convention* (Article 9).—The obligation provided for in Article 9 of the Convention to furnish the Secretary-General of the League with a summary of the steps which have been taken by the respective States to effect the simplification of Customs formalities referred to in the Convention has been promptly complied with by the first six States which ratified the Convention and whose reports were due at the end of 1925, i.e., one year after the coming into force of the Convention in their case.

In this connection, the Committee is pleased to state that several of the provisions of this Convention have had the indirect result of providing a suitable basis for the settlement, by means of bilateral agreements as well as of internal regulations, of certain important questions connected with the simplification of Customs formalities.

3. ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

(Execution of the Assembly Resolution of September 25th, 1924.)

On the basis of the preliminary investigations of which a summary was given in the report on the work of the Council laid before the Assembly in 1925¹, as also in its report to the Council on its session in September 1925, the Committee, after very careful study of all the information available, has arrived at the unanimous opinion that the best means of determining definitely how far the conclusion of such an agreement as was contemplated by the fifth Assembly is expedient and practicable is to prepare the provisional text of a draft agreement for the purpose, which may form the basis of further consideration by the Committee in consultation with representative commercial organisations and in communication with the various States interested. The text so prepared and recommended as the basis of further discussion is printed below.

It will be seen that the text takes the form of a series of articles of agreement which could equally well be incorporated in an International Convention (following the precedent of the Customs Formalities Convention) or in a Protocol (following the precedent of the Protocol of Commercial Arbitration). The Committee considers that it is premature at present to attempt to decide the precise form of any instrument that may eventually be adopted.

Generally speaking, the articles set out in the draft explain themselves, and no detailed commentary appears necessary. The Committee, however, desires to call attention to Articles 9 and 10, which prescribe the character and number of the States whose adhesion and participation are regarded as essential before the proposed agreement shall take effect, and the procedure to be followed if, through subsequent denunciation, the parties to the agreement should be diminished below the aforesaid minimum. The form of these articles is a little unusual, but it has been strongly represented to the Committee that the practical possibility of suppressing import and export prohibitions in one country is so vitally dependent on the corresponding action of the countries with which it has important commercial relations that, without some such stipulation, it would probably be impossible to make the agreement generally acceptable.

Finally, the Committee wishes to revert to the observation already made as to the possibility that prohibitions when abolished might, in some cases, be replaced by prohibitive tariffs.

The question whether the apprehension here indicated is sufficiently serious to make it inexpedient to conclude any agreement for the suppression of prohibitions is, of course, a question of high policy for the consideration of the States.

The Council having approved the Committee's proposal, the annexed text has been sent to all the States interested. As, however, the Governments have already had the opportunity of expressing their opinions when the Assembly resolution of 1924 was communicated to them, the Council has expressly requested them on this occasion to transmit to the Economic Committee the opinions and observations of their representative commercial and industrial organisations as regards the text in question. The same request has been made to the International Chamber of Commerce and to the Inter-Parliamentary Union for Commerce.

* * *

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, pages 228 and 316.

Up to the date of its March session, the Committee had received the observations of the International Chamber of Commerce and of the following States :

Australia	Finland	Latvia
Austria	France	Netherlands
Belgium	Germany	Poland
Cuba	Great Britain	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
Czechoslovakia	Hungary	Spain
Denmark	Irish Free State	Sweden
Egypt	Italy	Switzerland
Esthonia	Japan	

The Economic Committee was now in a position to begin the examination of the criticisms and suggestions made by the interested parties, with a view to determining how far they justified and required any modification of the text of the draft, or in what form they should be brought to the notice of any Conference to which the draft might eventually be referred.

In the course of this examination (which is naturally incomplete), the Committee has been impressed with the keen interest taken by the commercial and industrial world in the question of freeing international commerce from the serious obstacles offered by Customs prohibitions and restrictions. It may be said generally that practically all the replies received were favourable, in principle, to the proposal to make a concerted effort for this purpose, under the auspices of the League of Nations, though some of the replies expressed doubts whether, until certain conditions have been realised, it would be possible to secure the general acceptance and enforcement of an effective International Convention for the purpose. Apart from these replies, most of the criticisms and suggestions offered relate to questions of form, drafting and procedure.

The Committee is continuing this examination, and hopes shortly to be in a position to make a definite recommendation to the Council as to the most appropriate procedure for arriving at a definite solution of the important problem referred to it.

Appendix.

DRAFT ARTICLES OF AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

(To serve as the basis of further consideration in consultation with representative Commercial Organisations and other competent bodies and with the States concerned.)

Article 1. — Subject to the exceptions provided for in the following articles, each contracting State undertakes within a period of six months to abolish all import and export prohibitions and restrictions and not thereafter to impose or maintain any such prohibitions or restrictions.

In the meantime, the contracting States will adopt all practicable measures to reduce existing prohibitions and restrictions to a minimum and to avoid the imposition of any fresh ones.

Further, they undertake to adopt all necessary measures to see that the provisions of the present Agreement are strictly observed by all Governments, central or local authorities, and that no administrative regulation is issued in contravention thereof.

Article 2. — Should the contracting States in pursuance of their general legislation subject the importation or exportation of goods to certain regulations in respect of the manner, form or place of importation or exportation, or the imposition of marks, they undertake that such regulations shall not be made a means of disguised prohibition or arbitrary restriction.

Article 3. — In the case of any prohibitions or restrictions which may be applied within the limits set by the present Agreement, the contracting States shall in the matter of licences comply strictly with the provisions of Article 3 of the International Convention for the Simplification of Customs Formalities signed at Geneva on November 3rd, 1923.

Article 4. — The following classes of prohibitions and restrictions are not prohibited by the provisions of the present Agreement, provided that they are applied equally to all foreign countries where the same conditions prevail and are not applied in such a way as to conceal measures the object of which is purely economic.

1. Prohibitions or restrictions having in view national defence, public safety or order ;
2. Prohibitions or restrictions issued on grounds of public health ;
3. Prohibitions or restrictions having in view the protection of animals and plants against disease, degeneration or extinction ;
4. Prohibitions or restrictions imposed for moral or humanitarian reasons or for the suppression of improper traffic, provided that the manufacture of and trade in the goods to which the prohibitions relate are also prohibited or restricted in the interior of the country ;
5. Export prohibitions or restrictions issued for the protection of national treasures of artistic, historical or archæological value ;
6. Prohibitions or restrictions intended, in conformity with the national legislation or international conventions, to protect industrial, literary and artistic property, and to prevent unfair competition in regard to the false marking or appellation of origin, on condition that an analogous protection or supervision is applied to national products ;
7. Prohibitions or restrictions imposed for the purpose of extending to imported goods measures of control equivalent or analogous to those applying to home products of the same kind ;
8. Prohibitions or restrictions applied to articles which in the interior of the country are subject to State monopoly or to monopolies granted by the States as regards either manufacture or trade ;

9. Prohibitions or restrictions established in pursuance of international conventions regulating the traffic in arms, opium or other forms of trade which give rise to dangers or abuses, or relating to methods of unfair competition.

10. Prohibitions applicable to coins, gold, silver, currency notes or securities.

Article 5. — Nothing in this Agreement shall affect the right of any contracting State to take on importation or exportation all necessary measures to meet extraordinary and abnormal circumstances and to protect the vital economic and financial interests of the State. Nevertheless, in view of the grave inconveniences caused by prohibitions and restrictions, they shall only be imposed in cases of exceptional necessity and shall not be made an arbitrary means of protecting national products or of discriminating against any other contracting State. Their duration shall be restricted to that of the causes or circumstances from which they arise.

Article 6. — Each contracting State agrees not to invoke the provisions of the present Agreement as a ground of objection to measures of prohibition or restriction applied by another contracting State to the products of a third State which imposes on its products prohibitions or restrictions of a kind prohibited by the present Agreement or which subjects its commerce or shipping to measures of exclusion or discrimination or to unfair methods of competition.

*Article 7*¹. — Should a dispute arise between two or more contracting States as to the interpretation or application of the provisions of the present Agreement, and should such dispute not be settled either directly between the parties or by the employment of any other means of reaching agreement, the parties to the dispute may, before resorting to any arbitral or judicial procedure, submit the dispute, with a view to an amicable settlement, to such technical body as the Council of the League of Nations may appoint for this purpose. This body will give an advisory opinion after hearing the parties and effecting a meeting between them if necessary.

The advisory opinion given by the said body will not be binding upon the parties to the dispute unless it is accepted by all of them, and they are free either after resort to such procedure or in lieu thereof to have recourse to any arbitral or judicial procedure which they may select, including reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice as regards any matters which are within the competence of that Court under its Statute.

[If a dispute of the nature referred to in the first paragraph of this article should arise with regard to the interpretation or application of Articles (. . . .) of the present Agreement, the parties shall, at the request of any of them, refer the matter to the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, whether or not there has previously been recourse to the procedure prescribed in the first paragraph of this Article.]²

The adoption of the procedure before the body referred to above or the opinion given by it will in no case involve the suspension of the measures complained of; the same will apply in the event of proceedings being taken before the Permanent Court of International Justice, unless the Court decides otherwise under Article 41 of the Statute.

Article 8. — The present Agreement shall be open for signature for a period of twelve months from the present date by any State which is a Member of the League of Nations or to which the Council shall have communicated a copy for this purpose.

Thereafter, any such State may accede to the Agreement by an instrument communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall at once notify its receipt to the other parties to the Agreement.

Article 9. — The present Agreement shall be ratified and the ratifications deposited at Geneva with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations as soon as possible. It shall come into effect ninety days after the date on which the Secretary-General notifies the parties that it has been ratified or acceded to by (.)³ States, including those mentioned in Appendix⁴.

As regards a State ratifying or acceding to the Agreement after it has come into force, the Agreement shall come into force ninety days after the notification of such ratification or accession by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. If within two years from the present date sufficient ratifications and accessions have not been notified to bring the Agreement into force, the States which have ratified or acceded to the Agreement will confer with a view to deciding whether the Agreement should be put into effect as among themselves.

Article 10. — Any contracting State may denounce the Agreement by a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations at any time not less than (four) years from the date when the Agreement comes into force. Such denunciation shall take effect one year after its receipt by the Secretary-General and shall only operate in respect of the denouncing State.

If one of the contracting States named in the preceding article or five other contracting States not so named denounce the present Agreement, any contracting State shall be entitled to request the Council of the League of Nations to summon a Conference to consider the situation thus created.

If the Council declines this request, any contracting State may denounce the present Agreement by six months' notice.

Should the Conference meet under the auspices of the League of Nations, any contracting State which dissents from its decision may similarly denounce the Agreement by six months' notice.

Article 11. — In order to indicate the progress which has been made in regard to the abolition of import and export prohibitions or restrictions, each contracting State shall, within twelve months of the coming into force in its own case of the present Agreement, furnish the Secretary-General of the League of Nations with a statement of the steps which it has taken for the purpose, with a view to the communication of a summary of this information to the various States.

Article 12. — If before the expiration of the period of (four) years mentioned in Article 10 one-third of the contracting States notify the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of their desire that

¹ This article reproduces the provisions of Article 22 of the Customs Formalities Convention, signed at Geneva on November 3rd, 1923.

² This paragraph is put in brackets to indicate that the Economic Committee wishes to leave open the question of its eventual inclusion or omission.

³ Number to be inserted.

⁴ The list of States to be set out in appendix will include the principal States of Europe whose participation in the Agreement is of greatest importance, having regard to the magnitude of their trade or their geographical position.

the present Agreement should be revised, the other contracting States undertake to participate in any consultation that may take place with a view to the revision or maintenance of the Agreement.

Note.—The Agreement, if it takes the form of a Convention, will need to be completed by the usual Articles which have become "common form", dealing with such matters as the position of colonies and overseas possessions or of countries which form part of the same sovereign State, the relation of the Convention to the rights and duties of States as Members of the League of Nations, etc.

4. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF AUSTRIA.

In September 1925 the Council invited the Economic Committee to examine the report on the economic situation of Austria submitted by Mr. E. T. Layton and Professor Charles Rist.

The Economic Committee devoted the greater part of its seventeenth session, held at Geneva from November 30th to December 4th, 1925, to the study of this document, and submitted for the approval of the Council a detailed report on the improvement of the agricultural output and, in particular, on the appropriate measures for the establishment of a proper balance between Austria's industrial output and her opportunities of exporting sufficient of her products to meet the special needs of her national economy.

In order that all details dealing with the work of the League of Nations on behalf of Austria may be collected in one place, the conclusions of the Economic Committee have been summarised in the section of this report dealing with the financial and economic situation of Austria¹.

5. STATISTICS.

The Economic Committee has been struck by the fact that, in the ordinary course of League business, a very considerable volume of statistics of great interest to Governments and business men has been published, but that these statistics are scattered through a number of different publications.

The Committee is convinced that it would be of great advantage to publish a summary of these statistics in a single volume and has therefore recommended the Council to instruct the Secretariat to prepare a small Statistical Year-Book in which the information available should be collected.

6. FALSE DECLARATIONS IN CUSTOMS MATTERS.

In the last report on the work of the Council², the Committee stated that it had found it necessary, before examining this problem, to undertake, with the help of the Legal and Economic Sections of the Secretariat, certain investigations on legal and administrative points.

The Committee has now obtained this information and, in the light of a series of amendments to the former plan, due to the collaboration of M. Barboza Carneiro and Senator Di Nola, it has concluded that it is essential, if international undertakings in this matter are to be fully effective, to pass national laws imposing civil and penal sanctions both for the presentation, under certain circumstances, of a false declaration in respect of a Customs operation and for the drawing up of a false document which is used for this purpose.

The Committee decided that this suggestion would be borne in mind when it examined both the substance and the wording of the texts which are before it, and it will decide later whether the Council should be asked to submit a definite proposal to the various Governments.

7. ECONOMIC CRISES AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

The two special reports mentioned in paragraphs 3 and 4 of the conclusions given in the last report on the work of the Council³ were laid before the Joint Crises Committee⁴ which met for the third time on March 4th of this year.

The Joint Committee again pointed out how much importance it attaches to the different States compiling the necessary statistical material for determining the index numbers of production, exchanges and prices of products, together with various financial index numbers, from which some idea may be gained of the economic position either of a particular country or of the world in general and on which may be based those forecasts of trade movements which are usually known as economic barometers.

For a long time past, the study of the methods of making use of this material has engaged the attention both of the International Labour Office and of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations. Although these methods have not yet taken the form of a recognised doctrine, certain countries have already had recourse to economic barometers either to gauge or forecast changes in economic conditions or to adjust their credit policy and, in general, to adapt the financial assistance they give to trade and industry to the conclusions they are able to draw from these figures. There can be no doubt, however, that the results of these experiments are uncertain, and cannot provide a sufficient basis for a programme of stabilisation or economic reconstruction on a large scale as long as a proper statistical foundation is lacking.

¹ See page 224.

² See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 227.

³ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, pages 230 and 231.

⁴ The Joint Crises Committee is composed of members of the Economic and Financial Committees, and of experts appointed by the International Labour Office.

It must be recognised that, in the course of the last few years, considerable progress has been made in the compilation and circulation of financial and commercial statistics and of price index numbers. But in the majority of countries data compiled at regular intervals regarding mining or industrial output are still lacking. The Committee considers it to be most desirable that producing States should make a serious effort to fill this gap. Of all the indications from which an estimate or forecast of the movements of trade and industry can be made, the index number of production is undoubtedly the most essential, and, as long as it is not accurately established in the various countries, there can be no question of using trade barometers as a basis for policy.

The Committee is aware of the fact that even the index number of production requires checking, and that production can go on even when the demand has fallen off, but in this case the corrective is supplied by statistics of stocks to which the Economic Committee, in its report to the Council in May 1924, drew attention as one of the secondary objectives to be aimed at.

Owing to the initiative displayed by the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, the statistics of agricultural production will henceforward be accessible to all, and from these it will be comparatively easy to calculate the balance of stocks. Governments might therefore confine their attention to establishing index numbers with regard to the output or the stocks of mining and industrial products.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the Joint Committee has adopted the following resolutions :

I. "In order to enable the business world, and especially those responsible for the guidance of economic and credit policy, to base their action on full and correct indices permitting fluctuations of economic activity to be measured and diagnosed, and, further, to ensure that any public or private action that may be taken towards diminishing the violence of such fluctuations should be based on adequate knowledge, it is highly desirable that Governments should collect and publish at intervals as short and regular as possible adequate statistical data to serve as the basis of such indices."

II. "Among the data most essential for this purpose but which are at present most defective in many countries are statistics of industrial output, not only those which result from a periodic census of production but also current figures with regard to the principal industries which should be collected monthly to serve for the compilation of a continuous series of indices of production, for use in conjunction with the results of enquiries made at longer intervals."

III. "The Joint Committee therefore requests the Council to address a strong representation to the various States calling their attention to the great importance attached, especially for the above reasons, to the collection of statistics of production."

IV. "At the same time, the Committee reaffirms its opinion, already expressed in the report of May 1924, that it is of the greatest importance to supplement statistics of production by more complete data as to stocks. It would be glad if its views on this point could be communicated to the special Preparatory Committee on statistical methods which is now engaged in studying this question."

V. "The Joint Committee considers that a Committee of Experts could with advantage be convened to advise as to the scientific and technical aspects of the compilation of indices and economic barometers and the elucidation of the economic criteria resulting from their methodical study."

* * *

Side by side with the study of methods of recording and forecasting economic movements, the Joint Committee considers it important to pursue by all suitable means the study of periodically recurring crises, which the economists of the principal producing countries have long recognised as being an essential factor in any attempt to regulate economic activity and to moderate the effects of those alternating periods of apparent depression and prosperity which hamper the continuity of work and the stability of the conditions under which it is carried on.

The Joint Committee proposes to collect data which will enable it to form a more accurate idea of the laws governing periodic crises and of the methods of mitigating their consequences.

* * *

The movements and crises of economic activity resulting from the free play of private enterprise are not the only phenomena which the Joint Committee has considered deserving of its attention.

Clearly, the economic activity of nations is also influenced by the limitations and disturbances caused by the intervention of Governments and by the variety of the theories and policies which characterise the economic life of each nation.

The Committee also wishes to point out that the precarious nature of the commercial agreements which certain countries conclude for short periods is liable to give rise to crises either in their own economic activities or in their relations with other countries.

In this matter the Joint Committee has been obliged to recognise that, among the factors which contribute most to the economic difficulties of the present moment and to the excessive fluctuations of price which accompany them, the following are deserving of special attention :

(1) The excessive and artificial development of certain industries which were created to meet war needs and which are incompatible with the proper organisation of economic life in time of peace, as well as the establishment under the influence of economic nationalism of certain industries, which present a character of artificiality on the one hand, because they aggravate world over-production, and, on the other, because they bear no relation to the resources and traditions or even to the requirements of the countries which have created them.

(2) The confusion into which international trade has been thrown by excessive Customs protection. On this point, the Committee wishes to draw special attention to the practice of so-called "bargaining" tariffs which have been carried to an unprecedented pitch and are intended to provide bargaining power in commercial negotiations, and which, contrary to pre-war practice, are put into force before they have been reduced by treaty to normal dimensions, and also to the system of the so-called "expansion duties", whose high rates are designed to allow the necessary profits to be obtained from the internal consumer, to compensate for the advantageous prices offered to foreigners.

(3) The serious disabilities under which both the producer and the consumer are placed by the unstable or exaggerated character of fiscal systems, whose effects on national industry are often impossible to foresee and which may be found by experience to be disturbing factors in the national economy or in certain of its branches.

The Joint Committee has also reserved for closer study the variations in the system of prices and the economic disturbances produced, particularly in countries with unstable currencies, by the excessive scale of commercial profits, which are sometimes calculated not only to cover in advance normal business risks but also to compensate for problematical fluctuations, and by the defective distribution of goods at prices which, owing to the profits of middlemen, who are very numerous in some countries, and to the undue cost of distribution, are often excessive.

The Joint Committee believes that considerations similar to those which have thus been outlined in the latter part of its report will have to engage the attention of the forthcoming Economic Conference, the results of which the Council will no doubt await before determining the task to be assigned to the Economic Committee in this matter.

8. UNFAIR COMPETITION.

On the invitation of the Government of the Netherlands, the Economic Committee was represented at the Conference for the Revision of the Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, which met at The Hague in October last, by M. Brunet and M. Barboza Carneiro, who, thanks to the welcome extended to them by the official delegations of the different Governments, were able to collaborate to a large extent in the discussions of the Conference and helped to bring about the adoption, in the new text of the revised Convention, of the majority of the proposals submitted by the Committee regarding unfair competition.

B. WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

1. FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA¹.

I. MODIFICATION OF CONTROL.

In its report on the work of its nineteenth session, held at Geneva from September 2nd to 9th, 1925², communicated to the delegates at the Assembly, the Financial Committee submitted to the Council of the League of Nations the following proposals for the gradual modification of the control of the Austrian budget :

(a) The Council of the League of Nations should take note of the introduction, on August 11th, 1925, of the modified control contemplated in the September (1924) Agreement. The effect of this modification is that the Commissioner-General no longer intervenes in the details of the budget or in expenditure on specific items, but limits himself to the supervision of the general budget position.

(b) The Council of the League should authorise the Financial Committee to discuss at its next session in December 1925, with the Austrian Government and the other authorities concerned, the precise modalities under which, after control has ceased, the provisions of the Protocols of 1922 should be carried out as regards :

(i) The management of the assigned revenue account ;

¹ For the sake of simplicity, the work of the Financial Committee on the Austrian question is described in this part of the report on the work of the Council.

² See *Official Journal*, October 1925, page 1499.

- (ii) The control of the expenditure of the remainder of the Reconstruction Loan, which, under Protocols II and III, devolves upon the Commissioner-General ;
 - (iii) The mode of communication between the Government and the Committee of Control (which, during the period of control, takes place through the intermediary of the Commissioner-General).
- (c) Having regard to the statement of the Austrian Government concerning the previous and the anticipated results for 1925, the control of the Commissioner-General should be limited, as from January 1st, 1926, to a control over the assigned revenues and over the expenditure of the remainder of the Reconstruction Loan, without prejudice to the powers of the Commissioner-General to obtain, as in the past, the information, accounts and figures which he may deem necessary. From this date the Commissioner-General is released from the obligation to reside permanently in Vienna.
- (d) After the passing of the 1926 budget within the limits of the present estimates and the submission of the closed accounts for 1925, as prepared by the Audit Office, the control exercised by the Commissioner-General under the Geneva Protocol should be terminated.

All these proposals were subject to the acceptance by the Austrian Government of the following conditions :

- (i) That the Adviser to the National Bank should remain in office for three years after the definitive termination of control ; and
- (ii) That the Council of the League should, by a three-quarters majority vote — Austria abstaining — within a period of ten years, again re-establish control in the unlikely event of the proceeds from the assigned revenue being insufficient to cover the service of the loan or of the equilibrium of the budget being seriously endangered.

The Financial Committee's object in suggesting these two new conditions was to maintain confidence in the Austrian National Bank and in the general Austrian economic situation even after the termination of the control, in order to facilitate the obtaining of long-term credits. The Financial Committee's proposals were adopted by the Council on September 10th, 1925.

The period since September 1925 has been marked by the progressive execution of the programme outlined in the resolution of September 10th.

Retention of the Adviser to the Bank.

Upon the proposal of the Austrian Government, the National Council voted a resolution on October 14th, 1925, inviting the Federal Government to submit a Bill for the retention of the Adviser to the National Bank for a further period of three years as from the termination of control.

The Board of Directors laid before the general meeting of the Bank a proposal amending certain provisions of the Statutes regarding the foreign Adviser, and in particular Article 130. This proposal was approved by the General Meeting of the Bank on November 4th, 1925.

On December 1st, the National Council passed a law sanctioning the amendments to the Statutes of the Bank of Issue, which law was ratified by the Federal Council on December 3rd. In accordance with this law, the Federal Chancellor stated before the Council of the League, on December 9th, that the Adviser to the National Bank would remain in office for three years after the date of the definitive termination of control by the Commissioner-General. The Council of the League noted this declaration.

The new text of Article 124 of the Statutes of the National Bank of Austria laid down that the Federal President should appoint the Adviser to the Bank on the proposal of the Austrian Government, and that it should be laid down by agreement between the Federal Government and the Council of the League of Nations, to what extent the Federal Government, in putting forward its proposal, should be bound to obtain the agreement of other parties.

Upon the proposal of the Financial Committee, the Council on December 9th, 1925, decided, in agreement with the Austrian Government, that, upon the termination of the functions of the Commissioner-General, the Adviser to the Bank should be appointed by the President of the Federal Republic on a proposal of the Austrian Government in accordance with a nomination made by the Council of the League of Nations by a three-quarters majority vote, Austria abstaining.

This appointment being at the discretion of the Commissioner-General whilst in office, Dr. Van Gyn, Adviser to the Bank, who resigned, was replaced in December 1925, upon the proposal of the Commissioner-General, by Mr. Kay, late Manager of the London Branch of the National Bank of Turkey.

Right of the Council to re-establish Control by a Commissioner-General.

On October 4th, 1925, on the proposal of the Austrian Government, the National Council adopted a resolution noting the Federal Chancellor's report on the negotiations which had taken place between the Austrian Government and the Council of the League of Nations in September 1925, including, in particular, the recommendation relative to the possibility of re-establishing control under certain circumstances. The National Council passed this resolution, including the above recommendation, on the understanding that, as from January 1st,

1926, the control of the Commissioner-General should be limited to the management of the assigned revenue account and to the control of the expenditure of the remainder of the Reconstruction Loan, and that further, after the budget for 1926 had been passed and after the submission of the closed accounts for 1925, duly verified by the Audit Office, the control of the Commissioner-General should be terminated.

On December 9th, 1925, the Federal Chancellor made a declaration to the Council that, during the period of ten years after the date on which the control of the Commissioner-General shall have been brought definitely to an end, the Council of the League of Nations should, by a three-quarters majority vote — Austria abstaining — have the right again to re-establish control by a Commissioner-General if the proceeds from the assigned revenues were insufficient to cover the service of the loan or if the equilibrium of the budget were seriously endangered. In this connection, the Austrian Government would, if it were so requested, give to the Council any information relating to its budget. The Council on the same day noted this declaration made on behalf of the Austrian Government by its duly authorised representative.

Modalities for carrying out the Provisions of the Protocols of 1922 after the Termination of the Commissioner-General's Control.

The two conditions imposed by the decision of the Council on September 10th, 1925, concerning the retention of the Financial Adviser to the Bank and the right of the Council to re-establish control under certain conditions, being thus fulfilled, the Financial Committee was able, during its session held at Geneva from December 3rd to 8th, 1925, to continue with the Austrian Government, the Committee of Control, and the Trustees, the negotiations entrusted to it by the Council concerning the precise modalities under which, after control has ceased, the provisions of the Protocols of 1922 should be carried out as regards :

- (i) The management of the assigned revenue account ;
- (ii) The control of the expenditure of the remainder of the Reconstruction Loan ;
- (iii) The mode of communication between the Austrian Government and the Committee of Control.

The outcome of these negotiations is contained in the resolution adopted by the Council of the League on December 9th, 1925, upon the proposal of the Financial Committee, which comprises the following provisions :

“ (a) The Committee of Control, in the exercise of the powers given to it by Protocol II, may, after the termination of the functions of the Commissioner-General, make any communications direct to the Austrian Government. The Austrian Government will be represented at the meetings of the Committee of Control.

“ (b) The Council, in agreement with the Committee of Control, decides that the special account into which the yield of the gross revenues designed as security shall continue to be paid, in accordance with Article 5 of Protocol III and Clause 8 of the General Bond of the loan, shall be under the management of the Trustees, who shall draw from such special account the sums which, under the terms of the General Bond, are to be provided therefrom for the service of the loan, and shall exercise with regard to the said account the powers which the General Bond contemplates that they shall exercise in control thereof, and, subject to the preceding provisions, shall place the balance of the account at the disposal of the Austrian Government. For purposes of the application of the provisions of the General Bond, the Trustees are substituted for the Commissioner-General in accordance with the stipulation of Clause 23 of the Bond.

“ The management of the special account, as specified above, shall, in conjunction with the powers of the Committee of Control remaining under Protocol II, constitute the ‘ special control ’ which, under paragraph 4 of Protocol III, is to be established when the Commissioner-General’s functions have been terminated, and the additional duties and responsibilities of the Trustees are restricted to those defined in the present paragraph and the General Bond.

“ (c) In order to secure the above collaboration between the two bodies, the trustees will, after the termination of the functions of the Commissioner-General, be present, or will be represented, at meetings of the Committee of Control.

“ The Trustees will furnish the Committee of Control with such information as it may request as to the accounts under their control and will warn it if in their view the situation is such as to indicate a danger of default ; in the event of default by the Austrian Government, the Trustees shall forthwith intimate the nature and extent of the default to the Committee of Control.

“ (d) The Austrian Government undertakes to furnish the Committee of Control and the Trustees with such information as they may require in connection with the exercise of their respective functions.

“ The Council observes that, except as provided in the decisions above and the connected declaration of the Austrian Government, the provisions of the Protocols signed on October 4th, 1922, continue to apply.

- “ The balance of the loan contemplated by Article 1 of Protocol II shall be retained in liquid form in a separate account managed by a person to be appointed by the Financial Committee, except in so far as it is released for expenditure within the budget for such purposes as the Financial Committee may from time to time approve, and the Austrian Government shall furnish such evidence of the expenditure on purposes so approved as the Committee may desire.”

The significance of these provisions is thrown into relief in the preamble of the Council's resolution, in which, after adopting the recommendations of the Financial Committee regarding the various points as to which it had been asked to make proposals (control of the expenditure of the remainder of the Reconstruction Loan, management of the assigned revenue account, mode of communication between the Government and Committee of Control), the Council :

“ Observes that, at the time when the Council contemplates exercising in the near future its right under Article 4 of Protocol III to bring to an end the functions of the Commissioner-General, a substantial portion of the international loan is still available, the deficits during the reconstruction period having been less than had been originally contemplated ;

“ Notes that this balance will be progressively applied for the benefit of Austrian economic life, and that, as from the beginning of 1926, a substantial part will be devoted to the electrification of the railways and to productive investments ;

“ Is glad that the system contemplated by the Financial Committee for the administration of the balance of the loan has been so devised as to eliminate every element of general financial control and to leave Austria in complete control of her own budget ;

“ Remarks with satisfaction that, under the plan adopted, the special control of the assets assigned for the service of the loan, which, in pursuance of Article 4 of Protocol III, it is the duty of the Council to determine when the functions of the Commissioner-General are brought to an end, can in no case infringe upon the entire political and economic independence of Austria ;

• “ Congratulates the Austrian Government and the Austrian people upon its success in the work of reconstruction and earnestly hopes that no effort will be spared to maintain the country's permanent financial stability. ”

The control of the Austrian budget terminated on December 31st, 1925, in accordance with the decisions taken in September and December 1925.

The other functions of the Commissioner-General — in particular, the management of the assigned revenue account and the release of sums out of the remainder of the Reconstruction Loan for approved purposes — have been maintained until the closed accounts of 1925 shall have been placed at his disposition and audited. The Committee of Control of the Guarantor States and the Trustees have signified their assent to the decisions which have been taken, and the control of the assigned revenues, which, according to Article 4, paragraph 5, of Protocol III, is to be maintained after the Council shall have terminated the functions of the Commissioner-General, has been clearly defined.

II. BUDGET AND TREASURY SITUATION. BALANCE OF THE RECONSTRUCTION LOAN.

Budget.

The closed accounts for 1924, as finally drawn up by the Audit Office, show the following results :

	Millions of Gold Crowns
Current expenditure	562.5
Capital expenditure	72.0
Receipts	625.4
Deficit	9.1

To this deficit must be added the sum of 23 million gold crowns, being the deficit on current account administration relative to cash operations, which only temporarily decrease or increase the funds in hand in the Treasury and have consequently no permanent effect on the financial situation of the State.

The budget administration for 1924 would even have shown a surplus — the whole of the capital expenditure being covered by the normal receipts — if it had not been decided, in accordance with a clause in the Agreement of September 1924, to exclude from the budget receipts payments made in the form of payment of taxation bills. For this reason the Treasury receipts suffered, as from October 1st, 1924, an apparent reduction of 20.5 million gold crowns.

The provisional closed accounts for 1925 show the following results :

	Millions of Gold Crowns
Current expenditure	528
Capital expenditure	53
Receipts	594
Surplus	13

Whilst the 1925 budget was not voted till March, the budget for 1926 was passed by Parliament on December 19th, 1925, and it was thus possible to avoid provisional monthly estimates. The budget for 1926 shows the following figures :

	Millions of Gold Crowns
Current expenditure	502.66
Investments	83.95
Receipts	527.92
Deficit ¹	58.69

These figures include all the investment expenditure, as also that entailed by the electrification programme.

The Austrian Government has continued its efforts to reduce the number of officials. From the beginning of the financial reconstruction until the end of the first half-year of 1925, the total number of dismissals was 76,287, and had reached 84,162 by the end of February 1926.

During December 1925, the officials demanded an increase of salary; the Government agreed to make all officials on the active and retired lists an extraordinary grant equivalent to 28 per cent of a month's salary in January 1926. This extraordinary grant involves an expenditure of 15 million schillings. In order not to exceed budget estimates, the Government stated that the cost of this bonus to the officials would be covered by economies in other directions. The Financial Committee in December 1925 noted this undertaking given by the Austrian Government. In March 1926 the Financial Committee was informed that the Government had not yet been able to make arrangements which will secure more than a portion of the necessary saving; it received, however, an assurance that the Government was confident that it would be able to effect further economies during the year which would secure the promised result.

During the same month the Government granted a further bonus to the officials, equal to about 22 per cent of one month's pay. In the Preamble of the Bill sanctioning this measure, the Government again affirmed its intention of meeting the additional expenses by means of economies in other directions.

Balance of the Reconstruction Loan. Releases made by the Commissioner-General.

A release of 10 million gold crowns from the Reconstruction Loan was made in 1924. A sum of 42 million dollars from the Reconstruction Loan remained on December 31st, 1924, to the credit of the Austrian Government. Further, there remained intact 20 million gold crowns, being the Swiss issue.

The Commissioner-General released the following sums during 1925 :

	Millions of Gold Crowns
June	9
July	3.1
December	3.4
Total . . .	15.5

This sum is far below the expenditure on productive investments effected by the Austrian Government during the year. The balance of the loan available for the Austrian Government on December 31st, 1925, amounted to 39,400,000 dollars, of which about 32 million dollars was in foreign currencies, together with 53,300,000 Austrian schillings.

It has, nevertheless, already been decided to devote part of this sum to the following purposes :

(i) In agreement with the Financial Committee, an allocation from the loan of a maximum sum of 30.2 million gold crowns may be made for productive investments to be carried out in the budget of 1926.

(ii) In virtue of a resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations in June 1925, an allocation from the loan of a maximum sum of 88 million gold crowns, of which 3.5 million gold crowns were released in 1925, may be made for continuing the Federal Railways electrification scheme; 34.5 million gold crowns will be released during 1926, and the remainder during the following two years.

In virtue of the declarations of the Financial Committee and of the Commissioner-General on December 8th and 9th, 1925, annexed to the report of the Financial Committee to the Council on its session held in December, the Commissioner-General undertook to place at the disposal of the Austrian Government the sums required for the cost of electrification and for capital expenditure the nature and amount of which shall have been approved, irrespective of the budget or Treasury situation.

Furthermore, the Financial Committee stated that it had no objection to advances being made monthly for the electrification scheme or other capital expenditure the nature and amount of which had been approved, immediately the Austrian Minister of Finance should have to effect payments, on condition that the entry of these advances shall be corrected at the end of the month in accordance with the vouchers of the payments made. These conditions are the result of the suppression of the budget control properly so called as from January 1st.

¹ The results for the first few months show a more favourable situation than the budget estimates.

Full responsibility for Treasury administration is given back to the Austrian Government, which need not prove that it is incapable of meeting this expenditure from other resources in order to obtain releases from the balance of the loan within the limits of its agreements with the Commissioner-General. It is in accordance with this new procedure that the Commissioner-General advanced the Austrian Government 29.5 million schillings during the first quarter of 1926 for various investment operations.

On the other hand, the Commissioner-General was led, during 1924 and 1925, to make to the Austrian Government periodical grants of temporary advances out of the balance of the loan, in order to ease the cash situation of the tobacco monopoly and of the Federal Railways, and to facilitate Treasury payments at the end of the month.

Among these advances may be noted :

(a) Advances to the tobacco monopoly and to the railways, amounting respectively to 10.5 and 8 million schillings (repaid to the Commissioner-General during the second half of 1925) ;

(b) Various advances to the Treasury ;

(c) An advance of 30 million schillings at the end of every month to the Post Office Savings Bank, repaid regularly to the Commissioner-General at the beginning of the following month.

During the December session of the Financial Committee, when the modalities for the abolition of budget control as from January 1926 were settled, as also the system which would enter into force with the termination of the functions of the Commissioner-General, it was decided that this system of temporary advances should be continued on the following lines :

The Commissioner-General undertook to continue the system applied heretofore as regards the monthly advances to the Post Office Savings Bank, and to grant the Austrian Government, upon receipt of a simple request, advances up to a total which shall never at any moment exceed the maximum of 10 million gold crowns.

The Financial Committee, on the other hand, declared, with regard to the period during which the administration of the unused portion will be entrusted to a person appointed by it, that the general system whereby the Austrian Government receives temporary advances from time to time out of the available funds of the loan shall be continued — the Austrian Government being able, upon a simple request, to obtain advances from the resident agent in Vienna up to a total which shall never at any moment exceed a maximum of 10 million gold crowns.

Release of a Portion of the Balance of the Reconstruction Loan for the Purpose of developing the Dairy Industry.

Apart from that portion of the balance of the Reconstruction Loan which is employed for various investment expenditure and for railway electrification, and that portion which is reserved, under the form of temporary advances, for the necessary working expenses of the Austrian Treasury, the balance of the loan must be used, in virtue of the resolution of the Council of December 9th, 1925, for such budget expenditure as the Financial Committee may from time to time approve.

The first occasion on which this provision was applied was in the case of the Austrian Government's request, submitted to the Financial Committee during its session of March 1926, for permission to vote a certain sum for the development of the dairy industry. The scheme was to finance the erection of dairies by local co-operative societies. It was understood, in the discussion between the Austrian representative and the Financial Committee :

(a) That the money would be lent by the Government to certain agricultural organisations on conditions which would secure that it was utilised in conjunction with supplementary funds expended by the interested persons themselves ;

(b) That the interest charged would approximate to that payable by the Government on the Reconstruction Loan, with suitable amortisation charges ;

(c) That no financial responsibility for the loan would rest on the National Bank, and that the precise method by which the advances would be handled would be further discussed ;

(d) That the accounts of these operations would be audited by the " Cour des Comptes " and published.

On these understandings, the Financial Committee, in agreement with the Commissioner-General, decided to recommend that the Commissioner-General should be authorised, subject to a satisfactory arrangement of details, to release 6 million schillings from the balance of the loan for the scheme in question.

Temporary Investments of the Balance of the Reconstruction Loan.

The unused portion of the Reconstruction Loan is placed on deposit with the National Bank of Austria to an account called " Account B ", which can only be drawn against on the signature of the Commissioner-General.

During the financial crisis of 1924, the National Bank granted credits in foreign currencies to Austrian private banking establishments, for which purpose it employed part of the funds which remained available from the Reconstruction Loan. At the request of the Commissioner-General, the advances in foreign currencies were reduced in the first half of 1925 to no more

than 27 million schillings out of the League of Nations Loan. The Bank had therefore to keep the greater part of the loan funds invested abroad at a low rate of interest. The Austrian Government has repeatedly pointed out to the Financial Committee that, in its opinion, it was possible to find a better investment for the funds in the Treasury without prejudice to their ready availability and in a manner which would increase the capital resources of Austria. The Government was of opinion that it would be better to leave the investment of the loan funds to the discretion of the National Bank.

After the December session of the Financial Committee, the Commissioner-General agreed to increase from 27 to 35 million schillings that portion of the foreign currencies in "Account B" which could be invested in Austria.

During its March session, the Financial Committee received a further request from the Austrian Government, but preferred, as the system to be approved by the Committee would only come into operation after the termination of the Commissioner-General's control, to reserve its decision on this question until the June session.

III. MONETARY SITUATION. THE BANK OF ISSUE.

Austrian currency has remained perfectly stable since September 1925, and the rate of exchange has shown only very slight variations without once touching the gold-points.

From a comparison of the balance-sheets of the National Bank of Austria on August 31st, 1925, and March 31st, 1926, it will be seen that the principal assets and the liabilities of the Bank show only slight changes. The increase in circulation which occurred owing to end-of-year settlements was rapidly re-absorbed. As regards assets, the reserve (gold and foreign currencies) fell from 516 to 506 million schillings¹. Forward exchange fell from 87 millions to 58 millions, while holdings of bills increased from 73 to 92 millions. The State Debt to the Bank, on the other hand, decreased from 198 to 183 millions.

As regards liabilities, the circulation decreased from 835 to 816 millions (of this latter sum more than 95 per cent was already in the new schilling notes). The total circulation (including current accounts and other sight liabilities) decreased from 875 to 842 millions. On March 31st, 60 per cent of this total was covered by the reserves (gold and foreign currencies). To the note circulation must be added the circulation of metallic currency, which increased from 39 millions at the end of August to 71 millions at the end of March.

The stability of the Bank's balance-sheet is all the more significant in that the National Bank of Austria has continually reduced its official discount rate, which now stands at half the maximum rate (15 per cent) fixed in August 1924. Since then the discount rate has been reduced to 13 per cent (November 6th, 1924); 11 per cent (April 24th, 1925); 10 per cent (July 23rd, 1925); 9 per cent (September 2nd, 1925); 8 per cent (January 28th, 1926); and finally 7½ per cent on March 31st, 1926.

The free exportation and importation of gold have been allowed in Austria since September 1925.

IV. ECONOMIC SITUATION.

In June 1925, the Council of the League of Nations decided to entrust Mr. W. T. Layton, editor of *The Economist*, and Professor C. Rist with a mission of investigation into the economic conditions of Austria. The aim of this enquiry was to ascertain the relations which might exist between these conditions and the work of financial reconstruction undertaken by the League of Nations. Messrs. Rist and Layton submitted their conclusions to the Council in the form of a report (Document C. 440(1). M. 162(1). 1925. II).

Part 1 of the report contains the general conclusions arrived at by the experts; Part 2 contains documentary annexes concerning Austrian industries, agriculture, foreign trade, social conditions, monetary situation, banks, etc.

The experts state that Austria, like all other European countries, has not as yet succeeded in healing the wounds caused by the war, but that, side by side with the process of financial reconstruction, very great progress has also been made in the economic sphere. The financial crisis which, following a period of speculation in 1924, led to the failure of one large bank and many smaller institutions, and to a period of restricted credit and high interest rates, gradually cleared away during the winter of 1924-25, and just as Vienna appeared to be recovering from this financial crisis, unemployment began to increase rapidly.

This increase in unemployment was thought in some quarters to mean that Austrian industry had been seriously hit by the financial crisis and that Austria would not be able to cope with the economic conditions in which she had been placed. The experts are of the opinion that these fears are unjustified. The unemployment is partly explained by the general endeavour made by Austrian industry to reduce costs of production and to eliminate superfluous labour; this reconstruction movement is the counterpart of what has been done in the sphere of public finance.

As regards plant, efficiency of labour, wages level, and social charges, the experts are of opinion that industry has no heavier burden to bear in Austria than in the neighbouring countries.

Whatever results may be expected in the way of improving local agricultural production, or reducing the importation of fuel by developing the hydraulic resources of the country, the

¹ 1 Schilling = 0.2117 gramme of fine gold = 0.694 gold crown = 10,000 paper crowns.

very size of the country within its new frontiers will form a permanent obstacle to Austria's absolute independence of foreign countries. Industrial reorganisation in Austria cannot be confined to the adaptation of production to the home markets ; it is essential that foreign trade should be aimed at also. The question whether Austria will be able to find the necessary markets depends partly upon her own production, but principally upon the tariff policies of those countries with which she is obliged to trade.

It is also a matter of extreme importance for Austria that she should be able to obtain capital at relatively moderate rates of interest. Inflation has determined the diminution of the capital accumulated in the country, and the working capital of the industries has been greatly reduced. At the beginning of 1923, the deposits in the banks were reduced to an insignificant sum. They have continually increased since then, but they still only amount to a small fraction of the 1913 figure.

It is of supreme importance to Austria that her foreign credits should not be withdrawn. This is not merely a question of the rates of interest. It also depends on the confidence of foreign money markets in the stability of Austria's currency, the policy of the National Bank, and the internal political stability of the country.

Finally, the report points out that there are numerous favourable symptoms. The economic revival of Austria is, nevertheless, being accompanied by a very serious increase in unemployment. This crisis would not appear to be the result of an inherent defect in the economic constitution of Austria.

The level of Austrian prosperity will be raised if she can obtain wider markets and if she has the necessary capital available for the period of adaptation in which her industries find themselves engaged.

In order that Austrian reconstruction may be brought to a successful conclusion, two conditions are indispensable :

“ The first of these is obviously the maintenance of a financial policy of strict budgetary equilibrium and monetary stability. This policy, which was inaugurated in 1922 with the help of the League of Nations, has been and still is the indispensable foundation of any permanent improvement.

• “ A second condition is the continuation of the work already begun in the direction of reducing cost prices throughout industry. The reduction in purchasing power all over the world means that in every country competition is keener than before the war, and that the reward will go only to those who can succeed in cutting their costs to the minimum by a combination of economy, efficient administration, and scientific development.

“ Austria was the first country in Europe to carry through a really successful programme of monetary stabilisation, and later reforms in other countries have been largely based on the model thus set. She could to-day perform a service which would be at least as full of hope for the future by initiating a new commercial policy based on the ideal of economic co-operation rather than that of narrow self-interest. If this policy were indeed realised, its beneficial results would not be limited to the Danubian States alone but would soon make themselves felt throughout the length and breadth of the European continent. ”

The Economic Committee, invited by the Council to examine the conclusions of the Layton-Rist report, proceeded, at its seventeenth session, held at Geneva from November 30th to December 4th, 1925, to investigate in detail the most effective means for removing the obstacles which the tariff policies of the Cession and Succession States of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire offer to their commercial relations amongst themselves. It recognised that among the methods which had been considered as appropriate for this purpose was a system of preferential tariffs between Austria and all or some of these States, but that this idea had not taken the form of a concrete proposal. In consequence, it submitted to the Council the following recommendations, which were approved by the Council on December 9th, 1925 :

• “ (1) The improvement of Austria's agricultural output would seem to be the most essential remedy for the shortage in her food supply, and should be promoted by a suitable system of long-term credits.

• “ (2) In order to extend those further markets which Austria requires, notably in her relations with the States which were formed out of or have received part of the former Austro-Hungarian territories, Austria and the States in question should be invited to conclude among themselves commercial agreements of the closest possible character which would by suitable means satisfy the needs of each State without affecting any obligations which it may have assumed towards other States.

• “ (3) As regards other States, the Committee is of opinion that they should be invited to seek means — either when their commercial conventions with Austria come to be renewed, or by readjusting those conventions before that date, or by other methods — of completing the economic reconstruction of Austria by extending the outlets for Austrian production and trade.

• “ (4) The Committee is further of opinion that the attention of those of the Central European States which have not yet ratified the Convention of 1923 on Customs Formalities be drawn to the urgent necessity of expediting ratification, in view especially of the prejudice caused to their commercial relations with Austria by a continuance of the present state of instability. ”

The decisions taken by the Financial Committee during its March session 1926, with the collaboration of the Economic Committee, regarding the employment of a sum of money to be taken from the balance of the Reconstruction Loan for the purposes of developing the dairy industry, constituted a first attempt at the practical application of the first of the above resolutions.

Commercial Treaties. — In accordance with paragraph 3 of the Economic Committee's recommendation, Austria has actively continued commercial negotiations with the neighbouring countries. These negotiations have had important results.

A commercial treaty came into force on September 16th, 1925, between Austria and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This treaty included the most-favoured-nation clause. On January 1st, 1926, the special tariff for Austrian goods in Belgium was suppressed, and Austrian goods henceforth receive the full benefit of the most-favoured-nation clause. A commercial treaty was signed with Switzerland on January 6th, 1926. Lastly, commercial negotiations between Austria and Hungary terminated on February 27th in the signature of a treaty under which Hungary grants Austria a reduction in the duties on industrial products and manufactured goods, whilst Austria grants Hungary reductions of duty on agricultural produce and certain industrial goods. Thanks to the most-favoured-nation clause, Austria will also receive, as from February 21st, 1926, the benefit in the Hungarian market of the tariff reductions stipulated in the Austro-Hungarian commercial treaty.

Trade Balance. — The table below shows the movement of Austrian foreign trade during the second half of 1924 and the first and second halves of 1925:

	Imports.	Exports.	Deficit on Trade Balance.
	Millions of Schillings.		
Second half 1924	1,635	897	738
First half 1925	1,247	897	350
Second half 1925	1,606	1,026	580

The deficit on the trade balance shows a remarkable decrease for 1925 as compared with the previous year. Nevertheless, the second half of 1925 was less successful in this regard than the first half. Exports show a fair degree of stability with a regular tendency to increase.

The Labour Market : Level of Prices. — The number of unemployed, which was 111,000 on September 1st, 1925, rapidly increased during the autumn and winter until it reached the figure of 226,000. After that date, seasonal influences led to a decrease in unemployment, and on March 15th the number was 207,000.

Wholesale prices show an appreciable reduction, the index figure for August 1925 being 18,817, and for March 1926, 17,090.

Deposits in the Vienna savings banks and credit institutions continue to show a regular increase. In June 1925, they reached a total of 296 million gold crowns; in December, 392 millions; and in February, 445 millions.

It is noteworthy that the economic crisis has not as yet affected the Treasury revenue.

2. FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY.

The Report and Supplementary Report to the Sixth Assembly on the Work of the Council¹ include an account of this part of the League's work up to June 1925. The present report covers the period July 1925 to March 1926 inclusive. The following three months will be dealt with in the supplementary report for this year.

PUBLIC FINANCE.

It will be remembered that the first complete financial year of the reconstruction period, July 1924 to June 1925, instead of showing a deficit of about 100 million gold crowns* contemplated for this period in the reconstruction programme, ended in fact with a surplus of approximately 63 million gold crowns. There remained in addition a sum of 185 million gold crowns out of the Reconstruction Loan.

The returns of the last nine months show that an equally favourable result may be expected in the present financial year, by the end of which (on June 30th) the Protocol contemplated the attainment of budget equilibrium on a sound and durable basis.

In the gross budget for the financial year 1925-1926, the gross expenditure had been estimated at 603.6 million gold crowns and the gross receipts at 607 million gold crowns, thus leaving a surplus of 3.4 million gold crowns.

The actual results of the first half-year show: gross expenditure 300.2 million gold crowns; gross receipts 357.6 million gold crowns; and surplus 57.4 million gold crowns.

Expenditure during this period had not exceeded the budget estimates, while revenue was about 17 per cent higher, although the turnover tax, one of the chief sources of revenue, was reduced from 3 to 2 per cent.

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, pages 238 and 320.

The Commissioner-General stated in his twentieth report that, on the whole, the results of this period confirmed the opinion which had been frequently expressed in his reports : that the possibility of permanent equilibrium of the budget could be anticipated with confidence.

The next three months show a further surplus of 5.8 million gold crowns in receipts over the actual expenses of the Treasury.

On the revenue side, the most striking fact is the gradual and steady increase in the percentage of direct taxes collected, which amounted during the first half of this year to 83.1 million gold crowns, only 10 millions less than the amount collected from this source during the entire fiscal year 1924-1925. This is partly due to improved conditions, partly to better methods of administration and collection. Meanwhile, the turnover tax, which amounted to 36.5 per cent of the chief sources of revenue in 1923, has fallen to 18.9 per cent and this change in the relative importance of two of the chief sources of revenue indicates a much healthier and more normal state of affairs.

The returns from the pledged revenues converted into gold crowns at average monthly rates of exchange have been as follows :

1925	July	16.6
	August	20.4
	September	23.7
	October	23.9
	November	24.1
	December	25.—
1926	January	20.6
	February	20.3
	March	21.8

The average of these (21.9) is equivalent on an annual basis to 260 million gold crowns, or eight times the amount required to meet the service of the Reconstruction Loan.

The Commissioner-General points out that the average receipts during the first six months of this period were about 17 per cent larger than the same period of the fiscal year 1924-1925, and considers that they have become stabilised at the figure given above. Perhaps a further improvement in financial and economic conditions, which is proceeding slowly but steadily, may result in an increase, but this will probably be offset by some reduction in the Customs, due to the negotiation of commercial treaties.

The draft budget for the year 1926-1927, which was submitted to the Financial Committee and approved by the Council, estimates gross receipts at 619.1 million gold crowns; net receipts, 692.2 million gold crowns; gross expenditure at 618.6 million gold crowns; net expenditure, 692.1 million gold crowns.

This budget has been adopted by the Hungarian National Assembly without substantial modifications.

The Financial Committee commented upon it as follows, in a report adopted by the Council :

“ The budget balances, after allowing for a reduction in the turnover tax from 3 to 2 per cent, for the progressive elimination of the State's participation in rents and for the suppression of certain minor indirect taxes. The level of this budget (after allowance for differences in the basis of calculation) is some 25 per cent higher than the level originally contemplated in the Reconstruction Plan, but, in view of the experience of last year and the Commissioner-General's opinion that the estimates are conservative and that the present total yield of taxation can be permanently maintained, the Financial Committee consider that this budget should be accepted as satisfactory.”

In December of last year, an extensive plot was discovered at Budapest for the forgery of French banknotes. The leaders have been arrested and are on trial. The Commissioner-General, in his twenty-first report, commented upon this incident as follows :

“ The situation was aggravated during January by the disclosures relating to the forgeries of French francs which originated in Hungary and produced a certain effect on the political situation, both internal and external. There is always a certain small section of the business community who are not ashamed to make the most of any trouble that arises and to attempt to turn it to their personal advantage. This section was in evidence for a short time during January and attempted to attack the stability of the currency. They were promptly met by the National Bank, which was in a position to offer foreign exchange, without limit, at the rates of the day; and the movement came abruptly to an end, with the only result that the speculators against the Hungarian currency succeeded in burning their fingers. The currency position in Hungary is sound, and this is due chiefly to the able and conservative policy followed by the Hungarian National Bank during the last eighteen months, the wisdom of which must now be apparent even to those who have criticised the management of the Bank for undue caution and conservatism. The credit position, as a whole, is sound; and local lenders should be prepared, with due discrimination,

to do business with sound borrowers, so that business will not be hampered by undue restriction of credit."

At the end of the first year of reconstruction 185 million gold crowns remained from the Reconstruction Loan. The Council gave authority that 50 million gold crowns out of this sum should be expended during the present financial year, subject to the agreement of the Commissioner-General, on such commitments for capital investments as the Government might propose and he might approve, and a further sum of 50 million gold crowns was allotted for the same purpose and under the same conditions for expenditure during the financial year 1926-1927.

The sums allocated to the present year, together with the realised budget surplus of 1924-1925, amounting in all to approximately 103 million gold crowns, are being expended with the Commissioner-General's consent on the following objects :

- Construction of the Port of Budapest.
- Building of small State dwellings.
- Loans to drainage societies.
- Construction of roads.
- State Railways; Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones; ironworks, forests, agricultural estates.
- Construction of an underground telephone cable to Vienna.
- Capital for an agricultural mortgage bank.
- Capital and reserve for the Geldinstitutzentrale.
- Construction of certain hospitals.

In determining the programme, the following principles have been followed so far as is practicable. The expenditure should be for permanent rather than purely temporary objects. They should not include items which may properly be considered as current maintenance of existing property which may recur annually and therefore ought to be carried in the Government budget as a part of the current expenditure of the State.

The details of these investments are given in the reports of the Commissioner-General.

NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY.

During the year 1925, the internal and external value of Hungarian currency was maintained, and the primary function of the National Bank was therefore fulfilled. The reserves in precious metal and foreign exchange, which are the security for the note issue, increased from 2,479 milliards of paper crowns at the beginning of the year to 3,340 milliards on December 31st, 1925. The increase, amounting to some 35 per cent, was practically continuous, and more than kept pace with the expansion of the currency, for the proportion of cover, calculated in the manner laid down by the Statutes of the Bank, rose from 53.8 per cent on December 31st, 1924, to 56.5 per cent a year later. Meanwhile, the note circulation, after rapidly expanding during the first six months of the National Bank's existence, in consequence of the return of confidence in the value of the currency, had established itself at what may perhaps be regarded as a normal level. At the beginning of 1925, it amounted to 4,514 milliards of crowns; at the end of the year, it was fluctuating around 5,000 milliards. This represents an active circulation of roughly 45 gold crowns (say 37 shillings or 9 dollars) per head of the population.

As explained in the last annual report, Hungarian currency was originally stabilised on a sterling basis. At that time, an agreement was concluded with the Bank of England, which advanced 4 million pounds at the time of the issue of the Reconstruction Loan. This advance, as appears from the weekly returns of the National Bank, had been completely repaid by June 15th. Meanwhile, sterling had risen to pre-war gold parity and had been again set on a gold basis. Stabilisation on a sterling basis was therefore abandoned in the autumn, and Hungarian currency was left to fluctuate naturally between gold points. A natural fluctuation according to the demands of the market was rendered possible by the complete abolition of exchange restrictions. Progress had already been made, step by step, towards a free market, and in November 1925 the position was sufficiently secure to justify the repeal of the Exchange Ordinance of June 1924. Since then, no authorisation has been required in Hungary for exchange dealings and the market has been absolutely free.

The policy of the National Bank was to continue with the gradual accumulation of a reserve in actual gold. Purchases on the London market increased the stock of gold, as shown in the returns, from some 500 milliards of paper crowns at the beginning of 1925 to 740 milliards at the end of the year, so that, on December 31st, 14 per cent of the active note circulation was covered by gold, a percentage which, in the course of the following three months, was increased to more than 20 per cent.

The reduction of the State debt to the National Bank has also been a feature of Hungarian monetary policy. The only regular provision for the reduction of this debt is the annual appropriation of the Government's share in the profits of the Bank and the 1/2 per cent per annum paid by the State by way of amortisation. This provision has been supplemented, wherever

possible, by special appropriations, with the result that the debt, which originally stood at 1,980 milliards of paper crowns, was reduced in the course of the first two years of the National Bank's existence by 82 milliards, or 4.1 per cent. The Commissioner-General was able to state in his report for April 1926 that a comprehensive agreement had been concluded between the Government and the National Bank by which, within a short period of years, the debt of the State to the Bank will have been halved.

Further progress was made during the year with the reduction of interest rates to a more normal level. Bank rate, at the beginning of 1925, stood at 12½ per cent. Reductions to 11 and 9 per cent in March and May 1925 respectively were recorded in the last annual report. A further reduction to 7 per cent was made on October 22nd, 1925, and, in general, open market rates may be said to have followed suit. But in spite of an influx of foreign capital into Hungary, open market (and especially provincial) rates remain considerably higher than Bank rate, and the problem of making Bank rate really effective still remains to be solved.

The Protocols provide that Government balances must be concentrated with the National Bank in order that the independent control of the Central Bank over the money market may be assured. In the first stages of the reconstruction period, it proved to be difficult or impossible to arrange a complete concentration of Government balances. It is satisfactory to be able to record that such a concentration has now been effected in Hungary, without disturbance. The rate of interest on the State debt to the Bank has been reduced, provisionally, from 2½ to 1 per cent in order to compensate the State budget for the loss of interest incurred by the transfer of Postal Savings Bank moneys to the National Bank.

In November 1925, an Act was passed by which a new currency will be introduced in Hungary from January 1st, 1927, though even before that date it may, and in the case of the National Bank it must, be used for accounting purposes. The monetary unit eventually selected was named pengö, and 3,800 pengö (or 3,794 after deduction of the charge for minting) are to be coined from one kilogramme of fine gold. The Note Printing Factory has been acquired by the National Bank and the new notes — which will be Bank notes instead of the Treasury notes at present in circulation — will be introduced at the beginning of next year in denominations up to 1,000 pengö. The Mint is engaged on the production of subsidiary coinage. There will be a silver coin of 1 pengö 640 fine; and also coins in nickel and bronze for 50, 20, 10, 2 and 1 filler, the filler being one-hundredth part of one pengö. The pengö will be interchangeable with 12,500 crowns of the existing paper currency.

The report of the National Bank for 1925 is available, as usual, in French, German and English, as well as in Hungarian. After completely writing off the cost of the new Note Printing Factory and its equipment, and after appropriating to the Pensions Fund (under an Act passed during 1925 to modify the Statutes of the National Bank in this respect) a sum of approximately 6 million gold crowns (£250,000), the directors were able to propose an increase of the dividend from 8½ to 10½ per cent.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS.

The question of administrative reforms has always been of great importance in the reconstruction scheme. It will be remembered that, whereas before the war there were 313,000 State employees, there were still 188,000 at the beginning of the reconstruction period and 182,000 at the end of the first year of reconstruction, although Hungary has approximately one-third of the geographical area and 40 per cent of the population as it existed before the war.

The National Commission of Economies has worked through the previous year and the re-classification scheme which it has set up will leave the total establishment, including the administration of State enterprises and including the Army, at about 165,000, or well over 50 per cent of what it was before the war. Under the reconstruction programme, the Hungarian Government undertook to make a reduction of 15,000 posts and this agreement has been carried out, but the Financial Committee made the following comments upon the situation in December 1925 and March 1926, which were adopted by the Council :

“ About 25,000 posts have been suppressed under the reconstruction law and a further 3,000 posts will have been suppressed by June 30th, 1927. While this reduction is greater than the minimum requirements of the reconstruction scheme, the Committee considers that the number of posts still remaining (some 165,000) is capable of considerable further reduction. It desires to refer to its previous declaration on this subject and to repeat its view that :

“ ‘ Nothing would so much assist the permanent equilibrium of the budget position as the preparation of a scheme of reformed administration appropriate to the present administrative requirements of Hungary, in accordance with which actual reductions would be gradually effected. The Committee recognises that, in view of pension charges, etc., the immediate effect upon the budget would not be considerable, but such a reform would make a vital difference to the permanent budget position of Hungary. ’

“ The Financial Committee has noted the proposals made by the National Commission of Economies set up in January 1925 and approved by the Cabinet, and

certain other proposals by the Commission which are still under consideration by the Government.

“ While the measures approved or advocated go beyond the minimum requirements of the reconstruction programme of 1924, the Committee considers that, for the reasons explained in its previous reports, more drastic reductions would be both practicable and of great advantage to the future financial position of Hungary. ”

ECONOMIC LIFE.

The year 1925 was, on the whole, by far the best which Hungarian agriculture has had since the war. The figures make considerable progress towards the normal pre-war production, and indeed for maize and potatoes surpass the average pre-war production for the present territory of Hungary.

As regards the present year, the Department of Agriculture has reported that autumn sowings of wheat and rye have stood the winter successfully and that prospects are good up to the end of May.

Since the middle of last year, some commercial treaties have been completed, including a provisional treaty between Hungary and Italy for one year, based on a partial application of the most-favoured-nation clause. Other agreements have been made with Spain and Greece, with France and Turkey, but the first commercial convention concluded with a country whose commerce has a prime importance to Hungary was signed with Austria on February 27th, 1926.

The Commissioner-General commented upon it in his twenty-second report as follows :

“ It is to remain in force for an indefinite period unless denounced by either party on three months’ notice, and, in case it proves to prejudice seriously any vitally important branch of production, may be terminated on one month’s notice, in which case the treaty based on the most-favoured-nation clause, negotiated in 1922, will also terminate. Important reductions are made in the tariffs of both countries. From the point of view of the Hungarian export trade, the most important provisions are those for the reduction of Austrian duties on flour and wine imported from Hungary, which are to be reduced by approximately half.

“ Duties are also to be reduced on certain other agricultural products. Hungary has agreed to important reductions on clothing, linen, soap, boots, fancy leather goods and smaller reductions on a long list of other articles, including stationery, certain kinds of fabrics, yarns and threads, machinery and hardware, varying between 20 and 50 per cent. Many of the reductions by Hungary are so limited by close specification as to apply to Austrian goods only, to the exclusion of similar classes in other countries which might benefit by the most-favoured-nation clause. ”

The trade balance improved considerably during the year 1925, the excess of imports over exports being the lowest since the war, as will be seen from the following table :

Year	Imports	Exports Millions of Gold Crowns	Excess of Imports over Exports
1920	417.3	164.3	253.0
1921	520.7	253.9	266.8
1922	539.4	330.1	209.3
1923	423.0	338.1	84.9
1924	702.8	575.0	127.8
1925	742.1	701.3	40.8

The figures for the first two months of this year are the following :

Imports	Exports Millions of Gold Crowns	Difference
53.3	53.4	+ 0.1
62.7	50.3	— 12.4
<u>116.0</u>	<u>103.7</u>	<u>— 12.3</u>

The corresponding figures for January 1925 were :

Imports	Exports Millions of Gold Crowns	Difference
63.4	35.2	— 28.2

As the adverse balance of trade in January 1925 amounted to nearly three-fourths of the total adverse balance during the whole year 1925, it will be seen that a good beginning has been made towards still further improvements during 1926 in Hungary’s general trade.

Statistics regarding the movements of the retail and wholesale price indices, the stock exchange index, the number of unemployed and the increase of saving banks deposits are extracted from the twenty-third report and annexed.

Appendix.

STATISTICS

Figures refer to the end of each month.

I. RETAIL PRICE INDEX (from the *Pester Lloyd*)
(July 1914 = 1)

1924				1925				
June	July	September	December	March	June	September	December	
21,817	22,018*	21,299	20,884	19,281	18,776	18,206	17,750	
1926				1925				
		January	February			March		
		17,658	17,509			17,237		

2. WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX (issued by Hungarian Statistical Office)
(1913 = 1)

1924	Price index	Change over preceding month	Comparison with 1913 gold prices
June	22,078	— 2.7 %	1.33
September	22,366	— 0.2 %	1.42
December	23,466*	+ 1.6 %	1.60*
1925			
March	21,178	— 4.5 %	1.45
June	20,326	+ 0.3 %	1.41
September	19,521	+ 0.9 %	1.35
December	18,832	+ 1.1 %	1.30
1926			
January	18,319	— 2.7 %	1.27
February	18,031	— 1.6 %	1.25
March	17,788	— 1.3 %	1.23

3. STOCK EXCHANGE INDEX

(Ten important securities quoted on the Stock Exchange)
(1914 = 100)

1924				1925		
June	September	December	March	June	September	December
21.7	17.4	25.4*	21.7	18.5	19.1	16.5
1926				1925		
		January	February			March
		17.0	16.5			16.2

4. DEPOSITS IN THE POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS AND IN THIRTEEN OF THE MOST IMPORTANT BANKS IN BUDAPEST

(Current Accounts and Savings Deposits)

	1924				1925			1926		
	June	September	December	March	June	September	December	January	February	March
(In millions of gold crowns)										
<i>Savings Deposits:</i>										
(a) In paper crowns	2.6	7.9	23.8	44.1	68.1	86.5	119.2	118.5	119.2	125.6
(b) In foreign currency.	0.4	1.5	2.5	3.0	3.4	4.1	4.2	5.8	7.5	8.4
<i>Current accounts:</i>										
(a) In paper crowns	55.3	114.1	160.6	184.7	211.4	218.0	243.9	233.8	237.9	240.5
(b) In foreign currency.	18.2	20.8	44.3	39.1	50.3	68.9	82.6	97.3	90.6*	88.0
Total Deposits	76.7	144.4	231.3	271.1	333.2	377.5	449.9	455.4	455.2	462.5

5. UNEMPLOYED

(Figures relate only to members of the Union of Socialist Workers)

Total actual membership: approximately 160,000.

1924				1925			1926		
June	September	December	March	June	September	December	January	February	March
24,598	26,020	33,095	36,873*	34,015	25,488	26,711	28,378	29,135	28,818

* The highest point reached by this index.

3. WORK OF THE GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT COMMISSION.

The following resolution taken by the sixth Assembly will serve to mark the stage reached in this work at the beginning of the period covered by the present report :

“ The Assembly

“ (a) Has learnt with satisfaction that the scheme which was prepared, and partially put into execution through temporary advances last year, for the settlement of Greek refugees has been realised through the successful issue of a loan, yielding an effective sum of £10,000,000 in Athens, London and New York, on the basis of the Protocol signed on September 29th, 1923, and the Additional Act signed on September 19th, 1924 ;

“ (b) Notes that, of the 1,200,000 refugees who, on the estimate of the original scheme, required settlement in productive work, over 700,000 have already been settled in agricultural districts or housed in urban settlements near Athens ;

“ (c) Notes with pleasure the reports received that the refugees form an energetic and industrious class, rapidly taking advantage of the opportunities afforded them, and will put to good use the land and materials which it is the work of the Commission to place at their disposal ;

“ (d) Observes that the Settlement Commission thus instituted under the auspices of the League has been able to effect a piece of work which, apart from the benefit to the refugees themselves, should have far-reaching beneficial results for Greece of both an economic and political character ;

“ (e) Expresses the hope that, through close collaboration between the Greek Government and the Settlement Commission, the work may be successfully pursued and brought to a conclusion. ”

In spite of the hope expressed in the concluding paragraph of this resolution, certain difficulties arose, during the early months of the winter, in the prosecution of the Commission's work. As stated in the seventh quarterly report of the Commission, these difficulties arose out of “ judicial proceedings taken against higher officials of the Commission, the circumstances in which these proceedings have been instituted, and the fact that the judicial authorities consider themselves entitled to carry out enquiries as to the profitable or non-profitable nature of the contracts or agreements concluded by the Refugees Commission ”.

The question was eventually settled by the Council ; the Greek Government promulgated a Decree, dated December 2nd, 1925, under which no judicial proceedings could in future be instituted against persons employed by the Commission except at the instance of the Commission or of the Minister of Justice ; and the Decree applied to all cases then in progress. Early in the present year, the Greek Government agreed to the reinstatement of the Director-General of Colonisation in Macedonia and of his two engineers, whose absence during the winter had hindered the prosecution of the work. With this step the difficulties arising from this incident were happily settled.

The two Greek members of the Commission, M. Delta and M. Eustathopoulos, resigned and were replaced, with the approval of the Council, by M. Alexander Pallis and M. Achille Lambros.

FINANCIAL POSITION.

It will be remembered that the loan floated in 1924 for financing the settlement scheme amounted to £10 millions net. The sums remaining available for expenditure during the current year, without taking into account the balance of £766,567 and the sums to be received during 1926, which are for the moment earmarked for the reserve fund, are as follows :

(1) Sums available	£2,747,630
(2) Recoverable advances (not including interest)	£ 398,222
	<u>£3,145,852</u>
Less commitments	£ 40,571
	<u>£3,105,281</u>

As the average monthly expenditure is about £268,000, the Commission will probably have expended all its money, except the reserve fund, by the end of September 1926, and even earlier if expenditure is increased this spring.

The service of the loan has been regularly met through the International Financial Commission, and the price of the bonds has been well maintained in the financial markets where it is quoted.

AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT.

As the financial resources of the Commission hardly suffice to carry out the programme drawn up last year, a considerable number of agricultural refugees cannot be settled. On this point the Commission comments in its ninth report as follows :

“ As regards the refugees for whom the Commission is responsible, it may be stated broadly that, although in most districts the condition of the agricultural colonies in the plains is satisfactory, the future of the refugees installed in the mountainous districts is not yet assured. This is a problem for which we can, in the present circumstances, suggest no solution unless funds are forthcoming.”

By the end of last year, about 4 ½ million stremmas of cultivated and 2 ½ million stremmas of uncultivable land, or about 7 million stremmas in all, had been handed over to the refugees. There had been settled on agricultural land 147,333 families, comprising 550,635 persons. The number of dwellings constructed was 35,825 and there were 15,225 in course of construction, apart from some 56,000 dwellings abandoned by exchanged Turks and Bulgarians and built by the State. The Commission has also distributed large quantities of live stock, implements and tools, seed grain, fodder, food grain ; it has made miscellaneous cash advances, building loans, and grants of building material.

The health of the refugees, as shown by the vital statistics for 1925, was, with few exceptions, satisfactory.

URBAN SETTLEMENT.

The Commission found it was unable, owing to financial difficulties, to carry out the comprehensive programme which it had drawn up in 1925. With the exception of that portion which applied to Thrace the programme has had to be abandoned, but the construction of two new urban quarters in Macedonia has been decided on and the quarters of Athens and Piræus have been completed and the refugees have taken possession of their dwellings. The Commission proposes to deal with this subject comprehensively in its next quarterly report, which will be summarised in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

CONCLUSION.

The work of the Commission up to the present time may be summarised as follows, the figures being approximate as no census has been taken and there are no accurate statistics :

The number of destitute refugees requiring establishment appears to have reached a total of approximately 1,200,000. The Commission has established in agricultural settlement, or has budgeted for similar establishment this year, approximately 600,000 refugees ; it has also housed in permanent quarters about 100,000 urban refugees. After allowing for the agricultural and urban refugees established by the Greek Government itself, without the assistance of the Commission's funds, there still remain between 300,000 and 400,000 refugees awaiting establishment. Of this number, perhaps 80,000 persons (say 20,000 families) are agricultural refugees ; the remainder, or perhaps 300,000 persons (say 75,000 families), are urban refugees, for whom the Government is unable to make housing provision. Some of these people have been in Greece for a considerable time, living in wooden barracks and in tents ; their continuance much longer in such conditions will subject them to great hardships, increase their mortality rate, already high, and diminish appreciably the *moral* upon which their future successful establishment depends.

Apart from the possibility of carrying out further settlement work, which must depend upon whether more funds can be obtained, the main future task of the Commission is the progressive organisation of a system under which repayments of capital by the refugees are to be made.

On the last occasion on which the Council dealt with this subject, on March 15th, 1926, the Greek representative made the following statement :

“ The League of Nations, in establishing the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, and in taking under its auspices a loan which afforded a fixed basis for the work of the settlement of the refugees, has achieved a great success and has rendered a great service to my country. I would express to the Members of the Council the gratitude of the Greek people for having contributed to the settlement of the refugees, thus successfully carrying out a very charitable and humanitarian work.

“ Since the Council has taken so important a part in the settlement of the refugees, I think that some information which I am in a position to give you will be of interest.

“ Thanks to the systematic and disciplined effort which has been made, and in which the League of Nations, the Greek State, together with foreign organisations and the populations themselves have contributed, and thanks to the deep feeling of national solidarity and the powers of resistance of the Greek people, wonderful results have been achieved. The refugees are gradually becoming productive elements of the population. In the economic field they are providing Greece not only with abundant labour, but with a whole series of new industries, and are giving to the towns and to the countryside a development which is quite unprecedented. By the increase of the productiveness of the country through their labour, they will contribute to a solution of the financial problem and will develop the national wealth which will bring prosperity to the country. They are introducing a new political and economic life throughout Greece.

“ Unfortunately, the funds from the loan will, according to the report of the Refugee Settlement Commission, be exhausted towards the end of next September without it having been possible by that time to settle all the refugees. The greater proportion of the refugees have already been established, but there still remain some 300,000. In order to continue and to complete the settlement, new funds will be necessary. The Greek Government ventures to hope that the Council will at the appropriate moment give the same attention and support to this work, which it will not wish to see left unfinished. ”

4. DANZIG MUNICIPAL LOAN.

With the approval of the Council, the Municipality of Danzig issued in the spring of last year a loan of £1,500,000 (nominal) on the London market. The Council appointed one of the members of the Financial Committee, M. ter Meulen, Trustee of this loan. The principal task of the Trustee was to see that the loan was used exclusively for the purposes laid down in a programme of expenditure sanctioned by the Council. Experience having shown that it was desirable to modify the limitations set by this programme, the Council, on the Financial Committee's recommendation, authorised the Trustee to permit transfers between the various items of the programme of expenditure.

The Trustee has recently laid his first annual report before the Council. This document, which contains an analysis of the system of control established by the Trustee, shows that the system has worked satisfactorily.

5. DOUBLE TAXATION AND TAX EVASION.

A Conference of Experts on Double Taxation and Tax Evasion met on May 17th, 1926, and the following countries appointed representatives: Argentine Republic, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, and Venezuela. This Conference examined the possibility of preparing a draft convention based upon the resolutions submitted by the technical experts to the Council last year.

6. STAFF PROVIDENT FUND.

On two occasions the Financial Committee has advised the Board of Management of the Staff Provident Fund of the League as to certain stocks suitable for the investment of the funds available for that purpose.

II. ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

At the time of writing, the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit has held no plenary session since the last Assembly. Its next session has been arranged for July 12th. The Communications and Transit Organisation, however, has held a large number of special meetings of Sub-Committees, special Committees and inter-Governmental conferences.

1. RAILWAYS.

The Sub-Committee for Transport by Rail met at Geneva from January 25th to 27th, 1926. At the request of the Acting President of the Council of the League of Nations, it considered the question of placing on the agenda of the Council the application of the Maramarosi-Tarsasag Railway Company, whose system is situated in Roumanian and Czechoslovak territory, that arbitrators be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, under Article 304 of the Treaty of Trianon, to settle the questions at issue between the Roumanian and Czechoslovak Governments and the Company.

The Sub-Committee believes that there is a possibility of a friendly agreement between the parties before the September session of the Council. If such an agreement is not reached, it will forward a supplementary report to the Council in good time.

A similar question, that of the Arad-Czanad Railway, which was of interest to the Hungarian and Roumanian Governments, was considered by the Council at its March session and was adjourned, for similar reasons, to a later session.

The Sub-Committee further considered the enquiry undertaken in conjunction with the International Chamber of Commerce regarding the various facilities desirable in international trade, with particular reference to the question of international tariffs.

Conjointly with the Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation, it decided to entrust to Committees of specialists the consideration of the questions relating to competition between railways and inland navigation, raised in Mr. Hines' reports regarding navigation on the Rhine and Danube, and questions connected with co-operation between railways and other transport undertakings with a view to developing combined traffic.

In pursuance of the last Assembly's resolution regarding unification in various fields connected with the regime of railways, the Sub-Committee adopted the following resolution :

“ The Sub-Committee, having noted the report of its Committee of Experts and the resolution of the last Assembly regarding the possible convening of a conference on communications and transit of the European States concerned, with a view to maintaining, preserving and, if necessary, adapting to present circumstances the unification of private law concerning internal transport as applicable to international transport on successive contracts, of the method of presentation of tariffs and of the method of presentation of operating regulations which were all effected before the war between certain railway systems in Central and Eastern Europe ;

“ Considering that a regional agreement of this kind would be entirely within the scope of the General Convention on the International Regime of Railways and in harmony with the efforts of the League of Nations to give international traffic the fullest possible facilities :

“ Is of opinion that it is for the States concerned to take the first step and confer with a view to considering the advisability and the possibility of carrying out this work and, should it be practicable, to indicate the main lines of the work of such a conference ; and

“ Declares its readiness to give all possible assistance to these States should they so desire. ”

Lastly, the Sub-Committee considered various questions relative to the inspection of passports at frontier stations, the examination of passports in international trains, and railway statistics. It discussed the special traffic facilities with Geneva which it would be desirable to arrange when exceptional circumstances of international importance so require.

2. INLAND NAVIGATION.

A. *Conference on Tonnage Measurement in Inland Navigation.*

The projected Conference on the unification of the system of tonnage measurement for vessels engaged in inland navigation met at Paris, at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, from November 20th to 27th, 1925.

This meeting led to the conclusion, by the majority of European States, of a Convention establishing, subject to certain provisional arrangements, a uniform system of tonnage measurement for vessels used in inland navigation in Europe, and the reciprocal recognition of tonnage certificates. This agreement provides considerable facilities for navigation, as it will be possible henceforth to dispense with re-measurement at frontiers.

The Convention, which is open for signature until October 1st, 1926, has already been signed by the plenipotentiaries of the following States :

Austria, Belgium, British Empire, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Spain and the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

B. *Private Law in Inland Navigation.*

The study of the questions relating to the unification of private law in inland navigation, to the importance of which from the point of view of international traffic attention has already been drawn in previous reports, has assumed more definite shape. A Committee of specialists held its first session at Strasburg, at the headquarters of the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation, from January 11th to 14th, 1926.

M. WINIARSKI (Poland), Member of the Committee for Communications and Transit, was in the Chair.

The other members of the Committee were :

M. HOSTIE, Member of the Legal Committee of the Committee for Communications and Transit ; M. DE JARMAY, Director of the Royal Hungarian Navigation Company ; M. MALININE, Legal Adviser to the River Navigation Board of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics ; M. MILLOT, Director of the National Office of Inland Navigation, Paris, assisted by M. CHARGUERAUD-HARTMANN, Secretary of the French delegation to the International River Commissions ; Professor MITTELSTEIN, President of the Hamburg Court of Appeal ; M. NAUTA, of the Rotterdam Bar ; M. SITENSKY, Adviser to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Commerce.

The Committee had been requested by the Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation to draw up a programme of work and collect comprehensive information regarding the present status in European countries of private law in inland navigation with a view to achieving as complete a unification as possible of existing legislation.

The Committee began with a general discussion as to what matters of private law should first engage its attention. It decided to include in its programme the question of the nationality of vessels used in inland navigation, a point which concerns both public and private law. It drew up three questionnaires, which were forwarded to European Governments, bearing on questions of nationality ; ownership, mortgages and privileges ; collisions.

The Committee also had before it a draft questionnaire, prepared by M. Malinine, concerning engagements, contracts and labour conditions in inland navigation.

C. Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation : Consideration of Mr. Hines' Reports.

The Sub-Committee considered in detail what action could be taken on Mr. Hines' reports relating to navigation on the Rhine and Danube. In addition to the ordinary members of the Sub-Committee, the representatives of those among the riparian States of the Rhine and Danube which are not already represented on the Committee, and the representatives of the principal River Commissions concerned, attended this session.

The Sub-Committee adopted a number of resolutions designed to put into application those of Mr. Hines' conclusions with which it found itself in agreement. The following resolutions deserve special mention :

" I. The Sub-Committee considers that it is essential in the interests of navigation that, when it is considered necessary to affix Customs seals, such seals should be affixed in accordance with uniform regulations and should be respected by the different States.

" II. The Sub-Committee considers that the conclusion by the Danubian States of treaties of commerce would help to re-establish economic conditions favourable to the development of river navigation.

" III. The Sub-Committee considers that it is extremely desirable to simplify Customs formalities on the frontiers. In particular, it wishes to draw the attention of States to the following points, which it begs them to examine :

" (1) As regards the recognition of Customs seals, the Sub-Committee would refer to the resolution quoted above.

" (2) The Sub-Committee considers that convoying should be restricted to cases in which it appears impossible to affix seals, and it would draw the attention of the International Danube Commission to the complaints submitted with regard to the fees charged for convoying.

" (3) It is of opinion that the Customs offices at the frontiers should be open for carrying out Customs formalities during all the hours of the day when traffic is passing, as is the case at railway frontier-stations.

" (4) It considers it desirable that, in the case of journeys on duty of the staff of navigation undertakings and the transportation of navigation material, facilities should be granted in respect of circulation and Customs and passport formalities.

" IV. (1) The Sub-Committee requests the Czechoslovak Government to consider the possibility of abolishing the stoppage at Bratislava of vessels transporting exclusively goods in transit.

(2) " The Sub-Committee notes with satisfaction the communication by the German temporary member to the effect that the German Government is considering the possibility of liberal treatment in the matter of ship's stores and fuel, and that it is prepared to agree to the settlement of the question on international lines.

(3) " The Sub-Committee notes with satisfaction the statements made by the competent authorities, as reported by Mr. Hines, to the effect that these authorities are prepared in principle to have the necessary formalities connected with the passage of boats carried out at one single frontier-station.

" The Sub-Committee would request the States concerned to be good enough to continue the preparatory work necessary for a speedy realisation of this programme, and it holds itself at their disposal to help in putting the programme into effect should its assistance be of value.

" V. The Sub-Committee notes with satisfaction the statements made which show that the desired agreements will shortly be concluded for ensuring in all Austrian, Hungarian and Czechoslovak ports on the Danube entire equality of treatment for the shipping companies of the various countries as regards the allocation of wharfside and warehouse accommodation. It considers that the same spirit should be shown in settling such questions in the other Danube ports.

" VI. The Sub-Committee expresses a hope that the Convention for the improvement of telegraphic communications along the Danube will be put into force as soon as possible.

" VII. The Sub-Committee thinks it would be desirable for States to adopt as far as possible a liberal policy which would enable shipping companies to utilise in a rational and economic manner both the international system and national waterways, including ports.

" VIII. The Sub-Committee, having completed its examination of the report submitted by Mr. Hines, and after hearing the various members appointed by the States specially concerned, having indicated the steps which still remain to be taken in the interests of navigation, desires to place on record, in conformity with Mr. Hines' observations, the considerable progress which has already been realised in the last few years. The Sub-Committee is convinced that such efforts, if continued, will enable it soon to assure itself of further progress which will contribute to the development and prosperity of Danube navigation."

A number of questions were referred to the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation and to the International Danube Commission.

As stated above in connection with the work of the Sub-Committee for Transport by Rail, the questions arising out of relations between railways and navigation were submitted to Committees of specialists for consideration.

The Sub-Committee acquired the conviction that Mr. Hines' reports and their discussion by the representatives of all the States concerned in a spirit of full co-operation could not fail to be of great service to navigation, and that it would be possible, by persistent effort, to diminish or remove the obstacles to traffic, so far as they were not due to general economic conditions outside the range of transport problems.

The Sub-Committee will continue to keep in touch with all the States concerned, and with the River Commissions, with a view to examining from time to time, in pursuance of the resolution of the Genoa Conference, how far the proposed improvements have been carried out.

III. PORTS AND MARITIME NAVIGATION.

The Sub-Committee for Ports and Maritime Navigation held its second session at Paris from November 28th to December 2nd, 1925. In addition to the usual members of the Sub-Committee, two representatives of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics attended the meeting.

On the agenda of the meeting figured questions relating to the double taxation of maritime industries, the unification of tonnage measurement, health regulations in maritime navigation, and the organisation of life-saving at sea.

Double Taxation of Shipping.

The question of double taxation and its bearing on maritime trade had been studied by the Sub-Committee in July 1924. At its second session it noted the report of the Committee of Experts on Double Taxation. That body had suggested that, in the case of maritime navigation undertakings, taxes should be levied only by the country in which the real centre of management was situated.

The Sub-Committee took note of this suggestion, which will be discussed later at a Conference of Experts. It was of opinion that the meaning of the phrase "real centre of management" should be very carefully defined, in order to avoid difficulties in its application. It therefore decided, pending the results of the Conference of Experts, to draw the attention of Governments to the expediency of increasing the number of bilateral conventions between States.

Unification of Tonnage Measurement.

The Sub-Committee continued its examination of the question of tonnage measurement in maritime navigation. It decided to set up a special Committee to study means of securing uniformity of tonnage regulations and their application.

Health Regulations and Maritime Navigation.

The Sub-Committee pursued its study of the reforms necessary in existing health regulations, in order to lighten the burdens on international trade and navigation and reduce the number of declarations and formalities. It drew the attention of Governments to the necessity of allowing for the effect on the economic situation of new regulations for maritime navigation when this question came up for discussion at the Conference for the revision of the 1912 Health Convention, which was to be convened in 1926.

The Sub-Committee further decided that a Committee should be appointed to collect material on the requirements and demands of maritime navigation for the Governments and organisations preparing for the Conference.

This Committee met soon afterwards and drew up a very full memorandum, which has been forwarded to all the States represented at the Conference for the revision of the Sanitary Convention.

Organisation of Life-saving at Sea.

On this subject, the Sub-Committee noted a memorandum presented by the Royal National Lifeboat Institution and heard a statement by Mr. Shee, Secretary-General of that organisation. It came to the conclusion that the Council might draw the attention of States which had not as yet organised a rescue service to the important work accomplished by private and public rescue organisations. The Sub-Committee considered that private or public life-saving services should be organised in all countries where they did not already exist. Finally, it expressed its opinion that the most effectual means of bringing about the organisation of new services and the improvement of those already in existence would be the establishment of a permanent contact between life-saving services in the different countries.

The Sub-Committee again laid stress on the necessity of promptly ratifying the general Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports adopted at the Second General Conference on Communications and Transit. It framed a procedure intended to help the different States to agree on the solution of any difficulties which might delay ratification.

Unification of Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts.

The Sub-Committee for Ports and Maritime Navigation, having decided to enquire into the unification of buoyage and lighting of coasts in relation to the question of safety at sea, appointed a special technical committee, which had already held one meeting before the last Assembly. It met again from November 3rd to 7th, 1925, at Monaco, in conjunction with the International Hydrographic Bureau.

The present composition of this Committee is as follows :

M. P. H. WATIER (Chairman), Director of Waterways and Seaports in the French Ministry of Public Works ;
M. P. VAN BRAAM VAN VLOTEN, Director of the Netherlands Technical Lighthouse Service ;
M. E. HÄGG, Director-General of the Swedish Pilotage, Lighthouse and Buoyage Service ;
Admiral L. LANGLOIS (Chilian) ;
M. G. MEYER, Adviser to the German Transport Ministry, Department of Navigable Waterways ;
Captain M. NORTON, Director of the Portuguese Lighthouse Service ;
Captain RAZICOTSICAS (Greek) ;
M. A. DE ROUVILLE, Chief Engineer of the French Central Service for Lighthouses and Buoys ;
M. Y. SUGIMURA, Counsellor of Embassy, Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office ; assisted by M. NAGAOKA, Secretary in the Japanese Ministry of Communications ;
Commander L. TONTA, Director of the Hydrographic Institute of the Italian Navy ;
Baron G. WREDE, Director-General of the Finnish Naval Administration.

The meeting was attended by the Board of Directors and the Secretary-General of the International Hydrographic Bureau at Monaco. The International Association of Officers of the Mercantile Marine, the International Federation of Transport Workers, and the International Seafarers' Federation were also represented. These bodies had been requested to send representatives in agreement with the International Labour Office.

In the course of this session the Committee proceeded with the study of various questions relating to lighthouses, day and night buoyage regulations, and the organisation of wireless lighthouses. It appointed a Sub-Committee to study the problem of signals in conjunction with the International Hydrographic Bureau, and to prepare for its next session, which will take place at Stockholm in 1926, a uniform scheme, distinguishing between coast signals and port signals.

IV. ROAD TRAFFIC.

The work undertaken in previous years on the subject of road traffic by the Organisation for Communications and Transit achieved its object in large measure at an international conference convened by the French Government in April of the present year and attended by representatives of the Secretariat of the League.

The Special Committee of Enquiry on Road Traffic had prepared a draft Convention, the main provisions of which were adopted by the Conference. A meeting of the Special Committee was held at Paris shortly before the Conference with a view to making final adjustments in the draft. The text adopted by the Paris Conference marks a great advance, as regards facilities for international traffic, on the existing Convention of 1909.

In future, the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit in connection with road traffic will be devoted in particular to assisting in the unification of the regulations in force in the different countries. This process will no doubt be difficult, but it is most desirable in view of the increase in road traffic.

V. SECOND PASSPORT CONFERENCE.

The Second Passport Conference, decided upon by the last Assembly and convened by the Council, met at Geneva from May 12th to 18th, 1926.

Thirty-eight Governments were represented, namely, the Argentine Republic, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, the British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, India, the Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, and Uruguay. Representatives of the International Labour Office, the International Chamber of Commerce, the Committee of the International Emigration and Immigration Conference, the International Shipping Conference, the Passport and Postal Reform Committee, and the International Railway Union attended the Conference in an advisory capacity.

The Conference elected as Chairman M. PUSTA (Esthonia), and as Vice-Chairmen M. DE AGUERO Y BETHANCOURT (Cuba) and M. POLITIS, Chairman of the Passports Sub-Committee of the Committee for Communications and Transit.

The programme of the Conference had been drawn up by a special Sub-Committee of the Committee for Communications and Transit. It was based largely on a resolution of the sixth Assembly recommending that steps should be taken with a view to the abolition, to the widest extent possible, of the passport system, and to mitigating the disadvantages and expense entailed by that system.

The Second Conference, like that of 1920, adopted a series of recommendations aiming principally at technical improvements in passports of the international type and in methods of establishing passports; the prolongation of the duration of their validity, and its extension to all foreign countries, or to as large groups of countries as possible; the reduction of passport fees, which should in no case exceed the expenditure entailed by their issue; and the simplification of frontier control.

The Conference was in favour of the total abolition of exit visas, and recommended that the suppression of entrance and transit visas should be made as general as possible by means of inter-State agreements. It also recommended that facilities should be granted to travellers, enabling them to break their journey in the countries through which they passed, more especially in ports of call, even though their passport should bear no transit visa; that visas should be valid for two years or for a period equal to that of the validity of the passport, and that they should be good for an unlimited number of journeys and for all frontiers.

It was further recommended that the visa fee should not exceed:

- (a) 5 gold francs for entrance visas valid for a single journey;
- (b) 10 gold francs for entrance visas valid for several journeys;
- (c) 1 gold franc for transit visas of unlimited validity.

The Conference considered that fees should not vary according to the nationality of the passport-holder, his itinerary, or the flag of the ship upon which he embarked.

It recommended that the issue of passports, identity papers and visas should be organised so as to simplify formalities and to spare travellers and emigrants long and expensive journeys. Visas should be delivered within the shortest possible time.

With regard to frontier control, the Conference recommended that it should be carried out, whenever possible, when the trains are in motion; should this be impossible, during the stoppage of trains at one of the two frontier stations, and that police inspection by the two countries concerned should be effected simultaneously or follow rapidly upon one another. It drew the attention of States to the fact that these improvements would be of little value unless agreements were also concluded for the accomplishment of Customs formalities in the same conditions of time and place.

The Conference requested the League to prepare two draft agreements: one, based upon the system of transit cards to replace the consular visa, to facilitate the passage in transit of emigrants leaving Europe for oversea countries; the other, on the introduction of an internationally recognised identity document, to facilitate the movements of persons without nationality.

VI. ELECTRIC QUESTIONS.

The last Assembly drew the attention of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit to the advisability of reconsidering certain international problems relating to the utilisation of electric power. The Sub-Committee on Electric Questions has not yet met; its next session has been arranged for the beginning of the autumn of the present year.

VII. SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

At its session in July last, the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit, after adopting a certain number of resolutions dealing with the dispute submitted to it in connection with the jurisdiction of the European Danube Commission, decided that its Special Committee of Enquiry on that question should hold a joint meeting with the delegates of the European Danube Commission with a view to promoting a settlement of the dispute.

The Special Committee held a meeting with the delegates of the European Danube Commission last September. It was asked to draw up definite proposals for the revision of that part of the Danube Statute which relates to the jurisdiction of the European Commission, in order that the Governments concerned might have a better opportunity of making a definite pronouncement as to the acceptance or rejection of the Advisory and Technical Committee's proposals. The latter have been drawn up and forwarded to the Governments. A final joint meeting of the Special Committee and the delegates of the European Danube Commission is to take place in September 1926.

III. THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

1. MEASURES TAKEN TO EXECUTE THE DECISIONS OF THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY.

The sixth Assembly, in its resolution approving the work of the Health Committee, noted with satisfaction that the Governments were more and more disposed to collaborate with the Health Organisation in matters concerning the prevention of communicable diseases and

the improvement of the health conditions of the people. The Assembly requested the Council to refer to the Health Committee for its consideration the following proposals, on the understanding that no expenditure would be involved beyond the estimates already submitted for 1926.

A. Proposal of the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

(Control of the Manufacture and Distribution of Food Supplies in the Interests of International Public Health.)

The proposal was formulated by the Second Committee of the Assembly in the following terms :

“ The Second Committee requests the Health Committee to study from an international point of view the measures that might be recommended to Governments, in the interests of public health, for the control of the manufacture of, and trade in, food supplies. ”

The Health Committee, during its session held in October 1925, requested the Medical Director of the Health Section of the Secretariat to prepare a preliminary report on this subject in consultation with the Economic Committee of the League ; the Health Section has accordingly begun an enquiry on sanitary measures for the control of food, as provided in national legislation or dealt with by international organisations, with special regard to manufacture and trade (export and import). A comprehensive memorandum which the Economic Section of the Secretariat is preparing on the protection of foreign buyers and consumers against worthless goods will also deal with the sanitary regulations which guarantee the purity and quality of foodstuffs.

A preliminary report was submitted to the Health Committee by the Medical Director in April 1926, and it was proposed, in order to define and restrict the scope of the enquiry, to forward to the Government of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes a note on the information hitherto collected by the Health Section and by the Financial and Economic Sections of the League, and to ask for a more precise definition of the enquiry which it desires to be undertaken.

B. Proposal of the Cuban Delegation.

(Proposed Interchange in Countries of Latin America.)

The proposal was formulated by the Second Committee of the Assembly in the following terms :

“ The Second Committee requests the Health Committee to consider the possibility of organising during the coming year an interchange of technical personnel in charge of institutes of public health and tropical medicine in the countries of Latin America. ”

The Health Committee, during its session in October 1925, entrusted the task of arranging for this interchange to the Medical Director, in consultation with the Latin American members of the Committee. Negotiations are now proceeding between the Health Section and the chiefs of these institutions in Cuba and Brazil.

C. Proposals of the Czechoslovak Delegation.

(Health Insurance, Morbidity in Hospitals, etc.)

The proposals were formulated by the Second Committee of the Assembly as follows :

“ (1) In the interests of the economic, practical and efficient organisation of public health services, including national health insurance, the Second Committee requests the Health Organisation to undertake a comparative study of these aspects of health administration in various countries.

“ (2) In view of the great interest attached to the collection of morbidity statistics, with special regard to the prevention of disease, the Second Committee requests that the Health Committee, among its other work, should include the study of a uniform international method of collecting information regarding diseases treated in hospitals.

“ (3) The Second Committee recommends that the Health Committee should insert on its agenda a study of the conditions in which national pharmacopœias might be made comparable as far as possible, in so far as prescriptions relating to the compounding of drugs are concerned. ”

The Health Committee, during its session held in October 1925, decided to include the study of health insurance in the programme of studies of public health administration in the various countries, on which a number of reports had already been published. It was understood that the study would include a detailed consideration of the relations actually established or capable of being established between the insurance medical services and the public health services, and the financial considerations involved. It was further decided that the study should be carried on in consultation with the International Labour Office.

The Health Committee at the same time requested the Medical Director, in the course of the study of health insurance, to collect information relating to hospital records as an index of morbidity.

The Health Committee has communicated with the sanitary administrations of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary and Poland, which decided to appoint competent medical investigators to make a preliminary survey of all the public health and sanitary agencies in Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Budapest and Warsaw, in order to ascertain their relationship with the national health insurance system. This preliminary survey will demonstrate how far the existing sanitary agencies are being, or may be, utilised by the national health insurance organisations for the purposes of preventive medicine.

The investigators appointed by the various public health administrations met at Prague in March 1926 to discuss a plan of investigation. The preliminary studies will take three or four months, and a further meeting will be held in June or July. On the basis of the experience gained in this preliminary investigation, a detailed plan of study will be drawn up in time for discussion by the Health Committee at its October session. These studies are being undertaken in consultation with the International Labour Office.

D. Proposal of the French Delegation.

(Proposed Establishment of a Health Bureau on the West Coast of Africa.)

The proposal was formulated by the Second Committee of the Assembly as follows :

“ The Second Committee, having in mind the gravity and prevalence of endemic and epidemic diseases in West Africa and the international danger arising therefrom, recommends the Assembly to request the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to study the possibility of establishing a sanitary and epidemiological bureau on the West Coast of Africa. ”

The Health Committee, at its session in October 1925, decided that advantage should be taken of the forthcoming interchange of medical officers of the Colonial Services in West Africa to study the feasibility of establishing this Bureau. At the same time, it was recommended that the Governments possessing colonies in West Africa should be consulted.

A member of the Health Section accompanying the group of medical officers has ascertained the desires and views of the sanitary administrations of the colonies visited and he will present a report on the whole subject to the Health Committee in June. The final Conference on the interchange, which took place in Freetown at the end of May, also formulated an opinion as to the advisability of establishing a sanitary epidemiological information centre in West Africa and as to the scope and character of its proposed activities.

E. Proposal of the Italian Delegation.

(Enquiry into the Prevalence of Trachoma.)

The proposal was formulated by the Second Committee of the Assembly as follows :

“ That the Health Committee, with the approval of the Council, undertake an enquiry into the prevalence of trachoma in various countries and into the measures that have been adopted for its prevention. Having obtained this information, the Health Committee should be in a position to formulate recommendations and eventually to advise as to the most suitable and effective measures to be applied for the prevention of this disease. ”

This enquiry, which is now being carried out, was entrusted to Dr. Lutrario and Dr. Jitta ; other members of the Health Committee who are interested in the problem were invited to prepare reports on the subject. A considerable amount of data has been collected on the prevalence of the disease in the countries where it is notifiable, and a preliminary report on the subject was submitted to the Health Committee in April 1926.

F. Proposal of the Paraguayan Delegation.

(Despatch of an Expert Medical Statistician to Latin America.)

The proposal was formulated by the Second Committee of the Assembly as follows :

“ The Second Committee, appreciating the value of the studies undertaken by the Health Organisation to secure the comparability of health statistics, recommends that an expert medical statistician be sent to a certain number of countries, notably in Latin America, to study, in collaboration with the competent authorities of those countries, the sanitary statistical methodology employed therein, with the object of making comparable the health statistics of a still larger number of countries. ”

The Health Committee, during its session held in October 1925, requested the Medical Director to study any proposal that might be received from the administrations of Latin America in regard to this matter.

The Medical Director reported to the Health Committee in April 1926 that the only communication received up to that time was from the Head of the National Health Department of the Argentine.

G. Proposal of the Venezuelan Delegation.

(Liaison between the Health Administrations and the Health Organisation of the League.)

The proposal was formulated by the Second Committee of the Assembly as follows :

“ The Second Committee, desirous of strengthening the permanent ties which should bind the Health Organisation of the League of Nations to national public health administrations, recommends to each Government the establishment of a special bureau within its health administration, the function of which would be to ensure collaboration between the head of this administration and the Health Organisation of the League of Nations. It is desirable that the personnel of such special bureaux should already have collaborated with the Health Organisation of the League.”

The Health Committee, commenting upon this proposal, noted with satisfaction that a number of countries had already established such bureaux, notably the Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Roumania, and expressed the view that such action resulted in a closer and more valuable relationship.

H. Proposal of the Netherlands Delegation.

(Infant Mortality.)

The resolution of the Assembly was as follows :

“ The Assembly . . .

“ Decides to request the Health Organisation to investigate infant mortality from the point of view of feeding in infancy ;

“ Requests the Council to instruct the Health Committee to undertake this investigation and to enquire into the advisability of constituting a sub-committee which would be able to call upon the co-operation of specialists in various countries in questions concerning child hygiene and which would be requested to initiate the investigation of this and of any other questions connected with child hygiene, the consideration of which might be deemed expedient. ”

The Health Committee in October 1925 requested the Medical Director to prepare a report on infant mortality and related subjects, including questions affecting the hygiene of school-children and legislation for the protection of illegitimate children.

Tabular statements were prepared, in accordance with these resolutions, containing data for nineteen European countries during the forty-four-year period 1880-1924. Figures on infant deaths were collected, classified according to the month of death, the sex, the age at death, the reported cause of death, legitimacy or illegitimacy, and the birth rates were computed for the same period, legitimate and illegitimate birth rates being worked out in the usual manner per thousand total births and also per thousand married or unmarried women between the ages of 15 and 49. A considerable time will be necessary for the analysis of this large amount of statistical data.

Meanwhile, the Child Welfare Committee of the Advisory Commission of the League of Nations for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People had in March 1926 decided to ask for the help and advice of the Health Committee in collecting information concerning legislation dealing with the welfare of infants in the various countries. The Health Committee, during its session in April, in response to this request, instructed the Health Section of the Secretariat to co-operate with the Social Section in obtaining and classifying the necessary information.

Further, in accordance with the resolution of the sixth Assembly, the Health Committee decided to invite the co-operation of six experts in child hygiene, one each from France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Norway, to assist in the work as corresponding experts.

Invitations have been sent to, and accepted by, the following experts :

Dr. Arthur Collett (Norway);
Dr. Debré (France);
Dr. Gorter (Netherlands), and
Dr. Rott (Germany).

Nominations are still awaited for Italy and Great Britain.

In addition, Professor von Pirquet, of Vienna, has been requested to give his assistance in this investigation.

2. EPIDEMIOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE AND PUBLIC HEALTH STATISTICS.

A. Current Epidemiological Statistics.

The work of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service of the Health Section has developed considerably during the last year. Periodical reports on the prevalence of notifiable diseases are received from over a hundred national and colonial administrations upon which falls the duty of watching over the public health of more than two-thirds of the population of the world. Most of the public health administrations forward this information to the Health Section before its publication in their own countries, and the intelligence thus received by the Section is immediately put at the disposal of the other health administrations.

There is still a lack of uniformity in so far as the periods covered by these reports are concerned, but it is hoped that a more uniform system will in time be obtained. For this reason, the numerous administrations which contribute information to the Singapore Intelligence Bureau have unanimously adopted a weekly period ending Saturday at midnight for purposes of tabulating epidemic disease in the chief ports, and it is hoped that this example will gradually be followed by other countries.

The Epidemiological Service is now issuing a weekly record, based on the telegraphic reports from Singapore and on information received directly by the Geneva office, regarding the prevalence of plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus and smallpox. These reports contain telegraphic information from 100 ports, and they are at once sent to the members of the Health Committee and to all the European health administrations. Most of the European administrations receive this information within a week of the termination of the period covered by the report.

Special attention has been given to the development of current statistical information concerning mortality from epidemic diseases and other important causes of death in large cities; this information can be made available comparatively quickly, while in some cases a couple of years will lapse before the publication of the national mortality statistics. Reports are now received from some 700 cities, either through the national health administrations or directly from the cities themselves with the approval of these administrations. All this information is published currently in the *Monthly Epidemiological Report*, which, in the latter half of 1925, was enlarged from about 50 to an average of 72 pages.

Tables showing the number of cases of epidemic diseases reported in each country and the causes of death registered in each city have been prepared for the *Annual Epidemiological Information* of 1925. These tables are verified and completed by the various national health administrations.

B. The Eastern Intelligence Bureau at Singapore.

The Bureau at Singapore, to which reference has already been made, now serves a very large area, which extends as far west as Cape Town and Alexandria and as far east as Honolulu, and it has been found advisable to divide the corresponding administrations into four groups. There is a Western Group, which stretches from the East Coast of Africa and the Asiatic Coast as far east as, and including, British India; a Central Group, which comprises the Malay States, the Dutch East Indies, Borneo and the Philippine Islands; an Eastern Group, which includes the Asiatic coast from Siam to Siberia, with Japan and Formosa; and, finally, a Southern Group, which contains Australia, New Zealand and the South Sea Islands.

The Advisory Council of the Eastern Bureau met at Singapore, in January 1926, to determine the work of the Bureau and to consider its estimates for 1926. It was attended by members from the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Siam, India, Indo-China, Australia, the Dutch East Indies, Hong-Kong, Japan, China, British North Borneo and an observer from the Philippine Islands, and sat from January 4th to January 6th. All the administrations represented agreed that the Bureau was rendering them valuable services.

It is the essential task of the Bureau to collect by cable information on the prevalence of epidemic diseases in the various ports, to obtain information regarding the movements of infected ships, to classify this information and re-telegraph it in the form of weekly bulletins. The bulletins are broadcasted every Friday free of charge by the French station at Saigon. They are then relayed free of charge by the wireless stations at Malabar (Java), Sandakan (British North Borneo), Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Karachi (British India). This arrangement is necessary owing to the meteorological conditions prevailing in the Far East, which sometimes make it difficult for certain stations to pick up the messages.

The Advisory Council decided to ask the Health Committee to begin serious studies of the great public health problems of the East, and in particular to set up expert committees composed of the directors of research institutes in those countries where enquiries of this nature are actually in progress or about to be undertaken, with the addition of experts from Western countries selected for their special competence in the matter. This Committee will deal with the co-ordination of enquiries into such problems as the value of vaccination by the mouth against acute intestinal infections, endemic centres of cholera, certain aspects

of bubonic plague and the possibility of corporate action for the study of pneumonic plague.

The Health Committee considered these proposals during its session in April. It approved the budget estimates for the year 1926, passed by the Advisory Board, amounting to 39,763.77 gold dollars, and it expressed its thanks and appreciation to the administrations whose delegates at the meeting of the Advisory Council at Singapore had promised financial assistance to the expenses of the Bureau. The contributions promised were as follows :

The Government of :

The Straits Settlements	5,000 Straits dollars (for 1926) ;
Siam	2,000 Straits dollars (for 1926) ;
The Philippine Islands	5,000 Straits dollars (for 1927) ;
Japan	from 7,000 to 10,000 yen (for 1926) ;
French Indo-China	6,000 piastres (for 1926) ;
Hong-Kong	up to 5,000 Straits dollars (for 1927) ;
China	2,000 Straits dollars (for 1926) ;
Netherlands East Indies	sum not stated (for 1926).

The Health Committee also thanked the administrations which were broadcasting free of charge the Bureau's weekly bulletin.

The Health Committee noted with interest the recommendation for the creation of expert committees to co-ordinate research in the Far East in public health questions of international importance, and it resolved, in particular, to proceed at once, in consultation with the administrations concerned, to the constitution of an expert committee to deal with the question of the administration by the mouth of vaccines against acute intestinal infections.

C. Report of the Still-Birth Commission.

The Council, on June 9th, 1925, decided that the report of the Still-Birth Commission of the Health Committee, in which certain proposals are put forward for the definition of still-births, should be sent to the Governments of all States Members of the League and to Germany, Mexico, Russia and the United States. The Health Committee noted, during its session held in April 1926, that replies had already been received from seventeen Governments, the majority of which were in agreement with the definitions proposed and offered no further comment.

The Governments of Australia, Brazil and the Union of South Africa stated that they were prepared to introduce such new legislation as the adoption of the definitions would demand, if other Governments did the same. The British Government, however, was unable to consider the adoption of the definitions proposed, owing to numerous difficulties, in connection with existing legislation, to which such a change would give rise. The Brazilian Government recommended that the Health Organisation should undertake the preparation of an international nomenclature of causes of still-births. The same proposal was made by the Venezuelan Government, which also proposed that the Health Organisation should establish a standard form for the registration of still-births.

D. Statistical Handbooks.

A statistical handbook on Austria, prepared by Dr. Major Greenwood and Major P. G. Edge, was published in December 1925.

Professor H. Westergaard has prepared a handbook for the Scandinavian countries which deals with the vital statistics of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

The handbook describing the statistical system of the United States of America as a whole and of the individual States is being prepared by Mr. E. Sydenstricker, of the United States Public Health Service.

3. INTERCHANGES OF PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICERS.

A. The Interchange in Japan.

The interchange in Japan began at Tokio on October 18th, 1925, and concluded at Dairen on December 4th. Public health officers from the administrations of the following countries participated : Australia, China, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, Hong-Kong, British India, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, New Zealand, Siam and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The programme began with general lectures at Tokio by the principal officers of the Japanese Ministry of Health. The participating officers then visited the health organisations in Japan and afterwards went to Korea and to Southern Manchuria.

The Medical Director of the Health Section of the League, who, on the invitation of the Japanese Government, accompanied the interchange group, submitted a detailed report of his journey to the Health Committee during its April session 1926.

The visitors were impressed by the very great wealth of technical information available in Japan as a result of the accumulated experience of the Japanese Public Health and Medical Services. Japan has an unusually complete system of vital statistics, which has been built up during the last two or three hundred years. Every communal authority has for some two hundred years kept family registers, and since 1868 the police have also kept household registers which represent a permanent census of the entire population. A complete vaccination register is also kept in the district offices. The reports on vital statistics are centralised at a statistical bureau in Tokio, which is in the hands of a fully competent staff of modern statisticians thoroughly trained in the American schools of vital statistics.

The medical profession is numerous, the hospitals are exceptionally well provided with laboratories both for research and routine. The standard of the technical work is very high. Both in administration and in the medical work of the hospitals the influence of German teaching is much in evidence.

The Japanese Health Service has concentrated its efforts, in particular, on the attack against infectious diseases. The most difficult public health problem in Japan is the prevalence of intestinal diseases. The medical research institutes have devoted themselves, with the aid of field stations and field surveys, to discovering, describing and studying in detail the etiology of parasitic infection and conducting research into problems relating to typhoid and dysentery immunity. In spite of all these efforts, the incidence of typhoid fever and the proportion of deaths, as compared with the number of the population and of those suffering from the disease, continues to be very high.

The problem of tuberculosis is also difficult, and the central administration is very anxious to intensify on modern lines its campaign against tuberculosis.

The work of the Health Organisation of the League is followed closely by the officers of the Japanese Public Health Service and by the Japanese medical profession, and many Japanese specialists desire to associate their work with that of the expert commissions of the Health Committee. To this end, they have set up a Co-ordination Committee to follow the work of the Health Committee and to ensure the continuous co-operation of Japan. This Committee is presided over by Professor Miyajima, a former member of the Health Committee.

The Medical Director discussed with this Committee a plan of co-operation. This plan included the publication by the Health Committee of monographs based on recent original Japanese research, concerning public health problems of international importance and the appointment of corresponding members to take part in the work of the several committees and commissions of the Health Organisation. It was also proposed that fellowships should be given to Western public health and medical research workers who might desire to study at a Japanese institution, and that, in exchange, four Japanese public health and research workers should be given facilities for studying in Europe Western problems of importance to Japan. This plan of co-operation was adopted by the Health Committee during its session in April 1926.

B. Interchange of Health Officers in the Ports of the Mediterranean.

This interchange began at Barcelona in November 1925, and included health officers belonging to the following countries: Algeria, Egypt, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Spain and Syria.

Dr. Raynaud submitted to the Health Committee, during its session in April 1926, a report on this interchange, which took place under his direction. Dr. Raynaud emphasised how desirable it was, as much from the point of view of health as from that of shipping, that mutual confidence should prevail as between the health authorities of the various ports. In this connection, he pointed out that interchanges enabled a more direct contact to be established between the health officers of the ports, making it possible for them to familiarise themselves with the methods employed in ports which were in a close maritime relation with their own.

A final Conference of those participating in the interchange was held at Geneva in December 1925, in the course of which it was suggested that the Health Committee should appoint a Committee composed of doctors, bacteriologists, chemists, shipowners, marine officers and engineers, to make experiments in different ports on the various methods of fumigation now employed and to decide in what conditions the work of deratisation should be undertaken.

C. The Interchange in Great Britain.

The first general interchange held in 1926 began in London on February 22nd and ended at Geneva on April 1st. Health officers from the following countries participated: Austria, Brazil, Canada, the United States, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Panama, Poland, Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The programme of the interchange was carried out not only with the aid of the various Government departments but also and especially with the help of the London County Council,

the Corporation of the City of London, certain Borough Councils and other metropolitan organisations, to whom the most cordial thanks of those participating in the interchange are due. The health administration of London and neighbouring counties was studied in all its details, the interchange being specially organised for the benefit of municipal health officers occupying important posts in the administrative services of great urban centres.

At the final Conference at Geneva, very interesting reports were presented by the participants, who were unanimous in declaring that they had gained very valuable experience from their visit to England and that they hoped to be able to profit by it in their own countries.

D. The Interchange in West Africa.

The interchange of health officers in West Africa began at Dakar on March 20th, 1926. It was attended by health officers from the Belgian, British, French, Portuguese and Spanish colonies and from the administrations of Guatemala and South Africa. It was also attended by a representative of the Health Section of the League, who was specially instructed to investigate the possibility of instituting an epidemiological bureau at Dakar on the model of the Bureau at Singapore.

Very considerable difficulties were encountered in organising this interchange, as regular shipping services between the different colonies are almost non-existent. Certain of the territories have tolerably good roads, but these rarely connect two colonies. The programme had accordingly to be more or less provisional, and it was subject to any modifications which might be necessary in order to take advantage of the existing facilities of communication. The visits to the various ports were organised in close consultation with the Governors of the colonies concerned and through the intermediary of the various Colonial Offices.

The interchange began at Senegal at the end of March 1926. The itinerary included Gambia, Portuguese Guinea, French Guinea, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Togoland, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.

E. Sanitary Engineers.

The interchange programme for 1926 also included an interchange of sanitary engineers. A circular letter was sent to forty-eight States, inviting them to submit a list of official engineers attached to the central health authorities for work in large urban or rural centres. The interchange, necessarily limited to sixteen participants, will visit in groups of four the cities of Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool and Sheffield. It will open with a preliminary course in London, followed by a Conference with municipal and county engineers in Bristol.

In London the delegates will attend the Jubilee Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute, to which they have been invited by the Council of the Institute. Accompanied by a small Committee of specialists, the participants will visit the waterworks of the various towns, investigate the port health organisations, study the construction of fever hospitals, housing and town-planning schemes, and the methods adopted for the removal and utilisation of refuse, and will visit model villages, such as Bournville, near Birmingham.

F. General Interchange in Denmark.

The third general interchange organised for 1926 is an interchange in Denmark from May 27th to June 30th. This is reserved for officials particularly interested in the organisation and working of rural services. The following countries are participating: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Esthonia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States.

G. Collective Interchange in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Switzerland (Special Type of Interchange).

A new type of interchange has been organised for the months of July and August, in which an endeavour will be made to eliminate some of the less desirable features of collective interchanges and to combine the advantages of individual missions and collective study tours.

The interchange will be limited to ten participants, each chosen for his expert knowledge of some definite subject. After some twelve days of individual study on special questions, the participants will meet as a group and follow the initial stage of a collective interchange, with the ordinary group conferences and visits to institutions of general interest. They will then separate into groups of specialists, who will study four or five subjects in which they are particularly interested, meeting at the end of each week for an exchange of views and a general discussion.

The interchange is designed to cover a period of six weeks and will enable the ten participants to visit the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Switzerland. The study tour will finish in Switzerland towards the end of August, and a final conference will then be held at Geneva.

The subjects selected by the participants include prophylaxis of venereal diseases, prophylaxis of tuberculosis, disinfection, child welfare, and health insurance in its relation to preventive medicine. The subjects will be dealt with by the lecturers selected by the public health departments of the four countries concerned, and these lectures will be supplemented by visits to typical institutions.

H. *Individual Fellowships.*

Individual fellowships for 1925-26 were accorded to health officers from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and from Persia.

Fellowships for 1926 have been granted to health officers from Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Australia (two fellowships). Three fellowships have been reserved for Spain, one for the United States of America, two for the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and one for Poland. It has been arranged to accord four fellowships for medical officers from Japan and for four medical officers who desire to visit Japanese laboratories.

On the proposal of the Director-General of Public Health in Poland, an interchange of medical officers has been arranged between Poland and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The arrangements for this interchange are now being made, and it will take place during the course of the present year.

I. *Plan of Interchanges for 1927.*

It is proposed to organise in Great Britain and in Germany collective interchanges for medical officers belonging to health services. It is also proposed to organise interchanges between health officers who have specialised in certain branches of administration and to arrange for a collective study tour for medical officers attached to national insurance organisations.

Further interchanges are being organised for professors of hygiene, and there will probably be a Parliamentary interchange. The possibility of an interchange for nurses is also under consideration, and also that of a second interchange for sanitary engineers. Plans for interchanges in Far Eastern ports and in Baltic ports are also under consideration, and may take place before the end of the year.

4. WORK OF THE COMMISSIONS.

A. *Malaria Commission.*

The Malaria Commission, during its session in October 1925, drew up a detailed programme of research for 1926, which was approved by the Health Committee during its following session in April 1926.

The following is a brief summary of the work which is now in progress.

As regards study tours, the report on the journey made by the Commission at the beginning of last autumn in Spain has been finally approved and will shortly be published. A study tour in Sicily has been organised for the autumn of the present year, in agreement with the Director-General of the Health Service of Italy.

An investigation with regard to the relation between anophelism and river deltas, such as the Ebro, the Po and the Danube, is at present in progress.

In the sphere of laboratory research, a very interesting memorandum was submitted to the Commission by one of its members, Colonel S. P. James, of the British Health Ministry, which relates the experiments made in England with a view to keeping a stock of mosquitoes constantly infected with the malaria plasmodium for the treatment of general paralysis by the intentional provocation of malaria.

Experiments of the same kind are being carried out in Bologna, Paris and Hamburg.

Clinical tests with a view to the substitution for quinine of certain of the secondary alkaloids of cinchona, for which the cost of production is smaller, have been carried out in a certain number of hospitals in Algeria, Italy, Roumania, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Spain, according to the principles laid down by the Malaria Commission. It would be premature to pass a final judgment on the therapeutic value of these alkaloids, as the experiments will be continued during the next malaria season.

Special courses in malaria have been organised in the Tropical Medicine Institutes of Paris, London and Hamburg. These theoretical courses will be followed by a practical course in the anti-malaria stations of Corsica, Italy, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Spain. The courses will be attended by participants from Armenia, British India, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Poland, Roumania, Spain and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Lastly, an investigation into the relations which may exist between climatic and meteorological conditions and malaria will be pursued in Italian and Spanish anti-malaria stations situated in the immediate vicinity of meteorological information centres.

The Malaria Commission, in accordance with a decision of the Health Committee, was represented by certain of its members at the first International Malaria Congress, held at Rome in October 1925, and a special sitting of the Congress was devoted to the communications submitted by the members of the Commission. A permanent Malaria Congress was appointed by the Conference, six of the thirteen persons elected as members of the Congress being members of the Malaria Commission.

Wishing to honour the memory of Dr. Darling and Dr. Lothian, who died as a result of the accident at Beirut on May 21st, 1925, the Council approved, during its session held in December 1925, the following proposals of the Health Committee :

1. The founding of a Prize, to be known as the Darling Memorial Prize, for which the necessary funds will be collected by private subscription, to be awarded to the author of an original work on malaria. The rules concerning this prize were adopted by the Health Committee during its session of April 1926. They stipulate that the foundation shall award every two years a bronze medal and the sum of 1,000 Swiss francs to the living author of an original work on the pathology, etiology or prophylaxis of malaria.

2. To devote a portion of the credits of the budget of the Health Organisation to the creation of an individual scholarship, to be known as the Lothian Scholarship, and to be awarded by the Malaria Commission to a candidate chosen by itself.

B. Commission on Smallpox and Vaccination.

The Health Committee, during its session in October 1925, decided to constitute a special Commission to study questions relating to vaccination and the epidemiology of smallpox. The Commission met at The Hague from January 4th to January 7th, 1926, and examined a programme of work drawn up by its Chairman, Professor Ricardo Jorge. Experts from France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland attended the Commission.

A letter was sent by the Secretary-General to all public health administrations, drawing their attention to cases in which encephalitis was observed to follow vaccination in certain countries, and asking them to send to the Health Section detailed information regarding any such cases which might be observed. The Secretary-General also sent a questionnaire to all the public health administrations with a view to enabling the Health Committee to study the methods used in the official institutes and laboratories under State control for the preparation, examination, distribution and use of vaccines. Finally, the Health Committee arranged for a comparative study to be undertaken into various laboratory methods used to determine the activity of the lymph.

C. International Sleeping-Sickness Commission.

The resolutions of the International Conference on Sleeping-Sickness approved by the Council in 1925 were mentioned in the Supplementary Report of the Council to the sixth Assembly¹.

In addition to the generous subsidies offered by the Belgian, British, French and Spanish Governments, the Portuguese Government has intimated that it desires to contribute a sum of £500 to the expenses of the Commission. The Portuguese Government has appointed Dr. Maximo Prates, head of the Laboratory at Lourenço Marquês, to collaborate in the work of the International Commission.

The Commission met at Entebbe in Uganda in February 1926, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Duke. It has undertaken laboratory and field studies regarding a series of problems of capital importance for the epidemiology, treatment and prophylaxis of sleeping-sickness. In view of the scope of the subjects the study of which has been entrusted to the Commission under the resolution of the International Conference of London, the Commission will not probably finish its work during the year 1926, and it is desirable that its mandate shall be prolonged beyond the present year.

There is every reason to hope that this international scientific collaboration will result in increasing our knowledge regarding sleeping-sickness, which for certain portions of the continent of Africa is so formidable a scourge.

D. The Tuberculosis Commission.

The Tuberculosis Commission, in April 1925, decided to continue its comparative study of the statistics of tuberculosis mortality in different countries. The problem was to be studied on the basis of a report by Dr. Biraud, in which it was maintained that a decline in tuberculosis mortality had really taken place in the various countries under consideration. The Tuberculosis Commission laid down the conditions under which the proposed enquiry should be effected, and it decided, that Denmark, Norway and Sweden appeared to be particularly suitable for a general enquiry of this character.

A Conference was accordingly held in September 1925, at Copenhagen, under the Chairmanship of Professor Madsen. The Conference adopted a programme of joint action, under the terms of which those pursuing the enquiry would forthwith proceed to prepare and exchange detailed statistics of tuberculosis mortality in the different countries.

Meanwhile, a general enquiry was concurrently undertaken in France, and more particularly in Paris, under the direction of Professor Léon Bernard, and a preliminary examination was made by the statistical service of the Health Section on the mortality figures for England

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 332.

and Wales, Bavaria and Switzerland. It appeared from this general enquiry that tuberculosis mortality had declined more rapidly than the general figure for mortality from all causes.

The result of this research was communicated to the Tuberculosis Commission in a report by Dr. Biraud during the session of the Health Committee in April 1926.

E. Commission on Public Health Instruction.

The Commission on Public Health Instruction has held two sessions since the meeting of the sixth Assembly.

At its session in October 1925, Professor Léon Bernard reported upon his recent visit to Brazil, the Argentine Republic and Uruguay, where he had given a series of lectures on the health work of the League of Nations. The Commission also heard a report by Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the British Ministry of Health and Board of Education, who, at the request of his colleagues, agreed to draft a memorandum on the various systems of public health instruction followed in the countries which the Commission had already studied; this memorandum should make it possible to draw up certain general suggestions, and to indicate the principles which should serve as the basis of such instruction.

In April 1926, the Commission held a meeting at Warsaw, where it had been invited by the Director-General of the Polish Public Health Service to assist at the inauguration of the new school of health attached to the State Institute of Health already existing at Warsaw. At this meeting, the Directors of the health schools of London, Prague, Belgrade and Zagreb attended. After a discussion on the prospective programmes of these schools, it was decided that the Commission should endeavour to collect all the documents concerning the health schools already existing in Europe and the United States, and to facilitate a mutual co-operation between these new bodies by means of an exchange of views between their Directors.

F. The Cancer Commission.

In October 1925, the Statistical Sub-Committee of the Cancer Commission asked Professor Niceforo and Professor Pittard to study the possible relation between cancer and the racial factor, and to prepare a preliminary report on this question. For this report two kinds of information were necessary: statistical data on cancer mortality in certain selected countries, and anthropological data for these countries.

The data as regards cancer mortality were collected by the Secretariat, and the necessary anthropological information by the Rapporteurs themselves.

It was observed, in the preparation of the necessary statistical information, that in some countries the rate of mortality from cancer was extremely low in certain districts, whereas in the same regions mortality from senility or from unknown causes was comparatively high. This discovery suggested a further investigation into the comparative mortality rates from these causes; this enquiry was carried out in April and May 1926. Dr. Greenwood (Great Britain), Dr. Hansen (Denmark), Professor Methorst (Netherlands), and Dr. Carrière (Switzerland) were accordingly asked to undertake similar studies, in order to discover whether there might not be an inverse relation between mortality from cancer and mortality from senility or unknown causes.

Towards the end of April 1926, Dr. Greenwood, Chairman of the Statistical Sub-Committee, called a series of informal conferences, during which the conclusions at which the experts had already provisionally arrived might be examined. It was decided during these conferences that Professor Niceforo and Professor Pittard should be invited to prepare a summary of their report and that this summary should be distributed to the Cancer Commission.

Meanwhile, Dr. Greenwood had drawn attention to the question of serological methods, and proposed that this question should be studied from the racial point of view. A document was accordingly prepared on the subject and distributed to the members of the Statistical Sub-Committee. The conclusions contained in this document appear to have opened up a new avenue of research.

G. The Opium Commission.

Article 8 of the International Opium Convention concluded at Geneva on February 19th, 1925, covers certain preparations containing narcotics which, owing to their composition, should be withdrawn from the effects of the Convention.

Article 10 of the same Convention covers narcotics recognised as liable to produce toxicomania, to which, therefore, the provisions of the Convention should be made applicable.

By a resolution adopted by the International Opium Conference of 1925 and a resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations on March 14th, 1925, the Health Committee was asked to consult the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'Hygiène publique at Paris on questions arising under these articles.

As the result of a decision of the Health Committee in April 1925, the Permanent Committee of the Office international was asked to give an opinion in regard to two products, eucodal and dicodid, both derivatives of morphine and codein, as it was thought that, as these drugs contained injurious properties, they should be brought within the provisions of the

Convention. The Permanent Committee of the Office international in October 1925 appointed a committee of experts to study the question, and, on the advice of those experts, unanimously decided, in May 1926, that the two substances eucodal and dicodid might from prolonged use lead to the forming of the drug habit, and therefore proposed that they should be added to the list of drugs coming under the provisions of the International Convention.

With reference to Article 8, the Health Committee decided, in April 1925, to invite the Governments to supply it with a list of the products containing narcotics which should, in their opinion, be withdrawn from the effects of the Convention, and a circular letter was addressed to the Governments in November 1925. Up to the present (May 1926), replies have been received from sixteen Governments.

H. *The Standardisation Commission.*

(a) *Standardisation of Sera.*

The Danish Serotherapeutic Institute has continued as in the past the comparative titration of the standards of anti-diphtheric serum used by various countries for the standardisation of their national sera. This titration was carried out in relation to an international unit of anti-diphtheric serum deposited at the Copenhagen Institute. The results of these titrations have shown that there is an absolute agreement between the values of these various standards.

In conformity with the decisions of the Conference for the Standardisation of Anti-dysenteric Serum held at Geneva in September 1924, Dr. Madsen prepared a certain quantity of Anti-dysenteric Serum intended to be used as an international standard. This serum has been distributed among the various laboratories participating in the researches, with a view to comparative titration.

In spite of the very thorough study and the titrations carried out by the various laboratories of Europe and the United States, the anti-tetanic standard, which had been previously selected by the Commission and which represented a mean term between the extreme values of the anti-tetanic units in use in the various countries, has not met with unanimous approval. The Commission was therefore led to consider whether the solution of the problem did not reside in the adoption of one of the national standards at present in use.

(b) *Tuberculin.*

On the proposal of the Tuberculosis Commission, Professor Calmette, Deputy-Director of the Pasteur Institute, has undertaken an experimental study of the various methods used for the titration of tuberculin in the hope that a method might be devised for international use. In the remarkable report on this question which he submitted to the Health Committee during its session held in April 1926, Professor Calmette reached the conclusion that, in spite of the numerous methods of titration existing, it would be premature to propose the adoption of international rules in order to estimate the activity of the tuberculin, and that it was advisable for its titration to be made the subject of further experimental research.

The author proposes, however, to carry out the titration in relation to a tuberculin standard, and describes the method which, in his opinion, would enable the activity of tuberculin to be more exactly estimated.

(c) *Biological Standards.*

In order to give effect to the resolution adopted by the Health Committee in October 1925, the Secretary-General has communicated to the Governments for transmission to the services concerned the resolutions adopted by the Second International Conference for the Biological Standardisation of Certain Remedies, which met at Geneva from August 31st to September 3rd, 1925, under the Chairmanship of Dr. H. H. Dale. These resolutions were also communicated to the Second Conference for the Unification of the Formulæ of Powerful Drugs, which was held at Brussels from September 21st to 29th, 1925. This Conference recommended :

(1) That biological standardisation should be introduced into the pharmacopœias wherever this is necessary ;

(2) That, unless there are good reasons to the contrary, the pharmacopœias should adopt the methods which have been or may in future be recommended by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations ;

(3) That the Pharmacopœia Commissions should forward to the Health Organisation of the League of Nations any observations or suggestions they may wish to make with regard to the methods in question.

The Conference at Brussels further considered that it was advisable to institute an international body for the unification of pharmacopœias, and to set up two international committees which would undertake the study of the unification of the methods of chemical and physico-chemical titration of powerful drugs and of the methods of preparing powerful galenic preparations. To this end, the organising Committee of the Conference has been requested to approach the Belgian Government and to ask it to open negotiations with the League of Nations with a view to definitely setting up these bodies.

5. SPECIAL STUDIES AND MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

A. *Disinfection.*

An international enquiry on the question of disinfection was originally undertaken by the Health Committee on the proposal of Dr. Chodzko. At the request of the Health Section, the health administrations of certain European countries entrusted to experts the preparation of memoranda describing the position with regard to compulsory disinfection. Such memoranda were obtained from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and Scandinavia.

A report was presented to the Health Committee during its last session by Professor Chagas on the present practice in regard to terminal disinfection. The opinions of the sanitary administrations represented on the Permanent Committee of the Office international are now being obtained, and recommendations will be prepared by Professor Chagas in collaboration with the Health Section and the Director of the Office international for consideration by the Health Committee at its session to be held in October.

B. *Leishmaniosis.*

The Health Committee, during its session in April 1925, heard a statement by Professor Pittaluga regarding leishmaniosis which was of special interest in Spain and the Mediterranean basin. As a result of that statement, the Committee decided to entrust to Professor Pittaluga, in collaboration with Dr. Raynaud, a study of Mediterranean leishmaniosis. Professor Pittaluga and Dr. Raynaud presented reports to the following session of the Committee, which decided that the enquiry in the Mediterranean countries should be continued and completed.

An enquiry is now being made, which includes, on the one hand, statistical research in Spain, the South of France, Italy, Portugal and North Africa, and, on the other, a topographical study of the foci of leishmaniosis in relation to the presence of dogs and phlebotomi. For the carrying out of this plan, certain experts belonging to the interested countries, and particularly Dr. Nicolle, of Tunis, and Dr. Sergent, of Algiers, have promised their collaboration.

C. *Leprosy.*

The Health Committee, during its session in October 1925, decided that an investigation should be conducted into certain statistical and epidemiological aspects of the problem of leprosy.

The investigation was entrusted to Professor Chagas, who presented a report to the Committee in April 1926. The Health Committee requested Professor Chagas to continue his study in collaboration with experts appointed for this purpose in agreement with the Bureau of the Health Committee. The following experts have been nominated: Professor Marchoux (France), Dr. MacCoy (United States of America). Sir Leonard Rogers (Great Britain) has also promised his assistance.

D. *International Conference on Rabies.*

On several occasions during the last two years the President of the Health Committee has been asked to convene a Conference of the directors of the chief anti-rabies institutes of the world, in order to discuss the results of the experience gained as regards anti-rabies vaccination. In view of the interest attaching to such a discussion, the President of the Health Committee — having taken the above requests into consideration — got into touch with the authorities of the Pasteur Institute in Paris who entirely approved of the proposal, and were of the opinion that the initiative could be taken by the Health Committee. The Pasteur Institute having suggested that the future Conference should be held in Paris at the Institute, the Health Committee gratefully accepted this suggestion and at its April session adopted the following resolution:

“ The Health Committee decides to take steps to convene in 1927, at the Pasteur Institute in Paris, an International Conference on Rabies, to which the directors of the chief anti-rabies institutions of the world will be invited.”

The Conference will be convened during the spring of 1927. The Pasteur Institute and the Health Section of the Secretariat are now drawing up reports which would serve as a basis for future discussion.

E. *Epidemiological Enquiries.*

Memoranda on the epidemiology of cholera have been prepared by Major A. J. Russell, Director of the Health Service of the Presidency of Madras, who has studied the endemic centres in India, and by Professor Barikine and Dr. Cazeneuve, who describe the position as observed by them at Rostov-on-the-Don, a city which is an endemic centre for cholera.

The epidemiology of plague and, in particular, the relations existing between this disease and certain wild rodents have been studied by Dr. Wu Lien-Teh, Director of the Anti-Plague Prophylaxis Service of Manchuria, as well as by Dr. H. Cazeneuve during a mission to the south of Lake Baikal on the invitation of the People's Commissariat for Public Health of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Other studies are in progress on the sero-prophylaxis of measles and on certain aspects of the epidemiology of scarlet-fever.

F. *Health Exhibitions.*

The Health Organisation has been invited to participate in the exhibition of public health, social welfare and physical education, for which a very large programme has been drawn up by the city of Düsseldorf, and in a similar exhibition which will take place at Budapest.

In response to these invitations, the Health Section has sent coloured schedules showing the various aspects of the activity of the Health Organisation, and has printed, for distribution to the visitors, a pamphlet relating to the work accomplished by the Organisation.

10.

HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS.

I. TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

Appointment of Assessors.

The Council, during its meeting in March 1926, appointed as assessors to the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium M. Henri Brenier (French) and Colonel Arthur Woods (American), the former for his knowledge of the commercial side of the opium question, the latter, as former Police Commissioner of New York City, as an expert on the police side of the administration of the laws dealing with the subject. The third assessorship — reserved for an expert on the conditions in the Far East — the Council decided to leave unfilled for the time being.

Commission of Enquiry into Opium Production in Persia.

On September 28th, 1925, the Council, having considered the decision of the sixth Assembly relative to the question of the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the opium situation in Persia, requested the Secretary-General to submit at the December session of the Council a list of persons suitable to serve as members of such a Commission. The Secretary-General was asked, in preparing this list, to act in accordance with the terms of Resolution 2 adopted by the Assembly with regard to this Commission.

The Commission was constituted on December 11th, 1925, in accordance with the instructions of the sixth Assembly. The members appointed were M. Frederick A. DELANO (United States of America), Chairman; Professor CAVARA (Naples University), botanical and agricultural expert; and M. Victor CAYLA (France), agricultural engineer. The Council thanked the American Social Hygiene Bureau for the gift of 20,000 dollars which it had contributed towards the expenses of the Commission.

The Commission of Enquiry, after a preliminary meeting at Geneva, embarked on March 12th, 1926, at Trieste, *en route* for Persia, in order to proceed with its investigation.

Eighth Session of the Advisory Committee.

The eighth session of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs was held at Geneva from May 26th to June 8th, 1926. The report on the work of the Committee during that session, which will be considered by the Council during its September session, will be summarised in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

II. PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

A. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The Traffic in Women and Children Committee met at Geneva from March 22nd to 25th, 1926. The following members of the Committee attended the meetings:

Delegates appointed by Governments.

Don Pedro SANGRO Y ROS DE OLANO, <i>Chairman</i>	Spain.
M. Emilio Martinez AMADOR (substitute delegate).	
M. BOURGOIS (replacing M. Regnault), <i>Vice-Chairman</i>	France.
M. BARBIER (substitute delegate).	
COUNT CARTON DE WIART	Belgium.
Mr. MAXWELL (replacing Mr. Harris)	British Empire.
Dr. Estrid HEIN	Denmark.
Marquis Paulucci DE' CALBOLI	Italy.
M. Yotaro SUGIMURA	Japan.
M. Stanislas POSNER	Poland.
M. CIUNTU (replacing M. Comnène)	Roumania.

Assessors.

Miss BAKER	International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children.
Mme AVRIL DE SAINTE-CROIX	Women's International Organisations.
BARONNESS DE MONTENACH	Association catholique internationale des Œuvres de protection de la jeune fille.
Mme. CURCHOD-SECRETAN	Fédération des Unions nationales des Amies de la jeune fille.
Mr. S. COHEN	Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women.

Secretary : Dame Rachel CROWDY.

Dr. FERENCZI, of the International Labour Office, acted as liaison officer with that institution.

Annual Reports.

After having noted the progress report submitted by the Secretary, the Committee examined the summary of the annual reports from Governments for the year 1924 and noted with satisfaction the continually increasing number of Governments which are sending detailed reports of great value to the work of the Committee. It also took cognisance of the reports which each of the Assessors laid before it on behalf of the Associations which they represented. The Committee was glad to note the co-operation which existed between the authorities in the various countries and the private organisations.

International Convention of 1921.

Since the last session ratifications had been received from China, Japan, Sweden and Switzerland; France had adhered to the Convention.

Collection of Laws and Regulations.

The Committee expressed its thanks to the American Social Hygiene Association, which has prepared a collection of the laws and regulations of many countries in relation to the traffic in women and children.

Replies to the Questionnaire of 1923 regarding the System of Licensed Houses.

Replies have been received by the Secretariat, since the last session of the Committee, from New Zealand, Japan, Norway, Austria and the Free City of Danzig. It was decided to request the Council to instruct the Secretariat to ask those countries which had not yet sent reports to do so, and those which have sent reports for any new comments. The Committee further requested the Secretariat to prepare for the next session a systematic and impartial abstract of the reports which, taken in conjunction with the reports themselves, would show the present position. This abstract should be suitable for use in the preparation of a report which the Committee proposes to make to the Council in accordance with Resolution 4 adopted by the Council on June 11th, 1924.

Expulsion of Foreign Prostitutes.

The discussion which had taken place last year on this subject was continued¹. The Committee thought it would be helpful to establish a closer co-operation between the Government authorities in the different countries and the voluntary associations willing to help foreign prostitutes who are to be expelled. Two resolutions were adopted with a view to promoting co-operation between the voluntary associations themselves on this important point. By a third resolution, the Council was requested to ask the Secretariat to invite the various Governments to furnish information on the question, in order that it might be considered at the next session of the Committee. M. POSNER, delegate of Poland, was appointed Rapporteur.

Women Police.

The Committee noted the increasing interest which had been shown in the question of the employment of women in the police in several countries in all matters affecting the protection of women and children and, as these countries were of opinion that such appointments would largely tend to decrease the evils of the traffic in women, it requested the Council of the League to instruct the Secretariat to apply to all States for full information on the subject. It further decided that such information should be classified for presentation to the Committee at its next session.

Obscene Publications.

Several delegates made statements of great interest with regard to the difficult problem of stopping the sale of obscene publications, and the Committee decided to ask the Council to

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 276.

instruct the Secretariat to obtain the periodical reports recommended in paragraph 9 of the Final Act of the International Conference of 1923 for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications, in order that these reports might be submitted, if possible, to the Committee at its next session.

Alcoholism in its Relation to the Traffic in Women and Children.

The Committee had before it a report furnished by the International Anti-Alcoholism Bureau on the subject of alcoholism in its relation to prostitution. The Committee was unanimously of opinion that an interdependence existed between these two evils and it invited the Secretariat to proceed with the study of this problem from the point of view of the traffic, in order that it might be considered at the next session of the Committee.

Emigration.

The Committee thought it desirable not to lose sight of the problem of the protection of migrant women and children which had for several years been of considerable interest to the members of the Advisory Committee. It received a statement made by the representative of the International Labour Office, M. Ferenczi, with regard to the very important question of the inspection of migrants on board ship. This question was considered of particular interest, inasmuch as it appeared on the agenda of the 1926 International Labour Conference.

* * *

The report of the Committee was placed on the agenda of the June session of the Council. The resolutions adopted by the Council as a result of the examination of this report will be summarised in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

B. CHILD WELFARE.

The Child Welfare Committee met at Geneva from March 25th to April 1st, 1926. The following members were present :

Delegates appointed by Governments :

Don Pedro SANGRO Y ROS DE OLANO (<i>Chairman</i>)	Spain.
Don Emilio Martinez AMADOR (<i>Substitute delegate</i>).	
M. BOURGOIS (<i>Vice-Chairman</i>)	France.
M. MARTIN (<i>Technical Advisor</i>).	
COUNT CARTON DE WIART	Belgium.
Mr. MAXWELL (<i>replacing Mr. Harris</i>)	British Empire.
Dr. Estrid HEIN	Denmark.
Marquis Paulucci DE'CALBOLI	Italy.
M. Yotaro SUGIMURA	Japan.
M. Stanislas POSNER	Poland.
M. CIUNTU (<i>replacing M. Comnène</i>)	Roumania.

Assessors.

Miss Julia LATHROP, M.A.	American National Conference on Social Work.
M. Henri ROLLET	International Association for the Protection of Children.
Mlle BURNIAUX	International Federation of Trade Unions.
Dame Katharine FURSE	International Organisation of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.
Dr. HUMBERT	League of Red Cross Societies.
Miss Eglantyne JEBB	"Save the Children" Fund (International Union).
Miss Charlotte WHITTON, M.A.	Social Service Council of Canada and Canadian Council on Child Welfare.

Miss Eleanor RATHBONE Women's International Organisations.

Mr. JOHNSTONE and M. VARLEZ attended on behalf of the International Labour Office.

Dr. Norman WHITE, of the Health Section, also attended the meeting.

Secretary : Dame Rachel CROWDY.

At its fourth session the Commission had adopted a recommendation to the effect that the voluntary associations of the American continent should be represented by an assessor on the Child Welfare Committee. At its session of June 1925, the Council decided to give effect to this recommendation, and three assessors were appointed in December to represent the voluntary associations of Canada, South America and the United States of America respectively.

In addition, the International Federation of Trade Unions had also asked to be represented on the Committee by an assessor. At its meeting of September 5th, 1925, the Council resolved that the International Federation should also be invited to submit to the Council one or several candidates, together with their qualifications. At its December session, the Council approved the appointment of the candidate proposed.

Appointment of Sub-Committees.

The Committee decided that, in view of the large number of subjects under consideration and in view of the legal and technical difficulties inherent in some of them, it was desirable, after preliminary discussion, that certain of the subjects should be submitted to a Legal Sub-Committee for examination and report at the next session of the Committee.

The Committee considered generally the position with regard to several items on the agenda which fell within the joint sphere of action of both the Child Welfare Committee and other Committees and organisations, such as the Health Committee, the International Labour Office and the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The Committee decided that, to prevent overlapping of work and to ensure full co-operation in the interests of child welfare, it was desirable that a Liaison Sub-Committee should be set up to deal with those matters which affected other Committees or organisations jointly with the Child Welfare Committee.

Representation of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on the Child Welfare Committee.

The Committee considered the desirability of strengthening the Committee for the study of certain matters affecting child welfare and decided to request the Council to invite the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to nominate a representative to serve on the Child Welfare Committee.

Laws relating to the Protection of Life and Health in Early Infancy.

The Committee considered a memorandum on infant welfare prepared by the Health Section of the Secretariat and decided that it would be well for the enquiry thus begun to be pursued from the special point of view of early infancy by collecting legislative material not only on matters of health but also on social and legal conditions affecting the protection of the life and health of infants.

Laws relating to the Age of Marriage and the Age of Consent.

After considering a provisional report prepared by the Secretariat, the Committee decided that the work which had been undertaken should be continued so that it might be again considered at the next session.

International Convention concerning the Assistance and Repatriation of Foreign Children.

The Committee decided that the whole subject should be referred to the Legal Sub-Committee to consider the various aspects of the matter in the light of the full discussion which had taken place and to report its conclusions at the next session.

Child Labour.

An interesting report was submitted by the International Labour Office on the ratification of international conventions and on legislation in so far as these subjects related to child labour. The Committee discussed the connection which exists between the age fixed for entering industry and the age for leaving school, and emphasised the danger which exists when there is an interval of one or two years between these two ages. Attention was also called both to child labour in agricultural districts and to the effects of work undertaken out of school hours on children of school-attendance age.

In the resolution which it adopted, the Committee expressed the hope that the International Labour Office would continue to make representations to the Governments with a view to the ratification by every country of international conventions on the admission of children to labour. It also drew attention to the fact brought out by the investigations of the International Labour Office as to the relation between the laws on school attendance and labour legislation, and emphasised the importance of extending the age of compulsory school attendance up to the age fixed by international convention as being the earliest at which children may be allowed to work.

The Committee's attention having been called to the methods employed in the education of adolescents and their relation with the normal family and social life of the adult, and also to the relation between the life of children in agricultural districts and the education they receive in preparation for the normal family and social life of the adult, the Committee asked the Liaison Sub-Committee to consider if and how far it would be practicable and desirable to make enquiries into these subjects and to present a report for consideration next year.

Family Allowances.

After considering a memorandum from the International Labour Office on family allowances and their effect on child welfare, the Committee decided to ask the International Labour Office to continue, in collaboration with the Secretariat and the voluntary associations, its

study of the subject, especially with a view to obtaining exactly comparable data, and to report progress at the next session of the Committee.

The Effects on the Well-being of Children of Social Insurance and of Measures taken to alleviate Distress caused by the Unemployment, Sickness or Death of the Wage-Earner.

The International Labour Office having furnished a note on the difficulty of establishing a report on the effect on the well-being of children of measures taken to relieve distress, the Committee decided to adjourn the consideration of this subject to a subsequent session.

Effects of the Cinema.

The Committee considered questions relating to the effect of the cinema on the mental and moral well-being of children. It recognised, on the one hand, the attraction and importance of the cinematograph, in certain circumstances, from the point of view of the healthy recreation, instruction and education of children and young people, but it expressed the conviction that the abuse of the cinema had definitely harmful effects upon the minds of children and young people and, according to certain medical authorities, upon their nervous system and physical health. Moreover, the Committee, appreciating the interest felt by the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in the question of the cinematograph, desired to assure it of the importance which the Committee itself attached to the question from the point of view of the moral and intellectual development of children and young people, and requested it to devote special attention to the co-operation of all concerned in the production, circulation and utilisation of good films.

The Committee then went on to recommend that, in each State, offices for control or for preliminary censorship should be established, whose decisions should be enforced by fixed penalties, with a view to preventing the exhibition of demoralising films; that all possible means should be employed to encourage the exhibition and the international exchange of films calculated to promote the intellectual, moral and physical education of children and young people; that an international understanding should be entered into by the various national offices with a view to communicating to each other the decisions adopted and the penalties imposed by their respective countries, and that such understanding should eventually be extended by means of international agreements to prevent the circulation and use of demoralising films; and lastly, that each State should prescribe the necessary measures of hygiene and security in connection with the ventilation, the cubic capacity, the exits and emergency exits of cinema theatres, and should take steps as soon as possible to prohibit the exhibition of inflammable films.

Draft International Convention on Execution of Judgments relating to Maintenance, etc.

The Committee took note of a draft international convention drawn up by the International Association for the Protection of Children on the execution of judgments relating to maintenance payable on behalf of children by persons responsible for their support and living abroad; it also took note of representations as to the desirability of making provision for the reciprocal enforcement in different countries of all obligations on parents for the maintenance of their families, and of sentences imposed for the offence of deserting the family. It decided that all these questions should be submitted for examination to the Legal Sub-Committee, which would report at the next session.

Recreation.

The Committee recognised the necessity of recreation in the lives of children and young people, providing as it does for their good health both mentally and physically. It expressed the desire that, in all future town-planning or improvement schemes, provision should be made for recreation spaces, both open and covered, and it resolved to keep the question of recreation on its general programme.

Biological Education.

The Committee decided that the consideration of this matter should be postponed.

Neglected and Delinquent Children.

The Committee examined the subject of neglected and delinquent children, but it decided that the matter was too wide to be considered at the present session, especially in view of the fact that no programme of work had been drawn up in connection with the subject. It was, however, decided that the subject should be placed early on the agenda of the next session.

The Committee reconsidered the subject of juvenile courts and, after discussion, decided to ask the Council to instruct the Secretariat to collect information and to report to the Committee as to the scope, composition and practice in various countries of the judicial tribunals or other special bodies which deal with cases of children and young people. When this preliminary study is sufficiently advanced, such enquiries as may be necessary will be made on the spot according to a plan to be laid down by the Committee.

Alcoholism.

The Committee considered the report furnished by the International Anti-Alcoholism Bureau at Lausanne and discussed the grave dangers to the welfare of the child which resulted from the wrong use of alcohol.

In the resolution which it adopted, the Committee requested the Council to ask the Governments to protect children and young people from the danger of alcoholism by every possible means; it requested the philanthropic associations to do everything in their power to bring this danger to the knowledge of the public (parents, clergy, teachers, Press, etc.), and to educate children and young people themselves to a sense of this danger; it requested the Secretariat to remain in communication with the Lausanne Bureau with a view to supplementing the information already obtained; and it decided that the question should be placed on the agenda of a later session.

Other Matters.

(a) Subjects placed on the Agenda at the Request of the Representative of the Canadian Voluntary Organisations.

At the end of the session, the Committee decided to refer to the Liaison Sub-Committee draft resolutions prepared on certain subjects, the consideration of which had been deferred when the agenda was adopted.

(b) Procedure.

Certain members of the Committee having expressed the desire that modifications should be made in the Rules of Procedure in connection with the placing of subjects on the agenda and in the time-limit within which documents to be considered by the Committee should be submitted, the Committee decided that the proposed alterations in the Rules of Procedure should be referred to the Legal Sub-Committee and reported upon at the Committee's next session.

(c) The Welfare of the Blind.

At the request of the Chairman, a document from the "Comité international pour l'information et la propagande des aveugles" was distributed to the members. The Committee expressed its sympathy with the promotion of the welfare of the blind and decided to place on the agenda "The Problem of the Blind Child" for consideration at its next session. The Committee agreed that the "Comité international" should be asked to submit a report which would furnish a basis for discussion.

* * *

The report of the Committee was placed on the agenda of the June session of the Council. The resolutions adopted by the Council as a result of the examination of this report will be summarised in the Supplementary Report to the Assembly.

11.

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF UNION.

The sixth Assembly, which had on its agenda the report of the Preparatory Committee set up to consider Senator Ciruolo's scheme for the establishment of an International Union for the Relief of Peoples overtaken by Disaster¹, after expressing its interest in the Committee's proposal, considered that an international institution of this kind, which might include among its members both Members of the League and States which are not Members, should be constituted by special agreement between the various Governments.

The Assembly also felt that the different Governments should be consulted as to the expediency of establishing such a Union. It noted, moreover, that provision for such a consultation had been made in a resolution of the fifth Assembly, dated September 26th, 1924, and that it had not been possible for this consultation to take place.

In the course of the discussion on the Preparatory Committee's proposal in the Second Committee of the sixth Assembly, certain observations and criticisms had been made regarding the scheme submitted.

The sixth Assembly consequently referred the scheme back to the Preparatory Committee in order that the latter might introduce such modifications as it might consider desirable in view of these observations.

It furthermore invited the Council to submit the Statutes thus revised to the Governments of all States, whether Members or not of the League of Nations, for formal consideration, requesting them to communicate their views by a fixed date, in order that the Council might, if necessary, proceed to the convocation of a meeting of the duly authorised representatives of the aforesaid Governments with a view to the conclusion of the necessary arrangements for the definite

¹ See *Official Journal*, Special Supplement No. 33, page 278.

establishment of the proposed Union, if the Council considered that the replies received were such as to permit the conclusion of an agreement to this effect.

In accordance with this resolution, the Preparatory Committee was invited to introduce into its original scheme the modifications called for by the observations put forward in the Second Committee of the Assembly, and the Committee, having completed this work, submitted to the Council a final draft of the Statutes of the International Relief Union.

In pursuance of a Council resolution dated December 14th, 1925, the Secretary-General, in a circular letter dated January 23rd, 1926, forwarded to the Governments of all States, for formal examination, the revised Statutes, together with a statement of the objects of the Union, requesting them to make known the results of such examination before July 1st, 1926.

Up to the present, eight countries have communicated their views : Cuba, Egypt, Italy and Salvador have expressed themselves in favour of the establishment of the proposed Union.

The Government of the United States has stated, in reply to the Secretary-General's communication, that problems similar to those which the proposed Union would have to consider have always been dealt with, in the United States, by the American Red Cross, and that it does not appear that the Government can usefully assist in carrying the scheme into effect.

The Government of India has stated that it is still unable to adhere to the scheme. New Zealand also maintains its original opposition.

The Government of the Union of South Africa has declared that it can give no opinion for the moment, but that, if the proposals for a Conference were to be carried out, it would consider the matter afresh.

12

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL
CO-OPERATION.

Since the last session of the Assembly, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has held a single session in Paris during the month of January 1926.

The representative of France, in the report which he presented to the Council in March 1926, emphasises that this session was particularly brilliant owing to the inauguration of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, of which the Committee is the Governing Body. The French Government had arranged that the solemn handing over to the President of the Council of the League of Nations of the historic rooms in the Palais Royal which it had placed at the disposal of the Institute should coincide with the session of the Committee.

During its session in January, the Committee dealt in particular with the question of the instruction of children and youth in the work and aims of the League of Nations, a question which had been referred to it by the Council at the request of the last Assembly. The Committee also approved the programme of work prepared by its new Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters, and examined the draft Statutes of the Institute for the Unification of Private Law which the Italian Government had offered to found at Rome.

The Committee, during the session to be held in July 1926, will be informed of the progress made by its other Sub-Committees, and the Supplementary Report which will be presented to the Assembly in September will deal particularly with the work which has been done on questions concerning scientific property, co-operation between universities and bibliography — in particular, the report and the proposals of the Committee of Experts for the Co-ordination of Analytical Bibliography in the Economic Sciences.

Composition of the Committee.

Three members of the Committee, M. Bergson, M. Ruffini and M. de Torres-Quevedo, have resigned, and the Council has appointed as their successors M. Paul Painlevé, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of France, M. Alfredo Rocco, Professor of the Faculty of Law of the University of Rome, and M. Julio Casares, member of the Royal Academy of Spain.

M. Painlevé and M. Rocco have been asked, together with M. Einstein, to sit on the Board of Directors of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Further, M. Lorentz has replaced M. Bergson as Chairman of the Committee.

REORGANISATION OF THE SUB-COMMITTEES.

The work of the Committee is at present prepared by four Sub-Committees : University Relations; Bibliography; Arts and Letters; Intellectual Property. Each of these Sub-Committees includes at least three members of the Committee and a certain number of specialists appointed

as assistant members by the Committee or co-opted by the Sub-Committee. Under the rules of procedure of the International Institute in Paris, the work of each of the sections of the Institute is supervised by one of the Sub-Committees of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. In order to facilitate this supervision, the Sub-Committee may appoint one of its members to keep in constant touch with the appropriate Section of the Institute and to assist it with advice.

The Committee has issued a recommendation for the institution of a new Sub-Committee for Sciences. The Council, during its March session, approved in principle the institution of this Sub-Committee when the need should arise and when the credits necessary for its work were granted by the Assembly.

UNIVERSITY RELATIONS : MEETING OF A COMMITTEE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' ASSOCIATIONS.

The Supplementary Report presented to the last Assembly referred to the fact that the Sub-Committee on University Relations had agreed to convene a meeting of representatives of international students' associations. The aim of the meeting was to make a special effort to organise a better system of collaboration and the best possible division of labour among these associations.

A meeting was convened and was presided over by M. de Reynold, member of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was represented and delegates of the following associations participated : Confédération internationale des Etudiants ; International Federation of University Women ; Fédération universitaire internationale pour la Société des Nations ; Fédération universelle des Associations chrétiennes d'Etudiants ; International Student Service ; Pax Romana (Secrétariat international des Associations catholiques d'Etudiants) ; World Union of Jewish Students ; as well as the Auslandsamt der Deutschen Studentenschaft, a body invited in an advisory capacity.

The resolutions adopted, which will be transmitted to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, aim at ensuring, by a division of work among the associations and with the assistance of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, a co-ordination of effort in connection with the following subjects : travelling facilities for students ; exchanges of students ; international fellowships ; equivalence of degrees, studies and diplomas ; the creation of students' centres and the financial steps to be taken for this purpose.

The possibility of annual meetings of representatives of the international students' associations was also contemplated. Provision was made with a view to starting at once a preliminary study of the various questions which may be placed on the agenda of a further session. Among these questions is that of the organisation of a common international centre for students.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR ARTS AND LETTERS.

The Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters, the constitution of which was approved by the last Assembly, aims at encouraging and promoting intellectual co-operation in the field of literature and the arts. Its work is prepared by two sections of the International Institute in Paris : the Section for Literary Relations and the Section for Artistic Relations. These sections may be assisted by the Legal and Intellectual Property Section for questions relating to the rights of the author.

The Sub-Committee decided to take as a basis for its work, apart from any suggestions which might come from its members, the recommendations formulated at the various international congresses. The Sub-Committee will choose from among these recommendations those of which the realisation appears to be desirable and possible with the help of the Institute.

With regard to artistic co-operation, the Sub-Committee, considering that museums constitute a remarkable instrument of education, which may be used in order to bring the nations together, decided, with the approval of the plenary Committee, to ask the International Institute in Paris to publish an international list of museums and an international year-book of artistic life. The Institute will also endeavour to bring about the publication of a national annual of artistic life in the various countries which do not yet possess such a publication. The Sub-Committee also began the examination of the question of the creation at the International Institute in Paris of an international office for museums, the idea being that the museums should mutually co-operate with a view to increasing their collections and widening their general activity and usefulness.

The Committee also decided, with a view to facilitating a better understanding among the nations, to undertake the examination of the question of an international congress and an exhibition of popular arts, as universal as possible, devoted to objects of a character clearly artistic manufactured by all races.

In regard to the cinema, which, when it is not a demoralising influence, is and may perhaps become to a great extent a remarkable educational force, the Sub-Committee emphasised the interest which it took in the work undertaken by the French National Committee of Intellectual Co-operation for the preparation of an international congress on the cinema. The Sub-Committee was happy to learn that the Section for Artistic Relations of the International Institute in Paris was closely following this work.

The question of a photographic inventory also claimed the attention of the Sub-Committee. It recommended the International Institute to continue the work which had been undertaken with a view to establishing a bibliography of printed catalogues of collections of photographs,

together with a list of collections of photographs and negatives taken from works of art and historical monuments.

As regards literary relations, the Sub-Committee considered it desirable, from the point of view of international intellectual exchanges :

(1) That various handbooks intended to form a collection should be published on the history of the national literatures, beginning with those which were less known ;

(2) That, after making enquiries of literary associations and publishers and after a meeting of experts, the possibility should be examined of creating a central translation office (M. Emile Borel, replacing M. Painlevé, drew the attention of the plenary Committee to the great services which such an office might render, notably in the translation of scientific works) ;

(3) That the Section on Letters of the International Institute should examine, in co-operation with the Legal Section of the same Institute, the various questions connected with the rights of authors from the point of view of translations.

The Sub-Committee also dealt with the question of international relations in the field of music, and M. Weingartner, an assistant member of the Sub-Committee, was asked to prepare a report on the subject.

INSTRUCTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE WORK AND AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The sixth Assembly noted that the majority of States Members of the League had taken action as a result of the resolutions adopted by the fifth Assembly concerning the instruction to be given to young people on the work and aims of the League of Nations and concerning the development of relations between young people of the various countries.

It considered, moreover, that the report submitted to it by the Secretary-General on this question might be regarded as a first stage. It therefore invited the Council :

“(a) To consider the possibility of requesting all States Members of the League of Nations and non-Member States to keep the Secretary-General informed of the progress made in their respective countries as regards the various points mentioned in the report, and to forward to the Secretary-General all publications on this subject as soon as they appear.

“(b) To instruct the Secretary-General to collect the information mentioned above. This information should be communicated from time to time to States Members of the League and to other States interested in the question.

“(c) To forward the Secretary-General's report, together with the proposals submitted by the Chilian, Haitian, Polish and Uruguayan delegations, to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to request it to consider the possibility of summoning a sub-committee of experts to consider the best methods of co-ordinating all official and non-official efforts designed to familiarise young people throughout the world with the principles and work of the League of Nations and to train the younger generation to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs.”

The Council, during its meeting of September 26th, 1925, decided to act on the recommendation of the Assembly.

At the request of the Council, the information which States were requested to furnish under (a) and (b) is brought to the knowledge of the Governments, as it is received, by means of the *Official Journal* of the League.

Point (c) of the resolution of the Assembly was, in accordance with the request of the Assembly, forwarded to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in response to the invitation of the Assembly and of the Council, adopted, during its session held in January 1926, the following resolution :

“The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation fully appreciates the value and importance of the invitation addressed to it by the sixth Assembly to participate in any steps which may be taken with the object of acquainting children and youth with the aims and work of the League of Nations. The Committee is fully aware of the importance of this task and of the difficulties which may arise in its execution. It accepts the suggestion of the Assembly to convene a Sub-Committee of Experts in order to discuss the means likely to spread as widely as possible the conviction that the nations must be organised in order to settle their differences by the method of peaceful understanding.

“This Sub-Committee will examine, among other matters, whether it would not be useful :

“(1) To propose to the Council of the League to convene an international conference, which may become periodical, for the purpose of a mutual exchange of information concerning what has been done in the desired direction, and concerning the results achieved and for the purpose of examining suggestions to be recommended ;

“(2) To publish one or two small works giving precise information concerning the Covenant and activities of the League of Nations.”

Appendix. — The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation proposes to the Council to fix the number of the members of the Sub-Committee at ten or twelve. It wishes that three of its members may form part of the Sub-Committee and it appoints for this purpose Professor Gilbert MURRAY, M. DESTREE and M. CASARÈS. It expresses the desire that the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation may also be represented in the Sub-Committee."

The Council, on the proposal of the representative of France, who acted as Rapporteur during its March session, approved the proposals of the Committee relating to the composition of the Sub-Committee of Experts, and asked its President to appoint, after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, those members of the Sub-Committee who were not already members of the Committee. These members were to be chosen for their experience in the work of education, or in their capacity as officials of important educational authorities.

It was arranged that the meeting of the Sub-Committee of Experts should take place in August 1926.

The Council, after considering the question of convening an international conference as contemplated in the resolution of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, decided that the question was premature at the present stage of the work.

13.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAUX.

(ARTICLE 24 OF THE COVENANT.)

I. CO-OPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL BUREAUX.

As in previous years, co-operation with the following international bureaux, which have been placed under the direction of the League, has been maintained.

1. INTERNATIONAL HYDROGRAPHIC BUREAU.

The Bureau continues to keep in touch with the Secretariat by communicating copies of its annual report and of the circular letters addressed to its members. The Secretariat audits the accounts of the Bureau annually. The co-operation established between the Bureau and the Special Committee for Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts of the Committee for Communications and Transit of the League is maintained. The Bureau contemplates holding the next International Hydrographic Conference in the autumn of the present year.

The Bureau has recently suffered a loss in the death of the first President of the Directing Committee, Admiral Sir John F. Parry. Sir John Parry presided over the International Hydrographic Conference in 1919, at which the draft scheme for the establishment of an International Hydrographic Bureau was accepted by the Governments represented.

2. CENTRAL INTERNATIONAL OFFICE FOR THE CONTROL OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN AFRICA.

According to the terms of the Council's resolution of January 11th, 1922, the Office continues to communicate copies of all returns concerning the importation of spirituous liquors into the various African colonies and mandated territories. At the request of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the Secretary-General has asked the Office to communicate annually to the Commission certain statistics relating to the African mandated territories and adjacent colonies, presented in a form proposed by the Commission.

3. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AIR NAVIGATION.

The International Committee for Air Navigation maintains its co-operation with the Section for Communications and Transit as well as with the Section dealing with International Bureaux. It has held two sessions during the year.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL RELIEF BUREAU (BUREAU INTERNATIONAL D'ASSISTANCE).

Efforts were made to arrange for the sixth International Relief Congress to be held in London in the autumn of the present year, and the Bureau consulted the Secretariat of the

League as to the items to be included in the agenda in order to avoid duplication of work already undertaken by the League. The British Commission of the sixth Congress, which is the body responsible for its organisation, decided, however, that it would be impracticable to organise a successful Congress in 1926. The Countess Carton de Wiart has been elected Chairman of the Comité international des Congrès d'Assistance publique et privée.

II. RELATIONS WITH VOLUNTARY INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

The Union internationale de la Propriété bâtie, a private international federation of national unions for the protection of property, the seat of which is in Paris, has made an application to the Council to be placed under the direction of the League in accordance with Article 24 of the Covenant. The Council, however, referring to its resolution passed on July 2nd, 1923, emphasised the fact that Article 24 refers solely to international bureaux which have been actually established by general conventions, and decided that it was not in a position to accede to the request of the Union internationale de la Propriété bâtie.

III. PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

Publication by the Secretariat of the *Quarterly Bulletin of Information on the Work of International Organisations* is continued. No. 14 of this *Bulletin*, issued in January 1926, contains a chart of the meetings held in 1925 by 110 international organisations, as well as an alphabetical index to Nos. 10 to 13 inclusive. Only such information as is supplied by the organisations themselves is published in the *Bulletin*. During the past year, a larger number of international organisations has been supplying the Secretariat regularly with information.

The third edition of the *Handbook of International Organisations* is in the press; it will be issued in French only.

14.

INTERNATIONAL MUNICIPAL CO-OPERATION.

In connection with the decision taken by the sixth Assembly with regard to the question of international municipal co-operation, the Council passed a resolution on December 7th, 1925, to the effect that the technical organisations of the League might grant assistance to or co-operate with the various private international organisations which deal with municipal questions, such as the Union internationale des Villes et Communes, the Commission permanente des Congrès internationaux des sciences administratives, the International Federation for Town and Country Planning and Garden Cities, the Permanent International Association of Road Congresses, the Comité permanent des Congrès internationaux des habitations à bon marché, the Union internationale des tramways, des chemins de fer d'intérêt local et des transports publics automobiles, and the Association générale des hygiénistes et techniciens municipaux.

15.

COMMITTEE OF PRESS EXPERTS.

The sixth Assembly, on the proposal of the Chilian delegation, adopted, on September 25th last, a resolution inviting the Council to consider the advisability of convening a Committee of Experts representing the Press of the different continents, with a view to examining methods of contributing to the organisation of peace by ensuring a more rapid and less costly transmission of press news and discussing all technical problems the settlement of which would be conducive to the tranquilisation of public opinion.

The Council, at its meeting of September 26th, 1925, in order to give effect to this Assembly resolution, decided to discuss at its December session the possibility of convening this Committee.

With this object in view, the Rapporteur, the representative of Belgium, asked his colleagues to consult in their own countries the journalistic trade unions and the associations of the directors of newspapers or agencies, in order to obtain an informed opinion on the advisability of convening such a Committee. He pointed out that the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations might be of great assistance to the Council in such an investigation. The Council further asked the Secretary-General of the League to collect, for submission to it at its December session, information on the views of the circles directly interested.

The Council felt it necessary, in investigating the question, to proceed with the utmost prudence and left completely open the very important and novel question which the Assembly resolution had raised. It caused it to be clearly understood that it must be for the persons themselves concerned to inform the Council whether they thought it advisable to convene a Committee of Press Experts, and whether they could give any indication of the manner in which such a Committee, were it to be constituted, ought to proceed with its work in order to achieve something of practical use.

The Press associations, consulted by the Secretary-General, welcomed the resolution of the Assembly, and in December 1925 the Council instructed the Secretary-General to continue his enquiries.

When the Council met in March 1926, Press associations belonging to more than twenty-five different countries had sent in their replies. Several Press associations of the United States of North America showed in their replies a very great interest in the proposal of the Assembly. A great number of associations, in adhering to the proposal, attached concrete suggestions concerning the programme of work of the future Committee, such as the reduction of telephone, telegraph and wireless telegraph and telephone rates, the secrecy of wireless and radio-telephone messages, news copyright, travelling facilities, scholarships, etc.

The Council therefore decided that a meeting of Press experts would be useful, and it instructed the Secretary-General to proceed, on the basis of the results obtained, to prepare a programme of work.

16.

PRESENT SITUATION WITH REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENTS REGISTERED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS¹.

REGISTRATION AND PUBLICATION OF TREATIES AND INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENTS (ARTICLE 18 OF THE COVENANT).

The registration of Treaties by the Secretariat has been carried out as during the preceding years according to the method laid down by the Council's memorandum of May 19th, 1920. Between May 19th, 1920, and May 19th, 1926, 1,169 Treaties and International Engagements have been submitted for registration. During the period May 19th, 1925, and May 19th, 1926, 305 Treaties have been submitted for registration by Members of the League of Nations or communicated by other States. If this figure is compared with those of previous years, the progressive increase in the number of registered Treaties will be observed. These Treaties are of many different kinds, as can be seen from the following list, which, though of short length, gives a general picture of the kind of agreements registered during this period. Some of these Treaties may also be referred to under several other headings. Reference to them will be found in the analytical and alphabetical index attached to the *Treaty Series*.

¹ A special report on this question is given in the Annex to the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council published immediately before the opening of the seventh Assembly (Annex 2b).

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION CONVENTIONS.

Registration Nos.

- 873. Denmark and Switzerland.
- 886. Great Britain and Sweden.
- 887. Hungary and Switzerland.
- 888. Austria and Poland.
- 940. United Kingdom and Norway.
- 942. Uruguay and Venezuela.
- 952. Latvia and Sweden.
- 977. United Kingdom and Netherlands.

Registration Nos.

- 978. Great Britain and Portugal.
- 991. Esthonia, Finland, Latvia and Poland.
- 1000. Norway and Sweden.
- 1036. Germany and Sweden.
- 1070. Finland and Norway.
- 1072. Japan and Switzerland.
- 1123. Roumania and Czechoslovakia.
- 1159. Sweden and Czechoslovakia.

CONVENTIONS RESPECTING THE REGULATION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Registration Nos.

- 1020. Germany and United States of America.

Registration Nos.

- 1033. Germany, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, etc.

CONVENTIONS CONCERNING HUNTING AND FISHING.

Registration Nos.

- 1095. Germany and Denmark.

Registration Nos.

- 1136. Finland and Sweden.

AGREEMENTS CONCERNING COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION.

Registration Nos.

- 865. Netherlands and Poland.
- 885. Lithuania and Netherlands.
- 889. Latvia and Switzerland.
- 895. Austria and Great Britain.
- 897. Great Britain and Muscat.
- 906. Latvia and Norway.
- 907. Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union and Japan.
- 911. Great Britain and Denmark.
- 920. Great Britain, France, Italy and Turkey.
- 924. Latvia and Norway.
- 926. Denmark and U. S. S. R.
- 927. Japan and Mexico.
- 928. Latvia and Sweden.
- 929. Sweden and Czechoslovakia.
- 930. Poland and Sweden.
- 932. Spain and Sweden.
- 941. Great Britain and Greece.
- 946. Denmark and Finland.
- 949. Germany and Denmark.
- 951. Latvia and Netherlands.
- 953. United States of America and Poland.
- 954. Hungary and Poland.
- 957. Germany and Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union.
- 959. Hungary and Latvia.
- 962. Finland and Latvia.
- 963. France and Latvia.
- 971. Latvia and U. S. S. R.
- 984. Greece and Czechoslovakia.
- 985. Greece and Poland.
- 986. Austria and Greece.
- 988. Denmark and France.
- 992. Spain and France.
- 995. Canada and Netherlands.
- 996. Spain and Italy.
- 998. Greece and Hungary.
- 1001. Germany and Greece.
- 1010. Germany and Esthonia.
- 1022. Germany and Austria.
- 1023. Germany and Spain.
- 1026. Germany and Switzerland.
- 1032. Denmark and Sweden.

Registration Nos.

- 1035. Japan and Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
- 1037. Denmark and Sweden.
- 1041. Austria and Czechoslovakia.
- 1045. Esthonia and Norway.
- 1049. Albania and United Kingdom.
- 1050. Germany and United Kingdom.
- 1052. Bulgaria and United Kingdom.
- 1055. France and Siam.
- 1064. United States of America and Esthonia.
- 1067. Austria and Spain.
- 1068. Canada and Spain.
- 1069. Iceland and Latvia.
- 1075. France and Panama.
- 1077. France and Greece.
- 1078. France and Italy.
- 1079. France and Austria.
- 1080. France and Czechoslovakia.
- 1081. France and Poland.
- 1083. France and Portugal.
- 1085. France and Belgo-Luxembourg Economic Union.
- 1087. Bulgaria and France.
- 1094. Albania and Italy.
- 1098. Hungary and Italy.
- 1114. Hungary and Roumania.
- 1124. Austria and Switzerland.
- 1125. Iceland and Czechoslovakia.
- 1127. Norway and U. S. S. R.
- 1130. Hungary and Netherlands.
- 1131. Denmark and Siam.
- 1135. Spain and Finland.
- 1138. United States of America and Finland.
- 1139. United States of America and Finland.
- 1149. Norway and Turkey.
- 1150. France and Hungary.
- 1154. Finland and Hungary.
- 1157. Germany and France.
- 1160. Norway and U. S. S. R.
- 1162. Esthonia and Netherlands.
- 1163. Great Britain and Esthonia.
- 1164. Denmark and Turkey.
- 1168. Netherlands and Turkey.
- 1169. France and Iceland.

CONSULAR CONVENTIONS.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
867. Italy and Czechoslovakia.	1093. Albania and Italy.
948. Denmark and Czechoslovakia.	1132. Esthonia and Poland.
1043. Latvia and Poland.	1148. Finland and Netherlands.
1092. Albania and Italy.	

AGREEMENTS CONCERNING CUSTOMS AND CUSTOMS FORMALITIES.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
981. United States of America, Belgium, British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, Netherlands and Portugal.	1076. France and Italy.
	1165. Germany and Denmark.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL TREATIES.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
872. Finland and Iceland.	1030. Bolivia and Germany.
894. Great Britain and Iraq.	1073. France and Poland.
899. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1074. France and Poland.
900. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1099. Hungary and Italy.
901. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1100. Hungary and Italy.
902. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1101. Hungary and Italy.
903. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1102. Hungary and Italy.
904. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1108. Hungary and Roumania.
910. Great Britain and Portugal.	1109. Hungary and Roumania.
914. Greece.	1110. Hungary and Roumania.
921. Italy and Turkey.	1111. Hungary and Roumania.
922. Great Britain, France, Turkey.	1112. Hungary and Roumania.
935. Germany and Great Britain.	1115. Hungary and Roumania.
974. Germany and Great Britain.	1117. Germany and Poland.
975. Germany and Great Britain.	1126. Roumania and Czechoslovakia.
1024. Germany and Reparations Commission.	1142. Hungary and United Kingdom.
1025. Germany and Allied Governments.	1158. Hungary and Poland.

AGREEMENTS REGARDING DELIMITATION OF FRONTIERS AND FRONTIER TRAFFIC.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
936. United Kingdom and Italy.	1059. United States of America and Canada.
1015. Germany and Poland.	1143. Portugal and United Kingdom.
1018. Germany and Czechoslovakia.	

AGREEMENTS CONCERNING TAXATION.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
881. Germany and Poland.	1089. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
898. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.	1091. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
918. Great Britain, France, Italy and Turkey.	1096. Austria and Hungary.
919. Great Britain, France, Italy and Turkey.	1097. Austria and Hungary.
925. Italy and Czechoslovakia.	1103. Germany and Hungary.
1042. Finland and United Kingdom.	1104. Germany and Hungary.
1056. Germany and Sweden.	1105. Germany and Hungary.
1082. France and Saar Basin Governing Commission.	1107. Hungary and Roumania.
1086. France and Principality of Monaco.	1140. Denmark and Finland.
	1156. France and Luxemburg.

LEGAL AND EXTRADITION CONVENTIONS.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
868. Great Britain and Finland.	916. Turkey.
869. United States of America and Finland.	933. Egypt and Palestine.
893. Great Britain and Iraq.	961. Great Britain and Latvia.
908. Denmark and Czechoslovakia.	964. Esthonia and Latvia.
909. Denmark and Hungary.	965. Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

LEGAL AND EXTRADITION CONVENTIONS (*Continuation*).

Registration Nos.

- 990. Finland and Latvia.
- 1011. Germany and Sweden.
- 1016. Germany and Latvia.
- 1021. Germany and Hungary.
- 1028. Germany and Esthonia.
- 1031. Germany and Belgium.
- 1038. Hungary and Roumania.
- 1039. Hungary and Roumania.
- 1044. Esthonia and Finland.
- 1053. Belgium and Hungary.
- 1054. Esthonia and Lithuania.
- 1057. United States of America and Canada.
- 1058. United States of America and Canada.

Registration Nos.

- 1061. Hungary and Poland.
- 1063. United States of America and Esthonia.
- 1071. Finland and Norway.
- 1084. Austria and France.
- 1090. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- 1106. Hungary and Roumania.
- 1118. Germany and Czechoslovakia.
- 1120. Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- 1128. Austria and Switzerland.
- 1134. Finland and U. S. S. R.
- 1141. France and Czechoslovakia.
- 1152. Austria and Norway.
- 1155. France and Poland.

AGREEMENTS REGARDING MANDATES.

Registration Nos.

- 1046. United States of America and Great Britain.

AGREEMENTS REGARDING QUESTIONS OF NATIONALITY AND MINORITIES.

Registration Nos.

- 923. Great Britain and France.
- 1009. Germany and Belgium.

Registration Nos.

- 1029. Germany and Lithuania.

AIR NAVIGATION.

Registration Nos.

- 1116. Germany and Sweden.
- 1121. Austria and Poland.

Registration Nos.

- 1122. Norway and Netherlands.
- 1144. Great Britain and Finland.

POLITICAL AGREEMENTS, TREATIES OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, SOVEREIGNTY, ETC.¹

Registration Nos.

- 866. Japan and U. S. S. R.
- 890. Great Britain and Iraq.
- 891. Great Britain and Iraq.
- 892. Great Britain and Iraq.
- 912. Greece and Turkey.
- 913. British Empire, France, Greece, etc.
- 917. Great Britain, France, Italy and Turkey.
- 931. Denmark and Turkey.
- 934. United Kingdom and Nepal.
- 955. China and U. S. S. R.
- 972. Sweden and Turkey.
- 982. United States of America, Belgium, British Empire, etc.
- 987. Czechoslovakia and Turkey.

Registration Nos.

- 999. Netherlands and Turkey.
- 1012. Germany and Esthonia.
- 1017. Germany and Turkey.
- 1019. Germany and Nicaragua.
- 1062. Hungary and Turkey.
- 1066. Spain and Turkey.
- 1088. Great Britain and Irish Free State.
- 1145. Italy and United Kingdom.
- 1147. Great Britain and Iraq.
- 1151. United States of America, Austria and Hungary.
- 1153. United States of America and Dominican Republic.
- 1161. United States of America and Hungary.

POSTAL, TELEPHONIC, TELEGRAPHIC AND RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATIONS.

Registration Nos.

- 870. Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Finland.
- 871. Finland and U. S. S. R.
- 896. Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Luxemburg.
- 937. Great Britain and China.
- 938. Egypt and Tanganyika.
- 939. Straits Settlements and French Indo-China.
- 950. Belgium, Luxemburg and Netherlands.
- 973. Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Bulgaria.
- 979. Great Britain and Portugal.
- 980. Great Britain and Czechoslovakia.

Registration Nos.

- 989. United States of America and Latvia.
- 1002. Members of the Universal Postal Union.
- 1003. Members of the Universal Postal Union.
- 1004. Members of the Universal Postal Union.
- 1005. Members of the Universal Postal Union.
- 1006. Members of the Universal Postal Union.
- 1007. Members of the Universal Postal Union.
- 1008. Members of the Universal Postal Union.
- 1047. British Honduras and Mexico.
- 1051. Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Lithuania.
- 1137. Canada and Finland.
- 1146. British Empire and France.

¹ Under this heading are included also Treaties of a general character or Treaties arising out of the Treaties of Peace.

AGREEMENTS REGARDING SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
960. Latvia and Lithuania.	1166. Norway and Netherlands.
1027. Germany and China.	

AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
905. Austria, Belgium, British Empire, Bulgaria, etc.	1129. Germany, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, British Empire, etc.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE APPLICATION OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND OTHER TREATIES OF PEACE.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
875. Germany and Poland.	884. Germany and Poland.
876. Germany and Poland.	997. Hungary and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.
877. Germany and Poland.	1014. Germany and Poland.
878. Germany and Poland.	1040. Austria and Hungary.
879. Germany and Poland.	

SANITARY CONVENTIONS.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
880. Germany and Poland.	967. Esthonia and Latvia.
882. Germany and Poland.	970. Latvia and Czechoslovakia.
915. Turkey.	1048. Italy and United Kingdom.
958. Latvia and Poland.	1119. Germany and Austria.
966. Latvia and U. S. S. R., R. S. S. U. and R. S. S. R. B.	

TRANSIT CONVENTIONS.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
874. Germany and Poland.	993. Colombia and Venezuela.
947. Poland and U. S. S. R.	1034. Esthonia and Latvia.
956. China and U. S. S. R.	1133. Finland and U. S. S. R.
968. Esthonia and Latvia.	1167. Hungary and Czechoslovakia.
969. Esthonia and Latvia.	

WATERWAYS AND INLAND NAVIGATION.

Registration Nos.	Registration Nos.
883. Germany and Poland.	983. Germany and Belgium.
943. Germany, Belgium, France, etc.	994. Austria and Switzerland.
944. Germany, Belgium, France, etc.	1060. United States of America and Canada.
945. Germany, Belgium, Great Britain, etc.	1113. Hungary and Roumania.
976. United Kingdom and Italy.	

LITERARY, ARTISTIC AND SCIENTIFIC PROPERTY.

Registration Nos.
1065. Spain and Mexico.

These acts, published in the *Treaty Series* in their original languages, are accompanied by a French and English translation. The analytical and alphabetical indices, which are published after the publication of every 100 international engagements, give details regarding the character of each Treaty, the Contracting Parties which have signed it and the position with regard to each international engagement registered.

Up to now, forty volumes of about 450 pages each, containing more than 1,000 Treaties, have been published. Others will shortly appear. This satisfactory result is due not only to the regularity with which Members of the League of Nations have fulfilled their obligations under Article 18 of the Covenant but also to the fact that certain States non-Members of the League continue to respond to the appeal made by the Council of the League of Nations in its memorandum of May 19th, 1920.

The following table gives the number of Treaties registered by the Secretariat at the request of various States during the period from May 19th, 1925, to May 19th, 1926 :

Albania	3	Japan	5
Germany	36	Latvia	24
Austria	3	Norway	11
Belgium	4	Netherlands	15
British Empire	45	Poland	14
Canada	5	Portugal	8
China	2	Siam	2
Denmark	20	Sweden	20
Dominican Republic	1	Switzerland	6
Spain	7	Czechoslovakia	11
Esthonia	10	Uruguay	1
Finland	20	Venezuela	1
France	32	International engagements registered in consequence of their deposit with the Secretariat of the League	2
Greece	5	Treaties communicated by the Govern- ment of the United States of America	6
Hungary	40		
Irish Free State	1		
Italy	15		

During the course of this year, the Government of the United States of America has informed the Secretariat that in future it will forward to it Treaties concluded by the Government of the United States and published in the *Treaty Series* of the United States, by forwarding copies of that series on publication.

If these Treaties have not already been published by the Secretariat, they will be published in the *Treaty Series* of the League of Nations with a mention of their origin, and always provided that the United States, since it is not a Member of the League, has not caused the Treaties in question to be registered with the Secretariat. This decision of the Government of the United States will aid in the completion of the collection of Treaties and International Engagements, for several of them concluded between States not Members of the League have not been able to be placed among the collection made by the League of Nations.

ANNEX 2a.

A. 6 (a). 1926.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT TO THE SEVENTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL, ON THE WORK OF THE SECRETARIAT AND ON THE MEASURES TAKEN TO EXECUTE THE DECISIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

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1.

PRESENT POSITION AS REGARDS INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENTS
DEPOSITED WITH THE SECRETARIAT OR CONNECTED WITH THE
WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

A complete list of signatures and ratifications of and accessions to international engagements deposited with the Secretariat or connected with the work of the League of Nations will be found in the Annex to this report (Annex 2 b).

2.

LEGAL QUESTIONS.

I. WORK OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL.

The Committee on the Composition of the Council met at Geneva from May 10th to May 17th, 1926 [*cf.* Report on the Work of the Council (Annex 2), p. 189]. A provisional report of the Committee and the Minutes of its first session were placed before the Council at its ordinary session held in June 1926.

The representative of Japan submitted on June 10th, 1926, a report to the Council on the subject.

He proposed to take note of the report, of the Minutes and of the annexes, to thank the Committee for the work it had accomplished, and to ask the Secretary-General to communicate the above-mentioned documents to all the States Members of the League for their information.

The Council considered the Japanese representative's report and adopted it. Consequently the provisional report of the Committee, the Minutes of the first session with the annexes and an extract of the Minutes of the fourth and fifth meetings of the fortieth session of the Council were communicated to the States Members of the League (*cf.* document C.299.M.139. 1926. V).

It should be noted that the Committee, at its first session, had fixed June 28th, 1926, as the date for its second session. It had, however, considered the possibility of meeting at a later date.

The Council did not take any decision on this subject at its meeting of June 10th, 1926. At the suggestion of the Rapporteur, the Japanese representative, it authorised its acting President to postpone, if necessary, and after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee, the second session of the Committee. In conformity with this decision, the session which had been fixed for June 28th was postponed and the Committee was convened for August 30th, 1926, at Geneva.

II. CONFERENCE OF THE STATES SIGNATORIES OF THE PROTOCOL OF
SIGNATURE OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF
INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

(See Report to the Seventh Assembly on the Work of the Council (Annex 2), page 156.)

The above Conference was due to meet at Geneva on September 1st, and a large number of signatory States had formally notified their intention of being represented. The Government of the United States of America had informed the Secretary-General that it did not find it possible to send a delegation to the Conference.

III. AMENDMENT TO THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE.

The deposit with the Secretariat of the instrument of ratification by Spain of the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant adopted by the second Assembly of the League of Nations, which took place on July 29th, 1926, has determined the coming into force of the amendment, the latter having been ratified, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant, by the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly.

The following is the text of Article 4 of the Covenant as amended:

"The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

"With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

"The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

"The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

"The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

"Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

"At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative."

3.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEAGUE.

I. FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE LEAGUE.

The financial position remains satisfactory owing to the regular payment of contributions by States Members. Over 50 per cent of the total amount of the contributions due for the expenses of the League for 1926 has been received during the first seven months of this year.

2. ACTION TAKEN BY THE COUNCIL AT ITS JUNE SESSION.

The Council, at its June session, decided not to submit any observations on the report of the Supervisory Commission on the Accounts for 1925 and the Budget for 1927, reserving, however, the right of its representatives to make during the Assembly such proposals or amendments as they may think desirable.

In conformity with the decision taken by the sixth Assembly, the Secretary-General submitted a report on the results of the negotiations with certain States whose contributions were in arrears. The Council decided that the report should be communicated to the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, together with a statement showing the payments made by the States in question before the meeting of the Assembly.

The Council also agreed to forward to the Assembly for favourable consideration the report of the Supervisory Commission recommending that, as from 1926, the members of the mandates Commission should, subject to certain conditions being fulfilled, receive a special allowance of 2,000 francs per annum.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

I. ARBITRATION, SECURITY AND THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

The Council, at its meeting on June 10th, 1926, adopted the following two reports prepared by the special Committee which it had constituted:

(a) ARBITRATION AND SECURITY.

The sixth Assembly, after declaring that it regarded favourably the conclusion of arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Protocol (Arbitration, Security, Disarmament), recommended that, after these conventions and treaties had been deposited with the League of Nations, the Council should examine them in order to report to the seventh Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements.

In order to enable us to report to the seventh Assembly, the Secretariat, under our instructions, prepared a systematic survey of the arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security deposited with the League of Nations.

This survey (Document C. 34. 1926. V) comprises chapters on treaties of arbitration, treaties of conciliation, treaties both of arbitration and conciliation, treaties of guarantee and mutual security, and the Locarno Treaties. It is followed by the text of all these treaties.

The Council will see at once what a large number of treaties of conciliation, arbitration and mutual security have been registered by the League.

Under the head of "Arbitration Treaties", the Secretariat survey gives:

- 17 which had been concluded before the war and have been prolonged since the year 1920 in virtue of fresh agreements between the parties. The characteristic feature of these treaties is that they establish arbitration between the contracting parties in respect of a limited number of disputes;
- 5 subsequent to that date which provide for compulsory arbitration between the contracting parties in respect of all disputes of whatever nature;
- 5 which are special arbitration conventions dealing with particular questions.

The group of "Conciliation Treaties" comprises:

- 12 treaties, including the Treaty for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes between American States, signed at Santiago de Chile on May 3rd, 1923.

The group of "Combined Arbitration and Conciliation Treaties" comprises:

- 5 treaties and conventions.

The group of "Treaties of Guarantee" comprises:

- 17 treaties.

The "Locarno" group:

- 4 treaties.

Finally, an Appendix to the Secretariat's survey contains:

- 2 treaties which were registered after the survey had been compiled and would in the ordinary course have been included in it.

Apart from similar pre-war agreements which have not required renewal since 1920 and have consequently not been registered with the League*, though they are still in force, we have:

- 71 treaties registered, all aiming at the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Council is happy to note this striking evidence of the spirit of conciliation which now reigns in international relations.

Without doubt, the most complete success achieved by this spirit of conciliation in recent times is the Locarno group of treaties.

* To this survey should be added the following Conventions which have since been registered by the Secretariat:
Conciliation Convention between Estonia and Sweden signed at Reval on May 29th, 1925.
Conciliation and Arbitration Treaty between Sweden and Czechoslovakia signed at Prague on January 2nd, 1926.
Conciliation and Arbitration Treaty between Poland and Czechoslovakia signed at Warsaw on April 23rd, 1926.
Convention between Finland and Sweden for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes, with the Protocol of Signature, signed at Helsingfors on January 29th, 1926¹.

¹ Since this report was adopted, the following Treaties have been registered:
Agreement between the United States and Portugal, further renewing the Arbitration Convention of April 6th, 1908.
Conciliation and Arbitration Treaty between Poland and Switzerland signed at Berne on March 7th, 1925.
Conciliation Treaty between Norway and Switzerland, signed at Oslo on August 21st, 1925.
Convention between Denmark and Sweden for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes, with Protocol of Signature, signed at Stockholm on January 14th, 1926.
Conciliation and Arbitration Treaty between Austria and Czechoslovakia, signed at Vienna on March 5th, 1926.
Convention between Denmark and Finland for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes, with Protocol of Signature, signed at Helsinki (Helsingfors), January 30th, 1926.

The Final Protocol of the Locarno Conference contains the following paragraph:

“The representatives of the Governments represented here declare their firm conviction that the entry into force of these Treaties and Conventions will contribute greatly to bring about a moral relaxation of the tension between nations, that it will help powerfully towards the solution of many political and economic problems in accordance with the interests and sentiments of peoples, and that, in strengthening peace and security in Europe, it will hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.”

On the occasion of the deposit of the Locarno Treaties with the League of Nations, the Members of the Council spoke as follows:

Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN (representative of the British Empire):

“In handing these documents to the Secretary-General, as the representative of the Council, and placing them in the custody of the League, I venture to say that the Powers immediately concerned have entered on a new phase of their mutual relations; that, carefully avoiding anything in the nature of provocation or offence to others, they have by mutual agreement guaranteed peace between themselves; that they have thus helped to stabilise the peace of the world and give rest and confidence to our nations; and that, in placing these documents under the guardianship of the League and attributing to the League all the authority which is therein specified, not less than by the agreement come to between Germany and the other nations that, as part of those agreements, Germany should enter the League of Nations, we have made a contribution which I trust will be acceptable to the League towards the support and increase of its authority and strength.”

M. PAUL-BONCOUR (representative of France):

“The French Prime Minister, aware that the Treaties of Locarno were to be deposited this morning (December 14th, 1925) in the archives and under the protection of the League of Nations, has sent me the following telegram, which he has asked me to read to you:

“‘At the moment when the treaties which were drawn up at Locarno are being deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, I desire to associate myself from where I am now retained by the imperious duties of my office with the feelings which Sir Austen Chamberlain will express with his full authority. France is proud to have put her signature at the foot of these Acts, which record her desire to maintain peace. She sees in the ever-growing authority of the League of Nations and in the enlightened and vigilant action of its Council the best guarantee against war. This work of peace-making performed by the League of Nations, among the Members of which we hope soon to welcome Germany, can but be facilitated and strengthened by the conclusion of the Treaties of Locarno. These treaties, which are inspired by the provisions and directing principles of the Covenant, are designed to be the beginning, between the States which have signed them, of normal relations based on an equal desire to achieve conciliation within the limits of the treaties and of the rights of each party.’”

M. HYMANS (representative of Belgium):

“These treaties are closely connected with the League of Nations, with the spirit which inspires and with the Covenant which directs its actions. I am convinced, as has been pointed out with so much authority and truth, that these treaties will strengthen the League of Nations, will develop the part it plays as a peace-maker and will enable it in the future to devote itself more and more widely to the mission entrusted to it by its authors.”

M. BENEŠ (representative of Czechoslovakia):

“The agreements of Locarno concern areas which were specially affected during the last war. If peace and security are assured in these areas, those who negotiated the treaties are by this fact entitled once more to our gratitude.

“In my opinion, the conclusion of these agreements means a new phase in the politics of post-war Europe. Further, the importance of this event is still more increased by the entry of Germany, which will mark a new stage in the work of the League of Nations.”

M. QUIÑONES DE LEÓN (representative of Spain):

“Sir Austen Chamberlain has just reminded the Council of the decisions of the Assembly. I should like to inform the Council on this solemn occasion that Spain, which has always supported the principle of arbitration, is negotiating at the moment with several Powers agreements similar to those of Locarno and inspired by their provisions.”

Viscount ISHII (representative of Japan):

“I explained to my colleagues that my Government was especially gratified to learn of the conclusion of the Treaties and Conventions of Locarno, since it had expressed through me, as far back as the beginning of September last, its sincere desire and hope for the early conclusion of the Treaty of Security then in question and for the eventual conclusion of similar conventions in other parts of the world. To-day the hope of my Government is realised — a most happy event in the interest of the peace of the world.”

M. UDDÉN (representative of Sweden):

“We cannot yet perfectly appreciate the importance of these agreements, but I have no doubt that the hopes which we have all placed in this work of peace and confidence will be realised.”

M. GUANI (representative of Uruguay):

"In the name of my Government, allow me at this moment to express profound gratitude for the efforts made by the distinguished men who have co-operated in this work. It will not only secure peace for Europe but also, as I have just said, confidence and security for the whole world."

M. DE MELLO-FRANCO (representative of Brazil):

"Allow me to express the hope that the system of guarantees which is the basis of the Locarno Agreements may be developed little by little and bear, in the near future, fruit from which the whole world can benefit."

M. SCIALOJA (representative of Italy, Acting President of the Council):

"We have established at Locarno (and I am happy to remind you of my modest presence at that conference) a system of treaties inspired by a new spirit which has been justly called the spirit of Locarno, the spirit of real peace which strives to eliminate all causes of war.

"As a lawyer, allow me to emphasise the legal side of these treaties. The great difficulty met with in seeking to achieve a friendly settlement of international disputes consists in distinguishing between purely legal cases and cases of a political character, which present far greater difficulties for peaceful settlement because the ordinary means to which recourse is had, such as arbitration or the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, are insufficient to settle questions which are not of a purely legal kind."

At the signature of the Locarno Treaties in London, M. SKRZYNSKI said:

"We find in these agreements initialled at Locarno and signed in London a harmonious work, a juridical system, as well as a powerful guarantee for peace in Europe. We hope that these agreements signed to-day will be maintained in the spirit and in the letter."

Dr. LUTHER, Chancellor of the Reich, in a speech before the Reichstag on November 23rd, 1925, said:

"I can only interpret the result of the Locarno negotiations as the manifestation of real progress in the strengthening of the forces which work for peace in Europe. . .

"The Locarno Treaties have not yet come into force, as Article 10 of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee included among them stipulates that they shall come into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited and Germany has become a Member of the League of Nations."

The Council notes with satisfaction the unanimous tenor of the official declarations made by the Members of the Council and the States represented at the Locarno Conference regarding the obvious progress in general security which has been brought about by those Treaties.

The Council shares the view, several times expressed at the sixth Assembly, that the conclusion of such agreements would be calculated to develop a sense of security.

(b) PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

An Assembly resolution requests the Council to submit to careful examination the proposals, declarations and suggestions made at the Assembly and the Council with a view to the pacific settlement of international disputes, and to report to the seventh Assembly upon the progress which can be made in this matter.

Under instructions from the Council, the Secretariat has prepared the material for this enquiry in the form of a document (C. 33. 1926. V) consisting of an introductory note and a series of extracts from the Minutes of the sessions of the Council and Assembly, reproducing the proposals, declarations and suggestions concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes in the actual form in which they were made by their authors.

The general impression given by these proposals, declarations and suggestions is that the movement for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which has undoubtedly started in the public opinion of all civilised nations, has acquired an ever-increasing force and can already be regarded as part of the practical policy which a number of States are in a position to adopt.

Although all these proposals, declarations and suggestions collected by the Secretariat were made in the course of the debates on the Protocol of 1924, it is quite clear that their authors do not wish to confine themselves to the field covered by the Protocol or to the general ideas on which it is based. In other words, the movement for the pacific settlement of international disputes goes beyond the scope of the Protocol and may be said to be independent of it. The Protocol itself is only one of the lines which this movement might follow in the future.

I.

In these proposals, declarations and suggestions a certain number of tendencies can be observed:

1. The first is towards the development of methods of conciliation. This method of conciliation is regarded from two points of view — as a preliminary stage, coming before arbitration and judicial settlement in the case of disputes which could ordinarily be settled by those methods if conciliation failed, or as a subsidiary method of settlement for disputes which are not submitted

to judicial settlement. The tendency towards the development of conciliation takes two different forms:

(a) The consideration of the problem of conciliation as a whole, that is to say, from the standpoint of a general convention for the avoidance and, if possible, the settlement of international disputes by the system of conciliation. This tendency appears in the proposal to consider the possibility of improving the model conciliation convention drafted by the third Assembly (proposal of the Japanese delegation).

(b) The discussion of the desirability of establishing special conciliation committees — for example, for the affairs of Eastern Europe, for Eastern affairs, for American affairs — which would be in the nature of advisory committees to advise the Council when necessary.

2. A tendency to re-affirm, on the morrow of the failure of the Protocol, the principle of compulsory arbitration. In the words of the First Committee's report, the intention is "to emphasise... that development of the principle of compulsory arbitration was desirable in itself and realisable in abstraction from other questions", since this principle is calculated to give the international world that sense of moral security which might eventually enable any machinery of sanctions, other than the sanctions provided by the Covenant, to be dispensed with.

Here we may trace two separate ideas:

(a) The first proclaims the utility of the principle of compulsory arbitration as a general measure. This is the view underlying the Swedish draft resolution whereby the Assembly was asked to submit for re-examination to a committee of experts the provisions concerning compulsory arbitration contained in the 1924 Protocol in order to facilitate the acceptance by all Powers of the principle of compulsory arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

(b) According to the second idea, as circumstances are not very favourable to the general adoption of the principle of compulsory arbitration, such arbitration might, if local conditions are favourable, be adopted at once by groups of Powers, thereby creating arbitration zones which it is hoped would gradually extend.

In connection with these ideas may be mentioned the observation of the Belgian delegation at the Assembly which linked conciliation and arbitration with the guarantees derived from the Covenant, which can be assured at the present time to any State that scrupulously observes its international obligations. At the Assembly, the Belgian delegation drew the attention of the States Members of the League to the desirability, *from the point of view of their security*, of concluding special conventions for arbitration or for the judicial settlement of disputes, and pointed out, through its delegate, M. Rolin, that, "in the event of two Members of the League of Nations which are parties to a dispute deciding to have recourse to arbitration or judicial settlement, Article 13 of the Covenant provides that 'in the event of any failure to carry out such an award the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken to give effect thereto', and the sanctions of Article 16 apply to any Member of the League which, in violation of the undertakings contained in Article 13, has recourse to war against another Member which complies with the award given."

II.

3. At the deposit of the Locarno Agreements in the archives of the League of Nations, a number of declarations were made in the Council. The Locarno Agreements may be said to contain, in varying degrees, all the ideas set forth above, with the addition, in certain well-known cases, of the idea of military guarantees or sanctions, which was also embodied in the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee of 1923 and in the Protocol of 1924. Under the Locarno Treaties, as under those two earlier instruments, military intervention on behalf of the State attacked takes place under the strictest international guarantees, but at the same time the sovereignty of the guarantor States is scrupulously respected. On several occasions at the sixth Assembly, the adoption of agreements on the same general lines as the Treaty of Locarno were recommended for other zones of insecurity. Many speakers emphasised the possibility of achieving the universal solution at which the Protocol had aimed, through this more modest system of local solutions, which might gradually cover the entire international situation, e.g. the declaration of M. Titulesco.

4. It should, however, be made clear that the immediate and complete solution which the authors of the Protocol had proposed was not abandoned by the sixth Assembly, and that while, for reasons of political expediency, the supporters of the Protocol associated themselves with other solutions, which were for the time being more in favour, they were careful to state that they remained faithful to their original idea and believed that sooner or later it would be realised.

5. Finally, side by side with the proposals made for the pacific settlement of international disputes, mention should be made of the views expressed as to the causes of these disputes, so that, in the striking words of M. Scialoja, "law, no longer confined to the external form of international relations, may better regulate these relations themselves". It is difficult to draw a line between the moment when a dispute could be settled and the moment when it could be avoided. In 1924, when the Protocol was under discussion, M. Jouhaux, of the French delegation, called the Assembly's attention to the economic causes of international disputes and the necessity of coping with them by means of an international organisation. This idea has been expressed on several occasions by the Italian delegation at the Assemblies of 1924 and 1925. It reappears in 1925 in a speech by Dr. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, and obviously exercised a strong influence on the decisions of the sixth Assembly upon the French proposal for the convening of an Economic Conference.

III.

Such in general are the ideas discussed at the sixth Assembly and at the subsequent sessions of the Council in connection with the pacific settlement of international disputes. The sixth Assembly asks for a report to the seventh Assembly "upon the progress which can be made in this matter". It is not, of course, proposed to make a theoretical study of the advantages and disadvantages of all these ideas, but to give some indication of the immediate possibilities of progress in the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In the opinion of the Council — as appears from another report which it is submitting to the Assembly on conciliation and arbitration treaties — the movement for the pacific settlement of international disputes is daily spreading in international politics. This is no mere movement of ideas; it can be seen in actual facts, for it is producing an increasing number of conciliation and arbitration agreements. The Council sees no advantage in laying down too-definite rules for the form in which this tendency is to find expression in the many different and complicated situations to which international political life gives rise. The Council would merely record that this movement, already so vigorous in the case of special agreements, is a sure sign of the good will of the different States to establish peace on a solid footing. Such agreements concluded within the framework of the Covenant of the League constitute perhaps the best solution that can be found in the present circumstances. We may express the hope that their development will help to bring about the general solution which the Assembly has so often endeavoured to find. In any event, the conclusion of such special agreements, far from being an obstacle to such a general solution, can do nothing but assist it.

II. PREPARATORY WORK FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

REPORT OF THE PRÉPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE ON THE WORK OF ITS FIRST SESSION (GENEVA, MAY 18th TO 26th, 1926).

The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference transmitted to the Council the following report:

The Preparatory Commission convened by resolution of the Council dated March 18th, 1926, met at Geneva from May 18th-26th, 1926. It elected as Chairman H. E. JONKHEER J. LOUDON and, as Vice-Chairmen, M. COBIÁN and M. BUERO, delegates of Spain and Uruguay respectively.

From the outset the Preparatory Commission realised that the study of the questions submitted to it by the Council would be facilitated by the constitution of two special Sub-Commissions composed of persons directly attached to the delegations forming part of the Preparatory Commission and consequently representing the opinion of their respective Governments. The Preparatory Commission intended to entrust one of these Sub-Commissions with the study of the military, naval and air aspects of the questions under consideration, while the other would devote its attention to the non-military aspect of these questions.

Presided over by the two Vice-Chairmen of the Commission itself, these two Sub-Commissions, which would thus be in close touch with the Commission, would be in a position to observe faithfully the principles laid down for their guidance by the latter.

The Sub-Commission entrusted with the study of non-military questions has been authorised by the Preparatory Commission to ascertain the opinion of the organisations or persons it may judge advisable to consult on these questions, and particularly that of the Joint Commission set up by resolution of the Council. The Military, Naval and Air Sub-Commission has identically the same composition as the Permanent Advisory Commission as enlarged by the decision of the Council. The system thus set up by the Preparatory Commission therefore follows the main outlines of the organisation established by the Council.

The Preparatory Commission does not doubt that the Council will see fit to endorse its decisions, in which it has been guided by its desire to do all in its power to ensure the success of the task entrusted to it.

1.

On the proposal of the French delegation, the Preparatory Commission considers that the task entrusted to it by the Council should be undertaken on the understanding that every Government should have in view for the proposed Conference for the preparation of a disarmament agreement, definite and quantitative proposals accompanied by reasons in support calculated with reference to the degree of security existing at the date when the Conference meets.

2.

A. The Commission refers to its Technical Sub-Commissions the points stated below in order that it may be informed on the technical aspect of the questions submitted to it by the Council. The Commission is alone competent to deal with the political aspects of these questions in the same way that it has sole responsibility for the final answers to be given to the questions.

The Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen may take the necessary steps to co-ordinate the work of the two Sub-Commissions and to enable each to consult the other on any particular point.

Question I.

What is to be understood by the expression "armaments" ?

- (a) Definition of the various factors — military, economic, geographical, etc. — upon which the power of a country in time of war depends.
- (b) Definition and special characteristics of the various factors which constitute the armaments of a country in time of peace; the different categories of armaments — military, naval and air — the methods of recruiting, training, organisations capable of immediate military employment, etc.

The Commission refers Question No. I to Sub-Commission A.

Question II (a).

Is it practicable to limit the ultimate war strength of a country, or must any measures of disarmament be confined to the peace strength ?

With regard to Question II (a), the Commission is of opinion that it would not be practicable at the present time to limit the ultimate war strength of a country. On the other hand, it affirms that it is possible to limit the land, sea and air forces permanently maintained in peace-time by the various countries or capable of immediate use without preliminary mobilisation measures. This principle is in any case without prejudice to the conditions of such limitation as determined by an examination of the remaining questions, notably Question V.

The Commission refers to Sub-Commission A the definition of the forces mentioned in the preceding paragraph and the study of the possibility of a wider limitation than that referred to above.

Question II (b).

What is to be understood by the expression "reduction and limitation of armaments" ?

The various forms which reduction or limitation may take in the case of land, sea and air forces: the relative advantages or disadvantages of each of the different forms or methods: for example, the reduction of the larger peace-time units or of their establishment and their equipment, or of any immediately mobilisable forces: the reduction of the length of active service, the reduction of the quantity of military equipment, the reduction of expenditure on national defence, etc.

Question III.

By what standards is it possible to measure the armaments of one country against the armaments of another, e.g., numbers, period of service, equipment, expenditure, etc.?

The Commission refers to Sub-Commission A the two following questions for its opinion:

- (a) What are the standards by which it is possible to measure the (a) military, (b) naval, (c) air armaments of one country against the corresponding armaments of another country?
- (b) What are the methods by which the reduction and limitation of (a) military, (b) naval, (c) air armaments can be effected, and what are the comparative advantages and disadvantages of each?

Note. — The following methods, amongst others, have been suggested: the reduction of the larger peace-time units or of their establishment and their equipment, or of any immediately mobilisable forces; the reduction of the length of active service; the reduction of munitions of war.

It has also been suggested that a limitation of armed forces might be effected by the reduction or limitation of expenditure on national defence.

The Commission wishes to have the opinion of the two Sub-Commissions on this last subject and on the conditions in which the above method might be applied, should they consider that it is practicable.

Question IV.

Can there be said to be "offensive" and "defensive" armaments ?

Is there any method of ascertaining whether a certain force is organised for purely defensive purposes (no matter what use may be made of it in time of war), or whether, on the contrary, it is established for the purposes in a spirit of aggression ?

The Commission refers to Sub-Commission A the following questions:

Are there any armaments (and, if so, what) which are only capable of being used for the defence of a State's territory ?

Is there any method of ascertaining whether a certain force is organised for purely defensive purposes (no matter what use may be made of it in time of war), or whether, on the contrary, it is established in a spirit of aggression ?

Question V (a).

On what principle will it be possible to draw up a scale of armaments permissible to the various countries, taking into account particularly:

1. Population;
2. Resources;
3. Geographical situation;
4. Length and nature of maritime communications;
5. Density and character of the railways;
6. Vulnerability of the frontiers and of the important vital centres near the frontiers;
7. The time required, varying with different States, to transform peace armaments into war armaments?

As the armaments to be maintained in each country cannot be determined on the basis of mathematical considerations alone, the Commission, in order to allow of a profitable examination of the basis on which the reduction and limitation of armaments is possible, requests the two Sub-Commissions to investigate how far armaments in general are affected by factors 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 enumerated in Question V (a) and refers factor 6 to Sub-Commission A.

Question VI.

- (a) Is there any device by which civil and military aircraft can be distinguished for purposes of disarmament? If this is not practicable, how can the value of civil aircraft be computed in estimating the air strength of any country?
- (b) Is it possible or desirable to apply the conclusions arrived at in (a) above to parts of aircraft and aircraft engines?
- (c) Is it possible to attach military value to commercial fleets in estimating the naval armaments of a country?

The Commission refers Question VI to Sub-Commission A for its opinion.

Question VII.

Admitting that disarmament depends on security, to what extent is regional disarmament possible in return for regional security? Or is any scheme of disarmament impracticable unless it is general? If regional disarmament is practicable, would it promote or lead up to general disarmament?

The Commission asks Technical Sub-Commissions A and B to consider whether regional military, naval and air disarmament can be regarded as an important step towards general disarmament, and, should general disarmament not prove immediately practicable, what regions could be considered separately, from the point of view of the limitation of armaments.

Sub-Commissions A and B are requested to consider what factors the term "region" should connote from the point of view of security and from the point of view of disarmament.

B. The Commission has examined the attached proposal submitted by the Belgian delegate.

Without expressing a definite opinion regarding the measures suggested in this proposal concerning which certain delegations have reserved their decision, the Commission has decided to refer this matter to the Technical Sub-Commissions, on the understanding that such reference does not prejudice the question in any way, either as regards the practicability of these measures or as regards any subsequent decision which the Preparatory Commission itself may take when it comes to examine the question from the general and political point of view.

The delegate of Italy reiterated his opinion that supervision would be ineffective and was inadmissible, and asked to have his view placed on record.

Proposal.

"The last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League stipulates that 'the Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes'.

"With a view to organising this exchange of information, Sub-Commission A has been requested to consider the advantages and disadvantages from the military point of view of the various methods which might be employed and in particular:

- "(a) The organisation at Geneva of a permanent service for the collection of information received from the different Governments;
- "(b) The conclusion of an international convention making it compulsory to publish all inventions which can be used in chemical or bacteriological warfare and in general all forms of warfare which are condemned by the opinion of the civilised world.

"Sub-Commission A is requested to investigate what would be the consequences from the military point of view of inserting in the Convention relative to disarmament, or in that regarding the prohibition of certain forms of warfare, of provisions similar to those contained in the statute of the International Labour Office (Articles 411 to 420 of the Treaty of Versailles).

"Sub-Commission B is requested to ascertain the consequences of such insertion from the economic point of view.

"Sub-Commission A is requested to consider to what extent the experience acquired regarding the supervision of disarmament points to the possibility from the military point of view of general supervision.

"Sub-Commission B is requested to state if such supervision offers any difficulties from the economic point of view and, if so, what difficulties ? "

C. On the proposal of the delegate of the British Empire, the Commission decided to refer to the competent Sub-Commissions the questions defined below without prejudice to any Convention or Rule of International Law on the subject:

To Sub-Commissions A and B.

1. (a) Can factories normally and legitimately employed for chemical purposes, including dyeworks, be quickly adapted to manufacture poison gases ?
- (b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, how long would it take to effect the change ?
- (c) Can any proposals be made to prevent or hinder chemical factories from being used for the production of poisonous gases ?

To Sub-Commission A.

2. (a) What are the means which would probably be employed for spreading gas and what would be the apparatus required ?
- (b) How long would it take to manufacture this apparatus, and how long would it take to superimpose this apparatus on the normal equipment of an aeroplane ?
- (c) Would the length of time referred to immediately above vary in the case of military or civilian aircraft ?
3. (a) What is the information in existence as to the effect of the distribution of poisonous gas over closely populated districts ?
- (b) Have any experiments been carried out on this subject ?
- (c) Apart from the difficulty of equipping the entire population of a city with gas masks, are there any gases known against which a gas mask affords no protection ?

Sub-Commission A is invited to consider what effective sanctions can be proposed for the enforcement of the international undertaking not to employ poison gas or bacteria in warfare.

3.

A. Questions V (a) 8 and V (b).

V(a) 8. (On what principle will it be possible to draw up a scale of armaments permissible to the various countries, particularly as regards . . .) the degree of security which, in the event of aggression, a State could receive under the provisions of the Covenant or of separate engagements contracted towards that State ?

V (b). Can the reduction of armaments be promoted by examining possible means for ensuring that the mutual assistance, economic and military, contemplated in Article 16 of the Covenant shall be brought quickly into operation as soon as an act of aggression has been committed ?

The following very important proposal has been laid before the Commission by the French delegation:

Proposal.

"With reference to Question V (a) 8 and V (b), the Commission considers that, in order that a State should be able to calculate to what extent it can consent to the reduction or limitation of its armaments, it is essential to determine what method and what machinery are best calculated to give help to that State when attacked.

"The Commission therefore proposes to suggest to the Council:

"I. That *methods or regulations* should be investigated which would:

"(a) Facilitate the meeting of the Council at very brief notice in case of war or threat of war;

"(b) Enable the Council to take such decisions as may be necessary to enforce the obligations of the Covenant as expeditiously as possible.

"2. That the Permanent Advisory Commission should be instructed:

"(a) To define the measures necessary to comply with paragraph (a), No. 8;

"(b) To investigate the procedure which would allow of the rapid drafting of recommendations regarding the military assistance provided for in the second paragraph of Article 16 of the Covenant, *when the Council shall have decided to make such recommendations*;

"(c) To investigate what measures should be taken in case of a conflict of which the Council shall have been notified, *and when the latter shall have taken a decision*, in order to prevent the development or preparation of hostilities, according to the precedent of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute.

"3. That the Joint Commission should be instructed:

"(a) To investigate the question of the improvement of the telegraphic and the telephonic communications of the different countries with the Secretariat of the League;

"(b) To study what measures would be most appropriate, *when the Council shall have so decided*, to give most rapidly such economic and financial help as may be necessary to a State which has been attacked;

"(c) To determine the composition and procedure of the Committees for the supply and allocation of resources which the League might set up for that purpose."

It has been objected that the aim of the proposal was to define and elaborate the machinery for carrying into effect the decisions taken by the Council of the League of Nations in virtue of Article 16 of the Covenant, and that constructive proposals of this nature belonged rather to the competence of the organs of the League of Nations than to that of the present Commission.

Without pronouncing any opinion on the validity of this objection, the Commission feels that there are obvious inconveniences in asking a body comprising representatives of countries not Members of the League of Nations to discuss new means of carrying out the provisions of an instrument which they have not signed.

The Commission has accordingly decided to forward the French delegation's proposal to the Council with a request that it should be immediately taken into consideration.

B. The Commission also decided to forward to the Council the following proposal of the Polish delegation, which is closely related to that of the French delegation:

Proposal.

"The Commission suggests to the Council that it would be well to consider whether a special organisation of regional assistance within the scope of the Covenant of the League would be likely to give the organs of the League effective help in supplying the assistance required and would thereby render the execution of the relevant articles of the Covenant easier and more expeditious (study of the machinery, form and procedure of regional assistance)."

C. The Commission has decided also to send to the Council the following proposal by the delegation of Finland:

Proposal.

"The Commission proposes that the Council should undertake the examination of special arrangements whereby a reduction of armaments agreed to by States unfavourably placed, owing to geographical or other exceptional circumstances, might be compensated in order to meet their requirements for security."

* * *

The United States delegation stated that it was anxious to favour every effort made with a view to disarmament, and that it therefore had no objection to certain proposals being discussed in connection with the obligations entered into by the Members of the League of Nations; but it naturally could not be bound in any way by such discussions in which it could not properly take part. This observation refers, in particular, to certain phases of the proposals reproduced in Nos. 1, 2 B and 3 above.

* * *

The German delegation stated that its exceptional position did not at present allow of its being heard before the Council, and therefore desired to be in a position to submit an opinion to the Council on the proposals which were referred to it in regard to Questions V (a) 8, V (b).

The suggested examination of the methods likely to bring rapid assistance to a country attacked, should not, in the opinion of the delegation, be based on the present position of armaments, which is only temporary. This examination should have as a starting-point a state of disarmament resulting from the Conference such that no country would be powerful enough to be in a position to assert its strength against that of the League of Nations. The examination of Questions V (a) 8 and V (b) could only give provisional results if it took as a starting-point the present position of armaments (see Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Drafting Committee)

The Council examined the above report at its meeting on June 10th, 1926, and adopted the report, presented by M. Beneš, which was in the following terms :

The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference has submitted to us a first report, dated May 1926, on the work of its First Session held at Geneva from May 18th to 26th, 1926.

The report may be divided into three parts. The first part deals with certain questions of procedure ; the second describes the work of classification and analysis carried out by the Preparatory Commission to enable it to issue directions for the guidance of its technical Sub-Commissions ; and the third concerns proposals submitted by the French, Polish and Finnish delegations.

As regards the second part, I need not do more than emphasise the importance of the work done by the Preparatory Commission, and I am sure that the whole Council will join me in congratulating the Commission on the manner in which it has dealt with this first stage of its work.

In regard to the questions of procedure mentioned in the first part of the report, the Commission tells us that it decided to form two special Sub-Commissions composed of persons directly attached to the delegations forming part of the Commission, and consequently expressing the opinion of their respective Governments. I have no doubt that the Council will endorse this decision, which, as the Preparatory Commission states in its report, was dictated by its desire to do all in its power to ensure the success of the task entrusted to it. The Preparatory Commission had the excellent idea of keeping in close touch with its two Sub-Commissions by appointing its own two Vice-Chairmen to preside over them. Under the system thus established, Sub-Commission A, dealing with military, naval and air questions, performs the duties which were proposed for the enlarged Permanent Advisory Commission. Sub-Commission B works in relation with the Joint Commission, to which it is empowered to refer questions for advice, and has, indeed, already referred several. In order to ensure that close touch may be kept with the Joint Commission, this Sub-Commission has thought it desirable that its own Chairman should attend the Joint Commission's meetings. The Council will doubtless agree with me as to the desirability of the closest touch being kept ; and accordingly, following the Preparatory Commission's example, I would suggest that the Chairman of Sub-Commission B should also be Chairman of the Joint Commission.

With reference to the third group of questions in the Preparatory Commission's report, the Council will doubtless agree with the Commission that the French proposal which it refers to us is " very important ". The proposal includes a number of somewhat complicated questions, some of which relate to facilities for the Council's meeting and work, and are thus more or less administrative in character, while others concern the most appropriate measures for preventing hostilities and the provision of economic and financial help for a State which has been attacked. The Polish and Finnish proposals are closely linked with the French proposal in several ways. With reference to the Finnish proposal, that Government has made a valuable contribution in a memorandum regarding the arrangements to be made beforehand in order to enable the Council to provide immediate financial assistance to any State which is the victim of aggression. In view of the difficulties inherent in these questions, and after consulting some of my colleagues, particularly the representative of the British Empire, I suggest that the French, Polish and Finnish proposals, as well as the Finnish memorandum, should be considered at the next session of the Council.

I therefore propose the following resolutions :

" The Council notes the decisions reached by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference in regard to the organisation of its method of work, and decides to appoint the Chairman of Sub-Commission B to be Chairman of the Joint Commission attached to the Preparatory Commission. "

" The Council adjourns to its September session the consideration of the French, Polish and Finnish proposals forwarded by the Preparatory Commission, and also of the Finnish Government's memorandum. " (See Appendix below.)

Appendix.

Letter from the Finnish Delegate to the Secretary-General.

Geneva, June 5th, 1926.

[Translation.]

I have the honour to hand to you a memorandum prepared by the Finnish delegation, which deals with the questions raised by the proposal which this delegation had the honour to make at the last session of the Preparatory Commission and which the latter has decided to forward to the Council at the same time as the proposals presented by the French and Polish delegations [Document C. 301. 1926. IX. (C.P.D. 20), page 5].

The Finnish delegation considers that this memorandum makes clear the point of view of the Finnish Government on at any rate one important aspect of the problems raised by this group of questions and asks you therefore to forward this document to the Council, in order that the Council may consider it when it discusses the proposals of France, Poland and Finland.

(Signed) ERICH.

Memorandum by the Finnish Delegation on the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

[Translation.]

The Finnish Government has repeatedly expressed its sincere approval of the endeavours of the League of Nations to reduce the burden of armaments. At the same time, however, it has deemed it necessary to underline the decisive importance of corresponding guarantees, especially to States which, for historical, geographical or other reasons, stand in need of security. The efforts of the League to solve the problem of guarantees, *e.g.*, the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the Geneva Protocol and, subsequently, the detailed programme of the Preparatory Commission for the forthcoming Disarmament Conference have clearly proved to what an extent the League is aware of the necessity of compensating by special means a reduction of armaments and military expenditure.

In accordance with the aforesaid aims, the Finnish delegation made, at the ninth meeting of the Preparatory Commission, May 26th, 1926, the following proposal :

“ The Commission proposes that the Council should undertake the examination of special arrangements whereby a reduction of armaments agreed to by States unfavourably placed, owing to geographical or other exceptional circumstances, might be compensated in order to meet their requirements for security. ”

The Commission adopted the proposal.

In this more or less general programme to the benefit of a certain number of small States, there is one question to which the Finnish delegation wishes to draw special attention.

A certain number of small States, having practically no raw material for the production of war supplies, and, furthermore, having consequently no war industry, must in peace-time either :

- (a) Buy stocks of war material to meet all emergency needs ; or
- (b) Keep large stocks of raw materials stored and, in addition, create an industry, capable of providing the army with sufficient supplies.

If a small State exposed to special danger has taken none of these precautions, it is bound, when attacked, immediately to import from abroad the stocks necessary for a successful defence. However, it goes without saying that such purchases surpass the financial capacity of perhaps most of the small States Members of the League. Mobilisation, and other measures necessitated by the various requirements of national defence, will more or less at once exhaust the financial resources of the country. The additional supplies of war material required for the mobilised forces of the country must therefore be purchased by means of foreign loans.

Experience, however, has proved in only too many cases that, even in ordinary circumstances, it is a very difficult task for small States rapidly to raise a loan in foreign countries; how much more difficult will it be for them in time of war to place bonds in foreign banks. Most likely foreign banks would prefer to wait till the general scheme of financial assistance to be arranged by the League of Nations is made public.

This conflict between the vital interests of small States exposed to special danger and the endeavours of the League to reduce the military expenditure of States Members of the League must be settled by the League itself.

The Finnish delegation takes the liberty of making a few preliminary suggestions to that effect.

It might be possible for the League to make arrangements beforehand which would enable the Council to provide immediate financial assistance to any small State which was the victim of aggression. If, for example, the Members of the League, or some of them, were prepared, under certain conditions and within the limit of a maximum sum, to offer their guarantee in different proportions, the Council would, when the emergency occurred, be able to arrange for the issue of an immediate loan, of such amount as might be needed within the maximum.

The Finnish delegation mentions this as an example of one way in which arrangements might be made for the Council to have financial means at its immediate disposal. There may be others, perhaps preferable, but this delegation suggests that in one way or another it is most desirable that arrangements should be made beforehand which would ensure that the Council should have financial resources at its disposal upon, or immediately after, the occurrence of an act of aggression. The Council could then arrange to place these resources, or such of them as it might decide to be necessary, at the disposal of the State or States attacked, under such conditions as it then thought appropriate, taking into account :

- (a) The economic, financial and military capacity of the small States attacked to defend themselves until the general assistance provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant is forthcoming, and
- (b) The corresponding resources of the aggressor.

The greater the disproportion between the small States and the aggressor the greater should be the first instalment of the financial assistance to the victim of the aggression.

In view of the foregoing, the Finnish delegation has the honour to request the Council of the League of Nations to undertake, through the competent organs of the League, a careful

examination of the practical means by which small States in need of special security owing to geographical or other exceptional circumstances could obtain sufficient guarantee as regards immediate financial assistance to enable them, in the event of their becoming the victims of an unprovoked aggression, to purchase war material and other supplies necessary for a successful defence until, in accordance with Article 16 of the Covenant, general assistance by the League is forthcoming.

The Finnish delegation is convinced that a number of small States Members of the League would warmly welcome any opportunity to express their views on this matter.

* * *

As has been seen from the report of the Preparatory Commission, certain questions were referred to technical Sub-Committees set up by this Commission.

Sub-Committee A.

Sub-Committee A, which was asked to study military, naval and air questions, held its first session from May 28th to July 6th, 1926. It met again on August 2nd and is at present in session.

Sub-Committee B.

Sub-Committee B, which was asked to examine non-military questions, met on May 26th, 1926. It decided to wait, before beginning the study of certain questions, until Sub-Committee A had reported on the points which had been referred to it. It referred the following questions to the Mixed Commission :

In connection with Questions II (b) and III :

Can the magnitude of the armaments of the various States be compared by comparing their military expenditure, and, if so, what method should be followed ?

In connection with the Belgian delegate's proposal :

1. What would be the consequences, from the economic point of view, of inserting in the Convention relative to disarmament, or in that regarding the prohibition of certain forms of warfare, provisions similar to those contained in the Statute of the International Labour Office (Articles 411-420 of the Treaty of Versailles) ?

2. Does the supervision of disarmament offer any difficulties from the economic point of view, and, if so, what difficulties ?

In connection with the proposal of the delegate of the British Empire regarding chemical warfare :

1. (a) Can factories normally and legitimately employed for chemical purposes including dyeworks, be quickly adapted to manufacture poison gases ?
- (b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, how long would it take to effect the change ?
- (c) Can any proposals be made to prevent or hinder chemical factories from being used for the production of poisonous gases ?

Mixed Commission.

The Mixed Commission met at Geneva from June 28th to July 1st, 1926. As regarded the first and second questions, it instructed two Sub-Committees (No. 1 and No. 2) to submit reports on the basis of the programmes which it had adopted.

It constituted a third Sub-Committee, which was asked to study questions relating to chemical warfare. It decided that this Sub-Committee might be assisted by a body of experts which the Sub-Committee would itself appoint, it being understood that it should necessarily include a national of each of the following countries : France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and the United States. This Sub-Committee met at Geneva on August 18th and 19th, 1926, and adopted two reports, which it has submitted to the Joint Commission.

III. PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

The Committee of the Council met at Geneva on May 22nd, 1926, to examine the preliminary draft Convention which the Committee of Enquiry had been asked to prepare pending the reception of replies from the Governments to the questionnaire which had been sent to them on January 9th, 1926.

As at that moment only a small number of replies had been received to this questionnaire, the Committee of the Council did not think it was in a position to submit a final draft to the Council. It accordingly proposed that the Council should refer to the Committee of Enquiry the replies which might arrive, in order that the preliminary draft might be again examined by the Committee of Enquiry in the light of these replies.

The Council approved this procedure, and adopted on June 10th the following resolution :

“ The Council adopts the proposal submitted to it by the Committee of the Council, to the effect that the replies of the Governments to the questionnaire on the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war, sent to them on January 9th, 1926, by the Secretary-General, should be referred to the Committee of Enquiry of the Committee of the Council, in order that the latter may make any alterations in the preliminary draft Convention which it considers advisable in the light of these replies, and that the preliminary draft, thus amended, should be considered by the Committee of the Council at a future session with a view to making a report to the Council.

“ The Council draws the attention of the Governments to the importance it attaches to the official opinions of Governments on this subject, which it regards as the essential basis for drawing up an International Convention for the Control of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War, and requests the Governments which have not already done so to communicate their replies to this questionnaire to the Secretariat as soon as possible. ”

This resolution was forwarded by the Secretary-General, on June 24th, 1926, to the Governments which had not yet replied to the questionnaire.

In conformity with this resolution the Committee of Enquiry of the Committee of the Council met in Paris on July 30th and 31st and adopted the following report :

In pursuance of the Council resolution of June 10th, 1926, the Committee of Enquiry of the Committee of the Council appointed to draw up a preliminary draft Convention on the Supervision of the Private Manufacture of Arms and Ammunition and of Implements of War met in Paris on July 30th and 31st, for the purpose of reconsidering the preliminary draft which it had prepared and submitted to the Committee of the Council in the light of the replies of Governments to the questionnaires sent to them on the subject.

M. Cobian informed the Committee that he was unable to take part in its work, but expressed his personal wish that his absence should not be regarded as an obstacle to the holding of the meeting.

The Committee of Enquiry had before it the replies of the following countries :

Australia	Netherlands
Austria	New Zealand
Belgium	Norway
Bulgaria	Poland
Cuba	Roumania
Czechoslovakia	South Africa
Egypt	Sweden
Great Britain	Turkey
Greece	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics
Italy	United States of America, and
Japan	Venezuela ¹
Latvia	

The United States of America, Turkey and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics did not reply to the questions, for various general reasons which their Governments explained in their replies to the Secretariat.

With regard to the opinions given by the remaining Governments, the Committee's conclusions are as follows :

A certain number of Governments expressed the opinion :

Question 1. — That the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war was open to grave objections of the kind contemplated in the report of the Temporary Mixed Commission (Document A. 16. 1924. IX) (replies of Belgium, Bulgaria, Cuba, Egypt, Norway and Poland). Others of the countries consulted also put forward certain special objections (replies of South Africa and Latvia). Five Governments stated that, to the best of their knowledge, there were no grave objections to the system of private manufacture in their respective countries (replies of Australia, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Sweden).

Question 2. — It appears from the replies of Governments to this question that the private manufacture of arms is already regulated in varying degrees under the licensing system, which is indeed the basis of the draft Convention prepared by the Committee. This is the case in Belgium, Egypt, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Question 3. — In regard to the obstacles which the constitutions of the various countries might present to the conclusion of international agreements on the control of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war, the Committee finds that no obstacles are mentioned in the replies received, and that the majority of the Governments state that the constitutions of their respective countries present no such obstacles.

Questions 4 and 5. — The Committee regards most of the suggestions and proposals put forward by Governments in the replies submitted to it as being already embodied in the draft Convention. The Committee notes, however, the following suggestions :

¹ Since the meeting of the Committee of Enquiry, the following Governments have forwarded their replies to the Secretariat: Colombia, France.

(a) Certain Governments (Great Britain and Japan) pronounce in favour of the principle of national control and dismiss the idea of international control. Others would wish that an organisation — international, of course — should be established to compile and publish the information received from the various countries (Polish reply), and that this organisation should also be empowered to demand further particulars from any country which it might consider to have furnished insufficient information (Netherlands reply). Others, again, would wish that both the manufacture of arms and the trade in arms should be supervised by League organisations (Bulgarian, Greek and Latvian replies).

The conflict between the principle of national control and the principle of international control will doubtless lose much of its importance if the international aspect of control is reduced to nothing more than the provision of publicity for measures of national control, which should be as uniform as possible. The Committee is of opinion that this solution, which it has recommended for the draft Convention on the analogy of the solution adopted in the Convention for the supervision of the international trade in arms (1925), represents a compromise which could be accepted both by the supporters of national and by those of international control. The Committee would point out that the arguments which were successfully maintained against the proposal to entrust a League organisation with the control of the international trade in arms under the Convention of May-June 1925 apply with at least equal force to the draft Convention on Private Manufacture. The Committee, however, takes this opportunity of emphasising the importance that must be attached to publicity as a system of control by extending that publicity, as it has done in its draft, to State manufactures. In the opinion of the Committee, full publicity in regard to manufactures even now constitutes a strict legal obligation upon all Members of the League of Nations, in virtue of the last paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant, which says: "The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes."

(b) The Greek Government suggests that the measures to be taken to supervise and restrict the manufacture of arms should be extended to raw materials, including chemical substances which, by a process of conversion or manufacture, may become an instrument of war. The Committee did not see fit to modify the preliminary draft in this sense, since the Greek Government's suggestion seemed unduly to extend obligations which in any event should be confined to the minimum compatible with the highest interests of peace and mutual confidence.

(c) Two Governments (Greek and Roumanian replies) proposed that supervision should be exercised over both private and State undertakings.

The Committee has already explained its views on this question in its report of April 19th, and it sees no occasion to modify them in the light of the replies received. The Committee considers that it went as far as possible in the direction suggested by these two Governments when, in Article 2 of the preliminary draft, it defined private manufacture as "manufacture taking place in establishments of which the State is not the sole proprietor". Moreover, the Committee, fully aware that the draft to be prepared must be based both on Article 8 of the Covenant and on the declaration in the Final Act of the Convention of May-June 1925 — of which the one refers to the grave objections to manufacture by private enterprises and the other to equality between producing and non-producing States — framed its draft on the basis of a *limitation of the licence* to private manufacture, but of an *extension of publicity* to all manufactures, whether private or State.

This solution would seem to satisfy all points of view.

(d) The Committee did not see its way to retaining the suggestion by the Greek Government to fix the maximum quantities of arms and implements of war which States would be free to acquire. There does not seem a sufficiently direct and inevitable connection between this suggestion, the value of which the Committee recognises, and the precise aim of the draft Convention which it was instructed to examine.

(e) The suggestion of the Polish Government that the Convention should contain no restriction as regards the institution and development of private manufacture, particularly in the case of countries whose industry is not sufficiently developed, appears to be fully met by the draft Convention as framed. Accordingly, the Committee, which entirely agrees with the opinion expressed by the Polish Government, saw no reason to modify the existing preliminary draft in this respect.

(f) Another suggestion of the Polish Government that each Government should have a preferential right as regards the purchase of products from the private manufacture of arms in its territory, and also the right to expropriate, subject to compensation, any licences, models, patents, designs and methods of manufacture belonging to individuals, seems to the Committee to be too exclusively national a question to form part of a draft international Convention.

(g) The suggestion of the British Government that the Convention should be based on the principles of the British Firearms Act of 1920 is one that should be considered. That law organises the national supervision of private manufacture. The Committee is of opinion that its preliminary draft is in accordance with the general principles of the law in question and, consequently, with the suggestion put forward by the British Government.

(h) Three Governments point out the close connection, from the point of view of application and coming into force, between the Convention under consideration and that of May-June 1925 on the supervision of the international trade in arms. The Committee is entirely of this opinion, which was indeed frequently expressed both during the Conference of May-June 1925 and at the sixth Assembly.

The Committee has not thought it desirable to change the ratification clauses in this respect, the final drafting of these clauses seeming, at the present stage of work, to be somewhat premature. Moreover, experience shows that they can only be given their final wording by the Conference which is entrusted with the conclusion of the Convention.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, the Committee does not see its way to introducing any modifications in the preliminary draft which it had prepared, and it again submits the said draft to the Committee of the Council with the request that, in examining it, it will take into account not only the foregoing considerations, but also the report dated April 19th, 1926, annexed to the preliminary draft.

No decision has yet been taken as to the date on which the Committee of the Council will examine this preliminary draft Convention and the report of the Committee of Enquiry.

IV. STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON THE TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

As regards the adoption by the Governments of the form annexed to the Convention on the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War for their national statistics and for the documents which they furnish to the Secretariat with a view to the compilation of statistical information on the trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war, the Government of the Netherlands informed the Secretariat, in a letter dated June 21st, 1926, that statistics of arms and ammunition and implements of war, compiled in accordance with this form, had been published in the *Statistique mensuelle de l'Importation, de l'Exportation et du Transit*.

The Norwegian Government replied on July 30th, 1926, that the statistical data furnished by the Customs authorities for the imports of arms and ammunition were not sufficiently detailed to enable the above-mentioned statistical forms to be filled up. Under the system of statistics at present in force in Norway, the establishment of a new specification would present difficulties, above all in regard to imports.

The new edition of the compiled Statistics on the Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War published by the Secretariat will appear on January 1st, 1927.

V. MILITARY YEAR-BOOK.

(General and Statistical Information on Land, Naval and Air Armaments.)

The new edition of the *Military Year-Book* will appear on January 1st, 1927.

VI. SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

Below is given the list of States which have up to the present signed the Acts of the Conference for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of war.

Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War (Geneva, June 17th, 1925).

Abyssinia	Italy
Austria	Japan
Belgium	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
Brazil	Latvia
British Empire	Luxemburg
Canada	Netherlands
India	Poland
Bulgaria	Roumania
Chile	Salvador
Czechoslovakia	Spain
Denmark	Sweden
Esthonia	Switzerland
Finland	Uruguay
France	United States of America
Germany	Venezuela.
Hungary	

Protocol of Signature (Geneva, June 17th, 1925).

Abyssinia	Japan
Austria	Latvia
Brazil	Luxemburg
British Empire	Netherlands
Canada	Nicaragua
India	Poland
Bulgaria	Portugal
Chile	Roumania
Czechoslovakia	Salvador
Denmark	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
Esthonia	Spain
Finland	Switzerland
France	Turkey
Germany	Uruguay
Greece	United States of America
Hungary	Venezuela.
Italy	

Declaration regarding the Territory of Ifni (Geneva, June 17th, 1925).

Abyssinia	France
Austria	Italy
Belgium	Japan
Brazil	Latvia
British Empire	Luxemburg
Canada	Poland
India	Roumania
Bulgaria	Salvador
Chile	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
Czechoslovakia	Spain
Denmark	Switzerland
Esthonia	Venezuela
Finland	

Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and Bacteriological Methods of Warfare (Geneva, June 17th, 1925).

Abyssinia	Latvia
Austria	Lithuania
Belgium	Luxemburg
Brazil	Netherlands
British Empire	Nicaragua
Canada	Poland
India	Portugal
Bulgaria	Roumania
Chile	Salvador
Czechoslovakia	Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
Denmark	Spain
Esthonia	Switzerland
Finland	Turkey
France	United States of America
Greece	Uruguay
Germany	Venezuela.
Italy	
Japan	

At the seventh meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, on May 20th, 1926, M. Paul-Boncour stated that the President of the French Republic had on May 9th ratified the Convention on the Trade in Arms and that the French Government was waiting, before notifying this ratification, until a certain number of arms-producing States had also ratified it.

It should be noted that the French Government has ratified, under the same conditions, the Protocol, annexed to this Convention, on Chemical and Bacteriological Warfare.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, on April 28th, 1926, made the following declaration in the House of Commons:

“His Majesty’s Government considers that it is in the interests of all the arms-producing States to bring the Convention into operation by ratifying simultaneously, and they have recently made this suggestion to the Governments of the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the United States.”

5.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

I. FIRST REPORT OF THE STRAITS COMMISSION, SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL UNDER ARTICLE 15 OF THE CONVENTION.

At its thirty-fifth session (meeting held on September 10th, 1925), the Council authorised the Secretary-General to forward to the Powers concerned the information on the passage of naval or air forces through the Straits which was supplied, in accordance with sub-section (a), § 2, of Annex 2 to the Convention, by the Straits Commission set up under the terms of the Convention signed at Lausanne on April 24th, 1923.

Article 15 of this Convention provides for the setting-up of a commission "which will carry out its functions under the auspices of the League of Nations and will address to the League an annual report giving an account of its activities and furnishing all information which may be useful in the interests of commerce and navigation."

At its fortieth session (meeting held on June 10th, 1926), the Council, which had meanwhile received the Straits Commission's first report on the work done during the year 1925, considered whether it should formally accept the relations which Article 15 of the Treaty was intended to establish between the Commission and the League of Nations.

The Straits Commission's report is divided into two parts. The second part consists of information which may be useful to commerce and navigation. The first part contains a number of observations dealing principally with the fact that "the International Straits Commission has to rely for all its information on services which are exclusively Turkish as regards their administration, equipment and staff"; with the possibility of obtaining information which might interest the Commission from officers commanding naval units before their vessels enter the Straits; and with the personal immunities which, in the Commission's opinion, should be granted to its members.

The report concludes as follows :

"In drawing up the present report, the Straits Commission has sought to carry out the intentions of Article 15 of the Convention of Lausanne. The information it contains may be summarised as follows :

"The first part shows that the Commission has almost completely organised the services necessary for its working, but that these services do not possess the full independence which is essential if the neutrality and the power of initiative of the Commission is not to become illusory in matters in which the Turkish Government's own interests are concerned.

"The information contained in the second part shows that commercial navigation through the Straits does not as yet enjoy the unrestricted freedom granted to it by the Treaty of Lausanne.

"Older systems and provisional regulations resulting from the war still weigh heavily upon the administrations, which have difficulty in freeing themselves from the shackles of customs adopted in the past.

"In these circumstances, the duty of the Commission is limited by the Straits Convention to reporting the facts to the League of Nations. It is for the latter to adopt any means which seem to it effective to hasten the application in their entirety of the principles laid down in the Treaty of Lausanne."

The Council, having concluded that Article 15 of the Convention merely placed the Commission under the auspices of the League of Nations, accepted the duty assigned to it, and communicated the report which the Straits Commission had submitted on its work during the year 1925 for any necessary action to the States signatories of the Convention relating to the Regime of the Straits.

II. QUESTION OF THE FRONTIER BETWEEN TURKEY AND IRAQ. AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, IRAQ AND TURKEY.

At the first meeting of the fortieth session of the Council (June 7th, 1926), the representative of Great Britain informed the Council that direct negotiations had taken place between the representatives of His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Iraq Government on the one hand and those of the Government of the Turkish Republic on the other. In its recommendation addressed on December 16th, 1925, to the British and Turkish Governments, following its decision concerning the delimitation of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, the Council

had urged the two Governments "to reach friendly agreements in order to put an end to the regrettable state of tension existing between them owing to the dispute for which a solution had just been found, and thus to assure the strengthening of the foundations of peace which is the essential object of the League of Nations". The negotiations had terminated in the signing of a treaty fixing the frontier between Turkey and Iraq.

By this treaty, which was signed at Angora on June 5th, 1926, the frontier-line between Turkey and Iraq was finally fixed as recommended by the Council at its meeting on October 29th, 1924 (Brussels Line). This line was, however, slightly changed at one point for the benefit of the people of the Turkish villages of Alamun and Ashuta in order that the section of road joining the two places might be in Turkish territory.

The British delegate further informed the Council that the Contracting Parties were ready to delimit the frontier on the spot. The Boundary Commission would consist of a representative of each of the Governments concerned, and the President of the Swiss Confederation would be asked to be good enough to appoint a Chairman. The Contracting Parties had undertaken to register the treaty in due course with the Secretariat of the League of Nations in accordance with the obligations under the Covenant.

The Council, after expressing its satisfaction at the happy issue of the negotiations, noted the communication made by the representative of Great Britain, thus finally settling the question:

6.

ADMINISTRATIVE QUESTIONS.

I. SAAR TERRITORY.

1. FREEDOM OF TRANSPORT AND TRANSIT OVER THE RAILWAYS.

At its meeting on March 18th, 1926, the Council drew the attention of the Governing Commission to the duty incumbent upon it to ensure, in all cases, freedom of transport and transit over the railways of the Territory. The Council was of opinion that the measures required for this purpose should be prepared — in particular, a Railway Committee possessing the necessary powers should be placed at the disposal of the Governing Commission. The Council invited the Governing Commission to submit to it proposals on this subject. In reply to this request, the Governing Commission submitted a report dated May 21st, 1926. This report contains the opinions and proposals of the Governing Commission together with two minority opinions. At its meeting on June 10th, 1926, the Council decided that, as the report, which contained a large number of technical details, had only reached the Members of the Council a very short time before the June session, the examination of this question should be postponed until the September session.

2. GENERAL QUESTIONS (PERIODICAL REPORT).

The Governing Commission has communicated its Twenty-sixth Periodical Report on the situation in the Saar and on the work of the Commission during the second quarter of 1926. Mention may be made of the following questions in this report :

Governing Commission.

On April 1st, 1926, there came into force the decisions taken by the Council during its session of March 1926 with regard to the composition of the Governing Commission. The various departments of the Governing Commission have been distributed among the Members of the Commission as follows: Mr. STEPHENS (Canadian Member and Chairman) : Foreign Affairs and Interior ; M. KOSSMANN (Saar Member) : Public Relief, Public Health, Agriculture, Labour, Department of Forests and Social Insurance ; M. LAMBERT (Belgian Member) : Public Works, Railways and Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones ; M. MORIZE (French Member) : Finance, Economic Affairs and Mining Control ; M. VEZENSKY (Czechoslovak Member) : Justice, Public Education and Public Worship.

Economic and Social Situation.

There has been no appreciable change in the economic and social situation of the Saar Territory during the second quarter of 1926. Strikes broke out in five different localities, partly on account of wage disputes and partly as a protest against the dismissal of a miner. The total number of workmen involved was 4,000.

Political Situation.

The Advisory Council and the Technical Committee held their usual sessions during the quarter. The elected representatives of the population concluded the work of discussing and formulating their opinions upon the various fiscal proposals submitted to them and expressed their opinions also on a number of draft decrees submitted by the Governing Commission. These decrees deal in particular with the question of salaries and wages, private insurance, the housing system, public relief, etc.

The elections to the Communal and Kreis Assemblies were held on July 11th, 1926. In deference to the wishes expressed by the political parties, the Governing Commission introduced, in the place of the system of free lists hitherto in force, the system of blocked lists and official ballot papers.

Customs Regime.

In order to adapt the principle of the Customs regime to the special needs and wishes of the Saar population, the Governing Commission discussed with the Customs Department the question of the opening and moving of Customs offices, the opening of Customs routes and the problem of the supply of the Saar Territory with cattle for slaughtering coming from certain countries, etc.

Financial Situation.

The general budget of the Territory for the financial year 1926 (April 1st, 1926, to March 31st, 1927) was voted by the Governing Commission in April 1926. It amounts to a total of 363,162,411 francs, compared with 223,383,540 francs for 1925. The 1926 budget is balanced, and the surplus of 2,604,189 francs is at the disposal of the Governing Commission. The Governing Commission states that, if increases in expenditure become necessary, fresh taxation will have to be imposed.

International Agreements concluded by the Governing Commission and its representation at International Conferences.

The Franco-Saar agreement relating to the reciprocal application of social insurance laws in the Saar Territory and in the French Departments of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine and the Moselle has been ratified by the two Governments and was put into force on June 1st, 1926.

The agreements negotiated at Baden-Baden between the Governing Commission and the German Government with regard to various administrative questions, and notably regarding German officials serving in the Saar, have been ratified by the two Governments and came into force on June 16th, 1926.

The Governing Commission was represented in an advisory capacity at the Passports Conference, which met at Geneva at the invitation of the League of Nations on May 12th, 1926. The inhabitants of the Saar Territory of German nationality require no preliminary visa for entering Switzerland or the Netherlands.

Administrative Activity.

The periodical report further contains detailed information on various questions relating to the administrative activity of the Governing Commission, particularly: the finances of the Territory, the measures taken on behalf of officials and workmen, public works, justice, education, commerce, industry and labour, public relief, social hygiene and agriculture.

3. PETITIONS.

In conformity with the Council's resolution of May 17th, 1920, the Governing Commission has transmitted to the Council, with its observations, certain new petitions from inhabitants of the Saar Territory. These petitions refer to the withdrawal of the French troops, the question of housing, and the question of the measures taken by the Governing Commission with regard to the director of the "Einheitsverband der Eisenbahner Deutschlands".

II. FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

1. AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF DANZIG: VALORISATION OF CLAIMS.

At its meeting on June 10th, 1926, the Council heard a statement by the High Commissioner of the League of Nations regarding an amendment which the Senate of Danzig proposed to introduce into the Constitution of the Free City. The amendment concerned the valorisation of claims.

According to Article 49 of the Constitution of Danzig, any amendments to the Constitution can only enter into force after being communicated to the League of Nations and after the latter has declared that it has no objection to make to such modifications. In consequence of

the urgent representations of the Senate, the High Commissioner proposed that the Council, after an examination of the amendment as duly and definitely adopted, should authorise him to make the declaration which was required from the League of Nations.

The Council decided that it had no objection in principle to the High Commissioner's proposals. It asked him to send a note on the matter, together with the text of the amendment, to the Secretary-General for communication to the Members of the Council. The latter would inform the President if they had any objection to the details of the High Commissioner's proposals, and, if not, the President was authorised to accept them on behalf of the Council.

On June 29th, 1926, the High Commissioner communicated to the Secretary-General a note, together with the text of the amendment to the Constitution, in the form adopted by the Volkstag on the first reading on June 23rd. According to the Constitution, there must be an interval of at least a month between the first and second readings.

In conformity with the above-mentioned resolution of the Council, the Secretary-General transmitted to the Members of the Council the High Commissioner's note and the text of the amendment to the Constitution, requesting them to forward to him before August 1st, 1926, any observations they desired to make for transmission to the President of the Council. No observations were made by the Members of the Council, and the President, on behalf of the Council, authorised the High Commissioner to inform the Senate of Danzig that the League of Nations had no objections to raise, under Article 49 of the Constitution, to the amendment in question.

2. FINANCIAL SITUATION.

This question is dealt with in the chapter of the present report devoted to the work of the Financial Committee.

III. EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND BULGARIA.

APPOINTMENT OF M. DE ROOVER'S SUCCESSOR ON THE MIXED COMMISSION.

In accordance with Article 8 of the Convention of November 27th, 1919, between Greece and Bulgaria, a Mixed Commission was established consisting of a member appointed by each of the two Contracting States and of an equal number of members of another nationality, from among whom the President is chosen, and who are appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

On September 20th, 1920, the Council appointed as members of this Commission Mr. Corfe (New Zealand) and M. de Roover (Belgium). On March 23rd, 1926, M. de Roover asked the Council to relieve him of his duties. After Mr. Corfe, President of the Mixed Commission, had urged the necessity of proceeding immediately to the appointment of M. de Roover's successor, the President of the Council, the Japanese representative, acting in agreement with the Rapporteur, the French representative, and with the Bulgarian and Greek Governments, made this appointment after consulting and obtaining the consent of all the Members of the Council. M. James de Reynier (Switzerland), former President of the Danzig Harbour Board, late member of the Committee of Experts appointed by the Council to delimit the Port of Danzig for the purposes of the Polish Postal Service, late Provisional Records Commissioner for the Plebiscite in the Saar Territory, was appointed.

M. de Reynier left Switzerland on June 15th, 1926, to take up his duties.

7.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

I. QUESTIONS OF PROCEDURE.

At the meeting of the Council on March 17th, 1926, the question was raised of the procedure at present adopted in replying to private petitioners in the matter of the protection of minorities. The Secretary-General communicated information on this subject to the Members of the Council and of the League of Nations in document C.312 (1).M.118.1926. I. At its meeting of June 10th, 1926, the Council adopted a report of the Brazilian representative thanking the Secretary-General for the information contained in this document and noting that the matter did not seem to call for further action by the Council.

II. MOSLEMS OF ALBANIAN ORIGIN IN GREECE.

(See General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2), Chapter 6, Paragraph III, page 196.)

In June 1926 the Council considered a report from its mandatories regarding this matter and, in view of the information contained in this document, requested them to submit a final report on the subject. This report has just been received and distributed to the Members of the Council and of the League of Nations.

III. MINORITIES IN ROUMANIA.

(See General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2), Chapter 6, Paragraph VII, page 199.)

During its session in June 1926 the Council noted and approved certain suggestions put forward by the Roumanian Government in regard to the arrangements for the distribution of the sum of 700,000 gold francs among the colonists of Hungarian race affected by certain measures of agrarian reform in Roumania.

8.

MANDATES.

I. GENERAL QUESTIONS ¹.

MILITARY RECRUITING, STATE DOMAIN AND LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

During its session in June 1926, the Council dealt with a certain number of questions of general interest raised by the application of Article 22 of the Covenant and considered by the Permanent Mandates Commission, with regard to which the Council had previously asked for the views of the mandatory Powers. On the proposal of the Swedish representative, Rapporteur, the Council endorsed the following opinions expressed by the Mandates Commission with regard to certain questions concerning the military recruiting of the inhabitants of the mandated territories and the State Domain in those territories.

Military Recruiting.

“ The spirit, if not the letter, of the mandate would be violated if the Mandatory enlists the natives of the mandated territory (wherever they may present themselves for engagement) for services in any military corps or body of constabulary which is not permanently quartered in the territory and used solely for its defence or the preservation of order within it, subject to the provisions of Article 3, paragraph 2 of the mandates for French Togoland and Cameroons. ”

State Domain.

“ The mandatory Powers do not possess, in virtue of Articles 120 and 257 (paragraph 2) of the Treaty of Versailles, any right over any part of the territories under mandate other than that resulting from their having been entrusted with the administration of those territories.

“ If any legislative enactment relating to land tenure should lead to conclusions contrary to these principles, it would be desirable that the text should be modified in order not to allow of any doubt. ”

With regard to this question, the Council decided to approve a number of observations submitted by its Rapporteur as constituting the official interpretation of the text drafted by the Commission.

Liquor Traffic.

With regard to the definition of the terms concerning the liquor traffic which are found in the mandates, the Council requested the Mandates Commission to consider the views expressed by the mandatory Powers and to inform it of such conclusions as it might reach as the result of this further examination of the question.

¹ See General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2), page 215.

II. PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED IN REPLYING TO PETITIONS.

During the consideration of the documents relating to the eighth session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the procedure to be adopted in replying to petitions was discussed, and the Council deferred its decision on this subject ¹. At the request of the British representative, the question was placed on the agenda of the session in June 1926, and before the beginning of this session the Secretary-General submitted to the Members of the Council a memorandum setting forth the practice followed at the present time in replying to such petitions (document C.314.1926).

On the proposal of the Swedish representative, and after an exchange of views in which the British and French representatives took part, the Council approved the procedure outlined in the Secretary-General's memorandum but added that it would be more satisfactory if the Commission would in every case prepare its observations with regard to petitions in such a way that it would be possible to transmit them to the petitioners without the necessity of sending them the Commission's general observations on the report of the mandatory Power,

III. NINTH SESSION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

The Permanent Mandates Commission met at Geneva from June 8th to June 25th, 1926, to examine the annual reports on the administration of the following territories : Nauru, New Guinea, South-West Africa, the French Cameroons and Togoland, Ruanda-Urundi, Palestine and Tanganyika. Several mandatory Powers, in deference to a wish expressed by the Commission on many occasions, had delegated to Administrators of the mandated territories, or to senior officials in their administrations, the duty of furnishing explanations to the Commission.

The Commission also heard a statement by M. Henry de Jouvenel, High Commissioner of the French Republic in Syria and the Lebanon, on the present situation in those territories.

The Commission further examined various petitions and considered the general question of the possibility of allowing petitioners, in certain cases, to be heard by the Commission. The Commission, however, did not feel inclined to formulate any express recommendation on this subject until it had learned the Council's views on the matter.

The Commission also prepared a list of questions to which it desired reference to be made in the annual reports of the mandatory Powers on B and C mandated territories. This document is intended to replace the questionnaires for these territories which were adopted at the first session of the Commission. Finally, the Commission suggested that the Council should instruct the Secretary-General to obtain from the mandatory Powers certain additional information which would enable the Secretariat to complete the preparation of tables giving certain statistical information regarding each mandated territory.

Observations of the Commission on the Reports examined.

The observations of the Commission on the annual reports which it has examined may be summarised as follows :

PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDAN.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : Lt.-Col. G. S. SYMES, Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government, assisted by Mr. CLAUSON, of the British Colonial Office.)

The Commission noted with satisfaction that political unrest is dying down and that the situation throughout the whole of Palestine is calm. It feels sure that the mandatory Power will continue to maintain local forces sufficient both in constitution and number to cope with any troubles which could possibly become a menace to any element of the population.

It heard with satisfaction the statements of the accredited representative with regard to the policy adopted by the mandatory Power in endeavouring to encourage local autonomy, and asked for additional information with regard to the development of the elective system in municipal organisations, and the organisation and working of the various communities.

It expressed the hope that the land survey, which it considers of great importance for the development of the country, will shortly be completed and that land in the Beisan district will shortly be put to full use. The Commission insisted on the need for more adequate documentary information regarding labour conditions in Palestine. While recognising the difficulties encountered by the mandatory Power in this domain, the Commission is of opinion that careful legislation is now necessary and would be of great service. It therefore heard with satisfaction that a set of regulations is shortly to be drawn up to govern certain labour conditions.

The Commission asked that subsequent reports should contain information on the reorganisation of educational work and on the public finances of Palestine and Transjordan, and that the text of the agreement concluded between Nejd and Transjordan with regard to their frontiers should be communicated.

¹ See General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2), page 215.

THE CAMEROONS (UNDER FRENCH MANDATE).

(Representative of the mandatory Power : M. A. DUCHÊNE, Councillor of Statè, Director of Political Affairs in the Ministry for the Colonies, assisted by M. MARCHAND, Commissioner of the French Republic in the Cameroons.)

The Commission noted with satisfaction that British and French officials were co-operating effectively to prevent the slave trade along the northern frontiers of the territory. It was struck by the remarkable development of the system of roads in the territory. In this connection it requested additional information regarding the remuneration of labourers employed on road construction. It also asked for supplementary details regarding labour conditions on native plantations and the measures proposed for the improvement of hygiene among labourers employed on railway construction. While paying a tribute to the efforts already accomplished in the matter of health, it expressed a hope that it might be possible rapidly to increase the number of doctors, sick-nurses and medical assistants.

It noted that the financial year closed, like the preceding years, with a considerable surplus, a fact which made it possible to undertake an important programme of public works without resorting to loans.

The Commission will continue to follow with interest the results of this financial policy of the mandatory Power.

As regards education, it noted with satisfaction the establishment of an education commission entrusted with the task of developing co-operation between the various educational institutions in the territory.

TOGOLAND (UNDER FRENCH MANDATE).

(Representative of the mandatory Power : M. A. DUCHÊNE, Councillor of State, Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for the Colonies.)

The Commission learnt with satisfaction that negotiations were now in progress for the final delimitation of the frontier between French and British Togoland and that endeavours would be made to avoid dividing up native tribes.

It has been happy to note the prosperous condition of the finances of the territory. The reserve fund was considerably increased in 1925, but its value has diminished owing to the fall of the franc, and the Commission will follow with interest all measures which the mandatory Power may take with a view to preventing the diminution of this asset of the territory.

The Commission noted with satisfaction that it was the intention of the mandatory Power not to requisition labourers for the construction of a new railway line which is to be completed in the course of the next three years. The Commission observed that imports of spirituous liquors showed a considerable increase in 1925, and was glad to be informed that the duties are to be raised still further with a view to restricting importation. Finally, it requested certain supplementary information with regard to land tenure.

RUANDA-URUNDI.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : M. M. HALEWYCK, Director-General in the Belgian Ministry for the Colonies, assisted by M. MARZORATI, Royal Commissioner in Ruanda-Urundi.)

The Commission noted with appreciation the efforts made by the mandatory Power to transform the native chiefs into agents directly remunerated by the Administration and thus reduce or abolish the traditional labour levies required by these chiefs of their tribesmen. It asked that the next report should contain some explanations, with regard to the working of the Customs Union established between the territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo, and the share which might be allocated to the mandated territory out of the profits derived from the minting of Belgian Congo coinage which is legal currency in Ruanda-Urundi. Moreover, it expressed the desire to receive further information on the subject of education and public finances.

TANGANYIKA.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : Mr. John SCOTT, Chief Secretary of the Government of Tanganyika territory, assisted by Mr. CLAUSON, of the British Colonial Office.)

The Commission learnt with satisfaction that the mandatory Power, in agreement with the chiefs and the tribes, had abolished the taxes and compulsory labour which were formerly exacted by the chiefs, and had replaced them by a poll-tax, part of which is paid into native treasuries to provide an income for the chiefs.

It requested the mandatory Power to supply further information with regard to the number, race and duties of officials in the territory, the development of the administrative policy adopted with regard to the Masai tribe, and with regard to postal rates considered from the point of view of the application of the principle of economic equality.

Finally, it requested information concerning the medical staff and the number of cases treated in the territory, the progress realised in carrying out the new programme of education and more definite data on the subject of public finance.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : Mr. Jacobus SMIT, High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa in London.)

The Commission was happy to note that the health measures adopted to improve the situation in the mining camps, particularly as regards the medical service, had produced good results. It will follow with interest the further steps which it is proposed to take in this matter.

In examining the report, the Commission again considered the question of the interpretation and application of the South-West Africa Railways and Harbours Act, 1922. As it was unable to form an exact view of the situation and the financial legislation with regard to these railways and harbours, it requested the mandatory Power to include in its next report a full statement on the subject. It also asked for explanations regarding the number of officials posted outside the police zone and their relations with the native chiefs, the increase in the imports of spirituous liquors, the expenditure on education and the economic situation of the natives.

The Committee also considered the question of the interpretation of Article 5 of the mandate concerning freedom of conscience. It requested the mandatory Power to provide additional information in connection with the fact that certain missions have had to undertake in writing to uphold the policy of the mandatory Power, collaborate with that Power and encourage the natives to seek work at a distance from their homes.

NEW GUINEA.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : Sir Joseph COOK, High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia in London, assisted by Mr. J. A. CARRODUS, Secretary to the Home and Territories Department of the Australian Government.)

After expressing the hope that the mandatory Power would make every effort to bring under its effective control and administration a larger part of the territories placed under its mandate, the Commission asked for further explanation with regard to the inspection of labour, with regard to the system of long-term contracts applied to labourers and with regard to public finance, in particular, the loans, advances and gifts made by the mandatory Power and the obligations of the mandated territory which have resulted from these transactions.

NAURU.

(Representative of the mandatory Power : Sir Joseph Cook, High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia in London.)

The Commission asked to be supplied with some further details regarding the sums devoted to education.

* * *

Mr. J. S. SMIT, the accredited representative of the Union of South Africa, submitted a series of comments with regard to the observations of the Commission on the report concerning the administration of South-West Africa in a document which has been communicated to the Council, the Members of the League and the delegates to the Assembly (document A.16. 1926. VI).

Petitions.

The Commission examined five petitions regarding the mandated territories and also the comments of the mandatory Powers concerned. With regard to one of these petitions, which embodies the complaints of certain members of the Adjigo tribe in Togoland under French mandate, the Commission at its recent session requested additional information from the mandatory Power on various points. As regards the other petitions, all of which concerned Palestine, a summary of the conclusions reached by the Commission is given below.

PETITIONS FROM THE PALESTINE ARAB CONGRESS.

The petitions received in 1925 and 1926 from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress protest, in particular, against certain concessions granted by the British Government and certain facts which the petitioners held to be contrary to the terms of the mandate.

The Commission hopes that it will receive from the mandatory Power the promised documents with regard to the *Rutenberg concessions*. Like the mandatory Power, however, it considers that, in view of the technical and financial importance of such undertakings, and, above all, the undoubted benefits of every kind which they confer on all classes of the population, it is right that the central authorities should be allowed to maintain their entire liberty of action. Concessions for enterprises of this kind should, however, be granted with the greatest publicity within time-limits and according to rules which would obviate all possibility of public criticism.

As regards the *salt concessions*, the Commission has noted the new general regulations which have been issued and the intention of the mandatory Power to observe the strictest impartiality between the interested parties as soon as the present concession lapses.

The Commission has heard with satisfaction the explanation of the accredited representative concerning the arrangements which have been made and the progress realised in the matter of the *Kabbara concession*.

With regard to the petitioners' complaints concerning the *elections, representative bodies and local autonomy*, the Commission was glad to hear the statements of the accredited representative to the effect that the Arab element of the population is showing a tendency to abandon its attitude of non-collaboration with the mandatory Power. The task of finding persons prepared to collaborate with the representative organs should thus become less and less difficult as time goes on.

The Commission noted that the allegations regarding the so-called *inquisitorial methods of the police and the prison system* have now ceased to have any foundation.

The Commission held that the *reform of the civil and criminal legislation* was entirely justified in the interests of the population and noted that, in carrying it out, every care is being exercised to avoid as far as possible any infringement of the principles of the Sharia.

The Commission, while renewing its former recommendations with regard to *Jewish immigration*, noted the explanations given by the accredited representative. It hopes, however, that immigration will always be proportionate to the capacity of the country to absorb the population on the land.

MEMORANDUM OF THE AGUDATH ISRAEL.

The object of the memorandum submitted by the Agudath Israel in October 1925 was to support a petition from the Ashkenasic Jewish Community in Palestine with regard to its present situation and legal recognition, questions which the Commission had already considered at its seventh session. As the text of the regulations for the Jewish Community, with which the petitioners are particularly concerned, has not yet been promulgated, the Commission was unable to determine whether the complaints of the Agudath Israel in this respect were well founded. It noted, however, the memorandum of the Agudath Israel and the mandatory Power's observations on the subject, and reserved the right to revert to this question when the regulations in question have been issued and brought to its notice.

MEMORANDUM AND LETTER OF THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION.

The Zionist Organisation has sent to the Commission a memorandum and a letter; the mandatory Power has transmitted certain comments on the letter.

The memorandum furnishes information regarding the activities of this organisation as Jewish agency for the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine during the year 1925-26.

The letter contains a number of complaints concerning, in particular, the allotment of land, education, the formation of a Frontier Defence Corps and an incident at the Wailing Wall. The Commission heard the explanations of the mandatory Power and considered that they were satisfactory.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE PALESTINE JEWS.

The National Council of the Palestine Jews (Waad Leumi) submitted to the Commission a memorandum regarding the situation of the Jewish population in Palestine and its current needs.

In view of the statement of the National Council that the mandatory Government has adopted a negative policy and a passive attitude with regard to the Jews, the Commission, though recognising that the Jews are entitled to demand that the assistance referred to in the Palestine mandate be accorded them, expressed the opinion that the mandatory Power had acted wisely in not precipitating events and in seeking to avoid serious conflicts between the two sections of the population.

In addition to these general allegations, the National Council has also formulated complaints with regard to certain particular cases. The Commission's opinion on these various points may be summarised as follows:

The Commission holds that in its land policy the mandatory Power has acted wisely, and the Commission hopes that the mandatory Power will continue to afford increasing encouragement to the intensive settlement of Jews on the land.

With regard to the Waad Leumi's complaint that the subsidies granted to the Jewish schools are inadequate, the Mandates Commission has learnt that these subsidies have been considerably increased this year and hopes that this will satisfy the petitioners.

The National Council has complained of the unfavourable conditions offered to Jewish labourers. The Commission, while it would point out that the mandatory Power cannot create privileges in favour of the Jews, since these latter and the Arabs must possess the same rights and the same duties, held that it would be clearly desirable for the mandatory Power to publish as soon as possible laws regulating the conditions of labour of men, women and children.

With regard to the complaints that the mandatory Power had refused to participate in the cost of Jewish public health organisation, the Commission drew attention to the fact that the Jews, like the rest of the population, were perfectly free to avail themselves of the Government Health Service, and it considers that the mandatory Power is not, under the terms of the mandate, bound to accord special subsidies to the Jewish health services.

The National Council having alleged that the policy of the mandatory Government with regard to the official aid and protection granted for the development of industries is less liberal than under the former Turkish regime, the Commission expressed its opinion that the results of the mandatory Power's administration do not justify such criticism. The mandatory Power should, however, endeavour to take into consideration certain of the desiderata set out in the memorandum of the Waad Leumi, and satisfy these wishes in so far as this may be both just and possible.

As regards the recruitment of military and police forces, the recognition of Hebrew as the official language, and certain questions connected with citizens' rights, the Commission considered that the complaints of the National Council were unfounded. With regard to the municipal organisation at Tel-Aviv and elsewhere, the Commission stated its conviction that the mandatory Power would take the necessary steps in this connection as soon as such a course may be practicable. It has, moreover, drawn the attention of the mandatory Power to the complaint of the Waad Leumi that Jews employed by the Administration are forced to work on the Sabbath and on Jewish festivals, and in this connection it drew attention to the terms of Article 23 of the mandate.

The Waad Leumi requested that a law should be promulgated to prevent speculation in land. The Commission recognises that such speculation may be contrary to the objects which those who are working for the establishment of a Jewish Home in Palestine have in view, but recognised how difficult it would be to obtain the desired result by legislation. It has, however, requested the mandatory Power to acquaint it with the reasons for which a former " Ordinance for Land Transfer " has been repealed.

Finally, the Commission expressed a hope that the better understanding which seems to be growing up between the various elements of the population would develop as rapidly as possible under the auspices and with the help of the mandatory Power, for such an understanding would lead to the rapid progress of the country.

IV. REMUNERATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION.

At its session in June 1926, the Council was in possession of the report for which it had asked the Supervisory Commission with regard to the question of special allowances to the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission¹. In this report, the Supervisory Commission accepted the principle that such allowances should be granted and proposed that each member should receive a sum of two thousand francs. On M. Sjöborg's proposal, the Council decided to recommend the Supervisory Commission's report to the Assembly for favourable consideration.

9.

SLAVERY².

On June 9th, 1926, the Council adopted a report submitted by the British representative dealing in particular with the procedure to be followed in discussing and approving the draft Convention on Slavery. The British representative, in his report, expressed the opinion that such further discussion as might be necessary with regard to the text of the Convention would most naturally take place in the Assembly. The Council decided to add this question to the agenda of the seventh Assembly and instructed the Secretary-General to suggest at

¹ See General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2), page 216.

² See General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2), page 217.

once to all Members of the League that powers to sign the Convention which might be agreed upon be given to one of their delegates to this Assembly.

Since the publication of the Council's report to the seventh Assembly (Annex 2), the replies of the following Governments have reached the Secretariat: Belgium, China, France, Germany, Hungary, Russia, Siam, South Africa and Venezuela. The texts of these replies, together with a memorandum containing suggestions with regard to the Convention received from the Apostolic Nuncio in Switzerland, have been communicated to the delegates to the Assembly (document A.10.1926).

10.

WORK OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.

I. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.

A. WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

The Economic Committee held a session in Paris shortly after the June session of the Council. It continued the examination of the various questions on its programme but did not arrive at any final conclusions which required further action on the part of the Council.

The Committee, as it would be meeting again towards the end of August, decided to embody the results of the two sessions held in June and August in a report which will be submitted to the Council during its next session.

B. PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

On September 24th, 1925, the Assembly, on the proposal of the French delegation, adopted the following resolution:

“ The Assembly,

“ Firmly resolved to seek all possible means of establishing peace throughout the world;

“ Convinced that economic peace will largely contribute to security among the nations;

“ Persuaded of the necessity of investigating the economic difficulties which stand in the way of the revival of general prosperity and of ascertaining the best means of overcoming these difficulties and of preventing disputes:

“ Invites the Council to consider at the earliest possible moment the expediency of constituting on a wide basis a preparatory committee which, with the assistance of the technical organisations of the League and the International Labour Office, will prepare the work for an international economic conference.

“ The convening of this conference under the auspices of the League of Nations shall be a matter for subsequent decision by the Council.”

On December 14th, 1925, the Council considered this resolution and, on the report of M. Hymans, took the following decisions at its next meeting (December 15th):

“ 1. To appoint a Technical Preparatory Committee, consisting not of representatives of Governments or of organisations but of persons chosen as experts and best fitted by their qualifications and personal experience for the task of preparing for the Conference.

“ 2. The task of this Committee will be to arrange for the preparation and collection of such economic information as may assist the work of the Conference and to consider and prepare for the approval of the Council the programme, composition, rules of procedure and date of meeting of the Conference.

“ 3. This Committee will be composed of persons drawn in part from the technical organisations of the League and the International Labour Office, in part from persons with experience of industry, commerce and agriculture, in part from persons of scientific qualifications as economists, in part from persons who can express the workers' and consumers' points of view. The Preparatory Committee will decide by a majority where unanimity is impossible.

“ 4. The Council, in special Committee, will follow the work of the Preparatory Committee.

" 5. The Council, having considered the list presented by the Rapporteur and the Secretary-General, authorises the issue of invitations in conformity with it and the publication of the composition of the Committee on receipt of acceptances from the persons invited.

" The appointments will be personal in character. In case a member is unable to attend, the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee will be authorised to invite another person of similar qualifications to attend in his place."

The Council decided to ask M. Gustave Ador, Chairman of the Economic and Financial Commission, to preside over the Conference.

M. Hymans, Rapporteur, in commenting on the decisions of the Council, pointed out that they were based strictly on the Assembly's resolution and on the discussions of its Second Committee. The Preparatory Committee would be composed of persons sitting as experts and not as representatives of any Government or any organisation. The Preparatory Committee would thus be entirely untrammelled in its task.

Meeting of the Preparatory Committee.

The Preparatory Committee held its first session at Geneva from April 26th to May 1st, 1926. The chair was taken by M. Theunis, Vice-Chairman, in place of M. Ador, the state of whose health did not permit him to preside in person.

The members were as follows :

M. Gustave ADOR (Switzerland) (Chairman) ;
H.E. M. Georges THEUNIS (Belgium) (Vice-Chairman) ;
H.E. M. Antonio Carlos Ribeiro DE ANDRADA (Brazil) ;
Sir Arthur BALFOUR (Great Britain) ;
M. Ernesto BELLONI (Italy) ;
M. Carlos BREBBIA (Argentine) ;
H.E. M. Francisco DE A. CAMBO (Spain) ;
H.E. M. Affonso DA COSTA (Portugal) ;
Sir Atul Chandra CHATTERJEE (India) ;
M. Léopold DUBOIS (Switzerland) ;
M. W. EGGERT (Germany) ;
Mme. Emmy FREUNDLICH (Austria) ;
Dr. Arthur Witter GILBERT (U.S.A.) ;
M. Hipolit GLIVIC (Poland) ;
Dr. F. HODAC (Czechoslovakia) ;
The Hon. David HOUSTON (U.S.A.) ;
M. Léon JOUHAUX (France) ;
M. A. G. KRÖLLER (Netherlands) ;
Dr. Clemens LAMMERS (Germany) ;
Mr. W. T. LAYTON (Great Britain) ;
M. Bogdan MARKOVITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) ;
M. Kengo MORI (Japan) ;
M. Anders ÖRNE (Sweden) ;
M. Jan OUDEGEEST (Netherlands) ;
M. Henri PAUWELS (Belgium) ;
M. Henri DE PEYERIMHOFF DE FONTENELLE (France) ;
Dr. Alberto PIRELLI (Italy) ;
Mr. A. PUGH (Great Britain) ;
H.E. M. Armando QUEZADA (Chile) ;
M. Felix SALAZAR (Colombia) ;
M. D. SERRUYS (France) ;
Dr. Adam SHORTT (Canada) ;
Sir Hubert LLEWELLYN SMITH, G.C.B. (Great Britain) ;
H.E. M. DE STEFANI (Italy) ;
M. SUGIMURA (Japan) ;
Dr. Ernst TRENDELENBURG (Germany) ;
Professor Allyn YOUNG (U. S. A.).

The Preparatory Committee considered two main points arising out of the resolution of the Assembly and of the Council.

First, it was evident that both the Council and the Assembly desired to make an effort to reduce the number of opportunities for international conflict afforded by rivalry between economic interests. In this respect the League of Nations could not limit its action to perfecting methods for settling international conflicts but had to endeavour to eliminate the causes of those conflicts.

Secondly, the Preparatory Committee was very fully aware of the serious anxiety felt in a great number of countries at the moment with regard to their economic situation. It realised that it had been the intention of the Council and the Assembly not to restrict its freedom of action by too precise a programme. Its duty would be to consider in what domains the present economic difficulties were international in character and to discover the points in respect of which practical solutions might be contemplated, together with the appropriate methods

of giving effect to those solutions. To this end, it would be free to consult experts or to decide to set up committees of specialists interested in the various branches of production.

After the general discussion with which the session began, the Committee came to the conclusion that it could not make proposals as to the subjects which could suitably be included in the programme of the International Conference without having examined closely statistical data and other information covering the whole field of present-day economic problems. It decided, therefore, that it would devote its first session to laying down the general lines on which such information should be obtained, and that it would examine the resulting documents at its next session. As the Committee was entering, therefore, only on a stage of enquiry, it was decided that, without prejudicing the inclusion or exclusion of any given subject from its final proposals for the agenda of the Conference, no subject should at the present stage be *a priori* excluded, but that information should be obtained on all agricultural, industrial and commercial questions which presented any considerable interest.

For the purpose of defining the subjects on which information shall be obtained and the general character of that information, the Preparatory Committee resolved itself into three sub-committees. Committee A dealt with agriculture, finance and the special problems related thereto ; Committee B with industrial production ; Committee C with commerce and marketing problems. The three Committees submitted reports to the full Committee, which may be briefly summarised as follows :

Committee A.

(Agriculture, Finance.)

The Sub-Committee divided its enquiry into agricultural questions into two main heads :

(a) Questions of production, prices, consumption and stocks to be dealt with under the headings of different commodities. This line of enquiry would give a general picture of the supply of agricultural products.

(b) An enquiry into the successive links in the chain which connected production on the one hand with ultimate consumption on the other. The principal questions connected with an enquiry on these lines would be : (i) cost of production including questions of rent, fiscal burdens, cost of equipment, etc.; (ii) producers' organisations and the nature and extent of their effect on markets and prices ; (iii) the additions to cost involved in transit from producer to wholesaler, from wholesaler to retailer and from retailer to ultimate consumer ; (iv) the effect and growth of co-operative organisations shortening the marketing process.

In connection with enquiry (a), the Committee considered that statistics of production, while of primary importance, would not give a complete picture of the problem. It would be necessary, therefore, to estimate values from two points of view : (1) What was the producer obtaining for his produce by reference to other wholesale prices ? (2) What had the consumer to pay by reference to the same standard ?

The Committee adopted 22 classes of commodities ranging from wheat and all kinds of food stuffs to flax and rubber, concerning which statistics of production should be obtained. For the purpose of obtaining these statistics the world was divided into nine groups.

The Committee realised that for the purpose of considering questions of price, such groups would be unmanageable in view of the fact that prices could only be expressed in terms of international markets and in terms of particular currencies. It therefore decided that gold prices should be as far as possible quoted, and chose the nine principal markets of the world in which to conduct its enquiries.

It decided that an average of five pre-war years, from 1909-13, should form the basis of the pre-war statistics, and that modern tendencies should be illustrated from statistics of each of the three complete years 1923, 1924 and 1925. The main lines of the enquiry would be : (1) quantities produced in both series of years ; (2) quantities imported during the same periods ; (3) maximum and minimum prices in the same periods ; (4) a comparison of pre-war and existing stocks.

The Committee hoped that a survey on these lines would show, among other factors, the extent to which production in each year exceeded or fell short of the pre-war volume, the extent to which overseas trade in agricultural products exceeded or fell short of pre-war quantities, and the extent to which prices of agricultural products fluctuated or varied above or below the general price level of other raw materials.

With regard to enquiry (b), material for a consideration of the conditions of agricultural production would be available from the International Labour Office and from the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. As far as questions of distribution and sale were concerned, there were many committees, official and other, in various countries with material at the disposal of Committee A. There was also material available concerning the extent and effect of producers' organisations in countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and India.

It was considered that the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome would be particularly suitable for the collection of statistics on agricultural production. The material collected by it would be co-ordinated by the Secretariat with the information drawn from other sources. The Committee appointed a special committee of experts to assist the International Institute of Agriculture and the Secretariat.

With regard to currency and finance, Committee A desired as precise and complete a documentation as possible to be collected regarding public finance, monetary systems and credits, and balances of payment. The Secretariat, with assistance from outside, would collect such documentation.

Committee A further realised that the problems with which it was dealing were closely connected with problems of population. It desired therefore that data should be collected concerning the natural movements of populations in 1900-13 and 1924-26, the artificial movements of populations, fluctuations of population arising out of the world-war, fluctuations in potential labour forces during the next two decades, density of population in relation to cultivable areas, economic development and the standard of life, legislation on the movements of labour and legislation affecting international migration.

Committee B.

(Industrial Production.)

Committee B, in order to obtain the necessary information on questions connected with industrial production, decided that :

(a) A memorandum giving in a general form a table showing the economic situation of the entire world with regard to production and international trade should be prepared, based on information already collected by the Secretariat ;

(b) Special papers should be prepared on a number of key industries, more especially coal, iron, steel, engineering, shipbuilding, cotton, wool, chemical products, electrical engineering, silk and artificial silk and petroleum. These papers should be arranged according to the following plan :

1. Preliminary survey of the essential conditions governing the development of each industry ;
2. Output capacity ;
3. Actual output ;
4. Number of men employed and unemployed ;
5. Hours of work ; output per head ;
6. Wages ;
7. Raw materials ;
8. Customs tariffs, including prohibitions and licences ;
9. Exports and imports ;
10. Consumption per head in each country ;
11. Prices ;
12. Industrial organisation.

The statistics would cover, as far as possible, the same period as that chosen by the other Committees — *i.e.* the years 1909-13 for pre-war statistics, and the years 1920-25 for post-war statistics. The individual papers would be prepared by the Secretariat of the League in co-operation with members of the Committee. The Secretariat would apply for information to those organisations and institutes, more especially employers' associations, trade unions, the International Chamber of Commerce, the International Labour Office, etc., who were in a position to furnish it. The information to be collected would be examined by the Committee at another session, when it would consider what conclusion should be drawn from the investigation into the situation in the various industries and the causes of their difficulties, and when it would decide as to the best means of verifying those conclusions, and more particularly whether a meeting of experts on certain industries should take place.

The following additional questions were to be investigated on their own responsibility by various members of the Committee :

1. The position in various countries as regards legislation and administrative action affecting industrial and commercial agreements ;
2. Rationalisation and standardisation in industry ;
3. Technical scientific progress and research ;
4. Recruiting and training of technical staff ;
5. Improvement of conditions of labour ;
6. Delimitation ;
7. Arbitration.

Committee C.

(Commerce and Marketing Problems.)

Committee C drew up a preliminary draft programme concerning commercial matters which, subject to eventual amendment, included the following subjects :

- (a) Liberty of trading :
1. Prohibitions of importation and exportation on economic grounds ;
 2. Regulation of imports or exports. Regime of prices ;
 3. Monopolies of sale, purchase or transport ;
 4. State trading.
- (b) Tariffs :
1. Nomenclature ;
 2. Form of tariffs ;
 3. Level of tariffs ;
 4. Establishment and stability of tariffs ;
 5. Collection of duties ;
 6. Export duties ;
 7. Customs tariffs combined with other duties or exemptions ;
 8. Variations in tariffs in accordance with the origin of goods, the place whence they came, their destination or the frontiers or places through which importation or exportation takes place ;
 9. Preferential systems and other economic ties.
- (c) Commercial agreements : advantages and disadvantages of various contractual systems.
- (d) Direct and indirect subsidies : advantages granted to production or exportation.
- (e) Distribution of goods.
- (f) Unfair commercial practices.
- (g) Juridical obstacles to international trade.
- (h) Transports.
- (i) Other obstacles to liberty of trading.

Committee C noted that various items in this list had already been discussed by other committees of the League, notably the Economic Committee and the Committee on Communications and Transit, whose assistance would be requested.

The three Committees reported to the full Committee on May 1st, 1926. Their reports were adopted and included in the Committee's report to the Council. At the closing meeting it was emphasised that for the Economic Conference to be successful, what was required was not an accumulation of detailed information but a successful effort to choose the main factors of the vital problems for which satisfactory solutions might be found by means of an international discussion. Despite the very large amount of information which would have to be collected, the Preparatory Committee was convinced that the Secretariat would succeed in its task provided that members of the Preparatory Committee and the other organisations specifically mentioned by the various sub-committees assisted it to the full extent of their powers.

Members of the Preparatory Committee undertook to do all they could to encourage the creation of a favourable international atmosphere, considering that such an atmosphere was essential to the success of the Conference. Public opinion would have to be convinced that the proposed economic conference was directed against no one but was solely concerned with the public good, and to achieve this the full and complete co-operation of every country and every class was essential.

On June 8th, 1926, the Committee of the Council appointed to prepare for the Economic Conference met and considered the report of the Preparatory Committee.

After a full discussion, it decided to note and approve that report. It noted that M. Gustave Ador was compelled, for reasons of health, to resign his position as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, and appointed M. Theunis, Vice-Chairman, in his place.

On June 9th, 1926, the Council adopted the following resolution :

- “ The Council :
- “ Takes note of the report of M. Theunis on the work of the first session of the Preparatory Committee of the Economic Conference held at Geneva in April last ;
- “ Takes note of a letter from M. Ador stating that the state of his health prevents him from continuing to be Chairman of the Preparatory Committee ;
- “ Instructs the Secretary-General to express to M. Ador its regret at the decision which he has been compelled to take and its hope for his early recovery ;
- “ Decides to appoint M. Theunis as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee in the place of M. Ador ;
- “ Approves the report of M. Theunis and congratulates the Committee on the results attained during its first session and on the method which it has followed in organising its subsequent work ;
- “ Invites the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee to fix, in consultation with the Secretary-General, the date of the next session of the Committee.”

C. WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

I. FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA.

1. Termination of the Functions of the Commissioner-General.

The Financial Committee, during its twenty-second session held at Geneva from June 3rd to June 9th, 1926, after examining the closed accounts for the year 1925, recommended the Council to declare that the financial stability of Austria was attained and to terminate the functions of the Commissioner-General on June 30th, 1926, subject to the reservation that these functions should be re-established, if such a measure should become necessary, under the conditions defined in the resolution of the Council of December 9th, 1925.

The Council, acting on the report of the Financial Committee, adopted the following resolution on June 9th, 1926 :

“ The Council :

“ (1) Takes note of the thirty-ninth and fortieth reports of the Commissioner-General ;

“ (2) Notes and adopts the report of the Financial Committee, and in particular the recommendation of the Committee made in agreement with the Commissioner-General, that the control in Austria should now be terminated ;

“ (3) Decides, in pursuance of the last paragraph of Article 4 of Protocol III, that the functions of the Commissioner-General shall be brought to an end on June 30th, 1926, having ascertained that the financial stability of Austria is assured ;

“ (4) As from June 30th, 1926, the relevant provisions contained in the Council resolutions of December 9th, 1925, and March 11th, 1926, will come into force ;

“ (5) The labours of the Commissioner-General are thus terminated. When the scheme was initiated, the difficulties inherent in the problem seemed almost insuperable. The task has proved protracted and exacting. The fact that it has now been successfully completed is in large measure due to the indefatigable efforts of Dr. Zimmerman and his collaborators. The Council desires to express to him its high appreciation of his work and its gratitude for the services which he and his collaborators have rendered to the League and to Austria. ”

The Trustees have assumed control of the administration of the special account into which will be paid the proceeds of the gross revenues by which the services of the loan are guaranteed. The Financial Committee has appointed its Chairman, M. Dubois, to administer the account in which the balance of the reconstruction loan will be retained in a liquid form. M. Rost van Tönningen has been appointed accredited representative to the Austrian Government at Vienna to act on behalf of the Trustees and M. Dubois.

The last report of the Commissioner-General (Forty-second Report), presented at Geneva on June 30th, 1926, contains a general statement on the results of the work of financial reconstruction, together with information on the administration of the budget and on the use made of the reconstruction loan up to the expiration of the powers of the Commissioner-General.

2. Budgetary Position.

The closed accounts for the year 1925 established by the Audit Office, show the following results, which are clearly more favourable than those for the year 1924 :

Ordinary Administration.

	Millions of schillings
Revenues	908.47
Expenditure	741.38
Investments	90.64
Surplus	76.45

Current Account Transactions.

Deficit 35.—

To sum up, the budgetary transactions as a whole show a surplus of 41.45 million schillings after all the expenditure on investments has been covered, together with certain expenditure under current account transactions which are to be regarded as advances which will later be repaid to the Austrian Government.

On the basis of the provisional closed accounts for the first four months of the year 1926, and the estimates contained in the provisional monthly budgets for May and June, the Commissioner-General estimates as follows for the first half of the financial year 1926 :

	Millions of schillings
The revenues at	458.94
The expenditure at	421.42
The investments at	74.17
The provisional deficit at	36.65

The estimated deficit is lower than the expenditure on the investments actually made.

3. *Position of the Unexpended Balance of the Loan.*

Of the net products of the reconstruction loan, which amounted to 819 million schillings, 115 million schillings have been used to cover current deficits, or in other words about 13 per cent of the total loan; 175 million schillings have been used for the repayment of credits previously accorded to the Austrian Government; 51 million schillings have been used as a deposit to guarantee the services of the loan for six months; and 332 million schillings have been used to cover expenditure on investments.

M. Dubois, during the twenty-third session of the Financial Committee held in London in July 1926, communicated to the members of the Committee a detailed statement of the balance remaining available of the reconstruction loan up to June 30th, the date on which the functions of the Commissioner-General were terminated. These figures do not include the Swiss Government loan of 20 million francs which was not cashed by the Austrian Government. On this date the total unexpended balance of the loan amounted to 244.289 million schillings, including a sum of 26.689 millions advanced to the Austrian Government and a sum of 30 millions temporarily advanced to the Post Office Savings Account. Of the total of the unexpended balance, 177.418 million schillings was kept in the form of foreign securities, of which 26.206 millions were invested in reconstruction loan bonds, and 25.172 millions were placed within the country; 40.181 millions (including the temporary advances to the Post Office Savings Account) were retained in the form of schillings.

4. *Power to issue Treasury Bills.*

At the request of the Austrian Government, the Committee declared itself in principle in favour of the issue of Treasury bills, reserving to itself the right to take an official decision when it had discussed with the Austrian Government the text of the necessary draft law. The agreement of the Financial Committee in principle to this proposal was given subject to the following conditions:

- (a) That Treasury bills should be short-term bills, *i.e.* that they should mature within six months and they should fall due not later than fifteen days after the end of the financial year;
- (b) The total amount issued should not be more than 75 million schillings;
- (c) The bonds should be expressed in schillings only;
- (d) They should be issued for ordinary cash requirements only;
- (e) The statutes to be so amended as to enable the Bank to rediscount the bills, provided that they are endorsed by a private person who is financially solvent, or to grant advances on them, always up to a maximum of 75 million schillings;
- (f) The Austrian Government should refund for the balance of the loan certain advances which had been put temporarily at its disposal;
- (g) The Government should finally repay within six months following the coming into force of the law, or after the first issue of the bills, 50 million schillings to the National Bank.

5. *Construction of Telephone Cables.*

At the request of the Austrian Government, the Financial Committee approved the release during the year 1926 of 27 million schillings to facilitate the construction of international telephone cables, the Austrian Government undertaking to make, in the budget of 1927, an appropriation of at least 44 million schillings which will be required for completing these lines. This appropriation will be provided from the ordinary budget revenue.

6. *Economic Situation.*

The amount of the gold reserve and foreign exchange in the National Bank have remained almost stable (503.182 million schillings on June 7th, 1926). The circulation slightly decreased, amounting to 787.766 million schillings on June 7th, 1926.

The deposits in the savings banks and credit institutions in Vienna have continued to increase, amounting at the end of May 1926 to 703.25 million schillings. The index of wholesale prices was almost stable.

During the first quarter of 1926 the national trade deficit was almost equivalent to that shown by the statistics for the same period of the previous year, imports and exports having been simultaneously reduced. Imports during the first three months of 1926 amounted to 467 million schillings, and exports to 270 million schillings.

As in previous years, seasonal factors led to a decrease in the number of the unemployed, which on June 15th, 1926, amounted to only 139,000; this figure, however, was higher (about 20,000) than that recorded for last year at the same period.

II. FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY.

The most important fact to be noted in the period covered by the present report (April to July, 1926) was the decision taken by the Council of the League of Nations on June 10th, 1926, to terminate the functions of the Commissioner-General.

Below will be found an analysis of this decision, but it has seemed better to precede this analysis with a general statement of the facts concerning the budgetary, monetary and economic position of Hungary on which the decision of the Council was based.

1. Budgetary Position.

Provisional accounts for the financial period 1925-1926 show a surplus of about 62 million gold crowns. These results were achieved although taxation during the year was very appreciably lightened, the tax on turnover having been reduced from 3 to 2 per cent, and the tax on sugar by 22 per cent.

In December 1925, the Hungarian Government was authorised to allocate 50 million gold crowns, to be taken from the unexpended balance of the reconstruction loan, to be devoted to capital expenditure during the budgetary period 1926-1927.

The Commissioner-General in the month of May approved the following schedule of expenditure :

	Millions of gold crowns
1. Continuation of the construction work in the commercial and industrial port of Budapest	4.9
2. Loans to draining societies	10.0
3. Construction of public roads and bridges	9.0
4. Completion of the subterranean telephonic cable to Vienna	6.6
5. Capital expenditure on posts and telegraphs	5.8
6. Loans to persons receiving allotments of land under the law for the reform of land tenure	5.0
7. Capital expenditure on State railways	3.1
8. Construction loans	3.0
9. Loans to the communes for the purchase of animals for breeding	2.0
10. Subsidies to the co-operative dairy societies	0.6
	50.0

2. National Bank.

The reserve of the National Bank in gold and foreign exchange underwent a slight reduction from 267 million pengö on December 31st, 1925, to 229 million pengö on June 30th, 1926. This reduction is less than had been feared, the balance of payments being generally unfavourable during the first six months of the year.

Gold at present forms more than one-half of these reserves, the position of the bank being sufficiently strong to enable it without difficulty to bear the loss of interest entailed by the substitution of gold for foreign currencies.

The appreciable increase in the portfolio (134 million pengö on December 31st, 1925 ; 165 millions on June 30th, 1926) is the result of the progressive centralisation of state monies at the National Bank.

During the month of April, the Treasury deposits at the "Geldinstitutszentrale" were in effect transferred to the National Bank. This withdrawal obliged the bank to place on the market the sums which had hitherto been furnished through the intermediary of the "Geldinstitutszentrale".

The amount of notes in circulation decreased from 891 million pengö on December 31st, 1925, to 797 million pengö on June 30th, 1926. This contraction of the circulation is normal during this period of the year. It seems that it will be possible to satisfy the needs for currency in the harvest season without there being any occasion to fear an excessive expansion of the circulation.

3. Economic Position.

During the first five months of 1926, exports increased to 246 million gold crowns, as compared with 226 millions in 1925 ; imports increased to 306 million gold crowns, as compared with 285 millions in 1925.

The trade balance shows a deficit of 60 million gold crowns, which is virtually equal to the deficit shown by the trade balance during the corresponding period of 1925. This deficit need not be regarded as disquieting for the period of the year in question. The estimates, so far as the cereal harvests are concerned, were very favourable. Deposits in the savings bank and the bank at Budapest continue regularly to increase ; they rose in June 1926 to 516 million gold crowns, as compared with 462 millions in March.

4. Termination of the Functions of the Commissioner-General.

The Financial Committee, during its session in June 1926, noted a letter from the Commissioner-General, dated April 24th, 1926, in which it was informed that the Hungarian Prime Minister intended to raise at the next session of the Council the question of terminating the functions of the Commissioner-General under Article 6 of Protocol No. II.

The Financial Committee, considering that the reconstruction period contemplated in the Protocol had not effectively expired, but that it would come to an end within a few weeks,

proceeded to an examination of the financial position of Hungary as a whole, and of the progress realised in the carrying-out of the reconstruction programme.

It observed that budgetary equilibrium had been realised in December 1924 and had been largely assured since that date. It had been necessary to use only 25 per cent of the reconstruction loan in order to meet the budgetary deficit, and, after subtracting the sum of one hundred million gold crowns, to be taken from the unexpended balance of the loan which the Hungarian Government had been authorised to devote to capital expenditure during the budgetary years 1925-1926 and 1926-1927, there remained available a sum of 82 million gold crowns. The monetary position was stable and the reserves and the general position of the National Bank were entirely satisfactory. Nothing in the economic situation appeared to endanger the equilibrium of the budget or the stability of the currency. Finally, the administrative reforms contemplated by the Protocol had been carried into effect.

The Financial Committee, on June 9th, 1926, was asked by the Hungarian Committee to indicate whether in its opinion, taking solely into account the technical conditions of Protocol No. II, the Council was justified in exercising the powers accorded to it by paragraph 10 of Article 6 of the Protocol, under which the functions of the Commissioner-General would be terminated by a decision of the Council, when the Council was satisfied that the financial stability of Hungary was assured. The Financial Committee decided to give an affirmative reply.

The Council, on June 10th, 1926, decided that the functions of the Commissioner-General should terminate on June 30th, 1926, under reserve of the provisions of Article 7 of Protocol No. II concerning the possible re-establishment of the control.

The administration of the special account into which the assigned revenues were paid will be exercised by the Trustees after the expiration of the term of office of the Commissioner-General. The unexpended balance of the reconstruction loan will be retained in a liquid form, and will be placed in a separate account managed by a person appointed by the Financial Committee except in so far as it is released for expenditure within the budget for such purposes as the Council, on the recommendation of the Financial Committee, may from time to time approve.

Finally, the Council desired to express in the following terms its keen gratitude for the services rendered by the Commissioner-General: "At the moment when the Commissioner-General is about to leave his office, on the successful accomplishment of his task, the Council desires to express to Mr. Jeremiah Smith, jr., its deep appreciation of his work. The rapid completion of his task at the date contemplated in the original programme is due in no small measure to the personal qualities he has shown, to his disinterested devotion and his sound judgment. The Council desires to express to him and to his collaborators its gratitude for the services they have rendered."

The significance of the decision taken by the Council was defined in a declaration made by the Chairman of the Financial Committee to the Hungarian Committee on June 8th, 1926. The Chairman of the Financial Committee pointed out that, as the budget had been balanced from the end of the first half of the year of the period 1924-1925, the Commissioner-General had not had to control in detail either expenditure or the fiscal regime, his principal task having been to manage the assigned revenues and the unexpended balance of the reconstruction loan. The new regime instituted by the decision of the Council leaves in existence, while changing the persons exercising it, this double control over the assigned revenues and over the unexpended balance of the loan.

The Commissioner-General, in execution of the decision of the Council, terminated his functions on June 30th, 1926. The Financial Committee has appointed M. ter Meulen to ensure the administration of the account of the unexpended balance of the loan.

In conformity with the Protocol, the duties of the Adviser to the National Bank came to an end at the same time as those of the Commissioner-General.

The Hungarian Government asked the Financial Committee that a decision should be taken authorising the release of the sum of 82 million gold crowns, representing the available unexpended balance of the loan, for expenditure on investments to be made during the years 1927-1928 and 1928-1929. The Financial Committee was of opinion that, in view of the decisions already taken, it was not at that time necessary to authorise any new releases of funds, and proposed to postpone the discussion of this question to a later meeting.

The Council, in its resolution of June 10th, 1926, approved the recommendation of the Financial Committee to reserve for the moment the question of the immediate release of the portion of the loan which remained available.

III. SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES.

As was already stated in the General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2), the funds at the disposal of the Refugee Settlement Commission are coming to an end. They hardly allow the Commission to carry out any new settlement work. The Commission has to confine its attention at present mainly to strengthening the colonies already installed in the various provinces by improving and adding to their equipment.

The Commission is actively organising the service of collecting payments from those refugees who are already definitely settled and self-supporting. Up to the present the payments received have chiefly been made by the urban refugees. The good results of the tobacco sales and the favourable harvest prospects in Macedonia make it probable that a large number of farmers will also pay part of their debts to the Commission during the summer and autumn.

All the land and properties of every kind on which the Commission has established refugees, erected houses, etc., have been definitely transferred to the Commission by the Greek

Government by the Decree-Law No. 164 promulgated on May 22nd, 1926. This measure will assist the Commission in its work, which, on the other hand, is still handicapped by the absence of a proper land register.

In anticipation of the possibility of the Greek Government applying to the League for a further loan, the Commission has made an estimate of the sums which would be required on the one hand to extend existing installations and on the other to settle 28,000 new families averaging four individuals each (8,000 agricultural and 20,000 urban). These figures represent the minimum number of refugees still in need of being settled. The following amounts would be required :

A. For the extension of existing installations	£ 2,200,000
B. For the settlement of 8,000 new agricultural families	800,000
C. For the settlement of 20,000 new urban families	2,000,000
	£5,000,000

IV. SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES.

On May 3rd, 1926, the Bulgarian Government addressed a letter to the Secretary-General of the League concerning the issue of a loan for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Government requested that an official of the League might be sent to Sofia in order to collect the necessary data which the League might require when examining the question. The Secretary-General arranged for M. René Charron, of the General Commissariat in Budapest, to proceed to Sofia for this purpose.

At the request of the Council, the Financial Committee, during its June session, examined the situation on the basis of M. Charron's report¹ and other available information. In its report to the Council the Financial Committee gave the following summary of the situation :

“ Since 1913, Bulgaria, according to the information supplied to the Committee, has had to receive nearly 52,000 families of refugees, numbering at present about 220,000 persons. Of these about 116,000 persons are capable of working. Some 30,000 of these have been definitely established either by the Bulgarian Government or through their own resources. Another 25,000 can be established in urban districts by partial assistance from the Bulgarian Government, which has already spent 160 million leva on general settlement work. There remain therefore about 60,000 workers who require settlement on the land, representing about 30,000 families or some 120,000 persons including dependants. These refugees are in serious distress, and the mortality will be great unless effective aid can be given before the winter. They are in a migratory state and move about between town and country, as chance or passing opportunities of work may direct. It is true that a certain number have been provisionally established on hired land, but their presence is a continued source of friction with the local peasant population.

“ The Committee is impressed with the great advantages which the settlement of these refugees would have : (a) in reducing difficulties in internal politics where the still destitute refugees are the chief source of social unrest ; (b) in improving external relations in which the problems arising out of the existence of these refugees also play a prominent part ; (c) in adding to the economic resources of the country by putting into productive work some 60,000 workers (apart from the families which they support) eminently fitted for agricultural work, who are at present a source of expense and not of wealth, and bringing into cultivation land now unused but easily capable of being made fertile and productive ; (d) in assisting the Bulgarian Government to proceed with the work of reconstruction which it has undertaken, and of which the first results have been the real progress achieved in the last three years in the direction of the re-establishment of budgetary equilibrium and the maintenance of monetary stability, the consolidation of this work being the best means of improving the credit of the country.”

The Financial Committee was of opinion that a loan giving a net yield equivalent to not more than 2¼ million pounds would be sufficient for the purpose. It made the following recommendations as to the expenditure of this money :

(a) Assistance from the loan should be confined to the settlement of agricultural workers ; about two-thirds of the sum should be devoted to the provision of houses initial equipment and advances, and about one-third to the preparation of land — so as to make it suitable for settlement — and to communications.

(b) The proceeds of the loan should be placed in an account subject to the independent control of an authority or agent to be appointed by the Council of the League. He should supervise the expenditure of the loan and release money only for expenditure on the purposes defined in the scheme and in accordance with detailed plans

¹ For M. Charron's report and other documents on this question, see document C. 360. M. 130. 1926. II.

approved by him. He should have the power to stop advances if he is not satisfied that any money previously released has been properly employed on the authorised objects. He should also have power to withhold expenditure from the loan for settlement on any land which he does not consider suitable.

The Financial Committee also declared that certain measures would have to be taken before the loan could be successfully issued :

(1) The refugee loan should be secured by a first charge on adequate specific revenues, such as, for instance, the excises on salt and alcohol and the match monopoly which, in the last completed year, produced 19,700,000 gold francs. The pledging of such securities would necessitate a decision by the Reparation authorities. The revenues assigned to the service of the loan should be paid into a special account controlled by trustees to be appointed by the Council.

(2) An arrangement should be made by the Reparation Commission which would protect these securities against loss of value through instability of the currency.

(3) The Statutes of the Bulgarian National Bank should be modified so as to bring them into conformity with the best principles of central banking.

Moreover, the Committee believed that the Bulgarian Government would find it necessary to arrive at a satisfactory agreement with the bondholders of the pre-war loans for the future and to meet certain other pre-existing rights.

On these conditions, the Financial Committee considered that the League could be associated with the scheme. The Committee finally urged that temporary advances should be negotiated at an early date.

This report of the Financial Committee was adopted by the Council on June 10th. The Council recognised the importance of securing a satisfactory solution of the problem and declared its readiness to associate itself with the scheme. It approved the principle of a strict and effective control of the employment of the loan and the choice of land and decided to consider the system of control at its September session and to consult on this point the representatives of those States Members of the League which are neighbours of Bulgaria.

The Council finally authorised its President to take any necessary measures proposed by the Financial Committee for the securing of advances up to a maximum of £400,000 for immediate needs such as the provision of seed, etc., for sowing in the early autumn.

At the special session held from July 19th to 23rd, the Financial Committee was able to declare that the measures it had considered essential for the successful issue of a loan were being taken, or very near to being taken¹ :

(1) On July 22nd, the Inter-Allied Commission at Sofia took a decision enabling the Bulgarian Government to pledge the necessary revenues as securities for the loan.

(2) On July 23rd, the Reparation Commission, on the recommendation of the Inter-Allied Commission at Sofia, approved an arrangement — including the eventual creation of a Transfer Committee — designed to prevent payments of reparation and similar claims causing a depreciation of the Bulgarian currency.

(3) The Bulgarian Government and the Governor of the National Bank agreed to the Statutes of the National Bank being modified in the sense indicated by the Financial Committee. A draft bill is in course of preparation and will be submitted to the Financial Committee.

The Committee was also informed that good progress was being made in the negotiations concerning the pre-war loans and other pre-existing rights, and that it was hoped that a settlement would be reached in the near future.

In these circumstances, the Financial Committee recommended to the President of the Council :

(1) To authorise the Bulgarian Government to enter into negotiations with bankers in order to obtain advances (not exceeding a net sum of £400,000) on the main loan ; before becoming final, the contracts for such advances to be approved by the Chairman of the Financial Committee.

(2) To appoint M. René Charron for a period of three months as representative of the League to supervise the expenditure of the advances.

The President of the Council, by letter of August 9th (see Appendix), has authorised the Bulgarian Government to negotiate advances up to a net sum of £400,000.

NOTE. — On August 24th, an advance of £400,000 from the Bank of England to the Bank of Bulgaria was made. As stated above, the exact system of control to be established will be discussed by the Council in September.

¹ For further details, including the text of the decisions of the Reparation authorities, see document C. 437. M. 197. 1926. II.

Appendix.

Letter from the President of the Council to the Bulgarian Government.

[*Translation.*]

Geneva, August 9th, 1926.

Having noted the report of the Financial Committee of July 23rd, 1926, I have the honour, in conformity with the recommendation of the Committee, and by virtue of the powers conferred upon me by the resolution of the Council of the League of Nations of June 10th, to inform you that I am authorising the Bulgarian Government to begin negotiations with a view to obtaining advances on the principal loan to be issued on the basis of the plan described in the report of the Financial Committee to the Council of June 9th, 1926.

I consider it necessary, however, to draw your attention to the view expressed by the Financial Committee that, in negotiating these advances, the Bulgarian Government will find it necessary to conclude a satisfactory agreement with the bondholders of the pre-war loans for the future and to meet other certain pre-existing rights. It is hoped that this difficulty will very soon be overcome.

The amount of the advances in question should not exceed a net sum of £400,000, and the use of the sum would be limited to the purposes defined in the above resolution of the Council.

The control of the expenditure of these advances will be exercised on behalf of the League of Nations by M. René Charron, appointed for this purpose for a period of three years. The task of this official is defined in the instructions of which I am sending you a copy and which requires the assent of the Bulgarian Government to the provisions with which it is concerned.

Finally, I have the honour to inform you that the advances which may be obtained in conformity with the preceding instructions will be submitted for approval to the Chairman of the Financial Committee before they are regarded as final.

(Signed) GUANI,

*President of the Council of the League
of Nations.*

V. FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE FREE CITY OF DANZIG.

At the request of the High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig, and in response to the formal desire of the Senate of Danzig, the President of the Council, in a telegram dated July 1st, 1926, asked M. Janssen, a member of the Financial Committee, to examine the financial position of the Free City. The report drafted by M. Janssen, after a visit to Danzig, was submitted to the Financial Committee during its session held in London in July. The High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig, M. Sahn, President of the Senate of the Free City, Dr. Volkmann, Senator in charge of financial questions, together with Dr. Strasburger, Commissioner-General of Poland at Danzig, took part in the discussions of the Financial Committee on this question.

The Financial Committee recognises in its report that, though the monetary reform of 1923 had met with success and although the stability of the Danzig florin had been maintained without difficulty, the economic and budgetary position of the Free City was difficult. There remained considerable unemployment; the depreciation of the Polish zloty had prejudiced certain branches of the trade of Danzig; the increase of expenditure on unemployment and the decrease in the Customs revenues had made the position of the Treasury more difficult, and had obliged the Government of Danzig to contract a floating debt which amounted on July 1st, 1926, to 12 million florins; there was a deficit of about 16 million florins for the current budgetary period.

The Financial Committee, in its report, considering the remedies which would enable the position to be set right, drew attention to the fact that, among the measures which should be contemplated, some depended on decisions which were within the competence of the authorities of the Free City, whereas others could only be taken as a result of an agreement which would have to be reached on certain points between the Free City and the Polish Government. The first category of measures entails a reduction of expenditure. The Committee considers that, by reducing the number of officials, by a simplification of the administration and by a reduction of salaries and allowances of every kind, the total amount of the budget expenditure might be reduced by 10 per cent. The Government of Danzig, moreover, might derive certain resources from the institution of a tobacco monopoly. The Committee was happy to note that, as regarded the system of the tobacco monopoly to be established at Danzig, in relation with the Polish Customs regime, negotiations with Poland had been successfully conducted.

Finally, the Financial Committee was informed that negotiations were proceeding between the Free City and Poland with the view to an arrangement determining the share which would accrue to Danzig during the next years of the revenue of the Customs duties levied on the territory of the Free City. On the basis of the agreement at present in force, the share of Danzig is from 7 to 8 per cent of the gross Customs revenue, while the cost of administration and of levying the duties is wholly charged upon the budget of the Free City. As the expenditure on the administration and levying of the duties is in florins, whereas the gross revenues are levied in zlotys, the net profit of the Free City was appreciably reduced for the current financial year.

The Financial Committee asked that the negotiations between the interested parties should be continued under the auspices of the Commissioner-General as actively as possible. From

the point of view of the finances of Danzig, the problem appears to be to ensure a certain stability so far as the revenues which the Free City may rely upon drawing from the Customs are concerned. The Financial Committee expressed the opinion that this result might be achieved by attributing to Danzig for a period of two years as from January 1st, 1927, a fixed revenue of 15 million florins per annum, on the understanding that this arrangement did not prejudice the final solution which would be adopted in the future. Another course would be to maintain the present scale of the allocation of the revenues, limiting, however, for a period of two years, the sums to be received by Danzig to a minimum of 14 millions and a maximum of 20 million florins.

The Financial Committee is of opinion that only the carrying-out as a whole of these arrangements and of these provisions for effective budgetary economies will provide a basis for the restoration of a permanent budgetary equilibrium. Should the Committee obtain the assurance that this equilibrium would be realised, it might at its next session in September, after examining the legal position, recommend the floating of a loan of which the principal objects would be :

- (a) To cover the deficit resulting from the exceptional circumstances shown in the budget of 1926-1927, and to repay the floating debt ;
- (b) To meet certain productive expenditure in accordance with the programme to be presented by the Free City of Danzig.

VI. DOUBLE TAXATION AND TAX EVASION.

In accordance with the Council resolution of June 1925, invitations were sent to a dozen Governments, asking them to nominate experts in taxation questions to examine whether the resolutions adopted by the technical experts on February 7th, 1925 (document F. 212), could be used as a basis for preparing preliminary draft conventions.

This new body of experts, which consisted mainly of high taxation officials and included all the previous technical experts, met at Geneva from May 17th to 22nd, 1926. A delegation of the International Chamber of Commerce attended the meetings in an advisory capacity. A delegation of the Committee for Communications and Transit was also heard with regard to the methods of preventing double-taxation in the case of navigation companies.

The experts resolved themselves into three Sub-Committees dealing respectively with :

- (1) Double Taxation ;
- (2) Legal assistance ;
- (3) Tax evasion and administrative assistance.

In each of these three fields, the Sub-Committees were able to prepare, in general outline, preliminary draft conventions. The experts decided to devote some months to a careful consideration of these texts, the actual wording of which is still merely provisional, and to leave to their next session the final drafting of the texts which they propose to lay before the Financial Committee.

VII. COUNTERFEITING CURRENCY.

The Council, on June 10th, referred in the first instance to the Financial Committee a proposal of the French Government, suggesting the framing of a draft convention for suppressing the crime of counterfeiting currency (document C. 346. 1926. II).

The Financial Committee examined this proposal, together with a letter from the Dutch Government of June 21st (document C. 422. 1926. II), containing information on the system of co-operation which already exists in this matter between the Police Authorities of various countries. Before making definite proposals to the Council, the Committee desired to obtain the opinion and advice of the Banks of Issue in the different countries, and has addressed to them a detailed questionnaire to this end. The Committee hopes, on the basis of the replies received, to make a further report at its next meeting.

D. PUBLICATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.

1. In accordance with the general instructions laid down by the Brussels Financial Conference and the recommendations made by the Economic and Financial Commission and subsequently approved by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, the Secretariat has this year published, or has in the course of publication, the following periodical documents :

- (a) *Memorandum on Currency and Central Banks* (published in August) ;
- (b) *Memorandum on Public Finance* (in course of preparation) ;
- (c) *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (appears monthly).

(a) *Memorandum on Currency and Central Banks.*

Following the principle adopted for the first time last year, the *Memoranda on Currency and Central Banks* have again been published as a single document in two volumes. In the

Introduction which constitutes Volume I, a study is made of the more important characteristics of recent currency history, more especially during the year 1925 and the spring of 1926. The second volume contains synoptic tables showing the note circulation, gold reserves, rates of exchange, deposits in commercial banks, wholesale prices, etc., and an analysis of the balance-sheets of the central banks of all countries in which such institutions are operating.

(c) *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.*

This publication consists of a compilation of published current statistical data from which it is possible to appreciate the general trend of economic movements throughout the world. In special introductions, an explanation is given of the manner in which certain classes of the statistics published have been compiled in the various States, their scope and object. In the first issue of the *Bulletin* for this year a certain number of additions and changes were made, and the publication of two diagrams—the first showing the volume of manufacturing production in the United States of America and the second indices of economic prosperity in the United Kingdom—was begun.

2. *Memorandum on Balance of Payments and Foreign Trade Balances, 1913-24.*—In accordance with the instructions contained in the resolutions of the third Assembly, a new edition of the *Memorandum* is being prepared in which the synoptic trade tables are brought up to the end of 1925. The *Memorandum* containing the data for 1924 was published last autumn. The problem of the general balances of international accounts has continued to rouse increasing interest. The number of countries preparing special estimates increases steadily from year to year, and the statements received are appreciably more comprehensive and more comparable *inter se* than they were when the work was first initiated.

The first volume of this *Memorandum* contains summaries of all the statements concerning balances of payments received and a summary of the trade statistics of the world; the second contains more detailed trade statistics, together with notes explaining the manner in which they are compiled and indicating the degree of their comparability.

3. The Economic and Financial Organisation is further responsible for the special sections on budgetary expenditure on armaments and commercial statistics contained in the *Military Year-Book*.

II. ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

Since the publication of the report to the seventh Assembly, the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit has held a session at Geneva (July 12th-16th). This session was preceded by a session of the Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation.

I. SESSION OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE FOR INLAND NAVIGATION.

The Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation examined the replies in connection with the enquiry into the condition of inland navigation in Europe carried out in pursuance of the resolutions of the Genoa Conference. These replies dealt with the situation in Europe as a whole, with the exception of the Rhine and Danube systems, on which Mr. Hines had already submitted the special reports referred to in the report to the last Assembly. Valuable information was received from most of the European States concerned, including the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation adopted the following resolution on this subject :

“ The Sub-Committee,

“ Having considered the information submitted by the various Governments in the course of the enquiry conducted in pursuance of Article 8 of the Genoa Conference resolutions ;

“ And having in view, so far as navigation on the Rhine and Danube is concerned, the resolutions adopted by it on January 28th, 1926,

“ Notes :

“ (1) That, generally speaking, the efforts made to restore navigable waterways have been almost completely successful in bringing them up to their pre-war level ;

“ (2) That if the traffic, though it is increasing on the whole, has not attained its pre-war level, this is due not to causes of a technical nature, but to internal economic conditions in the various countries, and the post-war changes in international trade relations ; and that, from both the above standpoints, an improvement in the traffic on navigable waterways depends primarily on an increase in the volume of trade ;

“ (3) That the work of improving the network of navigable waterways and of preparing new waterways is, in most countries, proceeding slowly owing to lack of

funds as a result of the need for budgetary economy and the difficulty of obtaining credits ; but that efforts are being made to put fresh work in hand on strictly commercial lines, notably in conjunction with the utilisation of hydraulic power ;

“(4) And that, with reference to the international co-operation contemplated by the Genoa Conference, the Sub-Committee has already been able to provide one Government with the assistance of a committee of experts instructed to give an opinion on a programme of hydraulic work and the preparation of new waterways, and that such a system of co-operation would seem feasible in other cases, more particularly with a view to securing the systematic co-ordination of the programmes outlined in various countries.

“ Although the Sub-Committee has not extended its general enquiry to the progress made in the ratification of the Barcelona Convention concerning the Regime of Navigable Waterways of International Concern, and the framing of the Acts of Navigation for International Rivers, it would draw attention to the desire expressed by the Genoa Conference that effect should be given as speedily as possible to these Acts or Conventions which, in their own sphere, tend to ensure that freedom of international communications without which the network of European waterways cannot be utilised to its full extent. ”

The Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation also considered the results of the unofficial enquiry which its members had carried out in regard to the possibilities of unifying the statistics of inland navigation in Europe. In view of the work of investigation already accomplished, the Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that the question was now sufficiently clearly defined to enable it to be officially examined by a committee of experts, and accordingly decided to set up that Committee.

The study of the other subjects which the Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation has in hand, and which are at present being investigated by experts is proceeding normally. The Committee on Private Law in Inland Navigation has just met at Hamburg, with wholly satisfactory results, which, in conjunction with the work being carried out by the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation, justify the hope that agreements will be concluded fairly soon between European States regarding the nationality of vessels employed in inland navigation, the registration of shipping, privileges and liens. A series of agreements of this kind would undoubtedly do much to facilitate international navigation on the inland waterways of Europe. Similar agreements might be arranged for other continents whenever the need for them is felt.

II. PLENARY SESSION OF THE ADVISORY AND TECHNICAL COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

The plenary session of the Advisory and Technical Committee, which met from July 12th to 16th, 1926, was presided over by M. DE AGÜERO Y BETHANCOURT.

(1) *Action taken in Regard to the Work of the Permanent Sub-Committees.*

The Advisory and Technical Committee examined the work of the permanent Sub-Committees (for railway transport, inland navigation, ports and maritime navigation, and road traffic) which had met since its previous session. It approved the conclusions they had reached in their discussions and adopted various measures to provide better co-ordination between them. It gave fresh instructions to the Committee appointed by the Railway Transport and Inland Navigation Sub-Committees to examine the question of competition between railways and inland navigation on the Rhine and Danube systems. It provided means for this enquiry to be extended if cases similar to those noted in Mr. Hines' report on these systems were encountered in the course of the enquiry. This Committee is composed of three members — a railway expert, an inland navigation expert and an economist, who acts as Chairman ; it has to keep in touch with the users of the systems in question and, in particular, to consider general trade interests in its examination of this very complex question of competition. Further, the Advisory and Technical Committee decided upon the constitution of another committee of experts which will consider the best means of providing transport in which different methods are combined. This committee will include experts on railway transport and inland, maritime and aerial navigation.

(2) *Action taken in Regard to the Work of International Conferences.*

The Chairman of the Committee on Telegraphic Questions attended the Conference of the Telegraphic Union held at Paris last autumn, and the Advisory and Technical Committee has now received his report. It was found possible at this Conference to secure some of the facilities for which the Assembly had asked in regard to the telegraphic communications of the League of Nations. The Conference agreed to place the telegraphic and telephonic communications of the League in the same category as Government correspondence and communications. The League will thus enjoy priority without having to pay the extra charge for urgent communications.

The Committee took various steps to give effect to the recommendations of the Passport Conference. That Conference had asked the League to draw up certain arrangements which had not matured at the time when the Conference itself met. These arrangements refer to : (1) the question of the establishment of a transit card for emigrants, for the purpose of relieving them of the expense and formalities connected with visas, and (2) the question of identification documents for persons without nationality, there being at present a fairly large number of such persons in certain countries.

The Conference on Tonnage Measurement in Inland Navigation had asked the Committee to prepare a single model tonnage certificate. On this subject the experts of all the States concerned reached complete agreement, and the agreement was approved by the Committee.

(3) *Action taken in Regard to the Work of Experts.*

(a) *Wireless Telephony.*

Various recommendations were submitted to the Committee by the International Union of Radio-Telephony, which embraces most of the European broadcasting enterprises. One of these recommendations advocated the preparation of an international broadcasting statute. The Committee decided that it would place this question on its agenda, but would at the same time collaborate whenever desirable with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and its organs, it being understood that any work the Committee might carry out in this field should not cover the same ground as that dealt with by the organs of the Universal Radio-Telegraphic Union. The Secretary of the Committee was asked to submit a general report on the question at a future session of the Committee, probably after the Radio-Telegraphic Conference which is to be held next year at Washington.

The International Union of Radio-Telephony had also considered the question of the danger of carrying on certain propaganda by means of wireless telephony. The Committee, after having heard the Director of the Union, decided to place this question on the agenda of a later session.

(b) *Reform of the Calendar.*

The Assembly is aware of the circumstances in which the Advisory and Technical Committee decided to undertake an examination of the general question of calendar reform, including the stabilisation of Easter. A special Committee was formed, composed of the following :

- Jonkheer W. J. M. VAN EYSINGA, Professor at the University of Leyden (appointed by the Advisory and Technical Committee), Chairman ;
- The Rev. Father GIANFRANCESCHI, President of the Academy "Dei nuovi Lincei" (appointed by the Holy See) ;
- Professor D. EGINITIS, Director of the Observatory of Athens (appointed by the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople) ;
- The Rev. T. E. R. PHILLIPS, Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society of London (appointed by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury) ;
- M. G. BIGOURDAN, formerly Chairman of the International Astronomical Union's Committee on the Calendar (appointed by the Advisory and Technical Committee) ;
- Mr. Willis H. BOOTH, President of the International Chamber of Commerce (appointed by the Advisory and Technical Committee).

This Committee has just completed its work, after having carried out a number of enquiries in all interested quarters and collected a large amount of information.

The Committee's report, which can hardly be summarised here, will be duly submitted to the Assembly. The Advisory and Technical Committee particularly desires to draw the Assembly's attention to the results of all the work that has been done in investigating this question, which is of the greatest interest to the public of every country. The Committee adopted the following resolution :

- " The Advisory and Technical Committee,
- " Having taken note of the report of the Special Committee of Enquiry into the reform of the calendar ;
- " Is of opinion that it appears from the facts ascertained by that Committee :

" (1) As regards the general reform of the calendar, that a methodical examination of the question by public opinion in the various countries, on the basis of the work of documentation and simplification already carried out, is an essential condition for the realisation of any reform and that this work would be facilitated by the institution of national organisations to study the question, which should include representatives of the principal interests involved ;

" (2) As regards the stabilisation of Easter, that none of the religious authorities upon whom the settlement of this question depends has formulated any objection of principle against the stabilisation, and that the majority of them have declared themselves in favour of such measure ; that no objection has been raised in lay circles ; that, on the contrary, the enquiry carried out in the economic and educational circles in every country has revealed a strong feeling in favour of the proposed reform ;

“ Decides to direct the attention of the Assembly of the League to these points and to the advisability of passing a special recommendation urging the competent authorities as soon as possible to take a definite decision with a view to the settlement of the question of the stabilisation of Easter.

“ The Committee desires to express its cordial thanks to the Committee on the Reform of the Calendar for its important work, which is now completed. It instructs the Chairman of the Committee to take such measures as may appear advisable in order to ensure the further development of the work in question. ”

(4) *Special Missions entrusted to the Committee by the Assembly or the Council.*

(a) *Communications with the Seat of the League of Nations at Times of Crisis.*

At the session held after the difficulties that arose between Greece and Bulgaria, the Council of the League asked the Advisory and Technical Committee to consider how communications with the seat of the League, and in particular telegraphic and telephonic communications, could be improved at times of crisis. The same question also arose at the outset of the work on the reduction of armaments. As experience appears to have shown, any means by which it is possible, at moments of crisis, to reduce the time required for the transmission of messages during urgent meetings of the Council is invaluable, and the Committee has taken the following steps to meet the Council's wishes.

The International Advisory Committee on Long-Distance Telephony, which comprises almost all the European telephone administrations, is to examine next autumn the question of telephonic communications with the seat of the League. The question was referred to this body some months ago, in pursuance of the resolution on the subject adopted by the Assembly last year. This resolution did not deal specifically with communications in times of crisis, but, as far as the construction of a telephone system is concerned, it is impossible — at any rate from the telephonic point of view — to treat the two questions separately. The Secretary-General of the Advisory and Technical Committee was asked to attend this meeting of the Long-Distance Telephony Committee. At the same time there will be meetings of a Special Committee of the Railway Transport Sub-Committee, a Committee of Telegraph Experts and a Committee of Experts on Aerial Navigation. Each of these bodies will examine the questions coming within its own province. The Chairman of the Advisory and Technical Committee will co-ordinate the work done in the various fields and will transmit direct to the Council any conclusions which may be reached.

The last Assembly also dealt with the question of Customs and passport formalities at the frontiers near the seat of the League. As a result of the discussions which took place at the Passport Conference, certain improvements have already been introduced ; nevertheless, during the discussion of the subject by the Advisory and Technical Committee, the view was expressed that these improvements were not yet entirely satisfactory.

(b) *Collaboration with the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and with the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference.*

The Committee collaborated indirectly in the work of the Joint Committee which is assisting the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, and also in the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Economic Conference. Members of the Advisory and Technical Committee are, in fact, sitting as members of these bodies. The work of the Communications and Transit Organisation in the past has already touched upon many questions which affect the work of the Economic Conference, and the Committee will continue to afford any assistance which may be desired.

(5) *Execution and Ratification of Conventions.*

(a) *Application of the Memel Convention.*

Under the terms of the Convention regarding the Port of Memel, the Advisory and Technical Committee receives every year a copy of the annual report of the Memel Harbour Board, one of the members of which is appointed by the Chairman of the Advisory Committee. The Committee adopted this year the following resolution on the subject :

“ The Advisory and Technical Committee, after an exchange of views, decides simply to take note of the present annual report of the Memel Harbour Board. Moreover, taking into account the present situation as a whole, it considers it unnecessary to make any comment on the reservations put forward at the moment of signature by the member of the Harbour Board appointed by its Chairman. ”

(b) *Ratification of the General Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports.*

The Advisory and Technical Committee considered it particularly important that general conventions, particularly those signed at the Second General Conference on Communications and Transit, should be ratified with as little delay as possible. In accordance with the resolution

adopted by the last Assembly, it endeavoured to assist in dispelling all misunderstanding on this subject, and adopted the following resolution :

“ The Advisory and Technical Committee,

“ Considering it particularly important that the Conventions signed at the Second General Conference on Communications and Transit, and particularly the General Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports, should be ratified as soon as possible :

“ Requests the Assembly of the League once more to bring this point to the attention of the States which signed these Conventions or which adhered thereto subject to ratification.

“ The Committee,

“ Having furthermore taken cognisance of the discussions which occurred in the Sub-Committee for Ports and Maritime Navigation in connection with the difficulties which arose in consequence of a declaration made by the French Government on adhering to the Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports ;

“ Noting that the Sub-Committee for Ports and Maritime Navigation considered that these difficulties might perhaps disappear if an explicit interpretation of this declaration were forthcoming :

“ Takes note of the declarations made in this connection by the French member of the Committee acting on behalf of his Government and on its instructions.

“ The text of the declaration made by the French Government at the time of its adhesion and the text of the interpretative declarations made by the French member of the Committee are annexed to the present resolution ¹.

“ The present resolution and its annexes shall be communicated to all the States signatory to the Convention on the International Regime of Maritime-Ports.

(6) *General Organisation of the Advisory and Technical Committee.*

Numerous discussions have taken place on the organisation of the Advisory and Technical Committee's work and, in particular, concerning the relations between that body and the permanent committees of experts which it has established. Discussions have also taken place regarding the desirability of setting up permanent committees of experts to deal with telegraphic and aerial navigation questions. The Committee carried out an exhaustive study of the permanent needs of its organisation, and laid down in clear and precise terms the general practice which it considered indispensable, taking into account, on the one hand, the general responsibility borne by the Committee sitting in plenary session, and, on the other, the unavoidable division of work among special committees. It adopted the following resolutions on this subject :

“ A. *General Organisation.*

“ In application of the provisions of Article 6 of its Rules of Procedure referring to sub-committees, the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit adopts the following resolution :

“ The duty of conducting a continuous enquiry into questions relating to railway transport, inland navigation, ports and maritime navigation, road traffic and electrical power is entrusted to five permanent committees.

“ The composition of these committees, which may include, besides members of the Committee, persons appointed by it individually, shall be fixed by the Committee at its own discretion, on the basis of the principle that the various interests concerned should be given the best possible representation.

“ The Committee shall also appoint a permanent Legal Committee.

“ All resolutions taken by these committees involving recommendations to Governments or proposals to the Council or Assembly shall, before being transmitted to those authorities, be endorsed by the Advisory and Technical Committee sitting in plenary session.

“ As an exceptional measure, justified on grounds of urgency or necessity, such endorsement may be given on behalf of the Committee by its Chairman, who, in case of doubt, may obtain the opinions of his colleagues by correspondence and report in all cases on his decision to the next plenary session.

“ The provisions of the present resolution shall not apply to cases where the settlement of a dispute has been referred to the Advisory and Technical Committee in virtue of an international convention. In such cases the Advisory and Technical Committee alone, in plenary session, is empowered to give an advisory opinion. ”

“ B. *Composition of Permanent Committees.*

“ The composition of permanent committees, which may include, besides members of the Committee, persons appointed by it individually, shall be fixed by the Committee

¹ The resolution with its annexes was distributed to the States Members of the League as C.L.95. 1926.

at its own discretion, on the basis of the principle that the various interests concerned should be given the best possible representation. Persons individually nominated by the Committee shall be selected for their special qualifications, regard being had to the necessity of equitable distribution among nationalities. ”

“ C. *Air Questions.*

“ The Advisory and Technical Committee decides not to form at present any permanent body to investigate questions connected with aerial navigation.

“ The Chairman and the Secretary-General of the Committee are requested to take all steps to ensure that effective contact is maintained with the existing international bodies, particularly the International Commission on Air Navigation, the International Air Traffic Association, and the Committee of Legal Experts set up by the Paris Conference.

“ An annual report on international activity in the matter of aerial navigation shall be submitted to the Committee by the Secretariat, which may, if necessary, be assisted by experts appointed by the Chairman.

“ The Committee does not exclude the possibility of forming temporary bodies of experts on aerial navigation to consider any questions in regard to which — on account of their specific character or of their connection with other transport problems — such a procedure may seem the most suitable. ”

“ D. *Telegraphic Questions.*

“ The Advisory and Technical Committee decides not to form or maintain at present any permanent body to investigate questions of telegraphy and wireless telegraphy.

“ The Chairman and the Secretary-General of the Committee are authorised to take all steps to ensure that effective contact is maintained with the existing international bodies dealing with these questions.

“ An annual report on international telephonic, telegraphic, wireless telephonic and wireless telegraphic communication shall be submitted to the Committee by the Secretariat, which may, if necessary, ask the Chairman to nominate experts to assist it.

“ It is to be understood that the Committee does not exclude the possibility of appointing temporary committees of experts to investigate any questions of this nature which it may regard as of special interest and which cannot be effectually or speedily dealt with by the existing organisations. ”

(7) *Preparations for the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit.*

The Advisory and Technical Committee was anxious to have its mode of organisation clearly defined and confirmed, particularly in order that the next General Conference on Communications and Transit, to which it is responsible in technical matters, should fully understand its working and its methods.

A third General Conference on Communications and Transit is to be held next year. It will have to renew the Advisory and Technical Committee, as, according to the decision of the Barcelona Conference, the term of office of the States appointed at the last conference, which was held in 1923, may not exceed four years. In the opinion of the Advisory and Technical Committee, the agenda of this third General Conference should include, in addition to the question of the renewal of the committee, the examination of the work it has accomplished since the previous conference ; a study of the whole position as regards ratifications of the various conventions, and the reasons why various individual ratifications have not yet been received ; and, lastly, a proposal to establish a centre for the co-ordination of general information in regard to transport, as the need for such a body appears to become increasingly necessary. This centre of information would also provide a better means of linking up the Communications and Transit Organisation with the technical services of extra-European States. The proposed Conference will not be required to conclude conventions ; consequently it should be of short duration, and, in order to reduce expenditure both for the League itself and for the participating States, it would be preferable to hold the Conference immediately before the eighth Assembly.

III. THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

I. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES.

(a) *The International Sanitary Conference.*

The International Sanitary Conference met at Paris from May 10th to June 19th, 1926. It adopted a new text for the International Sanitary Convention, which was signed by the delegates with certain reservations, and which now awaits ratification by the Governments. The International Sanitary Convention of 1912, which is at present in force, provides that certain quarantinable diseases shall be notified to the signatory Governments through diplomatic channels. The new Convention adds that these diseases shall simultaneously be

notified to the Office international d'hygiène publique, to which subsequent information concerning the course of an epidemic should also be communicated.

The Service of Epidemiological Intelligence and Public Health Statistics of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations already collects and distributes, both through its Eastern Bureau at Singapore and its Central Office in Geneva, information with regard to specified diseases which has been voluntarily transmitted by the various health administrations.

The Conference accordingly inserted a clause in the Convention enabling arrangements to be entered into between the Office international d'hygiène publique and the Health Committee of the League in respect of epidemiological intelligence and similar matters.

The article (of which the authentic text is in French) reads as follows :

Article 7. " In order to facilitate the accomplishment of the task which has been entrusted to it by the present Convention, the Office international d'hygiène publique, by reason of the utility of the information now being supplied by the Epidemiological Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, including its Eastern Bureau at Singapore, and other similar bureaux, as well as by the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, is authorised to negotiate the necessary agreements with the Health Committee of the League of Nations, as well as with the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau and other similar organisations.

" It is understood that the arrangements reached by such agreements shall in no wise contravene the stipulations of the Rome Convention of December 9th, 1907, and shall not result in the substitution of any other health body for the Office international d'hygiène publique. "

The application of this article was examined during its May-June session, 1926, by a special Sub-Committee of the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'hygiène publique, and the President and Bureau of the Health Committee were consulted as to the basis on which an agreement under the above article might be concluded.

The President and Bureau of the Health Committee, after consultation with the President and Bureau of the Office international, together drew up a preliminary draft agreement, which was submitted to a plenary meeting of the Health Committee on June 19th and adopted in the form of the following resolution :

" The Health Committee, having considered the terms of the preliminary draft submitted by the Bureaux of the Office international d'hygiène publique and the Health Committee of the League, approves the following text, which is the outcome of its deliberations :

" The Permanent Committee of the Office international d'hygiène publique and the Health Committee of the League have agreed on the following procedure, which they consider to be the most effective to ensure the centralisation and distribution of information concerning epidemic diseases and sanitary measures which are contemplated by the Paris International Sanitary Convention of 1926.

" (1) The notifications provided for in Article 1, and intended for the Office international d'hygiène publique, may be transmitted by Governments through one of the League of Nations regional bureaux.

" These bureaux shall at once communicate such notifications, by telegram or wireless, to the Office international d'hygiène publique, as well as to all the health administrations with which they are in direct relations.

" The notifications thus received shall be communicated forthwith by the Office international d'hygiène publique to the diplomatic agencies in Paris.

" (2) The immediate communication to principal health authorities provided for under Article 3 of the Convention shall be effected in the name and on behalf of the Office international d'hygiène publique by the Epidemiological Intelligence Service of the League of Nations. All notifications forwarded to the Office international d'hygiène publique, either directly or through the other regional bureaux, shall be communicated immediately to the Service.

" The immediate communication of these notifications to principal health authorities shall be effected by this Service in the name of the Office international d'hygiène publique, by telegram or wireless, as frequently as may be necessary.

" (3) The communications provided for in Articles 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 28 and 49 of the Convention, received directly by the regional bureaux of the League of Nations, shall be forwarded immediately to the Office international d'hygiène publique as well as to all the health administrations in direct relationship with those bureaux. •

" (4) The first page of the *Weekly Summary* and of the periodical publications of the Epidemiological Intelligence Service of the League of Nations will give, in the name of the Office international d'hygiène publique, the official bulletin of notifications and of intelligence, as provided for under Articles 2, 4, 6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 28 and 49 of the Convention and as communicated beforehand by the Office. "

The draft agreement embodied in this resolution, which stands for consideration by the Permanent Committee of the Office international d'hygiène publique at its next session in

October, is recommended by the Health Committee as an arrangement which will enable the Epidemiological Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, including the Singapore Bureau and any other bureaux which may be established in the future, to be used and developed for the purpose of the application of the Convention.

(b) *International Conference on Rabies.*

Invitations have been addressed to the Governments and to various Institutes for the International Conference on Rabies to be convened in the spring of 1927 (see General Report (Annex 2,) page 257).

(c) *Conference of Experts on Infant Welfare.*

The preliminary arrangements made for the Conference on Infant Welfare were described in the General Report (Annex 2, page 248).

The Conference has been convened for September 26th, 1926.

The agenda of the Conference is as follows :

1. Possibilities of a comparative enquiry into infant mortality in different regions of Europe (or other parts of the world) with high and low infant mortality rates, with special reference to the underlying causes such as social and hygienic conditions, housing, nutrition and child welfare activity.
2. Possibilities of an enquiry into the incidence of rickets, anæmia, tetany and scurvy in children up to two years of age in different countries, with special regard to the nutrition problem.
3. Unification of the registration of infant deaths.
4. The possibility of climatic treatment for children of foreign countries. Measures required in the interest of the children and of the country which receives them.
5. Instruction in infant welfare of medical students and other persons concerned.
6. The value of preventive immunisation against infectious diseases of children (diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, chickenpox, whooping-cough and tuberculosis).

II. EPIDEMIOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

(a) *Proposed Establishment of a Health Bureau on the West Coast of Africa.*

The action taken by the Health Committee as a result of the proposal of the French delegation to the Sixth Assembly is described in the General Report to the Seventh Assembly (Annex 2, page 247), in which it was stated that, as a result of the interchange of medical officers of the Colonial Services in West Africa, a report on the subject would be presented to the Health Committee in June, 1926.

This report was duly presented to the Health Committee during its seventh session held in Paris on June 19th and 20th, 1926. The report was based on information furnished during the final Conference, held on May 17th at Freetown, of the medical officers nominated by African Health Administrations to participate in the West African interchange and on a study of the conditions observed during its course.

Three opinions were put forward during the Conference. Certain of the British participants were in favour of postponing the establishment of a bureau in Western Africa. The French participants, on the other hand, were in favour of its establishment in the near future and this view was supported by the Spanish and Portuguese participants. A third proposal was submitted by the participants from South Africa and the Belgian Congo in favour of the establishment of a Pan-African Bureau to deal with African epidemiology as a whole.

The Health Committee decided that the question of an African Bureau could be most profitably pursued on the assumption that it would deal with epidemiological intelligence regarding the African continent rather than a specified region of Western Africa. Moreover, the Committee thought it desirable to study the kind of work which might be undertaken by such a bureau if it were established at Algiers.

Dr. Raynaud, member of the Health Committee and Inspector-General of the Health Services of Algeria, undertook, at the request of the Committee, to enquire into the collection of the epidemiological data at present available in the various colonies of Africa, or the data which might be obtained by invitations addressed to the various administrations. He will submit a report on these questions to the Health Committee in October 1926.

Before submitting a definite recommendation to the Council of the League of Nations, the Committee must await the observations submitted by the Governments in reply to the Secretary-General's letter; but the Committee considered that an experiment should be undertaken immediately to test the possibility of transmitting epidemiological intelligence

concerning the territories of Northern, Western and Central Africa in order to ascertain how far a centralisation of this intelligence, which had never been attempted before, was practicable.

(b) Current Epidemiological Statistics.

The *Weekly Record* embodying telegraphic information received by the Epidemiological Service and referred to in the General Report covers an increasingly large area. Weekly telegraphic reports are now received from 110 towns, and over 20 of these weekly summaries have now been issued.

III. INTERCHANGES OF PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICERS.

(a) Interchange of Sanitary Engineers in Great Britain.

The arrangements made for the first interchange of sanitary engineers in Great Britain were described in the General Report (Annex 2, page 252).

Delegates from the following countries participated: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Sweden, Uruguay, United States of America.

The delegates arrived in London on June 21st, and were received at the Ministry of Health on the following day by the Right Hon. Neville Chamberlain, M. P., Minister for Health of Great Britain. The interchange terminated with a Conference held at the British Ministry of Health on July 19th and July 20th, 1926.

The programme of the interchange was drawn up by a committee presided over by Mr. Sandford Fawcett, of the British Ministry of Health, and valuable assistance was given, not only by the Ministry of Health, but by the Royal Sanitary Institute, the Institute of Municipal and County Engineers, and the Institute of Civil Engineers. The participants had an opportunity of seeing something of nearly every branch of sanitary engineering work in Great Britain. The party was divided into four groups, which visited Birmingham, Liverpool, Scotland and Sheffield, where the local authorities placed every facility at their disposal.

The interchange was admirably organised, and the Health Organisation is already studying the possibility of organising an interchange on similar lines during 1927.

(b) Interchange of Health Officers in the Baltic Ports.

The arrangements for the interchange of health officers in the Baltic ports, referred to in the General Report (Annex 2, page 253) are now completed. The object of this interchange is to enable health officers to study the administrative organisation of the ports which are visited, their sanitary equipment, their methods of deratisation and fumigation of warehouses, and other problems of maritime health organisation.

The interchange is not organised as an official enquiry, but is regarded as affording an opportunity to the public health officials of several countries, in the course of a friendly visit to the ports in question, of ascertaining what is being done in these ports, and of creating friendly relations which will enable them to co-operate informally in their current administrative work.

The interchange will last from September 12th to October 12th, 1926. Invitations have been addressed to Belgium, Danzig, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics. Visits will be paid to the following ports: Riga, Leepaja (Libau), Danzig, Stettin, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Bremen, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Dunkirk, Le Havre, Southampton, London and Liverpool.

The interchange will be presided over by Dr. Jitta, President of the Health Council of the Netherlands and a vice-president of the Health Committee.

(c) Collective Interchange in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Switzerland (special type of interchange).

The special type of interchange organised in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Switzerland was described in the General Report (Annex 2, page 252).

This interchange, which is still in progress, will conclude with a conference to be held at Geneva on August 25th, 1926. Ten participants from the Netherlands, Belgium and France are taking part in the tour. At the final conferences to be held at Berne and Geneva, French health officials, who have already addressed the participants in Paris and at Lyon, have been invited to assist.

(d) Individual Fellowships.

The arrangements to enable four medical officers from Japan to study in Europe and four Western research workers to visit Japanese laboratories are now in progress. Three of the fellowships have been given to experts from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Brazil and Great Britain respectively; they will proceed to Japan in August.

Two Australian health officers are now in Europe and three Spanish health officers are in France and the Netherlands. A Swiss health officer is making a study tour in England, France and Germany.

IV. WORK OF THE COMMISSIONS.

(a) Malaria Commission: Study Tour in Sicily.

The Malaria Commission will bring to a conclusion its series of study tours for the year with a visit to Sicily, which is organised for the month of September, 1926. The tour has been planned in agreement with the Director-General of the Health Services of Italy.

(b) The Cancer Commission.

The Cancer Commission which met in Paris in May considered a report from its experts on race in relation to mortality from cancer in various European countries. The Commission decided that the reports should be published and submitted to the Health Committee in October 1926.

(c) The Commission on Standards.

Arrangements are being made for a meeting of the Commission on Standards to be held on October 11th, 1926, at which the results of the investigations now in progress will be submitted and examined. Special reports will be made on the standardisation of the anti-tetanic and anti-dysenteric sera, and the Sub-Committees dealing with these sera will meet at the same time as the Commission itself.

II.

HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS.

I. PROTECTION AND WELFARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

A. CHILD WELFARE.

The Council, during its meeting on June 9th, 1926, examined the report on the work of the second session of the Child Welfare Committee.

The delegate of the British Empire, who acted as Rapporteur for this question, submitted some observations based on a resolution concerning the limits of the competence of the Child Welfare Committee which had been adopted by the sixth Assembly. The British representative, while recognising the value of the report presented by the Child Welfare Committee, expressed the hope that the Committee would as far as possible confine its activity to questions which required international regulation and that it would endeavour to ensure that any new question which it proposed to discuss should lie strictly within the limits of its competence.

The Rapporteur proposed the following resolutions, which were adopted:

“ 1. The Council instructs the Secretary-General to thank the Committee for its report and to convey to it the Council's approval of the steps taken for the better organisation of its work. The Council would be glad of a report in due course from the Committee as to the working of the organisation now set up. The Council hopes that the Committee will bear most carefully in mind the limits of its competence as defined by the sixth Assembly, and will endeavour so to narrow the field of each particular enquiry as to produce results of practical value to Governments.

“ 2. The Council suggests that, instead of inviting a representative of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation to serve on the Child Welfare Committee as proposed in resolution No. II, the Committee should invite such representative to attend any meeting of the Committee at which a question is to be discussed in which the Intellectual Co-operation Committee is directly interested.

“ 3. The Council instructs the Secretary-General to ask those Governments which have not supplied information on the subject of the age of consent and of marriage to consider the possibility of doing so.

“ 4. The Council instructs the Secretary-General to report to it at its September session regarding the action undertaken by the International Prison Commission

in connection with the question of juvenile courts referred to in Resolution XIII and reserves its decision on this resolution until that report is before it.

" 5. The Council approves this report and instructs the Secretary-General to circulate copies of the Child Welfare Committee's report and of the present report to Governments for their information, and to communicate a copy of each of the reports to the International Labour Office for its information. "

B. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The Council, at its meeting on June 7th, 1926, considered the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee which met in Geneva last March¹. On the proposal of the Rapporteur, the representative of the British Empire, the Council instructed the Secretary-General to take the following action :

1. (a) To invite those Governments which have not yet communicated their observations on the subject of resolution No. I² to consider once more the possibility of sending in such observations ;

And (b) to communicate resolution No. I to those Governments which have already sent in observations on the subject of the resolution, for their information, in order to give them an opportunity of forwarding supplementary observations should they so desire.

2. To ask Governments to give the information requested in resolution No. II³ of the Committee.

3. To communicate to Governments resolution No. IV⁴ of the Committee, with the request that they will communicate to the Secretariat such information relevant thereto as they may find it possible to furnish.

4. To communicate to Governments resolution No. V⁵ of the Committee respecting the employment of women police, with the request that they will communicate to the Secretariat such information relevant thereto as they may find it possible to furnish.

5. With reference to resolution No. VI⁶ of the Committee, to ask the Members of the League of Nations and other parties to the International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of the Traffic in Obscene Publications of 1923, to obtain the information referred to in paragraph 9 of the Final Act of the International Conference of 1923 for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications.

6. To transmit this information, when obtained, to the Traffic in Women and Children Committee.

¹ See General Report (Annex 2), pages 258-260.

² Resolution I.

" The Traffic in Women and Children Committee has noted the contents of the reports which have been presented by a large number of Governments on the question of the system of licensed houses as related to the traffic in women. The views expressed show that there is a divergence of opinion as to the necessity of maintaining the system.

" The Committee requests the Council to instruct the Secretariat to ask those countries which have not yet sent reports to do so and those which have done so for any new comments. It requests the Secretariat to prepare for the next session a systematic and impartial abstract of the reports which, taken in conjunction with them, will show the present position.

" This abstract should be suitable for use in the preparation of a report which the Committee proposed to make to the Council, in accordance with resolution No. 4 of the Council of June 11th, 1924, in which the Advisory Committee was requested to continue its study of the question. "

³ Resolution II.

" The Committee proposes that a list of the benevolent societies in the different countries willing to help foreign prostitutes who are to be expelled be circulated to the central authorities and to private organisations occupying themselves with the same kind of work in all countries Members of the League or parties to the Conventions and Agreements of 1904, 1910 and 1921.

" To this end the Council is requested to instruct the Secretariat to ask the Governments to give a list of the organisations willing to assist expelled prostitutes. "

⁴ Resolution IV.

" Considering the discussion that has arisen during the debate on Dr. Estrid Hein's resolution (resolution No. II) and which has placed the problem of the deportation of prostitutes in the foreground ; and

" Considering the exceedingly complex nature of the problem from the legal, political, humanitarian and social points of view ;

" The Committee decides to examine the problem of the expulsion of prostitutes in all its aspects. It appoints a Rapporteur and requests the Council to ask the Secretariat to invite the various Governments to furnish information on the question in order that it may be discussed at the next meeting of the Committee. "

⁵ Resolution V.

" The Committee has noted the increasing interest which has been shown in the question of the employment of women in the police of several countries in all matters affecting the protection of women and children and, as these countries are of opinion that such appointments will largely tend to decrease the evils of the traffic in women, requests the Council of the League to instruct the Secretariat to apply to all States for full information on the subject. Such information should be classified for presentation to the Committee at its next session. "

⁶ Resolution VI.

The Women and Children Committee, being of opinion that obscene publications contribute largely to undermining the morals of the young, and therefore encourage persons engaged in procuring victims for the traffic to continue and extend their activities :

" (a) Places this question on the agenda of the next meeting of the Committee ; and

" (b) Asks the Council to instruct the Secretariat to obtain the periodical reports recommended in paragraph 9 of the Final Act of the International Conference of 1923 for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications, in order that these reports may be submitted, if possible, to the Committee at its next meeting. "

II. TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

The Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs held its eighth session at Geneva from May 26th to June 8th, 1926.

The following members and assessors attended the session :

M. BOURGOIS (France) (Chairman) ;
Dr. ANSELMINO (Germany) (Vice-Chairman) ;
Sir Malcolm DELEIVINGNE, K.C.B. (British Empire) ;
H.E. M. CHAO-HSIN CHU (China) ;
Sir John CAMPBELL, C.S.I. (India) ;
M. SUGIMURA (Japan) ;
M. VAN WETTUM (Netherlands) ;
H.E. M. FERREIRA (Portugal) ;
M. FOTITCH (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) ;
H.H. Prince CHAROON (Siam) ;
M. DINICHERT (Switzerland) ;
Mr. S. Pinkney TUCK (United States of America).
Colonel Arthur WOODS, Assessor.

The delegate of Bolivia did not attend the session. M. Brenier, Assessor, expressed his regret at not being able to be present, and the third Assessor had not then been appointed by the Council.

M. PFLÜGL, on behalf of the Austrian Government, attended one of the meetings of the Committee and announced that his Government would withdraw the reservation which it had attached to its signature of the Convention signed at Geneva on February 19th, 1925.

The documents submitted to the Advisory Committee led it to form the conclusion that the illicit traffic is very great and that the data at its disposal for keeping in touch with international traffic, both licit and illicit, are insufficient. It considered that effective control of international traffic will be extremely difficult until the Geneva Convention of February 19th, 1925, comes into operation. In its first resolution it therefore expressed its strong desire that the various countries should ratify this convention as soon as possible in order that all the machinery for control set up by it might be brought into operation. Ratification by countries Members of the Council is of great importance, since, under Articles 36 and 19, the coming into force of that Convention depends on their ratification. Pending the coming into force of this Convention, the Committee was obliged to confine itself to an examination of the manner in which the Hague Convention is applied, and it adopted a special resolution dealing with the ratification of this Convention by Turkey.

Annual Reports furnished by Governments.

The Committee thought fit to draw attention by various resolutions to the importance it attaches to these reports, as without them it is unable to form an estimate of the world situation as regards the traffic in drugs.

Illicit Traffic.

The Committee once more examined the question of exports of opium from the Persian Gulf to the Far East. It noted that the situation had not improved since last year. It therefore considered it its duty to lay particular stress, by a special resolution, on the recommendations regarding the regulation of ships engaged in carrying opium in the Persian Gulf similar to those which it made last year and to which effect has not yet been given.

The Committee drew special attention to the steps taken in Great Britain in regard to maritime insurance policies with a view to preventing the insurance of consignments of opium and other drugs destined for illicit purposes.

The Committee also dealt with the question of smuggling carried out by means of the post and the necessity of direct contact between the authorities responsible for enforcing the laws regarding illicit traffic.

Position in the Far East.

The Agreement drawn up by the First Geneva Conference, signed at Geneva on February 11th, 1925, came into force between three of the signatory countries on July 28th, 1926. The Committee asked the Council to draw the attention of the other interested countries to the necessity of ratification by all the signatories.

The representative of the Government of India made an important declaration on the policy which his Government had adopted in respect of the export of opium. This policy is stated in the resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly in India. The resolution recommends to the Governor-General in Council that immediate steps should be taken to give effect to the policy of progressively reducing exports of opium from India, except for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, so as to suppress them altogether within a definite period.

The representative of the Japanese Government told the Committee that a Supreme Council composed of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and high Government officials will be instructed to examine, among other questions, the most suitable method for the suppression of the illicit traffic.

It was noted by the Committee that the situation in China did not seem to have changed much since last session.

III. COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE PRODUCTION OF OPIUM IN PERSIA.

The Commission of Enquiry into the Production of Opium in Persia arrived in Persia in the last week in March. It visited the majority of the opium-producing centres in Persia and other localities of importance from an agricultural or economic point of view. It also had interviews with the principal Ministers of State, the members of the American Financial Mission, various eminent Persian and foreign personalities and with delegations of landowners, farmers, peasant-proprietors, merchants, etc., in each of the places visited.

The Commission returned to Europe on June 17th and has now adopted its report to the Council. At the request of the Persian Government, the report is being forwarded to that Government for its observations before being circulated to the Members of the Council. As soon as these observations have been received, they will be circulated to the Council with the report.

IV. PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST.

The sixth Assembly allocated the sum of 45,000 gold francs for the work in Aleppo and the sum of 30,000 gold francs for the work in Constantinople during the year 1926.

1. WORK IN ALEPPO.

The work in Aleppo has been carried out under the supervision of Miss Karen Jeppe. As was the case last year, her report is divided into three parts : rescue work, the work in connection with the reception house and education, and the work in connection with colonisation schemes.

The French officers in Aleppo and the officer in charge of the military posts in the district of Deir-el-Zor have been equally helpful and sympathetic.

(a) *Rescue Work.*

The Commission reports that it has been able to rescue three hundred people from July 1st, 1925, to June 30th, 1926. Deir-el-Zor, the oldest station of the Commission, is not yet closed, because it has to serve as a transit station. The stations in Hassidje and Ras-el-Ain have been working regularly and steadily. The agents of the Commission are able and devoted men who have been assisted very efficiently by the French officers. The station Arab-Poumar, established last autumn, is largely destined for work among the Kurds. The Commission also intends to explore more fully the region to the west of the Euphrates. Experience has shown that there is much need of help in that region. Stations have been opened in Bab and Boumboudsh, and the Commission hopes to be able to open others. It is the earnest desire of the Commission to be able to continue its work to the end of 1927. It has reason to believe that adequate means will be forthcoming this year to supplement the budget of the League; this will enable the Commission even to increase its activity so that the work may not be left unfinished but be carried out to the end in a way worthy of the League of Nations.

(b) *The Reception House and Education.*

This part of the work has been conducted along its usual lines without any difficulties. The Commission has been very successful in finding the relatives of the rescued persons. Out of three hundred people, two hundred and twenty-eight have been restored to their families ; it must be remembered that many of them have come in quite recently, so that the enquiries are still incomplete as far as they are concerned.

The education scheme for girls has remained unchanged, but with regard to the boys the Commission feels very strongly that teaching them a trade is not a satisfactory provision for their future, at least not if they are intended to remain in Syria, where the cities are crowded with artisans seeking employment in vain. The Commission has long been convinced that settling the boys in villages is the only really sound solution for their future, and this spring it has been able to carry out this scheme on a larger scale.

(c) *Colonisation Scheme.*

Two years have now passed since the Commission founded its first Armenian villages, and experience has justified that enterprise, as the peasants have become prosperous and

independent in a short time. During last spring, with the friendly collaboration of the French Government, the Commission founded its second colony — Charb Bedros — where, besides forty Armenian families, thirty of the older boys, received in the Reception House, have been settled. The village has been rented for three years, and the boys have received their cattle and their seed as well as the other peasants. During the initial stage they are living under the supervision of a teacher, but each of them attends to his own piece of land and his own cattle.

2. WORK IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

The work of the Commission in Constantinople has continued in the League of Nations House under the direction of Miss Caris E. Mills.

Thirteen hundred and nineteen children and fifteen hundred and fifty adults received aid during the past year through the Commission. This aid ranges from entire support to help in obtaining visas and transport to other countries, providing shelter and food, securing work, education, etc., for those in need of assistance and placing them in national institutions. The work has grown with the demands resulting from the unusual conditions prevailing in Constantinople — conditions which have caused great suffering to unprotected women and children. The cutting-down of the activities of other social service agencies, the closing of the International Migration Bureau and the decrease in the funds of national institutions, due to present conditions, have resulted in a large increase in the number of appeals to the Commission. Funds are a large factor in assuring and securing protection, and outside support has been promised for another year if the Assembly sees fit to continue the work of the Commission.

The American Women's Hospitals have continued to contribute their donation of \$700 monthly. This money makes it possible to keep approximately sixty hospital beds continuously filled. They have also offered their full support for the coming year.

The British "Save the Children Fund" has contributed milk and money to the value of £325 to aid under-nourished children of all nationalities. Armenians, Greeks, Turkish and Russians have benefited through this fund.

Help has also been given by the Christian Science Relief of America. Several private individuals have also contributed most usefully to the carrying-on of the work. The moral support of the League is an important factor in prompting the continuance of outside gifts. Through close economy the Commission has been able to continue on the reduced appropriation of less than \$7,000 yearly without decreasing the work. These funds are used entirely for the running of the League of Nations House and for cases which come directly under the work of the Commission.

The Commission points out in its report that Constantinople has not only been burdened by the suffering of its own population but has been the place where the greatest number of women and children suffering from war conditions have sought shelter. The Commission therefore appeals most earnestly to the Assembly for a continuation of the work for one more year. With a small expenditure of League funds, there is the opportunity to alleviate or prevent suffering for a large number of women and children at a time when the entire population is still shaken and unsettled.

In appealing for the continuance of the work, the Commission calls attention to the following points: the value of the moral support of the League in carrying out the work; the need which can be met and the suffering which can be alleviated with a small expenditure of funds; the continued and promised support from outside organisations and individuals; the small overhead cost with which the work of the Commission is carried on.

12.

ARMENIAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT SCHEME.

It will be remembered that the sixth Assembly decided, on the report of the Fifth Committee, to request the Council to enquire into the possibility of carrying into execution a plan for the irrigation of certain land in Erivan, and for the settlement of Armenian refugees on that land.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Council, on September 26th, 1925, took the following decision:

“ The Council :

“ (1) Takes note of the resolution of the Assembly of September 26th, 1925, regarding the settlement of Armenian refugees in the Caucasus and elsewhere ;

“ (2) Decides, in accordance with the invitation of the Assembly, to appoint not more than five commissioners with the following duties :

“ (a) To ascertain finally the technical possibility of the proposed undertaking ;

“ (b) To exchange views, as may be necessary, with the organs of the League of Nations, the Government of the Armenian Republic, and the other Governments, the associations and private individuals whose help would appear useful for the realisation of the scheme ;

“ (c) If the results are favourable, to submit to the Council proposals with regard to the constitution of a body of trustees ;

“ (3) Appoints as one of the Commissioners Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the remaining Commissioners, to the number of not more than four, to be appointed by the President of the Council after consultation with the Rapporteur ;

“ (4) To charge the expenses of the Commission appointed under paragraph (2) above to be incurred during 1925, up to a sum not exceeding 50,000 francs, to Item 33 of the Budget for 1925 (Unforeseen Expenses, subject to a special vote of the Council). ”

The Council appointed the following members of the Commission to assist Dr. Nansen.

M. Jules PAMS, Senator, formerly Minister (Chairman) ;

Herr BERGMANN, late Under Secretary of State at the German Finance Ministry ;

Signor Conti ROSSINI, Councillor of State, late Secretary-General of the Italian Treasury ;

Sir Murdoch MACDONALD, K.C.M.G., C.B., late Under-Secretary for Public Works in Egypt.

The meetings of the Commission were attended by M. PIROUMOFF, as representative of the Armenian Government.

The Commission held three sessions and submitted a report to the June session of the Council (document C. 328, M. 1926. II).

At its first session — October 30th, 1925 — it decided to send to Armenia Mr. William McIntosh, technical engineer, to supervise the preparation of the irrigation plans, and Captain Quisling to obtain general information and act as liaison officer between the Commission and the Governments concerned. Both spent some six months in Armenia, and, in addition, the latter proceeded to Moscow in April of this year to obtain information from the Central Government.

The Commission deals in its report first with the development schemes examined by a commission of experts, presided over by Dr. Nansen, which had visited Erivan in the previous year, and arrived at the following conclusions.

Of the four schemes originally selected by the Nansen Commission, the last three are evidently the best from the point of view of suitability — *i.e.* the irrigation of the Kirr districts immediately east and west of Erivan ; the drainage and irrigation of the Karasu ; and the drainage and irrigation of the Zangibassar Swamps south-west of Erivan.

These plans have been prepared with the valuable assistance of the technical experts in the service of the Armenian Government ; all material points have been fully and carefully considered ; there is no ground to doubt the accuracy of the calculations contained in the proposals which, while certain technical points require fuller examination, are sufficiently detailed for the immediate purpose of deciding, first, as to the probable final cost of the schemes, and, secondly, as to whether the schemes are financially sound.

The area involved amounts to about 35,450 desiatines and involves a cost of 8,700,000 roubles in round figures. Adding a sum of 4,800,000 roubles for settlement, a total of 13,500,000 roubles is attained. As this is only an estimate, the total should be brought up to 15,000,000 roubles to cover all unforeseen expenses.

As regards the question whether the scheme is financially sound or not, if interest on the final cost is taken at 10 per cent and maintenance at 150,000 roubles per annum, there should be no difficulty in meeting the charges of the debt and amortisation of capital within a reasonable period of years out of the cultivation of the lands newly irrigated.

In general, the three schemes are to be recommended as technically sound and commercially possible.

The report, after giving some information as to the general economic situation of the country, proceeds with a more detailed examination of the internal securities which might be available in order to raise a loan to cover the expenditure on irrigation works. From the enquiries of the Commission into this subject, it emerges that, while the Central Government and the Armenian Government are willing that the irrigation work should be carried out with the object of settling Armenian refugees, and while the Central Government will authorise the issue of a loan for this purpose, the only security it offers is the guarantee of the State Bank of the Union of Soviet Republics. The Commission was informed that the Central Government could not contemplate the assignment of any additional securities.

The Commission was informed by representatives of private benevolent associations that it would be possible to obtain subscriptions amounting to 100,000 pounds sterling from private

Armenian sources to a loan started as a purely financial operation, and that, after the details had been elaborated, a definite guarantee for the subscription of this amount could be given.

In view of the danger from malaria in any development and settlement scheme of this kind, the Commission arranged that suitably qualified medical officers supplied by the Armenian Health Administration should attend malaria courses arranged by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations, one of these officers being given a scholarship for this purpose.

The following are, briefly, the general conclusions of the Commission :

1. The irrigation and settlement scheme as now elaborated is technically sound.
2. The scheme would be commercially possible in the sense that, if sufficient securities could be made available to obtain a loan to carry out the irrigation work and settle the refugees, the returns from the land should be sufficient to meet the debt service and amortisation of capital.
3. Unhappily, the Commission is not in a position to make positive recommendations as to the methods of financing the scheme.
4. The Commission believes, moreover, that any appeal for outside assistance would be more understandable if the League of Nations had already exhausted every possibility of repatriating the exiled Armenians with the assistance of those more fortunate Armenians who are to be found in the principal centres of trade and finance throughout the world.
5. With these conclusions, the Commission considers that it has exhausted the possibilities for action open to it in accordance with its mandate.

The Council considered the report of the Commission at its fortieth session in June and took the following decision :

“ The Council :

- “ (1) Takes note of the report of the Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission ;
- “ (2) Expresses its appreciation of the work done by the Commission on this difficult question and of the valuable report now presented ;
- “ (3) Refers the report for the advice of the Financial Committee on the financial aspects of the scheme ;
- “ (4) Instructs the Secretary-General to ask the President of the Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission to appoint two of its members to discuss these aspects with the Financial Committee. ”

The report will therefore be considered at the session of the Financial Committee to be held at Geneva on September 2nd, 1926.

13.

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

A. WORK OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation held its eighth plenary session at Geneva from July 26th to July 29th, 1926. It emphasises in its report to the Council the pre-eminently practical character of its work, due to the fact that it now possesses, in the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, an instrument for carrying out the schemes drawn up by the Sub-Committees of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and approved by the Committee itself.

The Committee took note of and adopted the reports submitted to it by the various Sub-Committees.

1. WORK OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE FOR INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS.

The Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights sat at Geneva on July 15th and July 16th, and submitted a report to the plenary Committee, which was approved at its meeting of July 27th, 1926.

(a) *Competence of the Sub-Committee.*

The Sub-Committee first considered the question of its competence and its duties, in regard to which it adopted the following resolution :

“ The Sub-Committee on Intellectual Property desires to be known in future as the Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights.

“ It will determine more particularly the work of the Legal Section of the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation.

“ It requests the latter to continue its work (enquiries and consultations) : (a) on copyright and its extensions (Destrée proposal) ; (b) on the rights of inventors in the financial application of their discoveries (Ruffini proposal) ; and (c) in liaison with the legal and technical organisations of the League of Nations, on the status of international associations and foundations (Lafontaine proposal).

“ The Legal Section will continue, in accordance with Article XXIV of the Regulations, to give advice or information : (a) to other Sections of the Institute ; (b) to intellectual associations or individuals who may apply to the Institute for information concerning legal questions of an international character connected with intellectual relations. ”

The Sub-Committee further thought it desirable to delimit the respective fields of the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters and the Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights in dealing with the questions of copyright and its extensions.

(b) *Intellectual Rights.*

The most important question submitted to the Sub-Committee was its consideration of the report of the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation on the results of the preliminary enquiry in industrial circles on the subject of scientific property. It felt that the enquiry would have to be taken yet further, and it emphasises the importance of getting into touch with still more industrial circles and, in particular, of associating Germany and the United States more closely with this preliminary investigation.

The Sub-Committee noted that the question of scientific property had aroused great interest in Scandinavia, and had been placed on the agenda of the recent Conference held at Helsingfors, at which five or six hundred Scandinavian jurists were present.

The Sub-Committee finally adopted the following resolution :

“ The Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights, after having discussed the conclusions and explanations contained in the report submitted by the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation concerning the results of the preparatory enquiry carried out in industrial circles into the matter of scientific property, approves the method adopted by the Institute with the object of ascertaining the opinion of those best qualified to speak and of calling forth such reservations and criticisms as may be useful with a view to defining the scope of the problem.

“ The Sub-Committee notes that there is at all events a universal desire that the right of inventors should be recognised and that, although the best means of realising this project are still open to discussion, the state of the question denotes a distinct and punctual evolution of opinion since the opening of the enquiry.

“ The Sub-Committee desires to note the importance of the communication submitted by Professor Knoph as evidence of the diffusion of the ideas which are at the basis of scientific property rights in legal circles in the Scandinavian countries and in Northern Europe.

“ The Sub-Committee therefore desires to request the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation to extend the field of its consultations by gradual stages and, if necessary, with the Economic Committee of the League of Nations, to adopt the suggestions of Professor Knoph, and, by means of appropriate questionnaires, to define the salient features of the problem, while still proceeding with extreme caution. ”

A representative of the Economic Committee (M. Serruys), was present at the meeting when this decision was taken. In order still further to define the way in which the Sub-Committee should examine the question, it decided to ask the Economic Committee whether it thought it would be useful to appoint a representative who would be consulted by the Section of the Institute whenever such consultation might seem to be required.

(c) *Miscellaneous Questions.*

The Sub-Committee also considered questions in connection with the conditions of labour of journalists, artistic forgeries and the legal position of certain international associations. It decided that questions in connection with the conditions of labour of journalists should be considered in close agreement with the International Labour Office, and that the question of the legal position of international associations should be considered in co-operation with the Legal Section of the League and the Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law. The Sub-Committee emphasised that the legal position of international foundations was no less deserving of careful consideration.

2. SUB-COMMITTEE ON UNIVERSITY RELATIONS.

The Sub-Committee on University Relations met on July 17th and July 19th, 1926, and submitted a report to the Plenary Committee which was approved at its meeting of July 28th. The discussions of the Sub-Committee were based on a report drawn up by M. de Halecki, Chief of the University Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Special attention was given in this report to the creation of an international association of universities, the production of an international history of universities, and the encouragement of international collaboration among professors teaching the same special subject. The Sub-Committee also considered a report submitted by Mme. Curie on the granting of international scholarships in order to enable post-graduate scholars to continue their studies and researches in the principal schools and laboratories abroad. A further important question was raised by Mr. Kellogg concerning the relations between the Committee and Institute on the one hand, and the National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation on the other.

The resolutions adopted by the Sub-Committee and approved by the plenary Committee were as follows :

1. *Relations between the Institute and the National Committees :*

“ The Sub-Committee recommends the International Institute to appeal as often as possible to the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation for their collaboration in all that concerns university relations. The method of this collaboration will depend on the special conditions prevailing in each country, but in any case the National Committees should be kept informed of any representations which the Institute may make to the universities of their countries. It is also desirable that the Institute should apply to the National Committees in order to obtain replies from the universities with which regular relations have not yet been established. It would be of interest for the Institute to be regularly informed of the state of higher education in each country by means of reports which should complete the special reports dealing with each university. Such reports could, according to circumstances, be asked for either from national university offices or from the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. ”

(This resolution was adopted on the proposal of Mr. Kellogg, who informed the Sub-Committee that the American National Committee had acquired a headquarters office, staff and funds, and that it was desirous of actively assisting the International Committee and the Institute.)

2. *Institution of an International Universities Association :*

“ The Sub-Committee, having noted the scheme for the institution of an International Universities Association, and for its preparation by means of an inter-university conference, and taking into account the observations made on the subject by the Governing Body of the Institute, expresses its interest in the scheme. In view, however, of the great difficulties of realising the scheme, the Sub-Committee considers it necessary to begin by means of preliminary consultations with the various countries. It invites the International Institute to apply for this purpose to the National Universities Associations and to similar organisations constituted in several countries, drawing their attention to the scheme and asking them for their views and observations. These observations should bear in particular on the aims and character of an international university organisation and on the methods of securing a possible representation of the universities of their countries in such an organisation. ”

(The scheme referred to in this resolution is that contained in the report of the Section of University Relations of the Institute, submitted by M. de Halecki.)

3. *Compilation and Publication of a Year-Book :*

“ The Sub-Committee, with a view to facilitating co-operation between professors or students engaged in a special study :

“ Recommends the publication of a summary of the subjects dealt with in the various university courses devoted to : (1) contemporary history ; (2) foreign literature ; (3) international law.

“ These various subjects are indicated as examples, and it is the wish of the Committee that a publication of this character should be extended progressively to other subjects which it will indicate later on.

“ This publication, which will be entrusted to the Institute, may, in accordance with the facilities which may be available, be issued at different times in accordance with a system based either on geography or on the language in which the course is given. ”

4. *Preparation and Publication of Year-Books concerning Intellectual Life:*

“ A Committee appointed by the Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation shall be instructed to investigate the problem of the publication, by means of international collaboration, of year-books and catalogues of interest to the university and scientific world.

“ It will co-operate closely with the competent sections of the International Institute.

“ The Committee shall especially comprise :

“ (1) The Director of the International Institute on Intellectual Co-operation ;

“ (2) The Secretary of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation ;

“ (3) A person with experience in this form of publication ;

“ (4) Experts from the various countries.

“ This Committee shall be at liberty to call upon experts to help it in the technical side of its work.

“ It shall present, with the least possible delay, to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, a detailed plan covering the whole of the proposed publications. ”

(This resolution is based on correspondence between Dr. Lüttke, Editor of *Minerva*, and M. Luchaire, Director of the Institute, regarding certain proposals of Dr. Lüttke with reference to the future preparation and publication of year-books concerning intellectual life and institutions.)

5. *Establishment of an International University or School for Higher Political Studies :*

“ The Sub-Committee, after having heard the statement of Dr. Barany concerning the creation of an international university, and recalling the previous resolution of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on this subject, considers it extremely desirable that an international school for higher political studies should be instituted.

“ It instructs the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation to examine the possibilities of putting the scheme into practice and of discovering what result could be achieved by co-ordinating the national and international organisations already in existence, in conformity with the steps taken in this direction in the various countries. ”

(This resolution is based on a proposal of Dr. Barany for the establishment of an international university or school of advanced political studies for the training of statesmen, diplomats, professors of political science and journalists.)

6. *Facilities for International Students' Associations :*

“ The Sub-Committee has noted with great interest the report of Miss Bosanquet on the session of the Committee of the Representatives of the International Students Associations. It approves the report and draws the special attention of the Committee to the following point :

“ The Sub-Committee notes the difficulties in the way of adopting general measures of an international character with a view to granting to students reductions in transport rates. It believes, however, that special agreements might be made on the subject between States on a basis of reciprocity. It proposes that the International Institute shall be instructed, in agreement with the Transit Section of the League of Nations, to consider the best means of achieving this result. ”

(This resolution is based on a report by Miss Bosanquet on a meeting of representatives of various international students associations which met at Geneva from April 5th to April 7th, 1926, and on explanations made to the Sub-Committee by M. Haas, Chief of the Communications and Transit Section.)

7. *Establishment and Closer Co-Operation between National University Information Offices :*

“ The Sub-Committee has noted the report drafted by M. Desclos on the meeting held by the National University Offices. It asks the plenary Committee to examine the conclusions of this report and it considers in general that the tasks which it may undertake will be largely facilitated by a previous national examination of the questions with the collaboration of the university offices. ”

(This resolution is based on a report drafted by M. Desclos and issued by the Institute after the meeting of Directors of the National University Information Offices held in Paris from July 7th to July 9th, 1926. It refers to various important matters of special interest to universities all over the world, such as the establishment of national university information offices in countries where they do not now exist ; the further development of close relations between these offices and the Institute ; the subject of university equivalence and grades ; the exchange of professors and students ; the publication of complete lists of vacation courses ; the reduction in price to students and professors of books ordered under special conditions, etc.)

8. *International Scholarships :*

“ The Sub-Committee, having taken note of the report of Mme. Curie on the question of international scholarships, desires to emphasise its exceptional importance. It adopts its conclusions and decides to propose that it should be published as a document of the Committee. It further proposes the publication of the principal results of the enquiry entrusted to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in virtue of Conclusion No. 1 of Mme. Curie's report. (Enquiry regarding scholarships for national and international post-university studies.)

“ Further, it recommends, according to a proposal of Dr. Vernon Kellogg, that the Committee of Experts provided for in Conclusion No. 2¹ should get into touch with representatives of those national or international organisations whose object it is to grant scholarships to young savants and ascertain with their assistance the manner in which the efforts so useful to humanity made by these organisations can be in some way co-ordinated. ”

(This resolution is based on the report of Mme. Curie and the accounts given by various members of the Sub-Committee on the development of international scholarships in various countries.)

The Sub-Committee, in its report to the plenary Committee, emphasises the practical character of the results achieved during the session, and the close and cordial character of the co-operation between the Sub-Committee and the International Institute.

3. SUB-COMMITTEE FOR ARTS AND LETTERS.

The Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters dealt with two important proposals put forward by M. Focillon, one for the convening of an international congress on the popular arts, and the other for the creation of an International Office of Museums.

(a) *International Congress on the Popular Arts.*

The Sub-Committee had already considered the proposal for an international congress on the popular arts during its session in January. The Sub-Committee regards such a congress as an opportunity of promoting international artistic relations. It feels that the congress would be of the utmost importance in promoting mutual acquaintance among the nations, and that it would bring into relief the elements that are common in the popular arts, the many influences which have left their impress on the popular arts, and its usefulness as a means of promoting peaceful relations.

The Sub-Committee adopted the following resolution :

“ The Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters, after hearing the report of the Institute on the question of a congress on the popular arts, expressed the desire that the Artistic Relations Section should continue the study already begun. Without abandoning the idea of an exhibition, the section will give particulars of the programme of the congress, the city in which it might be held (for example, Bucharest, Prague, Stockholm or Berne), the financial means and any other conditions which may be necessary for the realisation of the scheme. It will do all that lies in its power to enable the congress to be held during the autumn of 1927.

“ The Sub-Committee entrusts to a small committee, which will report to the Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters and will consist of M. Destrée, M. Focillon, M. Luchaire and M. Oprescu, the task of supervising this scheme and authorises this committee to take such measures of application as it may deem expedient. ”

“ It will be the duty of this committee more particularly to constitute the committees named in the report of the Institute and to prepare, for the month of January 1927, a detailed programme of the congress and a list of the principal questions to be included in its agenda. ”

(b) *International Office of Museums.*

The scheme for establishing an International Office of Museums was also considered by the Sub-Committee in January, and an enquiry conducted by the Artistic Relations Section of the International Institute among the conservators of museums subsequently resulted in the registration in one month of more than three hundred adhesions from different countries. This enquiry showed that an international office of this kind might be useful in a variety of ways. It might serve as a liaison agent, for instance, between two countries desiring to give exhibitions of their national art in one another's territory ; it might institute, between different national collections, permanent or temporary exchanges of original works ; it might assist in the publication of classified lists or year-books of the museums, etc.

The Office would supply persons concerned with useful information, and would appeal to the good offices of private individuals and bodies in order to bring certain museums to the knowledge of the public, to obtain gifts for them, and to render fruitful the visits paid to them. The assistance of international women's associations, or even of certain private activities, as

¹ Committee of Experts instructed to examine the best means of organising an international system of scholarships.

suggested by Mlle. Vacaresco in a report to the Sub-Committee, might also be of the utmost value.

The Sub-Committee adopted the following resolution :

“ The Sub-Committee notes with satisfaction the numerous adhesions which have reached the Institute to the scheme for the establishment of an International Office of Museums.

“ It believes that the time has come to decide upon the institution of this Office and to indicate as follows the duties which it might be instructed to perform :

“ (a) To encourage between the museums either by districts or on a national or international basis relations of mutual acquaintance and assistance and for this purpose to establish gradually a concise catalogue of the museums of the world, to encourage the establishment of national lists and eventually of an international list.

“ (b) To encourage gifts and loans to museums from individuals.

“ (c) To make known the important resources of chalcography, to encourage exchanges and to facilitate the sale of prints. To do likewise in respect of collections of medals and of casting workshops.

“ (d) To develop the list of photographic collections, to encourage the photography of works of art not yet photographed, and to facilitate their popularisation by the method of micro-photography.

“ (e) To encourage the affiliation to each museum of associations friendly to the museum.

“ (f) To study the most appropriate methods of helping the museums to fulfil their educational functions: lectures, excursions, temporary exhibitions, etc.

“ The International Office of Museums may publish a bulletin.

“ The office will be managed by a provisional committee of an international character, composed of 15 members at most, dealing in particular with associations friendly to the museums.

“ In order to relieve the Institute of anything which might involve a financial responsibility an endeavour should be made to create an autonomous association which would assume responsibility for expenditure and receipts.

“ The Sub-Committee instructs Messrs. Destrée, Focillon, Luchaire, Oprescu and Mlle. Vacaresco to proceed with the carrying-out of the present resolution, and for this purpose authorises them to make the appointments contemplated and to take any useful steps, and in particular to arrange a meeting at Geneva of the directors of the important chalcographies for the conclusion of the agreement relating to engravings (Paragraph c).”

The method which the Office will endeavour to apply in its work is an experimental and practical method, documentation being subordinated to action and preference being given to practical results within a limited sphere of action rather than to general schemes which may be easy to draw up but are difficult of realisation.

(c) *International Publications.*

The Sub-Committee during its previous session had approved a proposal of the International Institute to publish works on special questions, and more particularly handbooks containing a list of the most important collections of photographs of works of art — public and private. The Institute, acting on these instructions, has prepared four volumes, one containing a preliminary list of collections of photographs, one on intellectual co-operation and the fine arts, one on the identification of works of art and one on the International Office of Museums. The Sub-Committee has instructed four of its members each to examine one of these books before they are actually published.

(d) *Musical Questions.*

The Sub-Committee considered a report from M. Weingartner, together with certain proposals put forward by the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, on the possibility of promoting international relations in the domain of music.

The Sub-Committee adopted the following resolution :

“ The Sub-Committee,

“ Having heard the Institute report on the question of international musical relations ;

“ Considers it desirable to request the Institute to confine itself until the next meeting of the Sub-Committee to an examination of the question of the interchange of programmes, folk songs, the establishment of a standard concert pitch and performances for children.

Interchange of Programmes.

“ The Institute will endeavour to collect by the best means available the programmes for the coming musical year and, when once these documents have been collected, will consider the possibility of publishing them together, either in reviews or otherwise by publishers.

“ It will take the opportunity of recommending the insertion in the programmes of a few explanations essential for the comprehension of the work in question.

Folk Songs.

“ The Sub-Committee recommends that the Congress on the Popular Arts should deal very fully with the question of folk songs both from the point of view of melody and from that of language according to countries and regions, and that there should be included in the agenda of the Congress an examination of the best methods of collecting and preserving existing folk songs.

Concerts for Children.

“ The Sub-Committee welcomes the idea of concerts for school children and requests the Institute to collect all the documentation on the matter and to ascertain what support such an undertaking might be expected to obtain. ”

(e) *Intellectual Rights.*

The Sub-Committee also considered the question of copyright which had been referred to the Artistic and Literary Relations Section of the Institute by the plenary Committee. It adopted the following resolution, which should be read in connection with the decisions taken by the Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights :

“ The Sub-Committee requests the Institute to submit to it for discussion at its next meeting, after consultation with the Berne offices, a model draft law and international convention on copyright which might be submitted to the various Governments. These drafts will be communicated to the Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights.

“ It desires that particular attention should be devoted to the ‘droit au respect’, both in the domain of fine arts and literature and in that of music, dancing and the cinema, and both for works which may be covered by copyright and for those which have become public property.

“ It also desires that the ‘droit de suite’ (recognition of certain inalienable rights) should be regarded as an indispensable part of any legislation concerning copyright. ”

(f) *Translations.*

The Sub-Committee also discussed the question of translations and their extreme importance as a means of ensuring the mutual acquaintance of nations. It adopted the following resolution :

“ With a view to encouraging :

“ (a) The translation of works of every period (and more particularly of works which appeal only to a public which is too limited to make publication a financial success) ;

“ (b) The translation of literary works written in the less well-known languages ;

“ The Sub-Committee recommends :

“ (a) That an annual list of works of this nature should be drawn up by the National Committees, which would note the desires and receive the suggestions submitted to them by associations and individuals ;

“ (b) The constitution of an autonomous international society or academy of translators, whose special duty it would be to take action on the proposals contained in the aforesaid list, to make awards, should this seem desirable, for the best translations and, generally speaking, to encourage and promote translations on systematic lines. ”

(g) *Programme of Work.*

The Sub-Committee finally adopted a resolution with a view to defining its future programme of work and the methods to be followed in dealing with it :

“ The Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters considers that the programme established by the Section for Literary Relations should be submitted to a Committee of Experts appointed by the principal authors’ associations, whether national or international, with a view to examining how international co-operation might be organised in the literary field, particularly with regard to translations, authors’ rights in respect of translations, and the knowledge of contemporary literature and the theatre. This meeting of experts would, to begin with, be of a purely advisory character. ”

(h) *Assistance of International Women's Associations.*

The Sub-Committee requested the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation to consider how practical use might be made, for the purposes of intellectual co-operation, of the assistance of international women's associations.

4. SUB-COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Sub-Committee on Bibliography sat for two days on July 23rd and July 24th, 1926. It submitted a report to the plenary Committee, which was approved on July 29th.

(a) *Bibliography.*

The Sub-Committee noted that, in the sphere of the physical sciences and kindred subjects the work was sufficiently far advanced for it to be possible to prepare a scheme of technical co-ordination of work between the editors of the existing bibliographical journals of abstracts.

The practical co-ordination of bibliography in the economic sciences can also be begun. The first step will be to establish a definite scheme of bibliography clearly stating the method to be followed and perhaps the funds which will be necessary.

With regard to Greco-Roman antiquity, the work is thought to be sufficiently advanced to justify the convening of a small committee of experts at the beginning of next year, in order to draw up definite plans.

Progress will also be made with the question of the bibliography of the biological sciences, which was the subject of a recommendation of the Assembly in 1924. Several journals regularly publish abstracts, and a new international journal, with financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation, has just started a service of abstracts covering the whole field of biology. There is, however, a great need for co-ordinating the work that is already being done, and it is proposed that a meeting be convoked of representatives of the various journals of biological abstracts or of bibliographical organisations dealing with biological sciences.

In regard to linguistic bibliography, proposals in regard to which have reached the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation from scientists or scientific organisations, the Sub-Committee has requested the International Institute to organise preliminary enquiries.

The Sub-Committee also considered a proposal submitted by M. de Castro for the standardisation of terminology in anatomy and nosology. The Sub-Committee agreed that communications should be sent by the Institute to the scientific bodies interested, recommending the application of the *nomina anatomica* in addition to the names now used; it decided that the proposal in regard to nosology should be sent to the Health Committee for examination.

The recommendations adopted by the Sub-Committee in regard to bibliographical questions were as follows :

“(1) For the co-ordination of bibliography in economic sciences, an expert committee should be convened, early in 1927, consisting of Professor von Gottl-Ottlilienfeld together with six experts representing the following institutions and periodicals :

Institut für Weltwirtschaft und Seeverkehr ;
Revue d'Économie Politique ;
Giornale degli Economisti (Milano) ;
España económica y financiera (Madrid) ;
The London School of Economics ;
The American Economic Association.

“The Sub-Committee might be represented by two members : M. Destrée and M. Einstein.

“The Social Science Research Council might also be invited to send a representative to this conference.

“(2) For the co-ordination of bibliography in Greco-Roman antiquity, an expert committee should be convened early next year. This committee should consist of Professor Gilbert Murray, together with four experts to be proposed by him and selected by the Chairman of the Committee, while the Union Académique internationale might be invited to appoint a representative on the Committee.

“(3) For the co-ordination of bibliography on biological sciences, an expert committee should be convened at the beginning of 1927 consisting of representatives of the following institutions or journals :

Zeitschrift für Induktive Abstammungslehre.
Zoologischer Bericht.
Concilium Bibliographicum.
Botanisches Centralblatt.
Resumptio Genetica.
Wistar Institute.
Biological Abstracts.

“ This list will, if necessary, be completed by adding the names of a few other experts submitted by the Secretary and approved by the Chairman. ”

“ As representatives of the Sub-Committee on this conference were appointed Mlle. Bonnevie and Mr. Vernon Kellogg.

“ (4) The proposal of M. de Castro on nosological terminology should be sent to the Health Committee for examination.

“ (5) A letter should be sent to the Institut international de bibliographie de Bruxelles according to the draft proposed by the President and mentioned in the Minutes of the Sub-Committee . ”

(b) *Co-ordination of Libraries.*

The Sub-Committee continued its consideration of the question of the international co-ordination of libraries and the extent to which it might be possible for them to collaborate in assisting students and persons engaged in research. It was noted in the report of the International Institute on the subject that a questionnaire sent to the libraries of all countries had elicited some 450 replies. The Sub-Committee considered that the results of the enquiry were so important that the replies should be co-ordinated and published in the form of a preliminary list, and that the four experts attached to the Sub-Committee should be asked to analyse these replies and submit a report on the whole question next year.

The question submitted by the Roumanian National Committee concerning an index of books and publications and the international card index was referred to the Institute for a thorough examination.

(c) *Paper and Ink used in Official Documents.*

The question of the quality of the ink and paper used in official documents was brought before the Sub-Committee during its sixth session by M. Destrée, and the importance of the question was emphasised during the present session of the Sub-Committee by Mlle. Bonnevie, who laid before it the results of an investigation into the subject by Dr. Hollweh, of Norway. It appeared from this investigation that the quality of modern paper could not be compared with that used at an earlier date, and that even the best qualities could not be expected to last for one hundred years. A large number of documents are deteriorating or disappearing owing to the inferior quality of the inks and papers used.

The Sub-Committee felt that the question was extremely serious, and decided to ask the Institute to undertake an immediate enquiry.

5. QUESTIONS CONSIDERED BY THE PLENARY COMMITTEE WITHOUT REFERENCE TO A SUB-COMMITTEE.

In addition to approving the work of the various Sub-Committees, the plenary Committee considered three important schemes :

The first was that of an *International Bureau of Meteorology*. It was in July 1925 that the Chairman first drew the attention of the Committee to this scheme, the author of which is M. van Everdingen, the Director of the Netherlands Meteorological Observatory and President of the International Committee of Meteorology. This scheme was examined by a committee of experts, after having been explained in a letter from General Delcambre, Director of the French Meteorological Service. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation was represented on this committee by three of its members, Mme. Curie, M. Einstein and M. Lorentz. These preliminary enquiries show that the setting up of an International Bureau of Meteorology is not only desirable but an urgent necessity ; otherwise, the lack of funds would necessitate the abandonment of research work and of certain undertakings which were absolutely essential to the future of a science which is of the greatest importance to human life and activities.

The Committee decided that, after the Congress of Meteorologists to be held in September, the members of the Committee dealing with this question should ask the bureau of the Congress for a detailed and circumstantial report which, with the approval of the Committee, would be sent under a covering letter of the Committee to the Council of the League of Nations, drawing its attention to the problem and stating that the Committee would be happy to give its assistance in any way which the Council might deem to be most advisable.

The second proposal was submitted by Professor A. Korn and deals with *world synchronisation*, which it appears desirable to establish not only for purposes of astronomical measurements but also for the needs of telegraphy.

The Committee, having taken note of the scheme of Professor Korn, was of the opinion that to realise it would certainly be of great scientific interest from many points of view, but considered that astronomers were the best judge of this.

It instructed the Secretary of the Committee, in conformity with the suggestion made by the head of the Communications and Transit Section of the Secretariat, to submit the scheme, together with the views of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to the Transit Section, and to ask whether the Section thought it desirable to bring the scheme to the notice of the Universal Radio Telegraphic Conference to be held next year at Washington.

The third proposal was put forward by Professor Max Krahnman, of the Higher Technical School of Berlin-Charlottenburg. Its object is the creation of an *International Institute of Mines*, and in its present form, which is rather that of a preliminary draft, it touches upon extremely vast and complicated questions involving an international economic agreement. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation decided to refer this question for examination to the Sub-Committee on Bibliography and to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. The attention of the Economic Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations will also be drawn to the subject.

It was decided that there should be an exchange of information between the Union Internationale de Radiophonie and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. This decision has been forwarded to the National Committees and to the Transit Section of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The Committee also noted a report of the Secretariat on the results hitherto obtained and the replies furnished by the Governments in connection with the previous recommendations and decisions of the Committee.

Finally, the plenary Committee determined the method of its work. It decided that each of the Sub-Committees should hold two ordinary sessions a year and that the plenary Committee itself should hold a session at Geneva at the end of July. If an extraordinary session proved to be essential, it should, if possible, be fixed for the beginning of January.

The plenary Committee noted the decision of the Council to the effect that the term of office of the members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation would be for five years dating from June 12th, 1926, and that at the expiry of this period the members would be re-eligible. The Committee did not think that this decision should apply to the members who were co-opted by the Sub-Committees, as it seemed advisable to renew these members of the Sub-Committees more frequently in order that an opportunity might be given to a larger number of States to be represented, and that resort might be had to experts in a greater variety of subjects. The Committee decided that the term of office of the members co-opted by the Sub-Committees should be for three years dating from June 12th, 1926, subject to re-election.

The plenary Committee authorised its Chairman to appoint a Canadian and a Portuguese correspondent.

The Governing Body.

The Governing Body of the International Institute met at Geneva on July 28th and 29th, 1926. It considered the report of the Committee of Directors submitted by M. de Reynold and a report from the Director of the Institute.

As the result of the report from the Director, modifications and adjustments were decided upon in the organisation of the Institute. These steps were taken both for financial reasons and as a consequence of the experience gained during the last year.

The Governing Body also approved rules of procedure determining the competence and duties of the Secretariat of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation.

B. INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN THE EXISTENCE AND AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The arrangements made to convene the Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Children and Youth in the Existence and Aims of the League of Nations were described in the General Report (Annex 2, page 266).

The Sub-Committee of Experts met at Geneva from August 3rd to August 6th.

The Sub-Committee was composed of Professor Gilbert MURRAY (Chairman), M. DESTREE and M. CASARES, members of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, and the following experts chosen for their experience in the work of education or in their capacities as officials of important educational authorities: M. Luis A. BARALT, Mr. S. N. CHATURVEDI, Mme. DREYFUS-BARNEY, Professor GALLAVRESI, Professor GAVRILOVITCH, Professor KIRITZESCO, Professor LAPIE, Professor MUNCH, Professor NITOBÉ, M. Pardo CORREA and Professor SCHELLBERG. M. ZIMMERN, representative of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, and Mr. EASTMAN, representative of the International Labour Office, were also present at the session.

The Sub-Committee presents the results of its work in two parts: (1) recommendations which the Sub-Committee thinks it expedient to make with regard to the instruction of youth in the aims of the League of Nations; (2) suggestions as to the means of initiating the younger generation in international co-operation.

1. RECOMMENDATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH IN THE AIMS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The recommendations of the Sub-Committee under the above heading are submitted as the result of an examination of the desires and opinions expressed in the replies received from the various Governments and from the International Associations concerned.

Among the direct official methods of acquainting children and youth with the work of the League of Nations, the Sub-Committee recommends that all children and young people should receive, before completing their formal education, instruction suitable to their stage of

intellectual development in the achievement and aims of the League of Nations, and, generally speaking, in the development of international co-operation. This instruction should form part of the normal curriculum of schools. It should begin in the primary school and should be given to girls as well as boys, continuing to as late a stage as possible in the general education of the pupil. Special attention should be given to such instruction in training colleges, and provision should be made for those who leave the ordinary school for special types of instruction, such as is given in trade schools, continuation classes, evening classes, technical schools and institutes, agricultural institutes, etc.

In order to enable teachers to give such instruction, Governments should be asked to include the subject in their programmes of studies and to ensure that it is mentioned in the relevant text-books. With the same object in view, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations should be asked to consider the possibility of preparing a reference book, giving an account of the work of the League, and of issuing periodical resumes concerning those aspects of the work of the League of special interest to the teaching profession for transmission to the principal educational reviews and journals. Teachers should have at their disposal books giving an account of the principles and history of the League, material for visual instruction, and reading matter for children of various ages. It is further suggested that the competent authorities might provide facilities for teachers to attend courses of instruction, both at Geneva and elsewhere. They might also appoint a special day or half-day every year on which definite ideas of the aims and achievements of the League would be impressed upon the minds of the children, arrange competitions for pupils in the higher classes for essays on the League of Nations, and provide literature both in the teachers' and in the children's libraries on the League.

In the case of higher university education, the subject of the League would necessarily be dealt with on a broader plane. The Sub-Committee does not exclude the possibility of creating special university chairs. It recommends that one or more courses of at least six lectures should be organised in the universities which all students might attend, and that in the selection of subjects of theses for higher degrees, the problems connected with the League should not be neglected.

• In addition to the encouragement afforded by these official methods, the Sub-Committee suggests that unofficial voluntary associations might help in various ways, by supplementing the activities of the competent educational authorities in the directions above described, by arranging for lectures to be given in schools, by organising lectures and lessons on definite problems for members of youth organisations, by organising competitions, by providing literature and visual aids, by encouraging the voluntary study of problems connected with the League amongst members of the universities and similar institutions, by stimulating interest within the various organisations for adult education, and by accustoming young people to co-operate in measures taken to assist a nation stricken by a sudden calamity or epidemic.

The Sub-Committee points out that universities for the people, trades unions and co-operative societies, lecture clubs, study circles, athletic associations with an educational aim, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and other youth associations might assist very materially in this work. It also points out that scientific institutions and learned societies as well as authors and publishers of school books and libraries might help considerably in the production and rendering accessible of suitable literature on the League.

The Sub-Committee further considered the difficult problem of the possible revision of history text-books with the object of ensuring that nations should understand each other better and realise their mutual obligations. It seemed impossible, however, for the moment to recommend any international action beyond that suggested in a proposal submitted by M. Casares and adopted by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. The central idea of this proposal is that the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation should assist in calling attention to errors of fact contained in history text-books and should endeavour to obtain a rectification of these errors by correspondence with their authors. The Sub-Committee feels that all possible steps should be taken to ensure that the text-books in use should not contain any incitements to hatred of other nations or be in antagonism with books that put forward the ideals of the League.

In order to ensure the co-operation of the administrative authorities, professors and teachers and voluntary associations in this work, it recommends that a national conference should be called in each country by the different Governments, in consultation, as far as possible, with the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation.

2. SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE MEANS OF INITIATING THE YOUNGER GENERATION IN INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

The Sub-Committee represents that it is principally upon the teaching staff, from the elementary school teacher to the university professor, that it is necessary to rely in order to create in the minds of the young a sympathetic attitude towards international co-operation. The utmost care should accordingly be exercised in the choice of teachers in training colleges. Among other means suggested are mentioned schools of international studies or short courses where young people of different nationalities may be brought into touch, and the encouragement

of travelling and exchanges among teachers. Reference is made to the practice already followed in England and in the United States of enabling professors of international subjects to divide their time between different universities and countries.

The Sub-Committee summarises, in the form of suggestions, the opinions and recommendations expressed by the various Governments and international organisations on the encouragement of direct or indirect contact between the young people themselves. Among the methods suggested proposing indirect contact are lectures designed to stimulate the minds of young people, the exhibition of suitable pictures and films, displays of foreign handicrafts, and inter-school correspondence under the supervision of qualified teachers.

Direct contact might be encouraged by interchanges of individual children between families of different nationality, international camps for children, international holiday colonies, group excursions under competent leaders, suitable forms of congresses and other gatherings, interchanges of pupils between schools of different countries and vacation courses. Voluntary associations should assist the Governments in arranging for these visits and exchanges, and the Governments should allow all possible travelling facilities, passports, visas and reduced fares. Moreover, these recommendations for interchanges of pupils should apply also to interchanges of young teachers and professors.

It is suggested that a small department might be created at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to centralise proposals for these interchanges.

Finally, the Sub-Committee suggests that the Secretary-General of the League of Nations might be asked to consider whether it would not be possible to provide lecturers who would devote themselves to the task of giving detailed and pertinent information in the necessary languages to teachers in the various countries in regard to the work of the League.

14.

COMMITTEE OF PRESS EXPERTS.

Consultations with the interested circles have been actively continued with a view to preparing for the meeting of the Committee of Press Experts. The Council, considering that the work was sufficiently advanced, decided during its June session to convene at Geneva a committee consisting of representatives of agencies which might provide it, from their own point of view, with suggestions for the programme of work for the Committee of Experts which was to meet at a later date.

The Council considered that the committee of representatives of agencies should be small enough to allow of rapid work, but that it should, nevertheless, include a sufficient number of members to be fully representative of these great world organisations.

The Agencies invited were :

Agencia Americana (Brazil), Associated Press (America), Agence Avala (Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), Central News (British Empire), Exchange Telegraph (British Empire), Agence Havas (France), Nippon Dempo Tsushin Sha (Japan), Nippon Shimbun Rengosha (Japan), Agence Radio (France), Reuters, Ltd. (British Empire), Agence Stefani (Italy), Agence Télégraphique Suisse (Switzerland), Agence Tass (Russia), Telegraphen-Union (Germany), Tidningarnas Telegrambyra (Sweden), United Press (America), Wolfs Büro (Germany).

The Tass Agency (Russia) declined the invitation addressed to it.

The Committee of News Agencies thus constituted met at Geneva in the Secretariat of the League of Nations from August 19th to 21st, 1926, and held five plenary meetings.

It elected as President M. Meynot (Agence Havas) and set up a Liaison Committee with the Secretariat under the Chairmanship of Mr. Roy Howard (United Press), assisted by M. Ludi (Agence Télégraphique Suisse), Vice-Chairman, M. André Glarner (Exchange Telegraph), and M. Meynot (Agence Havas).

Having examined, in a general discussion, all the points on the agenda, the Committee appointed two Sub-Committees to prepare draft resolutions which were finally accepted by the plenary Committee.

The task of the Committee as defined by the resolution of the Council of the League dated June 10th, 1926, was to furnish the Council, from the point of view of the Agencies, with indications for the establishment of a programme of work which might eventually be considered by the future Committee of Press Experts. Accordingly, the Committee of News Agencies drew up and adopted draft resolutions dealing particularly with the question of tariffs, the improvement of Press communications and the question of property rights of Press news.

It requested the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to be good enough to communicate the resolutions to all the Press organisations with which the Secretariat had been in contact in the course of its enquiry, and to submit them ultimately to the future Committee of Press Experts. The Committee also asked that the competent sections of the Secretariat might examine such of the resolutions as required a thorough technical examination.

ANNEX 2 b.

A. 6 (a). 1926. Annex.

ANNEX TO THE SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT¹ ON THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE SECRETARIAT TO THE SEVENTH ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE.

The aim of this document is to give, in execution of the Council's decision of December 10th, 1923, a general survey as regards the participation of the States in Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. The reservations and declarations, etc., made by the Contracting Parties at the moment of signature, ratification or adhesion have not been inserted; they are indicated by footnotes showing the page of the *Treaty Series* volume where they are reproduced.

- I. International Labour Conventions.
- II. Transit and Communications.
- III. Traffic in Women and Children.
- IV. Obscene Publications.
- V. Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.
- VI. Trade in Arms.
- VII. Refugees.
- VIII. Slavery.
- IX. The Permanent Court of International Justice.
- X. Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.
- XI. Arbitration Clauses in Commercial Matters.
- XII. Customs Formalities.
- XIII. Amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations.
- XIV. Amendments to the Labour Part of the Treaties of Peace.

¹ The Annex to the Supplementary Report to the Fourth Assembly of the League on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat for 1923 (A. 10 (a). 1923. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning :

(a) PROTECTION OF RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES :

1. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Austria of September 10th, 1919.
2. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Bulgaria of November 27th, 1919.
3. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Hungary of June 4th, 1920.
4. Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Turkey of July 24th, 1923.
5. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland of June 28th, 1919.
6. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia of September 10th, 1919.
7. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes of September 10th, 1919.
8. Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Roumania of December 9th, 1919.
9. Germano-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia of May 15th, 1922.
10. Declaration by Albania of October 2nd, 1921.
11. Declaration by Finland as to the Aaland Islands of June 27th, 1921.
12. Declaration by Latvia of July 7th, 1923.
13. Convention between Bulgaria and Greece respecting Reciprocal Emigration, Neuilly-sur-Seine, November 27th, 1919.
14. Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations of January 30th, 1923.

(b) TRAFFIC IN LIQUOR : Convention relating to the Liquor Traffic in Africa, St. Germain-en-Laye, September 10th, 1919.

(c) AERIAL NAVIGATION : Convention relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation, Paris, October 13th, 1919.

(d) HEALTH :

1. Sanitary Convention between Poland and Roumania, Warsaw, December 20th, 1922.
2. Sanitary Convention between Poland and the Federal Soviet Republic of Russia and Soviet Republics of Ukraine and of White Russia, Warsaw, February 17th, 1923.
3. Sanitary Convention between Germany and Poland, Dresden, December 18th, 1922.
4. Sanitary Convention between Poland and Czechoslovakia, Warsaw, 1922.
5. Sanitary Convention between Poland and Latvia, Warsaw, July 7th, 1922.
6. Sanitary Convention between Esthonia and the Federal Soviet Republic of Russia and Soviet Republics of Ukraine and of White Russia, Tartu, June 25th, 1922.
7. Sanitary Convention between Latvia and the Federal Soviet Republic of Russia and Soviet Republics of Ukraine and of White Russia, Tartu, June 24th, 1922.
8. Sanitary Convention between Bulgaria and the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, April 1923.

(e) AALAND ISLANDS : Convention relating to the Non-Fortification and Neutralisation of the Aaland Islands, Geneva, October 20th, 1921.

(f) UPPER SILESIA : Germano-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia, Geneva, May 15th, 1922.

(g) FINANCIAL RESTORATION OF AUSTRIA :

1. Protocol No. I (Declaration), Geneva, October 4th, 1922.
2. Protocol No. II and Annexes and Explanatory Note, Geneva, October 4th, 1922.
3. Protocol No. III (Declaration), Geneva, October 4th, 1922.

(h) SAAR : Protocol between the German Government and the Governing Commission of the Territory of the Saar Basin, Berlin, June 3rd, 1921.

I. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTIONS. ¹

(a)

1. Convention limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings, adopted as a Draft Convention by the First International Labour Conference on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA ²	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM	September 6, 1926
BULGARIA	February 14, 1922
CHILE	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	August 24, 1921
GREECE	November 19, 1920
INDIA	July 14, 1921
ITALY ³	October 6, 1924
LATVIA ⁴	August 15, 1925
ROUMANIA	June 13, 1921

2. Convention concerning unemployment, adopted as a Draft Convention by the First International Labour Conference on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	February 20, 1924
AUSTRIA	June 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA	February 14, 1922
DENMARK	October 13, 1921
ESTONIA	December 20, 1922

[Continuation of note on preceding page.]

(f) DANZIG :

1. Convention between Poland and the Free City of Danzig, Paris, November 9th, 1920.
2. Treaty between Germany and Poland concerning the Regulation of Option Questions, Danzig, November 8th, 1920.
3. Treaty between Poland and the Free City of Danzig, Warsaw, October 24th, 1921.

The Annex to the Supplementary Report on the Work of the Council and of the Secretariat to the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations for the year 1924 (A. 8 (a). 1924. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning :

(a) MINORITIES :

1. Declaration concerning the Protection of Minorities in Lithuania, Geneva, May 12th, 1923.
2. Convention between Poland and the Free City of Danzig, signed at Paris, November 9th, 1920.

(b) TRAFFIC IN ARMS : Engagement undertaken by Ethiopia on signing the Protocol done at Geneva, September 27th, 1923.

(c) REVISION OF BERLIN AND BRUSSELS ACTS RELATING TO AFRICAN TERRITORIES : Engagement undertaken by Ethiopia on signing the Protocol done at Geneva on September 27th, 1923.

(d) REFUGEES :

1. Arrangement with regard to the issue of Certificates of Identity to Russian Refugees, Geneva, July 5th, 1922.
2. Protocol relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the creation for this purpose of a Refugees Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29th, 1923.
3. Declaration relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the creation for this purpose of a Refugees Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29th, 1923.

(e) FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY : Protocol on the Financial Reconstruction of Hungary, March 14th, 1924.

The Annex to the Supplementary Report for the year 1925 (A. 7 (a). 1925. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning :

(d) Protection of Racial, Religious and Linguistic Minorities :

1. Proposal relating to the Protection of Greek Minorities in Bulgaria ;
2. Proposal relating to the Protection of Bulgarian Minorities in Greece.

(Geneva, September 29, 1924.)

(Document A. 10 (a). 1923. Annex will be found in Special Supplement 13 to the *Official Journal*, pages 174-189, document A. 8 (a). 1924. Annex in the *Official Journal*, September 1924, pages 1127-1153, and document A. 7 (a). 1925. Annex in the *Official Journal* of November 1925, pages 1553-1584.)

¹ The Annex to the Supplementary Report for 1923 (A. 10 (a). 1923. Annex contains, moreover, complete details concerning : The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use of White Phosphorus in the Manufacture of Matches, Berne, September 26th, 1906. *

² " . . . as regards Austria, this Convention will enter into force only when it has been ratified by those European Members of the International Labour Organisation which are of the chief industrial importance (Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy) and by all the States, bordering upon Austria, with whom the latter has economic relations (the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Poland, Switzerland, the Czechoslovak Republic and Hungary)..."

³ Subject to the condition that it shall only come into force when the ratifications, without reservations or other conditions, of the following Members of the International Labour Organisation have been registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations : Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain and Switzerland.

⁴ " The Convention shall come into force in Latvia, in accordance with the provisions of Article 18 of the Draft Convention, after the ratifications of three of the Powers which are of the chief industrial importance, as laid down in Article 393, paragraphs 5 and 6, of the Treaty of Peace of Versailles, shall have been registered with the Secretariat of the League of Nations."

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

FINLAND	October 19, 1921
FRANCE	August 25, 1925
GERMANY	June 6, 1925
GREECE	November 19, 1920
INDIA	July 14, 1921
IRISH FREE STATE	September 4, 1925
ITALY	April 10, 1923
JAPAN	November 23, 1922
NORWAY	November 23, 1921
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	June 13, 1921
SPAIN	July 4, 1923
SWEDEN	September 27, 1921
SWITZERLAND	October 9, 1922

3. Convention concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth, adopted as a Draft Convention by the First International Labour Conference on November 29th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

BULGARIA	February 14, 1922
CHILE	September 15, 1925
GREECE	November 19, 1920
LATVIA	June 3, 1926
ROUMANIA	June 13, 1921
SPAIN	July 4, 1923

4. Convention concerning the employment of women during the night, adopted as a Draft Convention by the First International Labour Conference, November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	November 1, 1921
AUSTRIA	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM	July 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA	February 14, 1922
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	August 24, 1921
ESTHONIA	December 20, 1922
FRANCE	May 14, 1925
GREECE	November 19, 1920
INDIA	July 14, 1921
IRISH FREE STATE	September 4, 1925
ITALY	April 10, 1923
THE NETHERLANDS	September 4, 1922
ROUMANIA	June 13, 1921
SWITZERLAND	October 9, 1922

5. Convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment, adopted as a Draft Convention by the First International Labour Conference on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

BELGIUM	July 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA	February 14, 1922
CHILE	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	August 24, 1921
DENMARK	January 4, 1923
ESTHONIA	December 20, 1922
GREECE	November 19, 1920
IRISH FREE STATE	September 4, 1925
JAPAN	August 7, 1926
LATVIA	June 3, 1926
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	June 13, 1921
SWITZERLAND	October 9, 1922

6. Convention concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry, adopted as a Draft Convention by the First International Labour Conference on November 28th, 1919.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM	July 12, 1924
GREAT BRITAIN	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA	February 14, 1922
CHILE	September 15, 1925
DENMARK	January 4, 1923
ESTHONIA	December 20, 1922
FRANCE	August 25, 1925
GREECE	November 19, 1920
INDIA	July 14, 1921
IRISH FREE STATE	September 4, 1925
ITALY	April 10, 1923
LATVIA	June 3, 1926
THE NETHERLANDS	March 17, 1924
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	June 13, 1921
SWITZERLAND	October 9, 1922

(b)

7. Convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Second International Labour Conference on July 9th, 1920.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM	February 4, 1925
GREAT BRITAIN	July 14, 1921
BULGARIA	March 16, 1923
CANADA	March 31, 1926
DENMARK	May 12, 1924
ESTHONIA	March 3, 1923
FINLAND	October 10, 1925
IRISH FREE STATE	September 4, 1925
GREECE	December 16, 1925
JAPAN	June 7, 1924
LATVIA	June 3, 1926
THE NETHERLANDS	March 26, 1925
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	May 8, 1922
SPAIN	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN	September 27, 1921

8. Convention concerning unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Second International Labour Conference on July 9th, 1920.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM	February 4, 1925
GREAT BRITAIN	March 12, 1926
BULGARIA	March 16, 1923
CANADA	March 31, 1926
ESTHONIA	March 3, 1923
GREECE	December 16, 1925
ITALY	September 8, 1924
LATVIA ¹	August 5, 1926
POLAND	June 21, 1924
SPAIN	June 20, 1924

¹ The Convention shall come into force in Latvia, according to the conditions provided in Article 7 of this Convention, after the Powers chief in importance in maritime commerce shall have registered their ratifications in the Secretariat.

9. Convention for establishing facilities for finding employment for seamen, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Second International Labour Conference on July 10th, 1920.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRALIA	August 3, 1925
BELGIUM	February 4, 1925
BULGARIA	March 16, 1923
ESTHONIA	March 3, 1923
FINLAND	October 7, 1922
GERMANY	June 6, 1925
GREECE	December 16, 1925
ITALY	September 8, 1924
JAPAN	November 23, 1922
LATVIA	June 3, 1926
NORWAY	November 23, 1921
POLAND	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN	September 27, 1921

(c)

10. Convention concerning the age for admission of children to employment in agriculture, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Third International Labour Conference on November 16th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA	June 12, 1924
BULGARIA	March 6, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	August 31, 1923
ESTHONIA	September 8, 1922
IRISH FREE STATE	May 26, 1925
ITALY	September 8, 1924
JAPAN	December 19, 1923
POLAND	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN	November 27, 1923

11. Convention concerning the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Third International Labour Conference on November 12th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM	July 19, 1926
GREAT BRITAIN	August 6, 1923
BULGARIA	March 6, 1925
CHILE	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	August 31, 1923
ESTHONIA	September 8, 1922
FINLAND	June 19, 1923
GERMANY	June 6, 1925
INDIA	May 11, 1923
IRISH FREE STATE	June 17, 1924
ITALY	September 8, 1924
LATVIA	September 9, 1924
THE NETHERLANDS	August 20, 1926
POLAND	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN	November 27, 1923

12. Convention concerning workmen's compensation in agriculture, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Third International Labour Conference on November 12th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
GREAT BRITAIN	August 6, 1923
BULGARIA	March 6, 1925
CHILE	September 15, 1925
DENMARK	February 26, 1923
ESTHONIA	September 8, 1922
GERMANY	June 6, 1925
IRISH FREE STATE	June 17, 1924
THE NETHERLANDS	August 20, 1926
POLAND	June 21, 1924
SWEDEN	November 27, 1923

13. Convention concerning the use of white lead in painting, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Third International Labour Conference on November 19th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
AUSTRIA	June 12, 1924
BELGIUM	July 19, 1926
BULGARIA	March 6, 1925
CHILE	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	August 31, 1923
ESTHONIA	September 8, 1922
FRANCE	February 19, 1926
LATVIA	September 9, 1924
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	December 4, 1925
SPAIN	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN	November 27, 1923

14. Convention concerning the application of the weekly rest in industrial undertakings, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Third International Labour Conference on November 17th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM	July, 19, 1926
BULGARIA	March 6, 1925
CHILE	September 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	August 31, 1923
ESTHONIA	November 29, 1923
FINLAND	June 19, 1923
FRANCE	September 3, 1926
INDIA	May 11, 1923
ITALY	September 8, 1924
LATVIA	September 9, 1924
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	August 18, 1923
SPAIN	June 20, 1924

15. Convention fixing the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers and stokers, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Third International Labour Conference on November 11th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM	July 19, 1926
GREAT BRITAIN	March 8, 1926
BULGARIA	March 6, 1925
CANADA	March 31, 1926
DENMARK	May 12, 1924
ESTHONIA	September 8, 1922
FINLAND	October 10, 1925
INDIA	November 20, 1922
ITALY	September 8, 1924
LATVIA	September 9, 1924
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	August 18, 1923
SPAIN	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN	July 14, 1925

16. Convention concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Third International Labour Conference on November 11th, 1921.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :	Date of Registration :
BELGIUM	July 19, 1926
GREAT BRITAIN	March 8, 1926
BULGARIA	March 6, 1925
CANADA	March 31, 1926
ESTHONIA	September 8, 1922
FINLAND	October 10, 1925
INDIA	November 20, 1922
ITALY	September 8, 1924

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

JAPAN	June 7, 1924
LATVIA	September 9, 1924
POLAND	June 21, 1924
ROUMANIA	August 18, 1923
SPAIN	June 20, 1924
SWEDEN	July 14, 1925

(d)

17. Convention concerning workmen's compensation for accidents, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Seventh International Labour Conference on June 10th, 1925.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

SWEDEN	September 8, 1926
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18. Convention concerning workmen's compensation for occupational diseases, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Seventh International Labour Conference on June 10th, 1925.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

GREAT BRITAIN	October 6, 1926
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19. Convention concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Seventh International Labour Conference on June 5th, 1925.

This Convention has been ratified by and is in force between :

Date of Registration :

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	March 30, 1926
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GREAT BRITAIN	October 6, 1926
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SWEDEN	September 8, 1926
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20. Convention concerning night work in bakeries, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Seventh International Labour Conference on June 8th, 1925.

This Convention has been
ratified by and is in
force between :

Date of Registration :

(e)

21. Convention concerning the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Eighth International Labour Conference on June 5th, 1926.

This Convention has been
ratified by and is in
force between :

Date of Registration :

(f)

22. Convention concerning seamen's articles of agreement, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Ninth International Labour Conference on June 24th, 1926.

This Convention has been
ratified by and is in
force between :

Date of Registration :

23. Convention concerning the repatriation of seamen, adopted as a Draft Convention by the Ninth International Labour Conference on June 23rd, 1926.

This Convention has been
ratified by and is in
force between :

Date of Registration :

II. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

1. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON FREEDOM OF TRANSIT.¹

(Barcelona, April 20, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (November 15, 1923)	
BELGIUM		
BOLIVIA		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including NEW- FOUNDLAND (August 2, 1922)	Federated Malay States (States- of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) (Au- gust 22, 1923). Non-Federa- ted Malay States (States of Brunei, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu) (August 22, 1923).
		PALESTINE (British Mandate) (January 28, 1924)
	NEW ZEALAND (August 2, 1922)	
NEW ZEALAND	INDIA (August 2, 1922)	
INDIA	BULGARIA (July 11, 1922)	
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CHINA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (October 29, 1923)	
—	—	FREE CITY OF DANZIG (April 3, 1925)
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)	
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (June 6, 1925)	
FINLAND	FINLAND (January 29, 1923)	
FRANCE	FRANCE (September 19, 1924)	GERMANY (April 9, 1924)
—	—	
GREECE	GREECE (February 18, 1924)	
GUATEMALA		
ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)	
JAPAN	JAPAN (February 20, 1924)	
LATVIA	LATVIA (September 29, 1923)	
LITHUANIA		
LUXEMBURG		
THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 17, 1924)	
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)	
PANAMA		
PERSIA	—	PERU (September 15, 1924) (<i>ad referendum</i>)
—	—	
POLAND	POLAND (October 8, 1924)	
PORTUGAL		
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)	
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	—	SIAM (November 29, 1922)
—	—	
SPAIN		
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (January 19, 1925)	
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (July 14, 1924)	
URUGUAY		

2. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE REGIME OF NAVIGABLE WATERWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.²

(Barcelona, April 20, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (November 15, 1923)	
BELGIUM		
BOLIVIA		

¹ This Convention came into force on October 31, 1922, ninety days after it had been ratified by five Powers. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 11; Vol. XI, p. 406; Vol. XV, p. 304; Vol. XIX, p. 278; Vol. XXIV, p. 154; Vol. XXXI, p. 244; Vol. XXXV, p. 298, and Vol. XXXIX, p. 166.

² This Convention came into force on October 31, 1922, ninety days after it had been ratified by five Powers. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 35; Vol. XI, p. 406; Vol. XV, p. 306; Vol. XIX, p. 280; and Vol. XXIV, p. 156.

2. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE REGIME OF NAVIGABLE WATERWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including Newfoundland (August 2, 1922)	Federated Malay States (States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) (August 22, 1923). Non-Federated Malay States (States of Brunei, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu) (August 22, 1923) PALESTINE (British Mandate) (January 28, 1924)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 2, 1922)	
INDIA	INDIA (August 2, 1922)	
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 11, 1922)	
CHILE		
CHINA		
—		COLOMBIA ¹ (April 7, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 8, 1924)	
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)	
ESTHONIA		
FINLAND	FINLAND (January 29, 1923)	
FRANCE		
GREECE		
GUATEMALA		
ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)	
LITHUANIA		
LUXEMBURG		
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)	
PANAMA		
—		PERU (September 15, 1924) (<i>ad referendum</i>)
POLAND		
PORTUGAL		ROUMANIA (June 19, 1923, ratified May 9, 1924)
—		SIAM (November 29, 1922)
—		
SPAIN		
SWEDEN		
URUGUAY		

3. ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE CONVENTION ON THE REGIME OF NAVIGABLE WATERWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN. ²

(Barcelona, April 20, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)	AUSTRIA (April 7, 1923, ratified November 15, 1923)
—		
BELGIUM		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including Newfoundland (August 2, 1922)	Nyasaland Protectorate and Tanganyika Territory (August 2, 1922) Bahamas Barbados British Guiana Jamaica (including Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands) Leeward Islands Trinidad and Tobago Windward Islands (Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent)

¹ Subject to ratification.

² The Convention being in force, this Protocol became operative after it had been ratified by two Powers. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 65 ; Vol. XI, p. 406 ; Vol. XV, p. 308 ; Vol. XIX, p. 280, and Vol. XXIV, p. 156.

3. ADDITIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE CONVENTION ON THE REGIME OF NAVIGABLE WATERWAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE		Gibraltar Malta Cyprus Gambia Colony and Protectorate Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate Nigeria Colony and Protectorate Gold Coast, Ashanti and Northern Territories of the Gold Coast Kenya Territory and Protectorate Uganda Protectorate Zanzibar St. Helena Ceylon Mauritius Seychelles Hong-Kong Straits Settlements Fiji Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony British Solomon Islands Tonga Islands (August 2, 1922) Federated Malay States (States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang) (August 22, 1923) Non-Federated Malay States (States of Brunei, Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu) (August 22, 1923) PALESTINE (British Mandate) (January 28, 1924)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 2, 1922)	
INDIA	INDIA (August 2, 1922)	
CHILE		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 8, 1924)	
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)	
FINLAND	FINLAND (January 29, 1923)	
GREECE		
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)	
—	—	PERU (September 15, 1924) (<i>ad referendum</i>)
PORTUGAL		
—	—	ROUMANIA (June 19, 1923, ratified May 9, 1924)
—	—	SIAM (November 29, 1922)
SPAIN		
SWEDEN		

4. DECLARATION RECOGNISING THE RIGHT TO A FLAG OF STATES HAVING NO SEA-COAST¹.

(Barcelona, April 20, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 8, 1921)	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (July 10, 1924)	
—	—	—
BELGIUM		
BOLIVIA		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE, including NEWFOUNDLAND (October 9, 1922)	CANADA (October 31, 1922)
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (October 9, 1922)	AUSTRALIA (October 31, 1922)
INDIA	INDIA (October 9, 1922)	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (October 31, 1922)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 11, 1922)	
CHILE		
CHINA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 8, 1924)	
DENMARK	DENMARK (November 13, 1922)	
ESTHONIA	—	FINLAND (September 22, 1922)
FRANCE ²		
GREECE		
GUATEMALA		
ITALY		
JAPAN	JAPAN (February 20, 1924)	
LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)	
LITHUANIA		
NETHERLANDS ²		
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 4, 1923)	
PANAMA		
PERSIA		
—	—	PERU (September 15, 1924) (<i>ad referendum</i>)
POLAND	POLAND (December 20, 1924)	
PORTUGAL		
—	—	ROUMANIA (February 22, 1923)
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
—	—	SIAM (November 29, 1922)
SPAIN		
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (January 19, 1925)	
SWITZERLAND ²		
URUGUAY		

5. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF RAILWAYS
AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE³.

(Geneva, December 9, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		

¹ See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. VII, p. 73 ; Vol. XI, p. 410 ; Vol. XV, p. 308 ; Vol. XIX, p. 280 ; Vol. XXIV, p. 158 ; and Vol. XXXI, p. 244.

² Accepts Declaration as binding without ratification.

³ The Convention and the Protocol came into force on March 23rd, 1926.

5. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF RAILWAYS AND^c PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (continued).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 29, 1924)	NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925) SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925) Following BRITISH COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND MANDATED TERRITORIES (September 22, 1925): British Guiana British Honduras Brunei Federated Malay States: Perak Selangor Negri Sembilan Pahang Gambia Gold Coast Hong-Kong Malay States (Unfederated): Johore Kedah Perlis Kelantan Trengganu Nigeria Northern Rhodesia Nyasaland Palestine Sierra Leone Straits Settlements Tanganyika Territory
NEW ZEALAND INDIA BULGARIA CHILE —	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925) INDIA (April 1, 1925)	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA FREE CITY OF DANZIG DENMARK ESTHONIA FINLAND FRANCE GERMANY GREECE HUNGARY ITALY JAPAN LATVIA LITHUANIA THE NETHERLANDS NORWAY —	DENMARK (April 27, 1926)	CHINA ¹ (January 21, 1925)
POLAND PORTUGAL ROUMANIA SALVADOR KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	JAPAN (September 30, 1926)	
SIAM SPAIN SWEDEN SWITZERLAND URUGUAY	NORWAY (February 24, 1926)	PANAMA (July 31, 1925) (<i>ad referendum</i>)
	ROUMANIA (December 23, 1925)	
	SIAM (January 9, 1925)	
	SWITZERLAND (October 23, 1926)	

¹ This adhesion is given for the Convention only and subject to ratification.

6. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF MARITIME PORTS AND
 PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE¹.

(Geneva, December 9, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BELGIUM BRAZIL BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 29, 1924)	NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925) SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925) AUSTRALIA (June 29, 1925) Following BRITISH COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND MAN- DATED TERRITORIES (Sep- tember 22, 1925): Bahamas Barbados Bermuda British Guiana British Honduras British Solomon Islands Protectorate Brunei Ceylon Cyprus Falkland Islands Federated Malay States: Perak Selangor Negri Sembilan Pahang Fiji Gambia Gibraltar Gilbert and Ellice islands Gold Coast Grenada Hong-Kong Jamaica (excluding Turks and Caicos Islands and Cayman Islands) Kenya Leeward Islands: Antigua Dominica Montserrat St. Christopher Nevis Virgin Islands Malay States (Unfederated): Johore Kedah Perlis Kelantan Trengganu Mauritius Nigeria Palestine St. Helena St. Lucia St. Vincent Seychelles Sierra Leone Somaliland Straits Settlements Tanganyika Territory Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago Zanzibar Malta (November 7, 1925)

¹ The present Convention will not come into force until it has been ratified in the name of five States. The date of its coming into force shall be the ninetieth day after the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the fifth ratification (Article 6). The Protocol will come into force on the same conditions as the Convention to which it relates.

6. CONVENTION AND STATUTE ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF MARITIME PORTS AND
 PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE (<i>continued</i>)	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925)	
NEW ZEALAND	INDIA (April 1, 1925)	
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	DENMARK (April 27, 1926)	
DENMARK	(excluding Greenland)	
ESTHONIA	—	FRANCE (December 1, 1924)
—		
GERMANY		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
ITALY		
JAPAN	JAPAN (September 30, 1926)	
LITHUANIA		
THE NETHERLANDS		
NORWAY	—	PANAMA (July 31, 1925)
—		(<i>ad referendum</i>)
SALVADOR		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES	SIAM (January 9, 1925)	
SIAM		
SPAIN		
SWEDEN		
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (October 23, 1926)	
URUGUAY		

7. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE TRANSMISSION IN TRANSIT OF ELECTRIC POWER AND
 PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE¹.
 (*Geneva, December 9, 1923.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (April 1, 1925)	NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925)
		SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925)
		Following BRITISH COLONIES, PROTECTORATES AND MAN- DATED TERRITORIES (Sep- tember 22, 1925):
		British Guiana
		British Honduras
		Brunei
		Federated Malay States:
		Perak
		Selangor
		Negri Sembilan
		Pahang
		Gambia
		Gold Coast
		Hong-Kong
		Kenya
		Malay States (Unfederated):
		Johore
		Kedah
		Perlis
		Kelantan
		Trengganu
		Nigeria
		Northern Rhodesia
		Nyasaland
		Palestine
		Sierra Leone
		Straits Settlements
		Tanganyika Territory

¹ The present Convention will not come into force until it has been ratified in the name of three States. The date of its coming into force shall be the ninetieth day after the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the third ratification (Article 18). The Protocol will come into force on the same conditions as the Convention to which it relates.

7. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE TRANSMISSION IN TRANSIT OF ELECTRIC POWER AND
 PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE (<i>continued</i>)		
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925)	
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
FREE CITY OF DANZIG		
DENMARK	DENMARK (April 27, 1926)	
FRANCE		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
ITALY		
LITHUANIA		
POLAND		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
URUGUAY		

8. CONVENTION RELATING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HYDRAULIC POWER AFFECTING MORE
 THAN ONE STATE, AND PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE ¹.

(*Geneva, December 9, 1923.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (April 1, 1925)	NEWFOUNDLAND (April 23, 1925) SOUTHERN RHODESIA (April 23, 1925) Following BRITISH COLONIES PROTECTORATES AND MANDA- TED TERRITORIES (Septem- ber 22, 1925): British Guiana British Honduras Brunei Federated Malay States : Perak Selangor Negri Sembilan Pahang Gambia Gold Coast Hong-Kong Kenya Malay States (Unfederated) : Johore Kedah Perlis Kelantan Trengganu Nigeria Northern Rhodesia Nyasaland Palestine Sierra Leone Straits Settlements Tanganyika Territory
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (April 1, 1925)	
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
FREE CITY OF DANZIG		
DENMARK	DENMARK (April 27, 1926)	
FRANCE		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
ITALY		
LITHUANIA		
POLAND		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM	SIAM (January 9, 1925)	
URUGUAY		

¹The Convention and the Protocol came into force on June 30, 1925. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 75.

9. CONVENTION REGARDING THE MEASUREMENT OF VESSELS EMPLOYED IN INLAND NAVIGATION¹.

(Paris, November 27, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
BULGARIA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
ITALY		
THE NETHERLANDS		
POLAND		
ROUMANIA		
UNION OF SOCIALIST SO- VIET REPUBLICS		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
SWITZERLAND		

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.
(Paris, November 27, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
BULGARIA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
ITALY		
THE NETHERLANDS		
POLAND		
ROUMANIA		
UNION OF SOCIALIST SO- VIET REPUBLICS		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
SWITZERLAND		

III. TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN².

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN³.

(Geneva, September 30, 1921.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 13, 1924)	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (August 9, 1922)	
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (June 15, 1922)	
BRAZIL		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (June 28, 1922)	Bahamas, Trinidad, Kenya, Nyasaland, Ceylon, Hong- Kong, Straits Settlements, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Southern Rhodesia, Barbados, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vin- cent, Seychelles, Northern Rhodesia, British Honduras (September 18, 1922)

¹ The Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day after the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the fifth ratification, in conformity with Article 12.

² The Annex to the Supplementary Report for 1923 (A. 10 (a), Annex, 1923) contains, moreover, complete details concerning:

1. The Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Paris, May 18th, 1904.

2. The Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, Paris, May 4th, 1910.

³ "The present Convention shall come into force in respect of each Party on the date of the deposit of its ratification or act of accession" (Article 11). See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*: Vol. IX, p. 415; Vol. XV, p. 310; Vol. XIX, p. 282; Vol. XXIV, p. 162; Vol. XXVII, p. 418; Vol. XXXV, p. 298; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 167.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
(continued)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE (continued)		British Guiana, Fiji (October 24, 1922) Leeward Islands, Jamaica, Mauritius (March 7, 1924) Falkland Islands (May 8, 1924) Gold Coast Colony (July 3, 1924) Iraq (May 15, 1925)
CANADA	CANADA (June 28, 1922)	
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (June 28, 1922)	
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (June 28, 1922)	
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (June 28, 1922)	
INDIA	INDIA (June 28, 1922)	
—	—	BULGARIA (April 29, 1925)
CHILE		
CHINA	CHINA (February 24, 1926)	
COLOMBIA		
COSTA RICA		
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 29, 1923)	
—	—	DENMARK ¹ (March 12, 1923)
ESTHONIA	—	•
—	—	FINLAND (August 16, 1926)
—	—	FRANCE (March 1, 1926) (This adhesion does not include French Colonies and Protectorates, nor the Mandated Territories.)
GERMANY	GERMANY (July 8, 1924)	
GREECE	GREECE (April 9, 1923)	
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (April 25, 1925)	
ITALY	ITALY (June 30, 1924)	Italian Colonies (July 27, 1922)
JAPAN ²	JAPAN (December 15, 1925)	
LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)	
LITHUANIA		
THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (September 19, 1923)	
NORWAY	NORWAY (August 16, 1922) ¹	
—	—	PANAMA ¹ (September 6, 1922)
PERSIA	—	PERU (September 15, 1924) (ad referendum)
—	—	
POLAND AND FREE CITY OF DANZIG	POLAND AND FREE CITY OF DANZIG (October 8, 1924)	
PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (December 1, 1923)	
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)	
SIAM	SIAM (July 13, 1922)	
—	—	SPAIN (May 12, 1924). (This adhesion does not include the Spanish possessions in Africa nor the territories of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco.)
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (June 9, 1925)	
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (January 20, 1926)	
—	—	URUGUAY (October 21, 1924)

¹ Subject to ratification.

² The signature by Japan does not include Chosen, Taiwan and the Leased Territory of Kwantung.

IV. OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CIRCULATION OF AND TRAFFIC IN OBSCENE PUBLICATIONS¹.

(Geneva, September 12, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (October 13, 1924)	
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (January 12, 1925)	
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (July 31, 1926)	
BRAZIL		
BRITISH EMPIRE	GREAT BRITAIN and NORTHERN IRELAND (December 11, 1925)	CANADA (May 23, 1924)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, including South-West Africa (Mandate)	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, including South-West Africa (Mandate, December 11, 1925)	NEWFOUNDLAND (December 31, 1925)
NEW ZEALAND (including the mandated territory of Western Samoa)	NEW ZEALAND, including the mandated territory of Western Samoa (December 11, 1925)	SOUTHERN RHODESIA (December 31, 1925)
INDIA	INDIA (December 11, 1925)	
IRISH FREE STATE		
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (July 1, 1924)	
CHINA	CHINA (February 24, 1926)	
COLOMBIA		
COSTA RICA		
CUBA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
FREE CITY OF DANZIG	FREE CITY OF DANZIG (March 31, 1926)	
DENMARK		
—	—	EGYPT (October 29, 1924)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 29, 1925)	
FRANCE		
GERMANY	GERMANY (May 11, 1925)	
GREECE		
HAITI		
HONDURAS		
HUNGARY		
ITALY	ITALY (July 8, 1924)	
JAPAN		
LATVIA	LATVIA (October 7, 1925)	
LITHUANIA		
LUXEMBURG		
—	—	SAN MARINO (April 21, 1926)
MONACO	MONACO (May 11, 1925)	
THE NETHERLANDS		
PANAMA		
PERSIA		
—	—	PERU (September 15, 1924) (<i>ad referendum</i>)
POLAND		
PORTUGAL		
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (June 7, 1926)	
SALVADOR		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROÁTS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM	SIAM (July 28, 1924)	
SPAIN	SPAIN (December 19, 1924)	
SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (January 20, 1926)	
TURKEY		
URUGUAY		

¹ The present Convention came into force on August 7th, 1924, viz., on the thirtieth day following the one on which the deposit of the second ratification took place (Article 11). See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*, Vol. XXVII, p. 213; Vol. XXXI, p. 260; Vol. XXXV, p. 314; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 190.

°V. TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS.

INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONVENTION OF JANUARY 23, 1912¹.

Schedule containing the signatures of the Convention, the signatures of the Protocol of Signature of the Powers not represented at the First Opium Conference, provided for in the penultimate paragraph of Article 22 of the Convention, the ratifications of the Convention, and the signatures of the Protocol respecting the putting into force of the Convention provided under "B" of the Final Protocol of the Third International Opium Conference.

(The ratifications and signatures in accordance with Article 295 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles or in accordance with a similar article of other treaties of peace are marked *.)

States	Signatures of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol of the Powers not represented at the Opium Conference	Ratifications of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol relative to the bringing into force of the Convention (dates of the entry into force)
ALBANIA	—	Feb. 3, 1925	Feb. 3, 1925	Feb. 3, 1925
GERMANY	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Dec. 15, 1913	Feb. 11, 1915
ARGENTINE	—	Oct. 17, 1912	—	—
AUSTRIA	—	—	July 16, 1920*	July 16, 1920*
BELGIUM ²	—	June 18, 1912	June 16, 1914	May 14, 1919
BOLIVIA	—	June 4, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
BRAZIL	—	Oct. 16, 1912	Dec. 23, 1914	Jan. 10, 1920*
BULGARIA	—	March 2, 1914	Aug. 9, 1920*	Aug. 9, 1920*
CHILE	—	July 2, 1913	Jan. 16, 1923	May 18, 1923
CHINA	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Feb. 9, 1914	Feb. 11, 1915
COLOMBIA ³	—	Jan. 15, 1913	June 26, 1924	June 30, 1924
COSTA RICA	—	April 25, 1912	August 1, 1924	July 29, 1925
CUBA	—	May 8, 1913	March 8, 1920*	March 8, 1920*
DENMARK ⁴	—	Dec. 17, 1912	July 10, 1913	Oct. 21, 1921
FREE CITY OF DANZIG	—	Nov. 8, 1921	April 18, 1922	—
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	—	Nov. 12, 1912	June 7, 1923	—
ECUADOR	—	July 2, 1912	Feb. 25, 1915	August 23, 1923
SPAIN	—	Oct. 23, 1912	Jan. 25, 1919	Feb. 11, 1921
ESTHONIA	—	Jan. 9, 1923	April 20, 1923	—
FINLAND	—	April 24, 1922	May 16, 1922	Dec. 1, 1922
FRANCE ⁵	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
GREAT BRITAIN ⁶	Jan. 23, 1912	—	July 15, 1914	Jan. 10, 1920*
GREECE	—	—	March 30, 1920*	March 30, 1920*
GUATEMALA	—	June 17, 1912	Aug. 27, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*
HAITI	—	Aug. 21, 1912	June 30, 1920*	June 30, 1920*
HONDURAS	—	July 5, 1912	Aug. 29, 1913	April 3, 1915
HUNGARY	—	—	July 26, 1921*	July 26, 1921*
ITALY	Jan. 23, 1912	—	June 28, 1914	Jan. 10, 1920*
JAPAN	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
LATVIA	—	Feb. 6, 1922	March 25, 1924	—
LIBERIA	—	—	June 30, 1920*	June 30, 1920*

¹ See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*: Vol. VIII, p. 187; Vol. XI, p. 414; Vol. XV, p. 310; Vol. XIX, p. 282; Vol. XXIV, p. 162; Vol. XXXI, p. 244; Vol. XXXV, p. 298; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 167.

² Subject to adherence or denunciation as regards Belgian Congo.

³ Subject to the approval of the Colombian Parliament.

⁴ The signature of the Protocol of Signature of the Powers not represented at the Conference as well as its ratification were given by Denmark for Iceland and the Danish Antilles; the signature of the Protocol respecting the putting into force of the Convention was given separately by Denmark and Iceland.

⁵ With the reservation that a separate and special ratification or denunciation may subsequently be obtained for the French protectorates. France and Great Britain signed the Convention for the New Hebrides, August 21, 1924.

⁶ In accordance with the following reservation:

The articles of the present Convention, if ratified by His Britannic Majesty's Government, shall apply to the Government of British India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and Wei-hai-Wei in every respect in the same way as they shall apply to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; but His Britannic Majesty's Government reserve the right of signing or denouncing separately the said Convention in the name of any Dominion, Colony, Dependency, or Protectorate of His Majesty other than those which have been specified.

In virtue of the above-mentioned reservation, Great Britain signed the Convention for the following Dominions, Colonies, Dependencies, and Protectorates:

On December 17th, 1912, for Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Brunei, Cyprus, the East Africa Protectorate, Falkland Islands, Malay Protectorates, Gambia, Gibraltar, Gold Coast, Jamaica, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, Trengganu, Malta, Northern Nigeria, Northern Borneo, Nyasaland, St. Helena, Sarawak, Seychelles, Somaliland, Southern Nigeria, Trinidad, Uganda; on February 27th, 1913, for the Colony of Fiji; on April 22nd, 1913, for the Colony of Sierra Leone, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate and the Solomon Islands Protectorate; on June 25th, 1913, for the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia; on November 14th, 1913, for the Bahamas Islands and for the three Colonies of the Windward Islands, that is to say, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent; on January 30th, 1914, for the Leeward Islands; on February 11th, 1914, for British Guiana as well as for British Honduras; on March 11th, 1914, for the Government of the Union of South Africa; on March 28th, 1914, for Zanzibar, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland; on April 4th, 1914, for the Colony of Barbados; on April 8th, 1914, for Mauritius and its dependencies; on July 11th, 1914, for the Bermuda Islands; on August 21st, 1924, for Palestine and together with France for the New Hebrides; on October 20th, 1924, for Iraq.

States	Signatures of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol of the Powers not represented at the Opium Conference	Ratifications of the Convention	Signatures of the Protocol relative to the bringing into force of the Convention (dates of the entry into force)
LITHUANIA	—	April 7, 1922	—	—
LUXEMBURG	—	June 18, 1912	Aug. 21, 1922	Aug. 21, 1922
MEXICO	—	May 15, 1912	April 2, 1925	May 8, 1925
MONACO	—	May 1, 1923	Feb. 20, 1925	May 26, 1925
NICARAGUA	—	July 18, 1913	Nov. 10, 1914	Nov. 3, 1920
NORWAY	—	Sept. 2, 1913	Nov. 12, 1914	Sept. 20, 1915
PANAMA	—	June 19, 1912	Nov. 25, 1920*	Nov. 25, 1920*
PARAGUAY	—	Dec. 14, 1912	—	—
THE NETHERLANDS	Jan. 23, 1912	—	July 28, 1914	Feb. 11, 1915
PERU	—	July 24, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
PERSIA ¹	Jan. 23, 1912	—	—	—
POLAND	—	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
PORTUGAL	Jan. 23, 1912	—	Dec. 15, 1913	April 8, 1920*
ROUMANIA	—	Dec. 27, 1913	Sept. 14, 1920*	Sept. 14, 1920*
RUSSIA	Jan. 23, 1912	—	—	—
SALVADOR	—	July 30, 1912	Sept. 19, 1922	—
SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES, (KINGDOM OF THE).	—	—	Feb. 10, 1920*	Feb. 10, 1920*
SIAM ²	Jan. 23, 1912	—	July 10, 1913	Jan. 10, 1920*
SWEDEN ³	—	Aug. 27, 1913	April 17, 1914	Jan. 13, 1921
SWITZERLAND ⁴	—	Dec. 29, 1913	Jan. 15, 1925	Jan. 15, 1925
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	—	—	Jan. 10, 1920*	Jan. 10, 1920*
URUGUAY	—	March 9, 1914	April 3, 1916	Jan. 10, 1920*
VENEZUELA	—	Sept. 10, 1912	Oct. 28, 1913	—

FIRST OPIUM CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

AGREEMENT, PROTOCOL AND FINAL ACT ⁵.

(Signed at Geneva, February 11, 1925.)

Signatures	Ratifications	Signatures	Ratifications
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (Feb. 17, 1926)	THE NETHERLANDS	—
INDIA	INDIA (Feb. 17, 1926)	PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)
FRANCE	FRANCE (April 29, 1926)	SIAM	—
JAPAN	—	—	—

SECOND OPIUM CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

CONVENTION ⁶.

(Geneva, February 19, 1925)

Signatures	Ratifications	Adhesions
ALBANIA	—	—
AUSTRIA	—	—
BELGIUM	—	—
BRAZIL	—	—
BULGARIA	—	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (Feb. 17, 1926)	STATE OF SARAWAK (March 11, 1926)
CANADA	—	—
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 17, 1926)	BAHAMAS (October 22, 1926)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 17, 1926)	—
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (Feb. 17, 1926)	—
INDIA	INDIA (Feb. 17, 1926)	—
IRISH FREE STATE	—	—

¹ With the reservation of Articles 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 (Persia having no treaty with China) and paragraph (a) of Article 3.

² With the reservation of Articles 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 (Siam having no treaty with China).^o

³ Subject to the following declaration: "Opium not being manufactured in Sweden, the Swedish Government will for the moment confine themselves to prohibiting the importation of prepared opium, but they declare at the same time that they are ready to take the measures indicated in Article 8 of the Convention if experience proves their expediency."

⁴ Subject to ratification and with the declaration that the Swiss Government will be unable to issue the necessary legal enactments within the terms fixed by the Convention.

⁵ The Agreement and the Protocol came into force on July 28, 1926.

⁶ "The present Convention shall not come into force until it has been ratified by ten Powers, including seven of the States by which the Central Board is to be appointed in pursuance of Article 19, of which at least two must be permanent Members of the Council of the League. The date of its coming into force shall be the ninetieth day after the receipt by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of the last of the necessary ratifications." (Article 36.)

SECOND OPIUM CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
CONVENTION (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
CHILE		
CUBA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
—	—	FREE CITY OF DANZIG (August 7, 1926)
DENMARK		
—	—	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (ad referendum)
—	—	EGYPT (March 16, 1926)
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
LUXEMBURG		
—	—	SAN MARINO (April 21, 1926)
THE NETHERLANDS		
NICARAGUA		
PERSIA		
POLAND		
PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)	
—	—	ROUMANIA (March 26, 1926)
—	—	SALVADOR (March 11, 1926)
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM		
SPAIN		
SUDAN	SUDAN (February 20, 1926)	
SWITZERLAND		
URUGUAY		

PROTOCOL.

(*Geneva, February 19, 1925.*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ALBANIA		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 17, 1926)	STATE OF SARAWAK (March 11, 1926)
CANADA		
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (February 17, 1926)	BAHAMAS (October 22, 1926)
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 17, 1926)	
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 17, 1926)	
INDIA	INDIA (February 17, 1926)	
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CUBA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
—	—	EGYPT (March 16, 1926)
GERMANY		
GREECE		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
LUXEMBURG		
NICARAGUA		
THE NETHERLANDS		
PERSIA		
PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)	
—	—	ROUMANIA (March 26, 1926)
—	—	SALVADOR (March 11, 1926)
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES.		
SIAM		
SUDAN	SUDAN (February 20, 1926)	

VI. SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

CONVENTION FOR THE SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR¹.

(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ABYSSINIA		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		
—		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CHINA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK		
EGYPT		
ESTHONIA		
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
HUNGARY		
—		
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
—		
—		
LUXEMBURG		
THE NETHERLANDS		
NORWAY		
POLAND		
—		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
—		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM		
SPAIN		
SWEDEN		
SWITZERLAND		
URUGUAY		
VENEZUELA		
		LIBERIA

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.
(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ABYSSINIA		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
AUSTRIA		
BRAZIL		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
—		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK		
—		
ESTHONIA		

¹ "A first proces-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up by the Government of the French Republic as soon as the present Convention shall have been ratified by fourteen Powers.
"The Convention shall come into force four months after the date of the notification of this proces-verbal by the Government of the French Republic to all signatory Powers" (Article 41).

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (continued).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
—		
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
—		
LUXEMBURG		
NICARAGUA		
—		
THE NETHERLANDS		
POLAND		
—		
PORTUGAL		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
—		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
—		
SWITZERLAND		
TURKEY		
URUGUAY		
VENEZUELA		

DECLARATION REGARDING THE TERRITORY OF IFNI.

(Geneva, June 17, 1925)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
—		
—		
—		
ABYSSINIA		
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		
—		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK		
EGYPT		
ESTHONIA		
—		
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
—		
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
—		
LUXEMBURG		
THE NETHERLANDS		
POLAND		
—		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
—		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
SWITZERLAND		
VENEZUELA		

VI. SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND
AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

CONVENTION FOR THE SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION
AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR¹.

(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ABYSSINIA		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		
—		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CHINA		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK		
EGYPT		
ESTHONIA		
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
HUNGARY		
—		
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
—		
—		
LUXEMBURG		
THE NETHERLANDS		
NORWAY		
POLAND		
—		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
—		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM		
SPAIN		
SWEDEN		
SWITZERLAND		
URUGUAY		
VENEZUELA		
		LIBERIA

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.

(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ABYSSINIA		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
AUSTRIA		
BRAZIL		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
—		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK		
—		
ESTHONIA		

¹ "A first proces-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up by the Government of the French Republic as soon as the present Convention shall have been ratified by fourteen Powers.

"The Convention shall come into force four months after the date of the notification of this proces-verbal by the Government of the French Republic to all signatory Powers" (Article 41).

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
GREECE		
HUNGARY		
—		
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
—		
LUXEMBURG		
NICARAGUA		
—		
THE NETHERLANDS		
POLAND		
—		
PORTUGAL		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
—		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
—		
SWITZERLAND		
TURKEY		
URUGUAY		
VENEZUELA		

DECLARATION REGARDING THE TERRITORY OF IFNI.

(*Geneva, June 17, 1925*)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
—		
—		
—		
ABYSSINIA		
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		
—		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK		
EGYPT		
ESTHONIA		
—		
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
—		
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
—		
LUXEMBURG		
THE NETHERLANDS		
POLAND		
—		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
—		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SPAIN		
SWITZERLAND		
VENEZUELA		

PROTOCOL FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE IN WAR OF ASPHYXIATING, POISONOUS
OR OTHER GASES, AND OF BACTERIOLOGICAL METHODS OF WARFARE¹.

(Geneva, June 17, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
ABYSSINIA		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
AUSTRIA		
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		
—		
BRITISH EMPIRE		
CANADA		
INDIA		
BULGARIA		
CHILE		
—		
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
—		
DENMARK		
EGYPT		
ESTHONIA		
—		
FINLAND		
FRANCE		
GERMANY		
—		
GREECE		
—		
ITALY		
—		
JAPAN		
—		
LATVIA		
LITHUANIA		
LUXEMBURG		
THE NETHERLANDS		
—		
—		
NICARAGUA		
NORWAY		
POLAND		
PORTUGAL		
ROUMANIA		
SALVADOR		
—		
—		
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM		
SPAIN		
SWEDEN		
SWITZERLAND		
—		
TURKEY		
URUGUAY		
VENEZUELA		

VII. REFUGEES².

I. ADDITIONAL ACT TO THE PROTOCOL OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1923, RELATING TO THE SETTLEMENT OF GREEK REFUGEES, SIGNED AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 19, 1924³.

Signed by GREECE and ratified December 4, 1924.

¹ The present Protocol will come into force for each signatory Power as from the date of deposit of its ratification, and, from that moment, each Power will be bound as regards other Powers which have already deposited their ratifications.

² The Annex to the Supplementary Report for 1924 (A. 8 (a). 1924. Annex) contains, moreover, complete details concerning :

- (1) Arrangement with regard to the Issue of Certificates of Identity to Russian Refugees ;
- (2) Protocol relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the Creation for this purpose of a Refugee Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29, 1923 ;
- (3) Declaration relating to the Settlement of Refugees in Greece and the Creation for this purpose of a Refugee Settlement Commission, signed at Geneva, September 29, 1923.

³ See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. XXX, p. 413.

II. DECLARATION RELATING TO THE MODIFICATIONS MADE TO THE PROTOCOL OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1923, WITH REGARD TO THE SETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES IN GREECE, BY THE ADDITIONAL ACT OF SEPTEMBER 19, 1924. GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 25, 1924¹.

Signed by GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE and ITALY.

VIII. SLAVERY.

SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Geneva, September 25, 1926.)

Signatures

ABYSSINIA
ALBANIA
AUSTRIA
BELGIUM
BRITISH EMPIRE
CANADA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
INDIA
BULGARIA
CHINA
CUBA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
DENMARK
ESTHONIA
FINLAND
GERMANY
GREECE
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
THE NETHERLANDS
NORWAY
PANAMA
PERSIA
PORTUGAL
ROUMANIA
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS,
CROATS AND SLOVENES
URUGUAY

IX. PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE².

1. PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE,
DATED DECEMBER 16, 1920.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ABYSSINIA	ABYSSINIA (July 16, 1926)	CHILE	—
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 4, 1921)	CHINA	CHINA (May 13, 1922)
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (July 13, 1921)	COLOMBIA	—
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 4, 1921)	COSTA RICA	—
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (July 23, 1921)	CUBA	CUBA (January 12, 1922)
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (August 29, 1921)	CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 2, 1921)
BOLIVIA	—	DENMARK	DENMARK (June 13, 1921)
BRAZIL	BRAZIL (November 1, 1921)	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 4, 1921)	ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (May 2, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (August 12, 1921)	FINLAND	FINLAND (April 6, 1922)
CANADA	CANADA (August 4, 1921)	FRANCE	FRANCE (August 7, 1921)

¹ See League of Nations *Treaty Series*, Vol. XXX, p. 421.

² See *Treaty Series* of the League of Nations, Vol. VI, p. 379; Vol. XI, p. 404; Vol. XV, p. 304; Vol. XXIV, p. 152; Vol. XXVII, p. 146; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 165.

1. PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE,
DATED DECEMBER 16, 1920 (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
GREECE	GREECE (October 3, 1921)	PARAGUAY	—
HAITI	HAITI (September 7, 1921)	PERSIA	—
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (November 20, 1925)	POLAND	POLAND (August 26, 1921)
INDIA	INDIA (August 4, 1921)	PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (October 8, 1921)
IRISH FREE STATE	IRISH FREE STATE	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (August 8, 1921)
ITALY	ITALY (June 20, 1921)	SALVADOR	—
JAPAN	JAPAN (November 16, 1921)	KINGDOM OF THE	KINGDOM OF THE SERBS,
LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)	SERBS, CROATS	CROATS AND SLOVENES
LIBERIA	—	AND SLOVENES	(August 12, 1921)
LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (May 16, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (February 27, 1922)
LUXEMBURG	—	SPAIN	SPAIN (August 30, 1921)
THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (February 21, 1921)
	(August 6, 1921)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND		(July 25, 1921)
	(August 4, 1921)	URUGUAY	URUGUAY (September 27,
NORWAY	NORWAY (August 20, 1921)	VENEZUELA	1921)
PANAMA	—		VENEZUELA
			(December 2, 1921)

2. OPTIONAL CLAUSE RECOGNISING THE COURT'S JURISDICTION AS DESCRIBED
IN ARTICLE 36 OF THE STATUTE¹.

<i>Signatures</i> ²	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ABYSSINIA	ABYSSINIA (July 16, 1926)	LATVIA ²	—
AUSTRIA ²	AUSTRIA (March 14, 1922)	LIBERIA	—
BELGIUM ⁴	BELGIUM (March 10, 1926)	LITHUANIA ²	LITHUANIA (May 16, 1922)
BRAZIL ²	BRAZIL ³ November 1, 1921)	LUXEMBURG ²	—
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (August 12, 1921)	THE NETHERLANDS ⁶	THE NETHERLANDS ⁵
CHINA ²	CHINA (May 13, 1922)	NORWAY ⁶	NORWAY ⁵ (October 3, 1921)
COSTA RICA	—	PANAMA	—
DENMARK ⁶	DENMARK (March 28, 1926)	PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL (October 8, 1921)
DOMINICAN	—	SALVADOR	—
REPUBLIC	—	SWEDEN ⁶	SWEDEN ⁵
—	ESTHONIA (May 2, 1923)	SWITZERLAND ⁶	SWITZERLAND (July 24,
FINLAND ²	FINLAND (April 6, 1922)		1926)
FRANCE ⁴	—	URUGUAY	URUGUAY (September 27,
HAITI	HAITI ⁵		1921)

CONFERENCE OF STATES SIGNATORIES OF THE PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE
OF THE STATUTE OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE.

(Geneva, September 23, 1926.)

Signatures
ALBANIA
AUSTRALIA]
AUSTRIA ²
BELGIUM ⁴
BRITISH EMPIRE
BULGARIA
CANADA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
DENMARK
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

¹ The jurisdiction of the Court is recognised as compulsory by the States signatories of the Optional Clause *ipso facto* and without a special agreement in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, that is to say, on condition of reciprocity.

² This indicates that the Optional Clause has been accepted for a period of five years.

³ Subject to acceptance also by at least two of the Powers permanently represented on the Council.

⁴ Members having accepted the Optional Clause for a period of fifteen years subject to ratification.

⁵ Members having signed the Optional Clause or having adhered thereto without any reservation regarding ratification.

⁶ Members who have accepted the Optional Clause for a period of ten years.

FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE (*continued*).

Signatures

ESTHONIA
 FINLAND
 FRANCE
 GREECE
 HUNGARY
 INDIA
 IRISH FREE STATE
 ITALY
 JAPAN
 LITHUANIA
 LUXEMBURG
 THE NETHERLANDS
 NEW ZEALAND
 NORWAY
 PANAMA
 PERSIA
 POLAND
 PORTUGAL
 ROUMANIA
 KINGDOM OF THE SERBS,
 CROATS AND SLOVENES
 SIAM
 SPAIN
 SWEDEN
 SWITZERLAND
 VENEZUELA

X. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

PROTOCOL FOR THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES¹.

*Annexed to the Resolution adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations
 on October 2, 1924.*

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ALBANIA		HAITI	
—		—	
BELGIUM		LATVIA	
—		LIBERIA	
BRAZIL		PARAGUAY	
BULGARIA		—	
—		POLAND	
CHILE		PORTUGAL	
—		—	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		KINGDOM OF THE	
ESTHONIA		SERBS, CROATS	
—		AND SLOVENES	
FINLAND		—	
FRANCE		SPAIN	
GREECE		URUGUAY	

XI. ARBITRATION CLAUSES IN COMMERCIAL MATTERS.

PROTOCOL ON ARBITRATION CLAUSES².

(Geneva, September 24, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
—	ALBANIA (August 29, 1924)	
AUSTRIA	BELGIUM (September 23, 1924)	
BELGIUM		
BRAZIL		

¹ "So soon as the majority of the permanent Members of the Council and ten other Members of the League have deposited or effected their ratifications, a proces-verbal to that effect shall be drawn up by the Secretariat. "After the said proces-verbal has been drawn up, the Protocol shall come into force as soon as the plan for the reduction of armaments has been adopted by the Conference provided for in Article 17 " (Article 21).

² The present Protocol came into force on July 28, 1924, date of the second deposit of ratification (Article 6). See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*: Vol. XXVII, p. 157; Vol. XXXI, p. 260; Vol. XXXV, p. 314; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 190.

PROTOCOL ON ARBITRATION CLAUSES (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (September 27, 1924)	Southern Rhodesia (December 18, 1924) Newfoundland (June 22, 1925) British Guiana British Honduras Jamaica Leeward Islands Grenada St. Lucia St. Vincent Gambia Gold Coast Kenya Zanzibar Northern Rhodesia Ceylon Mauritius Gibraltar Malta Falkland Islands Iraq and Palestine (March 12, 1926) Tanganyika (June 17, 1926) St. Helena (July 29, 1926)
CHILE	DENMARK (April 6, 1925)	
DENMARK	FINLAND (July 10, 1924)	
FINLAND		
FRANCE	GERMANY (November 5, 1924)	
GERMANY	GREECE (May 26, 1926)	
GREECE	ITALY (July 28, 1924)	
ITALY		
JAPAN		
LATVIA		
LITHUANIA		
MONACO		
THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS	
NETHERLANDS INDIES,	NETHERLANDS INDIES,	
SURINAM AND CURAÇAO	SURINAM AND CURAÇAO (August 6, 1925)	
NORWAY		
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (June 9, 1926)	
PANAMA		
PARAGUAY		
POLAND		
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (March 12, 1925)	
SALVADOR		
SIAM		
SPAIN	SPAIN (July 29, 1926)	
SWITZERLAND		
URUGUAY		

XII. CUSTOMS FORMALITIES.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION RELATING TO THE SIMPLIFICATION OF CUSTOMS FORMALITIES AND PROTOCOL RELATING THERETO ¹.

(Geneva, November 3, 1923.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA (September 11, 1924)	
BELGIUM	BELGIUM (October 4, 1924)	
BRAZIL		
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 29, 1924)	
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (March 13, 1925)	
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 29, 1924)	
NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 29, 1924)	
INDIA	INDIA (March 13, 1925)	
BULGARIA		

¹ The present Convention came into force on November 27, 1924, ninety days after the deposit of the fifth ratification (Article 26). The Protocol came into force on the same conditions as the Convention to which it relates. See *Treaty Series of the League of Nations*, Vol. XXX, p. 371; Vol. XXXV, p. 324; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 208.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION RELATING TO THE SIMPLIFICATION OF CUSTOMS FORMALITIES
AND PROTOCOL RELATING THERETO (*continued*).

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Adhesions</i>
CHILE		
CHINA	CHINA (February 23, 1926)	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
DENMARK	DENMARK (May 17, 1924)	
EGYPT	EGYPT (March 23, 1925)	
FINLAND		
FRANCE	FRANCE (September 13, 1926)	
GERMANY	GERMANY (August 1, 1925)	
GREECE		
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (February 23, 1926)	
ITALY	ITALY (June 13, 1924)	
JAPAN		
LITHUANIA		
LUXEMBURG		
FRENCH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO		
THE NETHERLANDS, NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM AND CURAÇAO	THE NETHERLANDS (NETHERLANDS INDIES, SURINAM AND CURAÇAO) (May 30, 1925)	
NORWAY	NORWAY (September 7, 1926)	
PARAGUAY		
—	—	PERSIA (May 8, 1925)
POLAND		
PORTUGAL		
ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (December 23, 1925)	
KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES		
SIAM	SIAM (May 19, 1925)	
SPAIN		
SWEDEN	SWEDEN (February 12, 1926)	
SWITZERLAND		
REGENCE OF TUNIS (FRENCH PROTECTORATE)		
URUGUAY		

XIII. AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE ¹.

(Geneva, October 5, 1921.)

1. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 4 ².

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (January 3, 1924)	LIBERIA	LIBERIA (May 1, 1924)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	THE NETHER- LANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	PANAMA	—
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	PARAGUAY	—
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	PERSIA	—
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
COSTA RICA	—	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	SALVADOR (September 3, 1924)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	—	SPAIN (July 29, 1926)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FRANCE	FRANCE (May 19, 1926)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (April 9, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)		
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		
INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)		
ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)		
JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)		

¹ Article 26 of the Covenant provides: "Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly."

² This amendment came into force on July 29, 1926, according to Article 26 of the Convention.

2. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 6 (*addition to the Annex to the Covenant*)¹.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	—	ITALY	—
AUSTRALIA	—	JAPAN	—
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	—
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	NEW ZEALAND	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	—	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	PANAMA	—
CANADA	—	PARAGUAY	—
CHINA	—	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
COSTA RICA	—	SIAM	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	—	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
FRANCE	—		
GREECE	—		
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)		

3. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 6 (*last paragraph*)².

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (November 23, 1922)	LATVIA	LATVIA (September 29, 1923)
ALBANIA	ALBANIA (January 3, 1924)	LIBERIA	LIBERIA (May 1, 1924)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (November 23, 1922)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (November 23, 1922)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (November 23, 1922)	PANAMA	—
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	PARAGUAY	—
CANADA	CANADA (Nov. 23, 1922)	PERSIA	—
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
COSTA RICA	—	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	—	SALVADOR (September 3, 1924)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SPAIN	SPAIN (January 31, 1924)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (April 9, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		
INDIA	INDIA (November 23, 1922)		
ITALY	ITALY (June 13, 1924)		
JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)		

¹ At the request of the Third Assembly, the Council has notified the Members of the League that it is no longer necessary to ratify this amendment.

² This amendment came into force August 13th, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXVII, p. 349; Vol. XXXI, p. 260; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

4. * PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 6 (adding a new paragraph) ¹.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
ALBANIA	—	ITALY	—
AUSTRALIA	—	JAPAN	—
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	—
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LITHUANIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	—	THE NETHERLANDS	—
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	—
CANADA	—	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	—	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	PERSIA	—
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	—	POLAND	POLAND
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	—	(December 15, 1922)
ESTHONIA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
FRANCE	—	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
GREECE	—	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	(March 29, 1923)
		VENEZUELA	—

5. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 12 ².

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (July 5, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (July 5, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (July 5, 1923)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	—	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (July 5, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (July 5, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
—	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SPAIN	SPAIN (September 26, 1924)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)	VENEZUELA	—
INDIA	INDIA (July 5, 1923)	—	—

¹ At the request of the Third Assembly, the Council has notified the Members of the League that it is no longer necessary to ratify this amendment.

² This amendment came into force September 26, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXIX, pp. 67 and 73; Vol. XXXI, p. 262; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 199.

6. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 13¹.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
ALBANIA	—	INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (September 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (Feb. 3, 1923)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	PANAMA	—
COSTA RICA	—	PARAGUAY	—
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	PERSIA	—
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SPAIN	SPAIN (September 26, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
		—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
		VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)

7. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 15².

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NORWAY	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	PANAMA	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PARAGUAY	—
COLOMBIA	—	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
COSTA RICA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SPAIN	SPAIN (September 26, 1924)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)		
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		
INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)		

¹ This amendment came into force September 26, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXIX, pp. 67 and 73, Vol. XXXI, p. 262; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 199.

² This amendment came into force September 26, 1924, in accordance with Article 26 of the Covenant. See League of Nations *Treaty Series*: Vol. XXIX, p. 79; Vol. XXXI, p. 262; and Vol. XXXIX, p. 199.

8. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Sentence to be substituted for the latter part of the first paragraph of Article 16 of the Covenant.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
ALBANIA	—	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	LATVIA	—
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
BOLIVIA	—	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	PANAMA	—
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PARAGUAY	—
COLOMBIA	—	PERSIA	—
COSTA RICA	—	POLAND	—
CUBA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (December 4, 1922)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	—	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	—	—	—
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)	VENEZUELA	—
INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)		

9. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(First paragraph to be inserted after the first amended paragraph of Article 16.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	—	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	PANAMA	—
COSTA RICA	—	PARAGUAY	—
CUBA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
—	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (January 20, 1925)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	—	—	—
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)	VENEZUELA	—

10. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Second paragraph to be inserted after the first amended paragraph of Article 16.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (February 12, 1924)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	—	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	PANAMA	—
COSTA RICA	—	PARAGUAY	—
CUBA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
—	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (January 20, 1925)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	—	—	—
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)	VENEZUELA	—

11. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Paragraph to be inserted between the new third paragraph and the original second paragraph of Article 16.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (August 12, 1924)	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
ALBANIA	—	INDIA	INDIA (August 12, 1924)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (August 12, 1924)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (August 12, 1924)	—	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	—	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (August 12, 1924)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (August 12, 1924)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	PANAMA	—
COSTA RICA	—	PARAGUAY	—
CUBA	—	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
—	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (January 20, 1925)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	—	VENEZUELA	—

12. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 26.

(First paragraph.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)
ALBANIA	—	INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LATVIA	LATVIA (December 10, 1923)
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LIBERIA	—
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
COLOMBIA	—	PANAMA	—
COSTA RICA	—	PARAGUAY	—
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	PERSIA	—
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (September 7, 1923)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
		VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)

13. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 26.

(Adding a new paragraph after the first paragraph.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (December 10, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (August 13, 1924)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	PERSIA	—
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	POLAND	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 11, 1922)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	—	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)	VENEZUELA	
INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)		

14. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 26.

(Second paragraph.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (February 3, 1923)	ITALY	ITALY (August 5, 1922)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (Feb. 3, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (June 13, 1923)
—	BELGIUM (Sept. 28, 1923)	LATVIA	LATVIA (December 10, 1923)
BOLIVIA	—	LIBERIA	—
—	BRAZIL (July 7, 1923)	LITHUANIA	LITHUANIA (March 13, 1925)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (February 3, 1923)	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (April 4, 1923)
BULGARIA	BULGARIA (October 4, 1922)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (February 3, 1923)
CANADA	CANADA (February 3, 1923)	NORWAY	NORWAY (March 29, 1922)
CHINA	CHINA (July 4, 1923)	PANAMA	—
COLOMBIA	—	PARAGUAY	—
COSTA RICA	—	PERSIA	—
CUBA	CUBA (May 7, 1923)	—	POLAND (December 15, 1922)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 1, 1923)	—	PORTUGAL (October 5, 1923)
DENMARK	DENMARK (August 31, 1922)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA (September 5, 1923)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (Sept. 7, 1923)	SIAM	SIAM (September 12, 1922)
FINLAND	FINLAND (June 25, 1923)	SWEDEN	SWEDEN (August 24, 1922)
FRANCE	FRANCE (August 2, 1923)	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND (March 29, 1923)
GREECE	GREECE (August 20, 1923)	—	URUGUAY (January 12, 1924)
HAITI	HAITI (November 2, 1925)	VENEZUELA	VENEZUELA (March 24, 1925)
HUNGARY	HUNGARY (June 22, 1923)		
INDIA	INDIA (February 3, 1923)		

15. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Latter part of first paragraph of Article 16.)

(Geneva, September 27, 1924.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	—	GREECE	—
ALBANIA	—	THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (February 8, 1926)
BRAZIL	—	NEW ZEALAND	—
BULGARIA	—	—	ROUMANIA (March 12, 1925)
CANADA	—	POLAND	—
CUBA	—	SALVADOR	SALVADOR (June 4, 1925)
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (September 18, 1926)	SIAM	SIAM (September 30, 1925)
		URUGUAY	—

16. PROTOCOL OF AN AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 16.

(Second paragraph of the original text.)

(Geneva, September 21, 1925.)

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	
ALBANIA	
BRAZIL	
BULGARIA	
CANADA	
DENMARK	DENMARK (March 28, 1926)
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	
ESTHONIA	ESTHONIA (September 18, 1926)
JAPAN	
THE NETHERLANDS	THE NETHERLANDS (August 20, 1926)
NEW ZEALAND	
NORWAY	
PORTUGAL	
SALVADOR	
SIAM	
URUGUAY	

XIV. . AMENDMENTS TO THE LABOUR PART OF THE TREATIES OF PEACE.

(a) AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 393 OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES AND TO THE CORRESPONDING ARTICLES OF THE OTHER TREATIES OF PEACE.

(Adopted at the Fourth Session of the International Labour Conference, Geneva, November 2, 1922.¹)

Has been ratified by :

ALBANIA (November 26, 1924)
AUSTRIA (October 9, 1924)
BELGIUM (October 29, 1924)
BULGARIA (March 6, 1925)
CZECHOSLOVAKIA (September 30, 1924)
DENMARK (June 20, 1924)
ESTHONIA (April 12, 1926)
FINLAND (March 25, 1924)
GERMANY (June 6, 1925)
HAITI (November 2, 1925)

Has been ratified by :

HUNGARY (May 14, 1925)
IRISH FREE STATE (June 26, 1925)
LATVIA (March 16, 1925)
THE NETHERLANDS (August 14, 1924)
PORTUGAL (September 13, 1926)
ROUMANIA (July 19, 1923)
SPAIN (July 5, 1924)
SWEDEN (May 15, 1924)
SWITZERLAND (November 1, 1924)

(b) PROTOCOL RELATIVE TO THIS AMENDMENT OPENED FOR SIGNATURE AT GENEVA ON JUNE 14, 1923.

<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>	<i>Signatures</i>	<i>Ratifications</i>
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA (October 20, 1923)	FRANCE	FRANCE (June 2, 1925)
AUSTRALIA	AUSTRALIA (October 20, 1923)	INDIA	INDIA (October 20, 1923)
BRITISH EMPIRE	BRITISH EMPIRE (October 20, 1923)	JAPAN	JAPAN (May 14, 1925)
CANADA	CANADA (October 20, 1923)	NEW ZEALAND	NEW ZEALAND (October 20, 1923)
CHINA	CHINA (June 3, 1926)	NORWAY	NORWAY (April 8, 1924)
CUBA	CUBA (September 7, 1925)	PARAGUAY	—
		POLAND	POLAND (February 10, 1925)
		SIAM	SIAM (March 18, 1924)

¹ The amendment shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League of Nations and by three-quarters of the Members (Article 422 of the Treaty of Versailles).

ANNEX 3.

WORK OF THE GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT COMMISSION.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. van CAUWELAERT (Belgium).

The Committee has had before it the section of the Report to the Assembly on the work of the Council dealing specifically with the question of the establishment of Greek Refugees. It has also had the advantage of hearing a review of the work of the Commission since its inception from Mr. Howland, its Chairman, of whose resignation the Committee has learnt with great regret.

The situation as disclosed by these reports is in many respects very encouraging.

This piece of settlement work was the first of its kind undertaken by the League; and it was an attempt to tackle a problem without a precedent in history. As the Chairman of the Commission has stated, it is obvious that the problem presented by the influx of 1,400,000 of refugees into a country small in extent, whose population amounted approximately to 4,700,000, involved for the Greek Government and for the League of Nations a task of great delicacy, the humanitarian character of which is obvious; only those who have witnessed it can realise the amount of suffering, the misery, sickness and death in all their possible forms, which has occurred among these people uprooted by the war, and even these witnesses have had to make an effort of imagination to realise the proportions of this disaster.

It will be remembered that the original plan was prepared by the Financial Committee after an enquiry by M. Parmentier and Colonel Proctor in Greece. In order to carry out the settlement work a Commission was appointed, consisting of two Greek members and two members appointed by the Council of the League, and a public loan of £10 millions was floated in London and New York. Of this sum nearly £8 millions were expended up to June 30th of this year. Of the balance, a considerable part has been budgeted, and what is left constituted the reserve fund of the Commission for contingencies and for making a survey of the lands on which the refugees have been settled.

The Commission estimates that, of the 1,400,000 refugees, some half-a-million, either because they had independent means, or with help from other sources, have required no aid from the Commission. Some 700,000 have been settled or assisted by the Commission, and some 120,000 (5,000 agricultural families and 20,000 urban families) still need to be dealt with. To complete the installation of those already assisted and to deal with the remainder, the Commission estimates that a further £5 millions would be required.

The large majority of the refugees who have so far been settled are agriculturists. The Commission has established in Macedonia 116,000 families or approximately 550,000 people; in Thrace 16,596 families or approximately 75,000 people; in the other provinces 14,250 families or nearly 62,000 people — nearly 700,000 people. They have been supplied by the Commission with seed for all agricultural products, including certain products specially adapted to the needs of the country, such as vine roots from California, pasteurised against phylloxera, and mulberry trees for the silk-worm growers. Each farming family has received a plough animal (mule, ox or buffalo), and a transport animal (a pony or a donkey). The refugees have also been supplied with ploughs and harrows and each family has received an interest in a waggon for the carriage of supplies and grain. Subsistence and seed for planting also had to be furnished until the first crop could be harvested. In those cases where refugees could not be given shelter in houses left vacant by the exodus of peasants who have now gone to Turkey under the system of exchange of populations, the Commission has had to supply them with houses.

According to information supplied to the Committee, the average cost of establishing a family has been continually pared down until it amounts to £100 per family (£50 for the house and £50 for all the rest of the assistance given). This expenditure is obviously exceedingly moderate.

The work of the Commission was at one time seriously endangered by malaria. The figures quoted by the Chairman of the Commission are exceedingly significant and illustrate well the humanitarian aspect of this piece of work. He states that "in some communities the death-rate for a short time would, if continued, have amounted to over 40 per cent per annum of the entire refugee number. Nearly all children who were attacked with malaria died, and the ratio of deaths to births in 1923 was 3 to 1. Fortunately, with better living conditions, more nourishment and works of drainage undertaken by the refugees themselves and the establishment of a medical service by the Commission with the distribution of quinine, a large part of which was given to the Commission by the American Red Cross, the malarial situation seems to be improving rapidly. The number of cases in 1925 out of a "controlled" group of 200,000 persons was only about half

that of 1924, and the birth-rate among the refugees now substantially and continuously exceeds the death-rate”.

The urban refugees number between 500,000 and 600,000. Of these the Commission has completely or partly housed between 100,000 and 200,000 who are gradually, at their own wish, buying their houses under an instalment system spread over fifteen years. These urban refugees have established various industries, in particular, the industry of carpet-making, which they brought with them from Turkey.

It is to be noted in general that the refugees have been settled in urban or agricultural districts according to their capacities and according as land and housing have been available. No restriction has been placed on the districts in which they may be lodged.

It will be remembered that the land for settlement was to be transferred under the Protocol signed by the Greek Government in 1923 in full property to the Settlement Commission. A number of legal difficulties had to be overcome before the full legal title could be transferred. It is satisfactory to note that this was accomplished by a *Decret-Loi* published on May 15th of this year.

In this connection there remains, however, a necessary but difficult task for the Commission to perform. There exist no adequate maps in Greece, and a careful survey of the land on which the refugees are settled will have to be undertaken in order that the boundaries of their properties may be fixed. It is obvious that this piece of work is of great importance in creating among them a feeling of security.

The facts contained in the above account speak for themselves; and it is not necessary further to emphasise the manifold significance and value of this piece of work.

On the humanitarian side it has prevented untold misery and distress; on the social and economic side it has greatly strengthened the whole position of the country by turning into productive citizens a large proportion (nearly 25 per cent) of the population, who without this help might have become a source of disorder in the country or who would have starved in enforced idleness.

As has been seen, about another £5 millions would be required in order to bring the work to a successful conclusion. It is obvious that, as is the case with any other loan publicly subscribed, certain conditions must be fulfilled by the borrowing country before such an operation can be successful. It is to be hoped that conditions may be such that the money required may become available in due course to complete this piece of work which has been begun so successfully, and the results of which have so amply justified the association of the League with it.

Draft Resolution.

“ The Assembly:

“(1) Has learnt with satisfaction that the work of settlement effected in collaboration between the Greek authorities and the Settlement Commission set up under the auspices of the League has made continuous and satisfactory progress during the past year within the limits of the available funds, which are now nearly exhausted;

“(2) Observes that this piece of work is attaining the results expected of it. More than half of the 1,400,000 destitute refugees who have entered Greece have been assisted to establish themselves and have become productive citizens. Apart from the humanitarian significance of the scheme, it is having permanent beneficial results in strengthening the economic life of the country and in promoting social stability;

“(3) Expresses the hope that conditions may be such that the money required may become available in due course for the completion of this work, which has progressed successfully under the League's auspices, and the results of which have amply justified the association of the League with it.”

A. 76. 1926. II.

ANNEX 4.

WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. LOUCHEUR (France).

I.

The last Assembly invited the Council, in a resolution dated September 24th, 1925, to consider at the earliest possible moment the expediency of constituting a committee which would prepare the work for an International Economic Conference. It was understood that the convening of

this Conference under the auspices of the League of Nations should be a matter for subsequent decision by the Council.

The Second Committee considered the effect given by the Council to this resolution in the course of an interesting discussion.

The Preparatory Committee was constituted by the Council at its meeting in December 1925. It is composed of eminent men, as the Council desired to ensure a just proportion between nationalities and at the same time secure members who by their former work and experience could be considered as representing the principal interests engaged; men of science and manufacturers, Government officials and workers.

The first session of the Preparatory Committee was held in April. M. G. Ador, who has rendered such unforgettable services to the League of Nations, was appointed Chairman by the Council, but his state of health prevented him from carrying out his duties, and the discussions were therefore presided over — with extraordinary ability — by M. Theunis. Under the obligation of finding a successor to M. Ador, the Council has since wisely called upon M. Theunis to continue formally also in the office which he had exercised in fact since April.

The report on the work of the first session of the Committee explains that, before submitting its reply to the Council on the questions which had been referred to it, that is to say, before submitting proposals concerning the agenda, the nature of the composition and the date of the Conference, the Committee thought it indispensable to pass in rapid review the essential elements of the economic problem as it exists to-day, and accordingly it has asked the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, with the aid of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Chamber of Commerce, to compile a documentation the general plan of which the Committee has, however, itself drawn up. This documentation is at present being constituted.

In accordance with a decision of the Council, the Secretary-General was invited to select the date of the second session of the Preparatory Committee and, after consultation with the Chairman, this was fixed for November 15th, 1926. The Committee will then have before it the results of the researches which it considered indispensable, and it will be able to begin the most difficult part of its task.

II.

The Assembly itself indicated last year that it desired to leave the Council complete freedom as regards the organisation of the preparatory work for the Conference. Thus also the instructions given by the Council to the Preparatory Committee, which were summarised in a remarkable report by M. Hymans, are very wide.

The Council keeps in contact with the Committee by means of a Special Committee, before which M. Theunis himself appeared last June in order to explain the progress of the work.

The Second Committee was unanimous in considering that there was no reason for modifying the methods and procedure applied so far, and that it would cause more harm than good to surround the Preparatory Committee with restrictive instructions, thus losing, in part at least, the benefit of the work of the Committee itself.

The remarks which follow are not therefore intended to reduce the possible scope of action for the next session of the Committee, but merely to emphasise briefly and generally the points upon which all the delegations present in the Second Committee appeared to manifest agreement.

The Second Committee has observed, concerning the programme of the Conference, that, if it was indispensable to include in the plan of documentation adopted during the first session of the Committee a considerable number of different items, covering all the principal aspects of the economic problem, on the other hand the utility of the Conference would be lost if the Committee had not succeeded in detaching a small number of essential questions upon which the efforts of the Conference should be concentrated. The Committee should submit proposals to the Council which would allow it to choose the main lines of the programme.

On account, however, of the close connection between the different aspects of the economic problem, it will obviously be necessary to include questions in the discussions of the Conference, which, while not belonging to the essential problems inserted in the agenda, may nevertheless have a certain influence upon them. This is quite in keeping with the indications given to the Committee by M. Theunis.

With reference to the composition of the Conference, there seem to be two difficulties to be avoided. On the one hand, some delegations would have objections to calling upon experts appointed exclusively for their personal qualifications, who could only arrive at theoretical conclusions; as the Conference would then run the risk of becoming purely academic. On the other hand, a diplomatic conference is not what is desired and the members, who will be designated by the Governments, must not be too closely tied by their official responsibilities in their study of the problems submitted to the Conference. In such a case, if it were necessary to arrive at an immediate agreement, they might be constrained to place too narrow a limit upon the scope of their discussions and thus neglect those aspects of the economic problem the solution of which by means of Governmental conventions did not appear to them as an immediate possibility.

It should be possible to find a happy mean avoiding both these difficulties, which would at the same time allow the scope of the discussion to be widened and ensure that the Conference's conclusions should have a practical value and an influence upon the economic policy of the Governments. The same procedure for the appointment of the delegates might be employed as in the case of the Brussels Financial Conference.

As regards the date of the Conference, some members proposed recommending in the resolution that the Conference should be convened for next spring. The Second Committee considered that it would be better not to make any definite recommendation before the Preparatory Committee, which will examine this point during its next session, has stated its opinion. The Committee, nevertheless, is unanimous in desiring that the Conference should be convened without unnecessary delay, as soon as the state of the preparatory work permits and the general conditions appear sufficiently favourable.

Whilst emphasising its view that the League of Nations should lose no time in undertaking a programme of international action in economic affairs, which the state of the world renders increasingly necessary, the Second Committee has realised very clearly the importance of the initial work accomplished under the direction of the Preparatory Committee. The Second Committee is aware, in particular, that the meetings of the Preparatory Committee are in themselves an indispensable factor in creating gradually a current of favourable public opinion in the different countries and in the different circles concerned, without which any action organised on an international basis would be impossible.

III.

On behalf of the Second Committee, I have the honour to request the Assembly to adopt the following resolution:

“The Assembly notes that the Council has given effect to its decision of December 15th, 1925, by constituting a Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference.

“It realises that the general economic situation of the world calls more imperiously than ever for an effort towards international co-operation and makes it yet more necessary that the Economic Conference should be held.

“The Assembly therefore hopes that the Committee will actively push forward its work, so as to enable the Economic Conference to be convened as soon as possible.”

ANNEX 5.

A. 74. 1926. XI.

WORK OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: H.E. M. VEVERKA (Czechoslovakia).

The Eighth Session of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs met from May 26th to June 8th, 1926. The report on the work of the Committee at this session (see document A. 20. 1926. XI) was examined by the Council during its meeting on September 2nd. The Council took note of the report and instructed the Secretary-General to take the action arising out to the resolutions contained therein.

The enormous extent of the illicit traffic in opium and drugs continues to be the most serious difficulty confronting the Advisory Committee. Various members of the Fifth Committee underlined this fact and laid stress on the necessity for international action against this worldwide traffic. The Advisory Committee has expressed the opinion that an effective control of the international traffic will be extremely difficult until the Geneva Convention of February 19th, 1925, comes into operation. The Fifth Committee agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the importance of early ratification of this Convention and, on the proposal of the British representative, decided to recommend to the Assembly the adoption of a resolution on the subject (see resolution 2).

The Fifth Committee also agrees with the Advisory Committee as to the importance of the furnishing by Governments of annual reports and other information regularly and without delay. It should not be forgotten that the Governments which have ratified the Hague Convention are under a formal obligation to furnish such information (Article 21).

The Fifth Committee takes note of the opinion expressed by the Advisory Committee to the effect that the ratification of the Hague Convention by Turkey would mark an important progress.

The delegate of Persia informed the Committee that the question of the ratification of the Hague Convention by his country would be examined when the Commission of Enquiry into the opium situation in Persia had issued its report.

The Fifth Committee again calls attention to the increase in the illicit traffic from the Persian Gulf and expresses the hope that the various Governments concerned will take steps to remedy the situation in accordance with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. It also calls

attention to the importance of direct communication between the authorities entrusted with the enforcement of the laws with regard to the suppression of the illicit traffic.

A suggestion was made by the representative of Greece that, when a subject of special importance to a particular country not represented on the Advisory Committee is to be considered by that Committee, the Committee should invite that country to send a representative to attend the discussion. The Fifth Committee thinks this suggestion should be communicated to the Advisory Committee, which will no doubt wish to give effect to it so far as it is practicable to do so.

The Fifth Committee appreciates the efforts made by the Government of India towards diminishing the consumption of opium and dangerous drugs and the export of opium, and in particular the decision to extinguish totally the export of opium for other than medical and scientific purposes within a period of ten years.

The Fifth Committee heard with great interest a statement made by the delegate of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the effect that his country was in a position to satisfy the legitimate needs of opium in Europe; and that, in his opinion, it would therefore be possible eventually to cease imports from the East altogether. The production of the Kingdom amounts to about 150,000 kilos a year and effective control would be very easy to institute.

The Fifth Committee unanimously adopted the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium, together with the resolutions contained therein. The delegate of Italy abstained from voting. The delegate of the Netherlands did not oppose the adoption of the report, but he made a reservation on behalf of his Government concerning the second resolution contained in the report of the Advisory Committee¹.

The delegate of Italy made the following statement:

"The Italian delegation in view of the gravity of the situation exhibited by the report presented to the Committee, considers it necessary for the improvement of the situation to adopt the following measures:

"(1) That the Advisory Committee be composed in equitable proportions of persons acquainted with the problems of narcotics and belonging to producing and manufacturing countries on the one hand and consuming countries on the other;

"(2) That the Advisory Committee thus composed should proceed to take effective measures for a strict application of the Hague Convention;

"(3) That the Secretariat of the League of Nations should be placed in a position to carry out the duties assigned to it by the Covenant and the resolution of December 15th, 1920."

The Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following resolutions:

"1. The Assembly adopts the report of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, together with the resolutions contained therein (document A. 20. 1926. XI).

"2. The Assembly, impressed by the report of the Advisory Committee as to the gravity of the present situation in regard to the illicit traffic and by the resolution of the Committee that it was extremely difficult to secure an effective control of the international traffic in opium and drugs until the Geneva Convention has been brought into operation, urges on the Governments of all States Members of the League to proceed to ratify or adhere to the Geneva Convention so that, if possible, the ratifications necessary to bring that Convention into force may be deposited with the Secretariat before the end of the year."

ANNEX 6.

A. 73. 1926. IX.

SUPERVISION OF THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND
AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: H.E. M. GUERRERO (*Salvador*).

The Third Committee has considered the problem of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war, and has noted the close connection which exists between this problem and the other items on its agenda; namely, that of the limitation and general reduction of armaments, that of the supervision of the international trade in arms and

¹ This resolution reads as follows:

"The Committee recommends that the administrations called upon to decide on an application for export of drugs to a country not applying a system of import authorisations should endeavour to ascertain whether the application submitted to them is a legitimate one. This recommendation is made in the spirit which inspired Article 18 of the Geneva Convention of February 19th, 1925."

ammunition and in implements of war, and that of statistical information concerning this trade. The close connection between these questions is due to the fact that, on the one hand, several countries experience great difficulty in adopting the standard form recommended by the last Assembly for the communication of statistical information to the Secretariat before ratifying the Convention; that, on the other hand, the coming into force of the Convention on the Trade in Arms is delayed because most countries cannot ratify it until the cognate problem of the private manufacture of arms has been solved; and finally, that it might prove equally difficult to ratify a convention on the latter subject before knowing what a general convention on the limitation of armaments would be.

The problem of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war is raised in precise terms in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It has received the constant attention of the Assembly since the foundation of the League. Document A. 47. 1926. IX, distributed to the Assembly, contains a preliminary draft Convention prepared by the Committee of Enquiry of the Committee of the Council, together with other documents including a report submitted by M. Beneš and adopted by the Council, and a Council resolution drawing the attention of the Assembly to the connection which exists between this problem and the more general question now being considered by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

The Third Committee unanimously recognises that the patient and methodical enquiries which the different Committees of the Council and of various Assemblies have conducted in this matter make it possible to conclude that, from a technical point of view, the problem might be solved in the near future. There was, however, evidence of two currents of opinion in the Committee with regard to the desirability of convening, immediately, an international conference to conclude the desired Convention. Though the Committee was unanimous concerning the necessity for dealing with this question as soon as possible, the opinion was expressed that it would be desirable to avoid separating the work connected with the private manufacture of arms from the preparatory work in connection with the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments—a problem of which the private manufacture of arms, after all, forms but a part. Unanimity was reached on the basis of a conditional proposal to the effect that the lesser problem was capable of early solution in any case, either by its inclusion in the programme of the General Conference on Disarmament, if the latter can be convened before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, or, failing this, by means of a special Conference.

Your Committee therefore proposes that you should adopt the following resolution:

“The Assembly,

Once again draws attention to the close connection which exists between the question of the supervision of the private manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war and the international trade in these articles;

“Notes that, up to the present, the Convention on the Supervision of the International Trade has been ratified by only one signatory country and hopes that the efforts which are being made to obtain the ratification of the principal producing countries will soon be successful;

“Notes the work which has been carried out under the direction of the Council with regard to the supervision of private manufacture;

“Declares that it is in agreement with the Council as regards the connection which exists between this question and the whole problem now being examined by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference;

“Lays stress upon the necessity of concluding a Convention as soon as possible, though it recognises that priority must be accorded to work in connection with the Convention on Disarmament;

“And proposes that the Council should continue its enquiries regarding private manufacture in order that these questions may be included in the programme of the Disarmament Conference, if this Conference can be convened before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, or, if that is impossible, in order that a special Conference may be convened as soon as possible to deal with the matter.”

ANNEX 7.

A. 75. 1926. IV.

WORK OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN COMMITTEE.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. NAGAI (Japan).

The Fifth Committee has considered the report on the work of the fifth session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and has passed unanimously the following resolution:

“The Fifth Committee approves the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the resolutions contained in that report.”

The Fifth Committee took note of the fact that the Council, during its June session, had already instructed the Secretary-General to take the necessary action in connection with the resolutions contained in the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee.

The Fifth Committee has noted with satisfaction the friendly co-operation which exists between the authorities in many countries and the private organisations for the suppression of the traffic in women and children. It expresses the hope that the Governments will furnish their annual reports regularly and without delay, in order to put the Traffic in Women and Children Committee in a position to fulfil the delicate task entrusted to it.

Amongst the questions dealt with in the report of the Committee, the complex problems connected with the expulsion of foreign prostitutes were the subject of an interesting discussion. The Fifth Committee expresses the hope that the Governments will furnish the Traffic in Women and Children Committee with the information asked for in order to enable it to pursue its study of this question. It expresses the same hope with regard to the question of licensed houses, in view of the fact that the Traffic in Women and Children Committee proposes to make a report to the Council on this subject in accordance with resolution IV of the Council of June 11th, 1924.

Various delegates pointed out the usefulness of the employment of women in police forces. The Fifth Committee draws attention to the importance of co-operation of social benevolent institutions with the police in all matters dealing with prostitution and all questions relating to it.

The Fifth Committee is of opinion that the Traffic in Women and Children Committee should continue to examine the problem of the protection of migrant women and children.

It expresses the desire that the Committee should also proceed with its study of alcoholism in relation to the traffic in women and children.

The Fifth Committee is glad to find that the question of the suppression of obscene publications has been taken up by the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and that the Council has instructed the Secretariat to obtain the periodical reports recommended in paragraph 9 of the Final Act of the International Conference of 1923 for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications.

Several members were of the opinion that the field of activity of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee should be enlarged so as to cover the whole problem of prostitution in its entirety.

They further pointed out the importance of the mental and hygienic side of the question, and expressed the desire to see the problem treated with due consideration to national points of view regarding the differences in the sexual character of the peoples involved as well as the material factors.

The delegate for Cuba presented a draft resolution relating to an investigation, with the help of scientific and humanitarian national societies, on the various aspects of prostitution and the causes leading to it. This proposal was examined by a Sub-Committee, which came to the conclusion that, before framing a resolution, it would be advisable to have in hand the report of the Committee of Experts, appointed by a resolution of the Council of April 19th, 1923. The Fifth Committee approves of the conclusion of the Sub-Committee and expresses the hope that the report of the Committee of Experts will be presented on a broad basis, so as to throw light on the various aspects of the question of prostitution.

The Fifth Committee has the honour to submit the following resolution to the seventh Assembly:

“The Assembly approves the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee (document A. 18. 1926. IV) and the resolutions contained in that report.”

ANNEX 8.

A. 93. 1926. IX.

WORK OF THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT
CONFERENCE.

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: H.E. M. PAUL-BONCOUR (France).

After taking note of the negotiations at that time in progress with a view to the conclusion of arbitration conventions and of treaties of mutual security, and anticipating the successful conclusion of these negotiations, the Assembly, at its sixth ordinary session, decided that it could ask the Council to proceed immediately to preparatory studies for the organisation of a conference on the reduction and limitation of armaments.

In taking this step on the proposal of its Third Committee, it fully realised that these studies would necessarily take a considerable time in view of the wide scope and the complicated nature of a problem which had hitherto never been approached.

It hoped that in this way, when political conditions permitted—the preparatory studies having already been carried out—a conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments could usefully be convened.

In the Third Committee's opinion, this step was a wise one and these hopes will not prove vain. After hearing the statement made by M. Loudon, the Chairman of the Preparatory Commission to which the Council entrusted the investigations called for by the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, on the state of this Commission's work and also of that of its technical Sub-Commissions, and having regard also to the fact that the situation has become more favourable by the ratification of the Locarno Agreements and Germany's admission to the League of Nations, the Third Committee recognised that a conference on the limitation of armaments can and should be convened.

Differences of opinion, or, more exactly, apprehensions, have been manifested as to when the technical preparations will be complete and consequently as to when the Preparatory Commission can draw up the programme of the Conference and when the Conference itself can be convened.

Nevertheless, the work has been pursued with such energy and has reached such a stage of development that the Third Committee believes that it will be possible to draw up the programme of the Conference at the beginning of next year, and accordingly proposes that the Assembly should congratulate those who have taken part in this work.

It will then be for the Council to fix the date of convening the Conference. In this connection it should be pointed out that, while progress has been made with regard to security, thanks to the Locarno Agreements, this progress only affects one part of the continent of Europe.

For this reason it appeared necessary to state that the limitation and reduction of armaments should "correspond to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security". Furthermore, there can be no question of solving the problem of disarmament at the first attempt. As security increases, disarmament will increase. The Disarmament Conference will therefore only be the first of a series and, even apart from the importance of the reductions and limitations which it may bring about, it must in any case have the immense advantage of transforming into an international contract the degree of armament of the different States, and of thus putting a stop for a definite period to any possibility of competition in armaments.

In these circumstances, there can be no objection in principle to contemplating the possibility of holding a conference before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly. Several members of the Third Committee, however, have emphasised the grave disappointment which would be felt by public opinion, if after it had been announced for a definite date, it proved impossible to hold the Conference at the date in question. The Third Committee duly weighed this drawback and made allowance for it, to the extent of recommending that the Conference should be held before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, "unless material difficulties render this impossible," and it emphasises the considerable importance of surmounting such difficulties and accelerating the work of the technical Commissions, which must first be completed before the Preparatory Commission can usefully meet. The Third Committee has therefore decided to propose to the Assembly the adoption of a resolution asking the Council to convene a first conference before the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly, unless material difficulties should render this impossible, in order to agree upon the first stage of the work of disarmament.

Draft Resolution.

"The Assembly takes note of the report submitted to it by the Secretariat and the very full information furnished to the Third Committee by the President of the Preparatory Commission on the work of that Commission, its technical Sub-Commissions A and B, and the Joint Commission.

"It expresses its complete satisfaction with the work performed and thanks those who have contributed to it.

"Being desirous that the investigations, in regard to which the Assembly itself took the initiative in its resolution of September 25th, 1925, should be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible, it requests the Council to call upon the Preparatory Commission to take steps to hasten the completion of the technical work and thus be able to draw up, at the beginning of next year, the programme for a Conference on the limitation and reduction of armaments corresponding to existing conditions in regard to regional and general security, and it asks the Council to convene this conference before the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly, unless material difficulties render this impossible."

ANNEX 9.

A. 80. 1926. XII.

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Dr. Peter MUNCH (Denmark).

The International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation has held two sessions in the course of the year 1926 — the one extraordinary, in January, and the other ordinary, in July. The first was preceded by a meeting of the newly established Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters, the second by meetings of all the Sub-Committees.

The first of these sessions gained particular importance from the fact that the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation, established thanks to the generous offer made by France, was inaugurated at the time when the Committee itself was sitting. The Committee thus became possessed of an organ of investigation and execution, the lack of which it had frequently had occasion to regret. Events have since shown that the hopes centred in that Institute were fully justified, inasmuch as after scarcely six months' activity the Committee was enabled to realise how greatly the activity of the Institute had helped it in its own task, and what breadth and accuracy had been conferred by the enquiries undertaken in the various sections of the Institute, on the work undertaken by the Committee itself. The Committee therefore desired to express its entire satisfaction with the manner in which the Institute had been administered by its Director and controlled by the Board. The Committee was also gratified by the truly international manner in which the staff of the International Institute had been chosen, and by the spirit in which the work had been executed.

At its two sessions in January and July, the Committee took note of the results which had been achieved in the different countries by its recommendations and decisions, and of the work of the National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation. The work of these Committees is all the more noteworthy and the support which they give to the work of the International Committee the more meritorious, inasmuch as in most countries they are conducting their operations without financial assistance from any source. The Committee has learnt with great satisfaction of the creation of National Committees on Intellectual Co-operation in the United States and in Japan. It is convinced that these two great States, which occupy such important places in the present civilisation of the world, will contribute largely in future towards promoting and bringing to the public notice the work of intellectual co-operation.

Two questions in particular held the attention of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at its January session. The one was a question to which great importance has been attached in the last few years by successive Assemblies, namely, the instruction of youth in the aims and activities of the League of Nations and the most suitable means of habituating the coming generations to international co-operation. The other was the question of the statutes of the Rome Institute for the unification, organisation and co-ordination of private law, generously presented to the League of Nations by the Italian Government.

The Second Committee has had before it the recommendations and suggestions arising out of the first meeting of the Sub-Committee of Experts convened by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation — a Sub-Committee whose duty it has been to examine the best methods of instructing youth in the aims of the League of Nations. The Council, to which the report of the work of this Sub-Committee was submitted for its information has already expressed its satisfaction, and I am sure that this feeling will be shared by the members of the Assembly. It has further requested the Secretary-General to transmit the report, likewise for their information — in view of its still provisional character — to the various Governments.

At its session last July the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation first examined the work of the Sub-Committees and the resolutions adopted by them. The work of each Sub-Committee was greatly facilitated by the reports prepared in the corresponding sections of the International Institute.

The Sub-Committee for Intellectual Rights, formerly known as the Sub-Committee on Intellectual Property, has continued to investigate the question of scientific property.

The Committee of Experts whose duty it would have been to examine in the last resort all the information received with regard to the Ruffini Scheme should not, in the opinion of the Sub-Committee, be convened until a supplementary enquiry has been carried out, in particular in American and German industrial circles. The Economic Committee will, of course, be consulted on this subject, and the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation is happy to note that there is already close collaboration between itself and the other advisory organs of the League of Nations, *e.g.*, as regards other questions, with the Committee for Communications and Transit and the Child Welfare Committee.

While not losing sight of this new and important question of scientific property, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation feels it to be its duty to draw up a more equitable convention in the matter of authors' rights and their extension, the *droit de suite* and the right to respect.

With regard to University relations, the Committee has noted with much satisfaction the two meetings which were held under its auspices in the course of the year — that of representatives of International Student Associations and that of directors of National University Information Bureaux. The Committee has realised how desirable it is that these meetings should become periodical, in order that the representatives of these organisations may be enabled to get to know each other better through more frequent contact, and to co-ordinate more satisfactorily their efforts and thus avoid overlapping.

The Committee is convinced that it will thus be possible to improve the conditions in which study tours are undertaken by students and young scientists, and to render exchanges of all kinds between members of the different universities easier and more fruitful.

The Committee has also had before it a valuable report by Mme. Curie on the subject of the international scholarships granted to young scientists who desire to engage in unpaid research work. The Committee hopes that, as a result of the suggestions contained in this report, it will be possible to ensure in the future a more equitable distribution of international scholarships.

In the domain of arts and letters, the work of the Committee only dates from the first meeting of its Sub-Committee for Arts and Letters, that is to say, from last January. Although the youngest Sub-Committee, it has been able, thanks to the co-operation of the corresponding section of the Institute, to put forward several proposals of the highest interest. Apart from what might be done in the domain of music by an exchange of programmes and by extending the organisation

of concerts for children, and in the literary sphere, by investigations undertaken with a view to securing the better-translation conditions of characteristically national works — and these suggestions would only represent a commencement of the Committee's activity — it has proposed a scheme of wider scope for more-immediate realisation, viz., the establishment of an international-museum bureau and the convening of a congress of popular arts.

The first of these enterprises would have the result of strengthening the bonds between the various museums throughout the world, of promoting exchanges and exhibitions, of arousing interest in the institutions in question, of encouraging agreements between them — in short, of making the museums known and appreciated and, through associations of museum-lovers, of rendering visits to them more useful from the educational point of view. The second of these schemes is based upon the conception that at the root of popular arts, decorative as well as literary and musical, there is a common fund of human sentiment which it will be of value to bring to light as part of the work of the League of Nations.

The reciprocal influences, which may, moreover, be observed in manifestations of popular art, would be of a nature to prove that, even in so national a domain as that under consideration, the influences of peoples on each other are considerable.

The Sub-Committee on Bibliography has continued to deal with a question which it regards as of great importance — the co-ordination of analytical bibliography in the various sciences. It hopes soon to be able to record a definite agreement in respect of physics and its cognate subjects. It has now decided to study Greco-Roman antiquity, the economic sciences, and biology. It is proposed to hold meetings of experts at the beginning of next year, whose task it will be to bring into touch the representatives of publications, upon whom the co-ordination of analytical bibliography in the above-mentioned sciences primarily depends.

It is one of the essential conditions of scientific work that scientists should be able to obtain, quickly, accurate information as to the contents of libraries. The Committee hopes, through the Institute, to secure the co-ordination of information of this kind, together with an agreement among libraries to forward their communications through the Institute or direct.

As regards the questions submitted direct to the Plenary Committee, the establishment of an international meteorological bureau, universal synchronisation and the International Mines Institute, the Committee did not feel that it could adopt a resolution before obtaining fuller information. It thought that the first of these problems was a very urgent one, but that, before the Council or Assembly could be asked to deal with it, a circumstantial report was required. The second question will be referred by the Communications and Transit Section to the Radio-Telegraphic Conference which is to be held at Washington next year — a body which would appear to be more suited to deal with such questions and to provide solutions for them.

* * *

The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in its capacity as Governing Body of the Institute, has taken cognisance of two reports, one of which was submitted by M. Reynold on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Institute with regard to the work of the Board during the past year, and the other by the Director of the Institute with regard to the work done between January and the date of meeting of the Committee.

The Committee, as stated at the beginning of this report, has expressed its entire satisfaction with the work accomplished, and has instructed M. Destrée to draw up the report on the activities of the Institute, which, in accordance with the Statutes, has to be presented to the Council of the League of Nations, to the French Government and to the Members of the League. In this report, M. Destrée will express, on behalf of the Governing Body, his satisfaction with the work accomplished. The Governing Body of the Institute has, mainly for reasons of economy, made certain changes in the staff list of the Institute. At the request of the Director, it has appointed an Assistant Director, Mr. Zimmern, an Englishman. The Governing Body has also noted with much pleasure the regular subsidies—100,000 French francs and 15,000 gold francs respectively— which the Polish and Czechoslovak Governments have decided, in virtue of the right conferred on them by Article 5 of the French Government's letter of December 8th, 1924, to grant to the International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation. Your Rapporteur ventures to emphasise the importance of this action and to express the hope that it may be imitated; it is clear that the International Institute has many tasks to accomplish which will increase in scope as the countries which are Members of the League come to take a greater interest in them. We have observed with keen pleasure that this interest is becoming more widespread: The action which we note to-day constitutes one among many proofs of this; it shows in particular that the rules so wisely adopted by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in order to guarantee the international character of the Institute give full satisfaction to the Members of the League, and that these rules are passing from theory into practice. My reason for laying considerable stress on the point is that, in consequence of having followed the work of previous Assemblies, I know how satisfactory this news will be to our Committee, and that I feel certain, in expressing the wish which I have just formulated, of obtaining its unanimous approval.

The account which has been submitted to you shows clearly that in the course of the present year the work of intellectual co-operation has developed considerably, and that it has been possible, as a result of wider experience, to fix the character and method of the work.

The Second Committee ventures to remind the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly of the resolution adopted by the third ordinary session of the Assembly on September 28th, 1922, with a view to stimulating an intellectual co-operation based on a closer international solidarity.

Further, realising the advantages to be derived from familiarising the greatest possible number of students with the work of the League by means of a visit to Geneva, the Second Committee, upon

the proposal of the Austrian delegation, requests the Governments to take into consideration and investigate this question. By thus supplementing their ideas on this subject, students holding scholarships would be better qualified to impart knowledge of the League's work to young persons at universities. The assistance of the national committees on intellectual co-operation might be solicited in regard to the selection of candidates.

The Second Committee requests the Assembly to approve the Report on the Work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and to adopt the following resolution:

"I. The Assembly approves the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation, as at present constituted — with the International Committee and its Sub-Committees, the National Committees, and the International Institute. It considers that this organisation now provides a mechanism capable of strengthening the intellectual relations between nations and improving the conditions of intellectual work in the world. It notes with satisfaction the assurance given by the Governing Body of the International Institute to the effect that that institution is so conducted as to ensure perfect equality of treatment between all nations. It draws the attention of all the Members of the Assembly to the felicitous step taken by Poland and by Czechoslovakia which, following France's generous action, have granted a subsidy to the International Institute.

"Further, the Assembly wishes to emphasise the practical character and the expediency of the plans for international intellectual co-operation which the Committee and the Institute are at the present moment proceeding to carry out. It lays particular stress on the importance of the following plans—the convening of a congress of Popular Art, the creation of an international museums office, the union of libraries of all countries in order to facilitate research by the public; the co-ordination, by means of international collaboration, of the analytical bibliographies of the various sciences.

"II. The Assembly, having considered in its Second Committee the report of the Sub-Committee of Experts on the instruction of children and youth in the aims and objects of the League of Nations, urges the Governments of the States Members of the League to give this report their sympathetic consideration and to take the measures necessary to give effect to all or any of its recommendations which may be found suitable for adoption in their respective countries.

"III. The Assembly invites the various States to consider, and asks the competent institutions to examine, the possibility of establishing scholarships for university students, whereby they would be enabled to visit Geneva both before and during the annual Assemblies, in order to obtain first-hand knowledge of the work of the League of Nations."

ANNEX 10.

A. 81. 1926. II.

FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF HUNGARY.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. SUVICH (Italy).

I.

The scheme for the financial reconstruction of Hungary came into force on May 1st, 1924. In the programme drawn up at the commencement of this undertaking, it was anticipated that financial stability would be attained by June 30th, 1926, and that consequently the duties of the High Commissioner would come to an end on that date.

The scheme has succeeded beyond all expectations.

In order to realise the importance and extent of the work accomplished, we must consider the condition of Hungary before the intervention of the League.

The consequences of the war, the revolution which followed and the continued depreciation of the currency had left Hungary in a state of distress and prostration from which she was vainly striving to recover.

The situation necessitated an entire reorganisation of the country on a durable and solid basis, and a re-casting of its whole economic system.

If the work of reconstruction was to succeed, the most urgent points to be considered were the finances of the State, which were going adrift, the currency which was depreciating daily, and the burdens imposed by the Treaty of Peace, which were not yet clearly defined.

The scheme for the financial reconstruction of Austria, which was then in full development and had already begun to produce appreciable results, was there to indicate the path to be followed.

It was in fact proposed to apply in Hungary the experience acquired in Austria.

It was on these lines that the Financial Committee drew up the scheme of reconstruction, which included:

- (a) An international loan, secured by certain of the revenues, to be used to cover the budget deficit.
- (b) The creation of a Central Bank of Issue enjoying the monopoly of issue and authorised to make loans to the State against satisfactory cover only;
- (c) The fixing for twenty years of the reparations payments at an average rate of 10 million gold crowns per annum, and the establishment of a Supervisory Commission appointed by the Reparation Commission to guarantee that the rights conferred upon that Commission by Article 180 of the Treaty of Trianon should not be prejudiced;
- (d) The appointment of a Commissioner-General to supervise the execution of the whole programme and control the use of the loan;
- (e) Administrative reforms such as those providing for the reduction of the number of State officials.

As we have pointed out, the intention was that the scheme should be completed by June 30th, 1926, that is to say the end of the financial year 1925-26, when it was hoped that the currency would have been stabilised and the budget made to balance.

II.

Actual facts have proved that the scheme was wonderfully well thought out. By good fortune its execution was entrusted to Mr. Jeremiah Smith¹, a man who possessed all the qualifications necessary to ensure its success and who has devoted himself to this work with genuine enthusiasm, and a sense of proportion and tact which all those who have come in contact with him have recognised.

In his twenty-five reports to the Council of the League, drawn up with rare lucidity and precision, the Commissioner-General has given us an accurate picture of the successive phases through which the reconstruction scheme has passed.

This is not the place to recapitulate the history of the undertaking; a few data will suffice to show how the application of the scheme has transformed the economic and financial conditions of Hungary.

It had been calculated that the loan would be required to cover the deficit for the financial years 1923-24, 1924-25, 1925-26; only in the first of these financial periods was there a deficit, which amounted to about 70 million gold crowns. By the conclusion of the financial period ending on June 30th, 1925, there was a surplus which was maintained in the subsequent year. It was therefore possible, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to devote part of the loan which remained unemployed to productive investments. In the financial period 1925-26, 50 million gold crowns were used for this purpose, and authorisation has been given to expend a similar sum in the financial period 1926-27, subject to the supervision of a member of the Financial Committee, during the current financial year. Added to the budget surplus available, this provides a considerable sum for capital expenditure in 1925-26 and 1926-27; a very much larger amount than it had been thought possible to include in the reconstruction programme. The chief objects to which the surplus is to be devoted are the reclamation of land by means of drainage and irrigation works, the building of roads and bridges, of dwelling-houses, and of the new free port of Budapest, the laying of an underground telephone cable between Vienna and Budapest, and loans to help smallholders, having received plots of land under the Land Reform Act, to make a start.

After deducting certain expenses, the reserves and the repayable advances granted to the Hungarian Government, there still remains an unassigned and available surplus of more than 81 million gold crowns. No decision has yet been reached as to the manner in which this sum shall be employed, since the amount which it has already been decided to release is in respect of a period which closes on June 30th, 1927.

As regards the service of the Loan to which has been assigned the revenue (secured revenue) from the Customs, the tobacco monopoly, the tax on sugar and the salt monopoly, the situation is entirely satisfactory, since this revenue, according to the provisional results for the financial year 1925-26, is already eight times in excess of the annual sum required for the interest and redemption of the loan.

This result is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact that taxation has been reduced on quite a considerable scale.

The problem of administrative reform presented special difficulties, but it was a problem which had to be solved, the new State not being able to bear the heavy burden of its former bureaucracy.

Although a certain amount has already been done, the Council decided, on the suggestion of the Financial Committee, to recommend the Hungarian Government to make an effort to reduce the number of State officials still further, since on this the possibility of maintaining budget equilibrium largely depends.

As regards the economic conditions of Hungary, the situation has vastly improved.

Agricultural production is again approximating to the pre-war level and, in the case of certain crops, even exceeds it.

¹ A citizen of the United States.

The adverse trade balance is also on the decrease; in 1922 it was 209 millions of gold crowns; in 1923, 185 millions; in 1924, 128 millions, and in 1925, 41 millions.

During the first few months of the present year, the deficit remained at approximately the same level as for the corresponding period last year.

One point to which I desire to direct your special attention concerns commercial treaties. On the Second Committee's proposal, the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly adopted the following resolution:

"It would welcome the conclusion of further commercial agreements between Hungary and other countries — particularly the adjoining countries with which negotiations are in progress — which would tend to bring about a progressive reduction of the tariffs in Central Europe and would thus contribute to establishing closer economic relations."

The Assembly, which has already been informed of the commercial treaties concluded with Italy, Poland, France, Greece and Spain, will learn with satisfaction that a treaty with Austria came into force on August 14th last and that a provisional agreement with Czechoslovakia has been in force since September 1st, pending the conclusion of a definitive treaty.

In view of the circumstances which I have briefly outlined above and which are clearly set forth in the reports of the Commissioner-General, the Financial Committee and the Council, Hungary has been able to embark upon the most important and difficult reform of all, that of her currency.

The fact that the paper crown, the currency previously in circulation, had been stable for a fairly long period, as compared with foreign currencies, constituted the necessary basis for the complete conversion and reform of the monetary system.

This stability of the currency is confirmed by an examination of the wholesale and retail index numbers, which have not risen since 1924, but on the contrary have shown a downward tendency. During the same period the increase in the deposits in savings banks and other banks has continued.

This reform has undoubtedly been made possible by the success of the scheme for the reconstruction of Hungary and by the resulting economic recovery.

It is generally admitted that there can be no question of the stabilisation or conversion of the currency until two essential conditions have been fulfilled, these being the balancing of the budget and the approximate establishment of equilibrium in the balance of payments.

The other circumstances, such as the amount of currency in circulation, the proportion of reserves, etc., are of importance rather in determining the relation to be fixed between the old and new forms of currency.

As regards the budget, the deficit, as already stated, had disappeared in the accounts for the year ending June 30th, 1924. The balance of payments, judging by the principal factor, *i.e.*, the trade balance, is approximately even; the foreign payments due by Hungary on account of her long-term debts (including reparations) are considerable (henceforward they will be 94 million gold crowns per annum), but not so considerable as to have any decisive influence on the exchanges.

As regards the service of short-term foreign credits, which is subject to fluctuations and is not easy to determine at any given moment, the Commissioner-General is of opinion that the amount is not excessive and at any rate not sufficient to exercise any very adverse effect on Hungary's financial situation.

The policy of inflation had already been brought to an end by the creation of a National Bank of Issue independent of the State and governed by a statute which prohibits it from making advances to the State.

Having thus been withdrawn from Government influence, the new Bank was in a position to exercise an effective influence on the monetary policy of the country.

A foreign Adviser was attached to the Board of Directors, in order to assist the new Bank in accomplishing its task, which constituted the pivot of the whole reconstruction programme.

The Bank's policy has been extremely cautious and conservative. While the reserve laid down in the reconstruction plan represented only 20 per cent of the notes in circulation, the actual reserve on June 30th last amounted to 55 per cent, one-half of which consisted of minted gold or bullion.

The discount rate, which was fixed at 12 per cent at the beginning of 1925, has now been reduced to 6 per cent. It is true, however, that in private transactions a much higher rate still obtains.

Towards the end of 1925 a law was passed in Hungary providing for the introduction, as from January 1st, 1927, of a new currency which can, however, be used for purposes of reckoning before that date. The value of this new currency, the "pengo", has been fixed at one unit per 12,500 old paper crowns.

The balance-sheet of the National Bank is already expressed in "pengos", and measures have been taken for all private concerns to draw up their balance-sheets in terms of gold in accordance with the principles laid down.

The form and value of the new currency have been exhaustively studied, attention even being given to the psychological factors which might have had a dangerous effect on the cost of living in the country at the moment of its introduction.

The considerations which I have just explained and the fact that the whole economic life of the country is gradually becoming accustomed to the "pengo" justifies the hope that it may be possible to arrive at the gold standard without undue disturbance.

III.

The programme of the financial reconstruction of Hungary conceived and applied in the manner I have indicated constitutes an achievement of which the League can justly be proud. The problem submitted to the League has been solved with brilliant success alike from the technical, social and political points of view.

In expressing its appreciation of the results obtained, the Council approved the Hungarian Government's proposal — which had received the support of the Commissioner-General and of the Financial Committee — that the supervision exercised by the Commissioner-General should cease on June 30th, 1926. The duties of the foreign Adviser attached to the Bank of Issue also ended on that date.

The service of the secured revenues will in future be ensured by the Trustees; the balance of the loan — in regard to which no decision has yet been taken — will be kept available in a separate account in the name of M. ter Meulen, who has been appointed for the purpose by the Financial Committee. The Committee of Control shall remain in office and shall communicate directly with the Hungarian Government.

I have the honour to submit, on behalf of the Second Committee, the following draft resolution:

“ The Assembly:

“ (1) Notes that, the Council having ascertained that the financial stability of Hungary is assured, the functions of the Commissioner-General were brought to an end on June 30th, 1926, and that with this step the work of reconstruction has been brought to a successful close within the minimum period contemplated under the original plan;

“ (2) Congratulates on this result the Hungarian Government and people, the Commissioner-General and the Financial Committee, which prepared the original plan. It confidently hopes that, by a prudent financial policy, the Hungarian Government will in the future maintain and consolidate the satisfactory position now attained;

“ (3) Observes with satisfaction the conclusion of commercial agreements between Hungary and the neighbouring States with whom about half of her total foreign trade is transacted: and repeats the hope expressed at the last ordinary session of the Assembly that the further progress of such commercial agreements may tend to bring about a progressive reduction of the tariffs in Central Europe, thus contributing to establishing closer economic relations.”

A. 82. 1926. II.

ANNEX 11.

FINANCIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRIA.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. STRASBURGER (Poland).

The last ordinary session of the Assembly took note of the proposals by the Financial Committee and of the Council's decisions preparatory to bringing to an end the duties of the Commissioner-General of the League in Austria.

Two conditions had appeared necessary to enable the Council to renounce all direct responsibility for the administration of Austrian finances: the retention in office of a foreign adviser to the National Bank for three years and the right of the Council during a period of ten years to re-establish control, if, contrary to all expectations, the yield from the assigned revenues should not suffice for the service of the loan or if the budgetary equilibrium were seriously endangered.

Austria having accepted these conditions, the abolition of control was effected during the past year in two stages as anticipated:

(1) As from January 1st, the functions of the Commissioner-General were limited to control of the assigned revenues and the employment of the balance of the reconstruction loan.

(2) As from June 30th, 1926, the duties of the Commissioner-General came to an end. The Trustees, representing the interests of the holders, took charge of the administration of a special account into which is paid the yield from the gross pledged revenues. M. Dubois, Chairman of the Financial Committee, continued to manage the account in which the balance of the reconstruction loan is to be retained in a liquid form.

To sum up, the year 1926 has seen the Austrian Government reassume full responsibility for its financial policy. The last report by the Commissioner-General appeared in Geneva on June 30th, 1926. These results do the utmost credit to the Commissioner-General, the Financial Committee and the Austrian Government and people.

The time has come to indicate briefly the general results of the work which started with the Geneva Protocols of 1922, and to show the situation of Austria after these three years of effort, the arduous nature of which the Financial Committee did not attempt to conceal.

Of the net yield from the reconstruction loan, amounting to 568.7 million gold crowns, only 79.9 millions, or 13 per cent, were used to cover current deficits. 121.5 millions went towards repaying credits previously granted to the Austrian Government, 35.4 millions served as a deposit

equal to six months' service of the loan, while 230.6 million gold crowns were spent on productive investments.

On June 30th, when the duties of the Commissioner-General came to an end, the total residue of the loan was 169.4 million gold crowns, not including the Swiss Government loan of 13.9 million gold crowns, which has not yet been received by the Austrian Government. With the permission of the Financial Committee, this residue will be employed on productive investment work of various kinds: electrification of the railways, construction of telephone cables, etc.

In its last report, the Financial Committee states that it agrees in principle to release about 41.7 million gold crowns for 1927, on condition that a detailed programme is submitted to it at its December session with regard to the use made of this sum.

The closed accounts for 1924 showed a deficit of 9 million gold crowns. The closed accounts for 1925 gave a surplus of 28.4 million gold crowns after covering all expenditure on investments and so-called current account expenditure in the nature of advances which have subsequently to be repaid to the Austrian Government.

The economic difficulties, which Austria has been no more able to avoid than any other European country, have not affected the Treasury receipts or the yield from taxation, and still less the stability of the currency. The balance-sheets of the National Bank show that Austrian circulation, including that part representing the State debt to the Bank—a legacy from the period of inflation—is covered by the metal reserve and foreign currency to the extent of 60 per cent. Savings bank deposits, which were reduced to nil during the period of inflation, have steadily increased.

Nevertheless, Austria first passed through a financial crisis which succeeded the period of speculation in 1923 and the first few months of 1924. This was followed by a grave economic crisis resulting in a large amount of unemployment. The report by Mr. Layton and Professor Rist, who were instructed by the Council to examine how far this economic crisis might affect the financial and budgetary situation, clearly revealed the nature of the crisis, which does not cast the least doubt upon the country's ultimate power of recovery but which is a crisis directly connected with reconstruction. Recovery must necessarily be slow, but it is certain, if the Austrian people and the Austrian Government strive energetically, as the League of Nations is sure they will, to maintain budgetary equilibrium and to exploit to the full Austria's natural advantages.

By thus justifying the confidence which the Council has placed in her, Austria will have accomplished to the end the work of financial recovery which she has been the first to realise. In this way she will contribute towards the economic stability of the whole of Central Europe.

Draft Resolution.

"The Assembly,

"Has taken note of the Council resolution of June 9th, 1926, whereby the functions of the Commissioner-General for Austria were brought to an end on June 30th, 1926;

"Is gratified that Austria has been able to reassume full responsibility for her budgetary and financial policy;

"Does not doubt that the Austrian people and the Austrian Government will by their own efforts be able finally to ensure the results of the work of reconstruction;

"And expresses its thanks to the countries which have helped Austria with their credit and thus made possible a great act of international co-operation."

ANNEX 12.

A. 84. 1926. II.

SETTLEMENT OF BULGARIAN REFUGEES.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Commander Hilton YOUNG (British Empire).

The scheme which has just been adopted by the Council for the settlement of refugees in Bulgaria is the second of its kind undertaken under the auspices of the League. The first, which has now been in operation for two years in Greece, is well known to this Committee. The two plans resemble each other in particulars which it is of interest to emphasise.

We have in each case the same kind of problem, viz., a large flow of refugees into a country unable, without external aid, to bear the strain. In the case of Greece, the problem was more serious. The number of refugees was larger and their arrival was concentrated within a shorter period. About 1,400,000 refugees have arrived in Greece since 1922. The number with which Bulgaria has to deal probably does not amount to more than about 220,000, many of whom have been moving about the country since the Balkan wars. In both countries, however, the refugees created a humanitarian problem. Many of them were almost destitute and dying of disease and famine.

They created also an economic, social and political problem; some of them were liable to become disorderly, and not only to create internal trouble but to strain relations, with neighbouring countries.

The two problems have similarities, and so have their solutions. In each case the finances of the country have been examined by the Financial Committee, which has drawn up a plan containing, amongst other things, a statement of the securities which could suitably be given for a foreign loan to pay for the work of settlement. In both cases the Government has agreed to provide for settlement a minimum quantity of suitable land and to accept the control of an authority responsible to the Council to ensure the expenditure of the money on the specified objects. The sums involved, the objects on which they are to be spent and the manner of the control of expenditure differ in a noteworthy manner. For the Greek scheme, the Financial Committee advised that £10 million would be required at the outset. For the Bulgarian scheme the sum is much smaller, only £2¹/₄ million. The objects of expenditure are approximately the same in both cases, namely, the provision of seed, implements and houses for the refugees. Greece is the easier case, because many suitable houses were made available by the return of peasants to Turkey under the system of exchange, and enough cultivable land was available. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, there are not nearly enough houses or land, and a part of the proposed loan will have to be spent on reclaiming land and making it fit for cultivation. It is proposed that another part of the loan should be spent on ways needed for access to the districts thus prepared.

In general, the preparation of the Bulgarian plan involved long negotiations, which were not needed for the Greek plan, with the neighbouring countries, and with the reparation authorities, whose consent was necessary in order to provide securities for the new loan.

It has been provided that the work of settlement shall be done under the supervision of a single Commissioner appointed by and responsible to the Council of the League, with power to investigate and approve all plans for the work of settlement and with sole control over the proceeds of the proposed loan. The powers of the League's Commissioner and the undertakings of the Bulgarian Government in regard to the scheme are contained in a Protocol signed at Geneva on September 8th, 1926, and I think members of the Committee will be of opinion, after reading this Protocol and the reports of the Financial Committee of June, July and September 1926 (document C. 522. M. 204. 1926. II), on which it is based, that every reasonable precaution has been taken that the money already advanced, and the money which, as we hope, will shortly be subscribed by public loan, will be properly expended on the objects set out in the plan.

I think the Committee may feel a confident hope that the present plan will do much to alleviate suffering and to relieve Bulgaria of an economic burden which is beyond her power to bear, and for which she was not responsible. We trust that it will increase social and political stability both internally and in the relations between Bulgaria and her neighbours.

I have the honour to propose on behalf of the Second Committee the following draft resolution:

"The Assembly;

"(1) Has learnt with great satisfaction that the negotiations of the last six months have resulted in the adoption by the Council of a scheme for the settlement of some 120,000 refugees in Bulgaria;

"(2) Observes with satisfaction that, by means of an advance of £400,000, this work has already been begun;

"(3) Expresses the hope that the total sum estimated for this work, namely, £2,500,000 may be successfully subscribed in the near future;

"(4) Desires to express its appreciation of the valuable work once more done by the Financial Committee, on whose advice the plan was adopted by the Council, and whose long and unique experience in such work of reconstruction has borne fruit in Austria, Hungary and Greece;

"(5) Expresses the belief that the execution of this plan will not only alleviate widespread suffering but will also benefit economic and social order within Bulgaria, and consolidate and improve the political relations of Bulgaria with neighbouring countries."

A. 85. 1926. II.

ANNEX 13.

WORK OF THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. R. M. AVRAMOVITCH (*Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*).

The reports which have been submitted to the Second Committee on the financial reconstruction of Austria and Hungary and on the settlement of refugees in Greece and Bulgaria have illustrated the activity of the Financial Committee and demonstrated its title to the gratitude of the Council. There are, however, certain other points of no less importance to be mentioned with which the Financial Committee has dealt during the current year. Chief among these are

the part it has played in the reconstruction of the public finances of the Free City of Danzig and the work which has been carried out by the Committee, or under its direction, in connection with double taxation, fiscal evasion and the suppression of currency counterfeiting.

I. DANZIG.

As in the case of Austria and, later, Hungary, when the League of Nations lent those countries its aid to re-establish their financial positions, the assistance which the Financial Committee has given to Danzig is closely connected with those problems of reconstruction which have arisen in such an urgent form throughout Europe since the war. Here, more particularly, the League had special reasons for intervening, on account of the responsibilities which it has assumed towards the Free City, whose constitution is under its guarantee.

Last June, at the express desire of the Danzig Senate, the President of the Council requested M. Janssen, a member of the Financial Committee, to investigate the financial position of the Free City, which had become somewhat serious during the months immediately preceding, and to visit Danzig in order to obtain all the information he required. M. Janssen submitted a report to the Financial Committee at its session held in London in July.

"The monetary reform which Danzig carried out in 1923, with the aid of the League of Nations, has been wholly successful, the stability of the Danzig gulden having since then been maintained without difficulty in relation to the pound sterling and the notes of the Bank of Danzig being covered to the extent of over 100 per cent."

Since the beginning of 1926, the Free City has been faced with serious budgetary difficulties, partly due to the increase in expenditure on account of unemployment, partly to the decrease in Customs revenue. Under the convention now in force, the Free City, which is a portion of the Polish Customs territory, is entitled to a percentage of the duties collected in its territory. These duties are collected in zloty. The decrease in the import traffic to Poland and the depreciation of the zloty have seriously affected this source of revenue, particularly as the expenditure of Danzig on Customs administration is paid in Danzig currency, and has not decreased in proportion to the revenue.

At its July session the Financial Committee declared that it hoped to be able at its next meeting in September to recommend the contracting of a loan for the following principal purposes:

- (a) To cover the deficit in the 1926-27 Budget resulting from exceptional circumstances, and to repay the floating debt;
- (b) To undertake certain productive expenditure.

This recommendation could not, however, have been made had not the Committee been assured that the budgetary equilibrium of Danzig would be permanently re-established by a series of enactments which would enable expenditure to be reduced by about 10 per cent and by the conclusion of a new arrangement between the Free City and Poland, which would secure to Danzig for at least two years a certain minimum revenue representing its share of the Polish Customs revenues.

At its September session, the Free City submitted to the Financial Committee a new Budget providing for certain readjustments in expenditure. The Financial Committee held that the measures adopted or contemplated did not entirely correspond to what it had proposed in July; consequently it has not yet declared itself ready to make a definite recommendation with a view to the issue of a loan. It has asked the authorities of the Free City to make a new effort at budgetary compression between now and December, and has renewed its declaration to the effect that it would be prepared, after examining the proposal submitted to it in December and subject to the rights of the Polish Government, to recommend the issue of a loan of approximately 30 million gulden in favour of the Free City. Such is the position to-day.

According to the declaration of the Polish Commissioner in Danzig, the negotiations with the Free City concerning the apportionment of the product of the Customs duties, the conclusion of which is essential to budgetary equilibrium, have already resulted in a settlement satisfactory to the two parties.

The effort of administrative reorganisation and simplification which is asked of Danzig is considerable. It is nevertheless essential in order to bring about the return of definite financial stability and ensure a brilliant future for Danzig and its port, which is called upon to become one of the vital centres of the economic life of that part of Europe.

II. SUPPRESSION OF COUNTERFEITING.

The attention of the Financial Committee was directed to this question by the Council, in consequence of a letter from the French Government drawing attention to the necessity of a methodical investigation as to the methods of international collaboration calculated to facilitate the suppression or prevention of counterfeiting, which does such serious damage to the credit of the country whose currency is forged.

The Financial Committee attaches to this question the great importance which it merits, and began its work in the matter at its July session by drawing up a questionnaire for despatch to Banks of Issue. Many replies to this questionnaire have reached the Committee, but the latter prefers, before proceeding to examine them in detail, to complete its information.

The Financial Committee will continue its work in this matter, which would seem to be a peculiarly suitable subject for organised collaboration between the various Governments and Banks of Issue. That important improvements can be realised in this connection is evident.

III. DOUBLE TAXATION AND FISCAL EVASION.

For several years now the League of Nations has been dealing with the question of double taxation and fiscal evasion. After the report of four distinguished economic experts on the theoretical solutions of the problem, the Council authorised the Financial Committee to convene a first Committee of Experts, including representatives of the fiscal administrations of certain European countries. In 1925, the Assembly noted the conclusions of this first Committee of Experts. In conformity with the proposals put forward by the Committee, the Council convened a further conference of experts on fiscal questions, which met at Geneva in May 1926. These experts were members of the administrations of the following countries: Argentine, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, Venezuela. They had been so chosen as to ensure that the Committee should be composed of nationals of countries whose interests in and outlook on fiscal questions were as different as possible: countries which exported capital and new countries partly financed by foreign capital.

The similarity of the views of these experts was remarkable. They prepared three preliminary draft conventions regarding:

- (a) Double taxation;
- (b) Judicial assistance with regard to the recovery of taxes;
- (c) Fiscal evasion and administrative assistance.

These drafts only constitute as yet a preliminary basis for discussion, which the experts intend to revise at a later session.

It is, moreover, preferable not to regard as final even the form in which the experts have set out their conclusions. They themselves reserved the right to consider later whether the progress to be realised would be easier to attain by means of a general international convention or by bilateral conventions, but they were obviously and rightly anxious that, even in the latter case, endeavours should be made to preserve a certain unity both as to form and principle in these bilateral conventions, by reaching an agreement beforehand regarding the general conception to which each of these conventions should conform.

I wish to direct my colleagues' attention to the extreme importance of these meetings of experts in one branch of administration, which ensure personal contact, and, whatever may be the items on the agenda of the meeting, make it possible for each to derive benefit from the experience of his colleagues and examine the solutions applied in other countries to the problems which form his daily task at home.

FINANCIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE.

In conclusion, I should like to draw your attention to the economic and financial publications of the Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat.

New editions of the volumes published in former years have been prepared. Apart from the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, which appears on the last Saturday of the first fortnight of each month, the *Memorandum on Currency and Central Banks* for the period 1913-25 has already been published and volumes on the *Balance of Payments and Foreign Trade Balances* for the years 1910-25 will shortly be ready for publication.

The Secretariat has also now in course of preparation a new edition of the *Memorandum on Public Finance*.

Evidence of the world-wide appreciation of these economic and financial publications of the League of Nations increases yearly. The number of countries preparing special estimates of the balance of payments has grown steadily since the work was first undertaken on the suggestion of the Second Committee of the Third Ordinary Session of the Assembly. Doubtless many of you will have had occasion to use these collections of detailed and objectively presented information when studying the financial and economic problems of the day and will have proved for yourselves their utility and value.

Draft Resolution.

I.

" The Assembly has taken note of the Financial Committee's two reports on the restoration of the public finances of the Free City of Danzig.

" It trusts that, in accordance with the conclusions of these reports, it may be possible for the Financial Committee, when the Free City has effected the necessary administrative and budgetary economies, to recommend the issuing of a loan designed to consolidate the financial and economic situation of Danzig.

II.

" The Assembly has noted that, at the request of the Council, the Financial Committee has undertaken a study of the methods whereby the Governments and Banks of Issue might collaborate to prevent the issuing of counterfeit currency.

" It trusts that the Financial Committee's work will be actively pursued, so that practical proposals may be submitted to the Council for consideration at the earliest possible date.

III.

" The Assembly has taken note, according to the Financial Committee's reports, of the results of the work of the last meeting of experts on double taxation and tax evasion.

" It trusts that their work will be continued and will serve as a useful preparation for the development and progressive unification of international law on the matter, by means of general conventions or of partial conventions based upon common principles.

ANNEX 14.

WORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: H.E. M. NAGAI (Japan).

Since September 1925 the Economic Committee has held four sessions. As usual, it has submitted to the Assembly a report on the whole of its work during the past year.

This report shows that the Economic Committee is systematically pursuing the study of the various problems set before it, and is ascertaining in each case, by comprehensive and exhaustive enquiry, how far the proposals which it is considering are of practical value and capable of realisation in the international sphere.

Without entering into details, which may be found in the Economic Committee's report to the Assembly, the Second Committee would like to give a brief summary of the main questions the Economic Committee has dealt with during the past year.

1. In 1924, in a resolution drawn up by this same Committee, the Assembly expressed the wish that the Economic Committee should make an exhaustive study of the problem of *the abolition of import and export prohibitions and restrictions*.

After two years, during which the Economic Committee has gone into all the details and conducted enquiries in 36 countries, the Committee has now proposed to the Council that an international conference should be held—probably during the first half of 1927. The exact date will be fixed by the Secretary-General in consultation with the Chairman of the Economic Committee and the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference, in order that both Conferences may carry on their work side by side without any inconvenience.

Although the question of prohibitions and restrictions is also on the agenda of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference, the Council is convinced that no overlapping or waste of effort need be feared. Whereas the International Economic Conference is more in the nature of a consultation, as comprehensive as possible, regarding the world economic situation and the remedies to be applied, and is not expected to lead immediately to inter-governmental agreements, the conference on prohibitions, which the Economic Committee proposes, will, on the contrary, endeavour to bring about as soon as possible, in the form of a Convention, an international agreement to abolish a system which is regarded as injurious to international trade.

As far as may be seen, the International Economic Conference is bound to urge the necessity of a return to unrestricted trade. If, through the suggested Convention, freedom of trade as regards prohibitions and restrictions is reintroduced, this will be an important step towards that economic reconstruction which is the final aim of the International Economic Conference.

A very concise and at the same time comprehensive document, drawn up by the Economic Committee and annexed to its report to the Assembly, will form the foundation of the Conference's discussions on the subject of prohibitions. The efficient preparation, due to the continued efforts of the Economic Committee, will undoubtedly assist this diplomatic Conference very considerably in its work. As you are of course aware, careful preparation is essential to success in undertakings of this kind.

2. The *Convention relating to the simplification of Customs formalities*, signed at Geneva in 1923, has so far been ratified or adhered to by 20 States.

Quite apart, however, from this official recognition of the Convention, it appears from the Committee's report that it is also being indirectly applied, inasmuch as certain of its clauses are being embodied in an increasing number of commercial treaties. In many cases, certain matters are dealt with in these treaties simply by reference to the Convention, which is thus tending to establish a kind of common doctrine.

3. After protracted attempts to solve the difficult problem of the *suppression of false Customs declarations* by the means of an international agreement, the Committee tells us that it thinks it wiser, before taking any definite step in this direction, to make a fuller study of the question, and to enlarge its scope so as to embrace every kind of false declaration which may be injurious to trade.

4. During the Ordinary Session of the Assembly, in 1923, the Protocol on Arbitration Clauses was opened for signature by any States desirous of adhering. It will be remembered that countries which adhere to this Protocol undertake to recognise the validity of the arbitration clause in contracts, particularly commercial contracts. Considerable progress has thus been made in the extension of *commercial arbitration*, a question of the importance of which you are fully aware. At the same time, the 1923 Protocol does not oblige the States adhering to it to execute arbitral awards unless those awards are rendered on their own territories; in other words, the Protocol imposes no obligation on the parties adhering to it as regards the execution of arbitral awards rendered

abroad. It is for reasons of expediency that those who framed the 1923 Protocol thought it better not to touch upon the question of the execution of foreign arbitral awards, because, owing to certain aspects of the problem, this question seemed to be linked up with the yet more delicate question of the execution of foreign judgments.

Since then, however, the Economic Committee has rightly decided that the two questions ought to be separated, since, in its opinion, the first question does not present all the difficulties involved by the second. The Committee's investigations are now making it inclined to have recourse to the assistance of legal experts of recognised competence in this matter, and the report which it is submitting to us shows that it is contemplating the possibility of supplementing the 1923 Protocol by an additional act, securing the execution in the territory of one adhering State of an arbitral award rendered in the territory of another such State.

The Second Committee need hardly emphasise the importance attached to the solution of this problem in international commercial circles.

5. With regard to the attempted unification of *legislation concerning bills of exchange*, the Economic Committee informs us that, taking into account the desire repeatedly expressed in international commercial circles, it has resumed its investigations upon somewhat different lines.

The Economic Committee is convinced that, in view of the present state of affairs, it would be vain to attempt any general unification of legislation on this subject, but thinks that some progress could probably be achieved towards a gradual assimilation of the different national legislations, more especially of those of the so-called continental type.

However, before taking any steps in this direction, it proposes to adopt its usual course and investigate how far the existing divergences of the various legislations are in practice a hindrance to trade. To this end it will, still in the course of the present year, consult a number of experts who are specially qualified to give an authoritative opinion.

6. In 1925, a Conference was held at The Hague with the object of revising the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property.

It will be remembered that the Economic Committee suggested amendments to several articles of the Convention, adding fresh and more effective provisions for the suppression of *unfair competition*.

The Conference considered these proposals, and the Economic Committee is now happily in a position to inform the Assembly that the majority of the measures it suggested have been embodied in the new text of the Convention, in consequence of which the principles advocated by the Committee will henceforward be applied in the 36 States of the Union. The Second Committee thinks that this is a success on which we should congratulate the Economic Committee:

7. With the help of the International Labour Office and the Financial Committee, the Economic Committee has continued its investigation of the involved problem of *economic crises and consequent unemployment*.

It would take too long to enter into all the details of the question; these are to be found in the Committee's report. It should, however, be stated that, at the suggestion of the Joint Committee on Crises, the Council has drawn the attention of the States to the necessity of collecting and publishing at short regular intervals statistics which will serve to establish reliable indices.

It is evident that accurate information concerning the fluctuations of production is essential. The Council therefore took this opportunity of reminding the States of the importance it attaches to statistics of production and stocks.

Finally, the Committee contemplates convening a meeting of a number of experts at an early date, in order to obtain their opinions as to the scientific and technical aspects of the establishment of indices and economic barometers.

In addition to these statistical questions, the report shows that the Joint Committee is continuing its investigations for the purpose of ascertaining what are the essential elements which cause excessive fluctuations in economic activity.

8. In June 1925, the Council of the League of Nations requested two distinguished economists, Mr. Layton and Professor Rist, to hold an enquiry into *economic conditions in Austria*, with a view to discovering what effect these conditions had on the work of financial reconstruction undertaken by the League.

In September of the same year, the Council referred the conclusions of their report to the Economic Committee for consideration. The latter devoted its December session to this work, making special efforts to discover appropriate means of removing the obstacles to reciprocal trade and more especially those arising out of the Customs tariffs between the succession and cessionary States of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

It has presented a reasoned report embodying two main ideas; first, that the intensification of the agricultural production of Austria seems to be the most urgent remedy, and that such production could be fostered by an appropriate system of long-term agricultural loans. Certain members of the Economic Committee have helped the Financial Committee to conduct a more searching enquiry into this subject.

The second conclusion reached by the Economic Committee is that it would be to the advantage of the States which have succeeded to or to which have been ceded portions of the former monarchy to conclude the closest possible commercial agreements with one another so that the needs of each country may be met, without any country departing from any obligations it may have assumed with regard to third States.

This recommendation was also intended for the other States asked to take the special needs of Austria into account by revising their commercial conventions with that country.

The Council, approving the proposals of the Economic Committee, has forwarded these recommendations to the States concerned.

9. The Economic Committee examined the recommendations submitted to it by the Committee of *Enquiry into the Statistics* regarding the Census of Industrial Production, and subsequently, when these recommendations had been approved by the General Conference of the International Institute of Statistics which met at Rome in October 1925, recommended that the Council should communicate them to the various States for favourable consideration, asking the latter to communicate any observations they might have to make.

10. The Second Committee was glad to observe in the Economic Committee's report an assurance that the documents collected by the Economic Section regarding the various means of *protecting the foreign buyer against worthless goods* would be published shortly. The Second Committee, however, requests that every effort be made to secure their publication before the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

11. The Assembly will doubtless have noted with satisfaction that the Economic Committee and the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation have established close relations in the study of the problem of scientific property undertaken by the latter; which will surely prove effective and valuable. You will also have observed that the Economic Committee is anxious to see this co-operation extended to all the work common to both bodies. The Second Committee is in sympathy with this desire and is sure that it will be realised, for it is simply common sense.

In conclusion, the Second Committee wishes to express its high appreciation of the work of the Economic Committee and has the honour to propose to the Assembly the following draft resolutions:

"The Assembly:

"(1) Again states its conviction that commercial relations would be greatly improved by the conclusion of an international convention for the abolition [of import and export prohibitions and restrictions.

"Notes with satisfaction the progress which has been made, thanks to the efforts of the Economic Committee, towards the realisation of the recommendation made by the Assembly at its ordinary session held in 1924.

"Notes the Council's resolution to convene, for this purpose, at as early a date as possible, a Conference of representatives of the Governments of States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, and expresses the most earnest hope that the work of this Conference will be crowned with success.

"(2) It notes with satisfaction that the Protocol established in 1923 is still making its influence felt in the direction of a wider recognition of commercial arbitration, and that the Economic Committee has recently begun to consider the possibility of preparing an additional act, the object of which will be to ensure the execution of arbitral awards given abroad.

"(3) It records the fact that the number of ratifications of the International Convention for the Simplification of Customs Formalities is increasing and notes that this international act has had a beneficial influence on the conclusion of certain treaties of commerce.

"(4) It observes with satisfaction that most of the methods suggested by the Economic Committee to ensure more effective protection against unfair competition have been embodied in the new provisions of the Convention of the Union for the Protection of Industrial Property revised at The Hague in November 1925.

"(5) It follows with interest the enquiries being conducted by the Economic Committee with regard to measures for the repression of false Customs declarations; the standardisation of legislation with regard to bills of exchange and cheques; the unification of economic statistical methods; the protection of the buyer against worthless goods, and the Committee's research work regarding the causes of excessive fluctuations in economic activity."

ANNEX 15.

A. 63. 1926. III.

WORK OF THE HEALTH ORGANISATION.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: M. B. FERNANDEZ Y MEDINA (Uruguay).

The report of the Health Organisation of the League and that of the Secretary-General have furnished us with a detailed account of the action taken by the Health Committee in pursuance of the recommendations of the Assembly with regard to the various proposals made last year. We have had one more opportunity of realising the efficiency of the Organisation's work and the progress which has been made in this particular field of League activity, which is undoubtedly among the most interesting and the most generally appreciated by the public.

Attention must first be drawn to the universality of the Health Organisation's work: the Health Committee has succeeded during the last twelve months in establishing very close relations

with the Health Administrations of the Far East. We are under an obligation, in the first instance, to the Japanese Government for all that it has done to facilitate the detailed study of its excellent health administration by a group of health officers appointed by the Health Administrations of Far-Eastern countries, some of whom were the chiefs of those services. A wealth of information, a series of very careful investigations, together with the personal contact established with the Health Administrations of British India, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, Siam, French Indo-China, China, the Soviet Republic, the Far East and the Dutch Indies, will render possible a valuable system of collaboration in the solution of common problems.

Our colleague His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala has already laid stress in the Assembly on the rôle which the League can play in Asia in its struggle against plague, cholera and other diseases.

Our Health Committee has succeeded in establishing a permanent system of collaboration with its Japanese colleagues, whose work deserves wider recognition, through the intermediary of a Co-ordination Committee, which draws up monographs every year based upon the research work carried out in Japan. These monographs, which are included in our series of publications, will enable the doctors of the West to become acquainted with the progress of every description achieved in Japan. This admirable system of collaboration is further strengthened by the organisation of an exchange of Japanese and Western health experts and public health officials, to whom our Health Organisation has given an opportunity of investigating certain problems of special importance to the Administrations concerned. This investigation will be carried out both in Japan and in the countries of the West, and will last for a period of nine months.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala also laid emphasis, in addressing the Assembly, upon the rôle played by the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau of Singapore, in whose work all the countries of the Far East co-operate. This first institution of the League of Nations in the Far East serves both to satisfy the immediate needs of the Administrations of the Far East, with which it co-operates in the struggle against epidemic diseases, and also to meet the requirements of the Health Administrations of all countries, whether Members of the League or not, which are thus enabled for the first time to obtain direct information with regard to epidemics arising in the East. Last year at this period, 50 ports were in telegraphic communication with the Singapore Bureau; this number has recently increased and now amounts to 108.

The Second Committee was accordingly unanimous in accepting the Japanese delegation's proposal¹, which was strongly supported by the proposal of the delegation of India, that an appropriation should be made in the League Budget for the expenses of the Bureau. The Committee fully realised the high importance of the work of the Bureau as the first League institution in the Far East, and the value of its activities not merely to the Health Departments of the countries in that part of the world but to all the States Members of the League.

The Advisory Committee of our Singapore Bureau is presided over by the head of the Health Administration of British India, while the Vice-Chairmen represent the Health Administrations of French Indo-China, Japan, the Dutch Indies, Siam and China. It enables the Health Committee — which has accepted the task with the consent of the Council — to initiate and co-ordinate investigations and research work bearing upon vaccination against cholera, the endemic centres of this terrible disease, and the measures to be taken to prevent the risk of the outbreak of an epidemic of pulmonary plague in Manchuria. It has also drawn our attention to the desirability of the League's taking an interest in social hygiene problems in the countries of the Far East. The annual report gives full details of this work, which is singularly deserving of encouragement and peculiarly consonant with the ideas and policy of the League of Nations.

The success of the Singapore Bureau has been definitely established and already one can foresee the possibility of setting up other regional bureaux on the same lines, in order to facilitate the collection and distribution of epidemiological and general health intelligence.

No-less-successful results have been achieved in another part of the East, in Persia, thanks to the enquiry which was undertaken two years ago by the Health Committee, and to the subsequent steps which were taken.

It is not, however, only in the East that efforts have been made to encourage further collaboration between Health Services. An interchange was arranged among medical officers in the Colonial Services of Senegal, Gambia, Portuguese and French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Togoland, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Dahomey, Sierra Leone and South Africa, who visited the various colonies during several weeks in groups in order to investigate in the most detailed manner the working of the medical and public-health services.

• This journey threw important new light on many subjects; the mutual exchange of theory and experience gained under particularly arduous conditions will make it possible to apply in other countries the definite results obtained in most of the colonies which were visited. The direct benefit will accrue to the native inhabitants themselves. It should in particular be noted that what appears to have been most valuable to those taking part in the interchange is the examination of the results obtained by the schools for native male nurses and doctors, and by the treatment in hospitals, according to the common practice, of the sick of the native population.

On the occasion of this interchange, efforts were made to obtain the views of the sanitary and medical administrations of the colonies as to the desirability of establishing an epidemiological intelligence bureau in Western Africa in pursuance of the recommendation expressed by the last ordinary session of the Assembly.

This question is still under consideration by the Health Committee, which has decided to carry out an experiment at Algiers and proposes to put forward definite recommendations at its October Session.

¹ This proposal has now been passed to the Fourth Committee.

In Africa again the Health Organisation is engaged, through the intermediary of an international commission composed of Belgian, British, French, German and Portuguese experts, in investigating a series of practical and theoretical problems with regard to the distribution and prevention of sleeping-sickness in Equatorial Africa. You are all aware of the great economic and general importance of this research, and you will all be ready to say that you are following with keen sympathy the often dangerous work of these scientists in the tropical bush.

It is highly desirable that the Health Organisation should show similar activity in Latin America. We may recall with satisfaction the efforts which have been made to enable health officers of Latin America to take part in the various investigations and interchanges. There is also a new step to be recorded: a Brazilian specialist has been given the opportunity of investigating in Japan, for a period of nine months, the parasitic diseases prevalent among Japanese emigrants to Brazil. The Japanese Government and the Health Committee are to be congratulated upon the proof which they have given of the practical application of the system of interchanges and individual fellowships.

The number of experts of Latin-American countries who take part in the work of the technical commissions of the Health Organisation is increasing year by year. We trust that specialists in child-welfare questions and the campaign against infant mortality will soon be attached to the group of experts which the Health Committee, in accordance with the recommendation presented by the Netherlands delegation to the last ordinary session of the Assembly, has appointed for the study of this problem of prime importance to all countries.

Infant mortality, important though it is, is only one of many problems which together make up the question of child welfare. The Committee therefore displayed the keenest interest in the proposal made by M. Veverka, delegate of Czechoslovakia, who is asking the Council to request the Committee to embody in its programme the study of physical training including school hygiene, and to consider whether there are any special problems in connection with which it would be useful to undertake a comparative investigation and to co-ordinate the researches and enquiries carried out in different countries.

As long ago as 1924, Dr. Caballero, delegate of Paraguay, drew the attention of the Assembly to the question of physical training, and succeeded in having a recommendation made to the Health Committee that it should consider the desirability of investigating this question. The proposals of the Cuban and Paraguayan delegations bear witness to the interest which the Latin-American countries evidently take in all such questions. It will undoubtedly be a useful step to hold a meeting in Latin America of experts representing these countries, who will, the Committee hopes, take part in the work of the body of experts appointed by the Health Committee to make an exhaustive study of the question. The Assembly will doubtless be delighted to see this idea carried out.

The Second Committee, in adopting the various resolutions proposed, does so with the intention of leaving to the Health Committee freedom to study the possibility and advisability of giving effect to the same, it being understood that such investigations will entail no expenditure beyond what is provided for in normal budgetary credits.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. "The Assembly,

"Having taken note of the reports dealing with the work of the Health Organisation (Documents A.6.1926, A.6. (a) 1926 and A.17.1926),

"Notes with satisfaction the growth and increasing usefulness of that work with its tendency to universality;

"Expresses its gratification at the work undertaken and the results obtained by the Health Committee and its organs as well as by the various experts entrusted with special missions, and wishes to express its sympathetic interest with the scientists of the International Commission on Sleeping-Sickness who are conducting their sometimes dangerous enquiry in Equatorial Africa.

II. "The Assembly,

"Notes with satisfaction the close collaboration established with the sanitary and medical authorities of Japan as a result of the interchange and the conferences held in that country; and with the sanitary administrations of other Far-Eastern countries, through the intermediary of the Advisory Council of the Epidemiological Intelligence Bureau of the League at Singapore;

"Notes, in particular, the plan of research work and special enquiries into health problems of the Far East in which the administrations of British India, China, the Dutch Indies, French Indo-China, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Siam have promised their assistance;

"And requests the Council to refer the resolutions proposed by the Cuban¹, Czechoslovak² and Uruguayan³ delegations to the Health Committee for consideration.

¹ The Second Committee, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Assembly at its fifth and sixth ordinary Sessions on the subject of infant mortality and the protection of children, requests the Council to ask the Health Committee to consider to what extent it could, at a suitable time, enlarge its scheme of international enquiry to include other problems of eugenics.

² The Second Committee, considering the importance of physical culture as a means for preventing disease and in view of the interest which numerous countries take in that question, asks the Council to instruct the Health Committee to consider the inclusion in the programme of its work of the international investigation of physical culture, including scholastic hygiene, and to decide what special problems may necessitate a comparative study and a co-ordination of national research work and national enquiries.

³ The Second Committee, having taken note that the International Economic Conference's plan of enquiry is

III. "The Assembly,

"In view of the importance of the work of the Singapore Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence as the first institution of the League of Nations in the Far East, and in view of the utility of its work not only for the Far-Eastern countries but also for other States Members of the League:

"Decides that provision for the expenses of the Bureau should be made in the Budget of the League for 1927."

A. 77. 1926. IV.

ANNEX 16.

WORK OF THE CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Dr. RIDDELL (Canada).

The Fifth Committee of this Assembly has considered the report on the work of the second session of the Child Welfare Committee of the Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People¹, and I have great pleasure in stating that it has reached a unanimous decision.

It has briefly reviewed the history of international child welfare work under the League of Nations, giving special attention to the resolutions of the fifth and sixth ordinary sessions of the Assembly, and to those of the fortieth and forty-first sessions of the Council dealing with this subject.

The Fifth Committee is of one mind as regards the important place that child welfare work should occupy in the social and humanitarian work of the League. At the same time, it appreciates the fact that practical considerations must sometimes limit the scope of international co-operation in this field.

The Committee desires to express its thanks for the work done by the Child Welfare Committee, and endorses its resolutions on infant welfare, the age of marriage and consent, family allowances and child labour. It agrees, in the circumstances, with the proposal of the Council to collaborate with the International Prison Commission in the study of Juvenile Courts; but expresses its opinion that such a study could most suitably be carried out by the Child Welfare Committee itself.

It considers it most desirable that the Child Welfare Committee should continue its enquiry into the effect of the cinema on children, and should make public its findings. It also agrees with the proposal of one of its members that the Child Welfare Committee's resolution on this subject (Resolution IX, section 1) would be strengthened by the inclusion of psychological experts on official boards for the censorship of films.

The Committee recognises the importance of recreation in the life of children and approves the proposal of the Child Welfare Committee to keep the question of recreation on its general programme; but is of opinion that the study of the question should be confined to the comparative study of those aspects of the subject on which "the comparison of methods and experiences of different countries . . . and international co-operation" may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with them.

The Committee has considered the resolutions of the Child Welfare Committee dealing with the evil effects of alcohol on the young; but, in view of the fact that a resolution on alcoholism is before the Assembly, recommends that the consideration of the Child Welfare Committee's resolution be postponed for the present.

The Committee also recommends that the study of biological education should be postponed for the present.

The Committee agrees in general with the resolutions adopted by the Council on June 9th and September 2nd on this subject².

to include an examination of the problem of nutrition (document A. 24. 1926. II), points out the interest which would attach to the supplementing of this enquiry by a study of the problem from the standpoint of race improvement. This study should take into account, in particular, the work of the Health Organisation regarding infant mortality, as well as the reports by the Japanese Institute of Research into Nutrition Problems included in the publications of the Health Committee.

¹ Document A. 19. 1926. IV (C. 224. M. 80. 1926. IV.). (C.P.E. 82 (1)).

² Documents A. 37. 1926 IV (C. 332 (1). 1926. IV) and A. 40. 1926. IV.

At the request of the honourable delegate of India, the Committee draws attention to the caution expressed by the representatives of India in the Assembly and in the Fifth Committee, with regard to the necessity of proceeding with care in making investigations into conditions in countries which differ widely in types of civilisation.

The Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions:

“ The Assembly:

“ 1. Takes note of the report presented by the Child Welfare Committee (document A.19.1926.IV) and desires to express its thanks for the work done by the Committee;

“ 2. Approves the proposals contained in Resolutions III, V, and VIII adopted by the Committee for pursuing the enquiries into the protection of infant life, the age of consent and of marriage and the subject of family allowances;

“ 3. Approves Resolution XIV subject to the conclusions it contains being confirmed by subsequent investigations into the general problem of alcoholism.

“ 4. Expresses its concurrence with Resolution VI relating to child labour;

“ 5. Considers that the enquiry into children's courts can most suitably be undertaken by the Child Welfare Committee but, in the circumstances, agrees with the course proposed to be taken by the Council in regard to Resolution XIII;

“ 6. Expresses the wish that the Committee should actively pursue the enquiry into the effect of the cinema on children with a view to the presentation of a report for the information of the Governments;

“ 7. (a) Recognises the importance of recreation in the life of children and young persons as expressed in Resolution XI, but, as doubts have been expressed how far the subject is one which is suitable for action by the League of Nations, the Assembly, in view of the sanction of the study of this subject given last year by the Council and Assembly, approves its continued study by the Advisory Committee, but considers that it should be confined, as indicated in the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its fifth ordinary session, to the comparative study of those aspects of the subject on which ‘ the comparison of the methods and experiences of different countries . . . and international co-operation ’ may be likely to assist the Governments in dealing with them.

“ (b) Recommends that the subject of biological education regarding which similar doubts have been expressed should be postponed for the present.

“ 8. Agrees generally with the resolutions adopted by the Council on June 9th and September 2nd, 1926.”

A. 79. 1926. IX.

ANNEX 17.

ARBITRATION, SECURITY, AND THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT
OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

REPORT OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: H.E. Dr. Lazare MARKOVITCH (*Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*).

The Assembly of the League of Nations, at its last ordinary session, after noting that the Geneva Protocol had not received the ratifications necessary for putting it into operation immediately, decided to reserve its decision as to the advisability of drawing up a fresh general convention concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes. The general principles of the Protocol—arbitration, security and disarmament—in themselves retained their full value for the solution of the problem of the friendly settlement of disputes between nations. For this reason, the resolution voted on September 25th, 1925, by the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations insists on the advisability and necessity of working for the establishment of peace by the sure method of arbitration, security and disarmament. Inspired by these sentiments and determined to continue its efforts with a view to discovering the most appropriate means of ensuring peace, the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly recalled the guarantees provided by the Covenant and drew the attention of the States Members of the League of Nations to the advantages, from the point of view of their security, of the conclusion of individual arbitration or judicial settlement conventions.

The preliminary negotiations entered into last year between Germany and the Western Powers concerning a pact of guarantee had become a matter of common knowledge and they were expected to lead to results which would be favourable to the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations. It was for that reason that the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly openly referred to these negotiations and proclaimed in advance that it regarded them with favour and hoped for their final success. The Assembly went even further in its anticipation of events and formally requested the Council, in its resolution of September 25th, 1925, to examine all these conventions and to submit a report to the Seventh Ordinary Session of the Assembly on the progress in general security brought about by such agreements.

The events which have taken place since September 1925 are well known. The recommendation of the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly with regard to arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security has had its effect. Clear proof of this is to be found in the ever-increasing number of such treaties published by the Secretariat in the interesting volume entitled "Arbitration and Security" (a systematic survey of the arbitration conventions and treaties of mutual security deposited with the League of Nations: document C.34.M.74.1926.V), which has been communicated to all the members of the Third Committee. The most important event, however, and one which marks a definite stage in the evolution of the problem of the pacific settlement of international disputes, is the conclusion of the Treaties of Locarno, the realisation of the wish alluded to in the Assembly Resolution of September 25th, 1925. This event has aroused world-wide interest. It is therefore not surprising that the Council of the League of Nations, in emphasising in its reports on the matter, the capital importance of this historic fact, should not have hesitated to draw from it certain hopeful conclusions as to the maintenance of peace.

Acting in accordance with the recommendation of the last ordinary session of the Assembly, the Council has undertaken, through the intermediary of its competent organs, an examination of all the declarations, proposals and suggestions made to it or to the Assembly. It has also undertaken an examination of the treaties deposited with the League of Nations, in particular the Treaties of Locarno. The conclusions at which the Council has arrived will not fail to produce an impression on all sides. The Council notes that the movement towards the pacific settlement of international disputes is constantly gaining force in international policy.

In another passage of its report (document A. 32. 1926, page 12) the Council notes that this movement has acquired an ever-increasing force and can already be regarded as part of the practical policy which a number of States are in a position to adopt. The Third Committee is fully aware of the importance of these declarations; without indulging in exaggerated optimism, it has come to the conclusion that appreciable progress has been achieved by the Treaties of Locarno and that it is essential to continue along the road of confidence and peace so clearly traced by the signing of these Treaties.

When examining all these facts and endeavouring to determine their political significance, the Third Committee thought it desirable to recommend that the Assembly should not only note the progress realised in the matter, but should also take steps more particularly to promote the development of international relations in the spirit of mutual confidence and security which prevailed at Locarno and which should not remain the exclusive privilege of a few Powers. The Third Committee regards the present moment as most favourable for the consolidation of peace by means of the extension of the principles of the Protocol which were so emphatically confirmed by the Treaties of Locarno. It is convinced that the growing tendency to settle international disputes by pacific means, a tendency dwelt on in the reports of the Council, stands in need of encouragement and support. It was for this reason and in view of the considerations to which reference has just been made that the Third Committee, on the proposal of the delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, drafted the proposal submitted to the Assembly for approval.

This resolution bears some relation to those of previous years and more particularly to the resolutions of September 25th, 1925. It is designed to testify to the League's desire to promote the continuation of the admirable work accomplished at Locarno and to make that work more far-reaching by extending it to other regions of Europe and the whole world. The resolution does not claim to exhaust the vast and complex question of the pacific settlement of international disputes.

The Committee fully realises that in certain parts of the world, and even in Europe, States will no doubt be able to go further and adopt a more strictly judicial system than that of the Locarno Treaties.

Furthermore, certain States which may consider themselves to be already in a position of security will not need to identify themselves strictly with the system of security by mutual guarantee provided for in these Treaties.

The resolution is in the nature rather of a political resolution bearing upon the actual state and stage of evolution of those ideas of the Covenant which have found expression in the different Conventions on arbitration and security and more particularly in the Treaties of Locarno.

Further, we desire to mention a fresh element which would be introduced into the Council's sphere of activity by the last paragraph of the resolution. This contains a provision requesting the Council to offer its good offices, if necessary, for the conclusion of suitable agreements on the lines of the Locarno agreements. This simply means that the Council would be asked to give its encouragement and make a recommendation but would be left to judge, in its discretion, of the expediency of such mediation and the conditions under which it should be offered in concrete cases.

The seventh ordinary session of the Assembly, by adopting this resolution would set the seal of its authority on the peaceful policy which it desires to see adopted by the States Members

of the League in their individual policy and would thus be discharging the duty so eloquently described in the preamble to the Covenant as that of achieving international peace and security by the establishment of the principles which should be regarded as the actual rule of conduct among Governments.

Draft Resolution.

" The Assembly,

" Having examined the reports of the Council on Arbitration, Security and the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes,

" Records the fact that the resolution adopted by the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session, to the effect that the most urgent need of the present time is the re-establishment of mutual confidence between nations has had definite results. It sees clear proof of this in the ever-increasing number of arbitration conventions and treaties of security conceived in the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in harmony with the principles of the Geneva Protocol (Arbitration, Security and Disarmament). It emphasises in particular the importance of the Treaties of Locarno, the coming into force of which has been rendered possible by the admission of Germany into the League of Nations and the principal object of which is to ensure peace in one of the most sensitive regions of Europe;

" Sees in the last-mentioned Treaties a definite step forward in the establishment of mutual confidence between nations;

" Considers that agreements of this kind need not necessarily be restricted to a limited area, but may be applied to different parts of the world.

" Asserts its conviction that the general ideas embodied in the clauses of the Treaties of Locarno, whereby provision is made for conciliation and arbitration and for security by the mutual guaranteeing of States against any unprovoked aggression, may well be accepted amongst the fundamental rules which should govern the foreign policy of every civilised nation,

" Expresses the hope that these principles will be recognised by all States and will be put into practice as soon as possible by all States in whose interest it is to contract such treaties.

" And requests the Council to recommend the States Members of the League of Nations to put into practice the above-mentioned principles and to offer, if necessary, its good offices for the conclusion of suitable agreements likely to establish confidence and security—the indispensable conditions of the maintenance of international peace—and, as a result, to facilitate the reduction and limitation of the armaments of all States."

ANNEX 18.

A. 96. 1926. VIII.

WORK OF THE ORGANISATION FOR COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: H.E. Dr. Esteban JARAMILLO (Colombia).

I have the honour to submit to the Assembly, on behalf of the Second Committee, the report which it instructed me to prepare on the work carried out in the interval between the sixth and seventh ordinary sessions of the Assembly by the Organisation for Communications and Transit. This Organisation owes its origin to Article 23 (e) of the Covenant, in conformity with which Members of the League have undertaken to make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit between the various countries.

The work of the organisations of the League in respect of communications and transit has had to be voluntarily limited for two vital reasons:

- (1) The almost unlimited scope of the field of action of this work; and
- (2) The unavoidable political necessity of respecting the sovereignty of nations.

With regard to the first of these reasons, the field of action has, so to speak, no limits, just as the genius of man has no known limits in its age-long struggle with space to shorten the distances

separating him from the rest of the world and to explore and dominate lands and seas. It is accordingly no exaggeration to say that the history of human progress is the history of means of communication. And this is why, as will be seen from its report, an enormous variety of questions has engaged the attention of the Advisory and Technical Committee and provided matter for its investigation — inland navigation and ports, maritime navigation, railways, roads and highways, telegraphs and telephones, wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony, the transport and use of water-power, *i.e.*, practically all that men have invented for purposes of communication and to get into closer touch with each other.

The second reason for the limitation of the kind of work which is mainly of a technical nature, but which also has a political aspect, is that the traditional attitude and practice of the League of Nations do not permit of any work of an international character being carried out without the consent of the nations concerned. This fact undoubtedly accounts for the advisory character which has been given to the Committee, although it consists of technical experts appointed by the various Governments, experts whose decisions do not bind their respective countries. The Committee is an organisation within the League of Nations set up to study, through the medium of experts chosen from among its members or from outside, the international problems arising out of transit and communication between the various countries, to prepare the work of International Conferences on Communications and Transit and to give its assistance, with the help of recognised authorities, to Governments wishing to obtain the opinion of the Committee on national questions relating to different kinds of transport. But the Committee has yet a further important duty — that assigned to it by a clause of various conventions hitherto concluded on the subject. This clause provides that disputes, relating to the interpretation of these conventions, which cannot be settled by some amicable method of procedure, should be submitted for an advisory opinion to the Committee in question before being referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. At the same time, the Committee is permanently at the disposal of Governments with a view to facilitating the settlement of disputes which might arise between them with regard to communications. A case occurred, for example, in connection with the difference between Germany and the Governing Commission of the Saar Territory with regard to the conditions for carrying out the Berne Convention on Transport by Rail as regards the relations between the Saar and the German railways; in this instance, the intervention of the Advisory and Technical Committee proved the effectiveness of that body.

In questions of a purely national character, the Advisory and Technical Committee is also beginning to give proof of the effectiveness of its organisation and methods through the help which it is able to furnish at any time to a Government which requests its intervention in order to solve difficult internal questions connected with transport. A case arose recently in Poland where, through the application of the resolutions of the Genoa Economic Conference and after agreement with Poland, the Committee supplied experts with the most successful results to solve the difficult problem of gradually establishing a new system of navigable waterways.

Services of this kind are of great importance to the different countries, and it is to be hoped that, as the latter become better acquainted with the work and success of the Advisory and Technical Committee in a sphere which is particularly suited for technical initiative and timely and effective intervention, many countries will seek help from the skill, experience, good-will, impartiality and prestige of this organ of the League of Nations, in order to find the best solution for internal problems concerning communications, which problems may have a decisive influence upon their future development.

The intervention of the Committee in cases like this cannot give rise to serious objections of any kind, since the Committee plays a purely advisory part and sometimes helps to bring about a friendly settlement of differences. Moreover, its intervention does not imply the least lack of consideration or respect for the technical experts of the countries which ask for its assistance, since such intervention is solely in response to the very reasonable desire to know the opinion of experts who do not belong to the country and who are absolutely impartial, free from all prejudice and exposed to no influences other than those of the general interest. If, finally, as is only fair, the country which claims the good offices of the Committee is required to contribute towards the expenses incurred, it may be sure that the services of the Committee will be in all circumstances infinitely cheaper than if it appealed to the help of experts not belonging to the League and selected from some other country.

There is no doubt at all that the technical organisations of the League of Nations are the best suited to perform the immense services which the great Geneva institution is able to render to peace between the nations, by ensuring international co-operation and the peaceful solution of the most acute economic and social problems. As these organisations develop and extend the field of their activities throughout the world, a knowledge of their prestige and effectiveness will spread to the most distant parts. It would take too long to recount all that has been done by the League, thanks to the help of the Organisation for Communications and Transit. In order, however, to realise the importance and extent of its efforts, it is sufficient to mention the two general Conferences which met, the first at Barcelona in March and April 1921 and the second at Geneva in November and December 1923, to say nothing of the numerous sessions of the Advisory and Technical Committee. The first of these Conferences dealt, among other problems, with two important questions, which were embodied in two international conventions: the question of transport in transit and the question of transport on navigable waterways of international concern.

The Second General Conference on Communications and Transit, profiting by the preparatory work of the Advisory and Technical Committee, dealt with exceedingly varied and difficult problems, and adopted four important conventions, *viz.*, a General Convention on the International

Regime of Railways, an International Convention on the Regime of Maritime Ports, a Convention relating to the Transmission in Transit of Electric Power, and a Convention relating to the Development of Hydraulic Power affecting more than one State.

The great effort of enquiry, co-ordination and adaptation which these Conventions represent has not yet been able to obtain the results which the nations expected of it, owing to the absence of certain necessary ratifications. In this connection I may again draw the attention of my colleagues to the reference to this subject contained in the following passage in the illuminating report of the Advisory and Technical Committee:

“ The Advisory and Technical Committee,

“ Considering it particularly important that the Conventions signed at the Second General Conference on Communications and Transit, and particularly the General Convention on the International Regime of Maritime Ports, should be ratified as soon as possible,

“ Requests the Assembly of the League once more to bring this point to the attention of the States which signed these Conventions or which adhered thereto subject to ratification.”

As the Assembly has before it a proposal by the honourable representative for the British Empire, Viscount Cecil, requesting that an appeal should be addressed to Governments in order to obtain the ratification of pending agreements and conventions — a proposal which covers all international agreements concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations and which will doubtless be adopted by the Assembly — it does not seem necessary for the moment to submit to the Assembly a proposal on the lines indicated by the Advisory and Technical Committee. Only if the British draft resolution were to be rejected on account of its universal bearing would it be expedient to submit this resolution, which concerns only conventions relating to transit and communications.

The long delays which frequently attend the ratification of international pacts encouraged by the League of Nations, which delays greatly prejudice the rapid and steady development of that institution, appear in most cases to be due to formalities required by the internal public law of the various countries for the ratification of international treaties and agreements. It would therefore, perhaps, be well to invite the legal experts of the League to consider the possibility of concluding a convention between the largest possible number of countries to ensure speedier ratification through a modification of laws, regulations and parliamentary practices, without, however, prejudicing the spirit of the different constitutional statutes.

The work of the Advisory and Technical Committee has been extended to many other questions. A special committee was instructed to study the problem of the unification of tonnage measurement in maritime navigation, which would prove of service to transport and an element of security to trade. Another special technical committee is at present studying questions relating to safety at sea through the possible unification of lighthouse, buoy and light-signalling systems. The question of rapid and sure communications with the seat of the League of Nations, especially in urgent cases and at times of crisis, has been, and is still being, studied by sub-committees and committees of experts in telegraphs, railways and air navigation. The Advisory Committee, although for the moment refraining from establishing permanent organisations for the study of questions affecting air navigation and telephonic, telegraphic, wireless telephonic and wireless telegraphic communication, has taken the necessary steps in order that these questions may be examined and an annual report submitted in regard to the progress made in them, in order that they may be thoroughly studied and decisions adopted as to what further action should be taken in regard to them.

Important work has also been undertaken in regard to road traffic, and its object was achieved last April at the International Conference convened by the French Government, the conclusions of this Conference marking a great advance in the sphere of international traffic.

The question of the unification of private law in inland navigation between the different European States forms the subject of investigation in keeping with the importance of this question for the development and security of traffic on navigable waterways. A committee of distinguished specialists is examining this question, particularly from the points of view of the nationality of vessels, ownership, mortgages and privileges in inland navigation and of the rules observed in compensating owners for damage due to collisions. The enquiries of this committee may lead to very important conclusions, not only because they will contribute towards encouraging and ensuring international traffic in Europe, but because they will be able to serve as a guide to other countries and continents which desire to establish just, speedy and far-sighted legislation with regard to the use of these waterways.

Mention should also be made of the passage concerned with the examination of the very important conclusions expressed by the Sub-Committee for Inland Navigation on Mr. Hines' reports relating to navigation on the Rhine and Danube.

The Assembly may further note in the report of the Transit Committee that this Committee has completed the main part of its work on the question of the reform of the calendar, although it will not lose interest in the future of this question, which affects so many circles. The Assembly is aware that a special Committee was appointed containing representatives of scientific circles and high religious authorities. A great deal of work was done by this Committee towards investigating and elucidating this problem, and its final report is brought to the notice of the Assembly.

The Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit has drawn the attention of the Assembly to the main points in this report by adopting the following resolution:

“ The Advisory and Technical Committee,

“ Having taken note of the report by the Special Committee of Enquiry into the Reform of the Calendar,

“ Considers that the findings of this Committee give the following results:

“ (1) That, as regards the general reform of the calendar, a methodical examination of the question by public opinion in the different countries, on the basis of the work of documentation and simplification already carried out, is essential to any reform, and that this work would be facilitated by the establishment of national committees of enquiry to include representatives of the principal interests concerned;

“ (2) That, as regards the stabilisation of Easter, none of the high religious authorities, upon whom the settlement of this question depends, has formulated any objections of principle against stabilisation, while most of them have declared themselves generally favourable to it; that no objection has been made in lay circles, but that, on the contrary, enquiry among economic and educational circles in all countries has revealed a strong movement in favour of such a reform;

“ Decides to draw the attention of the Assembly of the League to these points as well as to the importance of specially recommending that the competent high authorities should as soon as possible take a definite decision in order to settle the question of the stabilisation of Easter.

“ The Committee expresses its thanks to the Committee for the Reform of the Calendar for the important work which it has brought to a conclusion. It instructs the Chairman of the Committee to take all measures which may seem expedient in order to ensure the best outcome of this work.”

The Assembly will no doubt associate itself with the desire of the Committee for Communications and Transit.

* * *

Finally, the Committee cannot too highly praise the resolution adopted by the Council of the League, in accordance with the proposal of the Advisory and Technical Committee, on the convening of a Conference for the sole purpose of dealing with the passport system. Anyone who has travelled knows from experience the deplorable state of this service in almost every country, the anarchic regulations governing in each country the form, validity, legalisation and cost of passports, the innumerable inconveniences, formalities and expenses to which travellers are subject, and how ineffective all these measures are in preventing the free movement from country to country of dangerous or undesirable persons.

The Conference met at Geneva from May 12th to 18th, 1926, and submitted an important report upon its work, to which I venture to draw the very particular attention of my colleagues, since anything that is done to encourage communication will help to develop good relations between the peoples by enabling them to make each other's acquaintance, and will promote the maintenance of peace and international co-operation. The report by the Conference contains very important recommendations with regard to the form of passports, their validity, the fees or charges to which they are subject, visas, facilities for obtaining them, examination at the frontiers, transit cards for emigrants, identity papers, family passports, etc. The adoption of these recommendations would mark considerable progress towards the re-establishment of normal conditions in international communication, which was so profoundly disturbed by the recent war.

Mention perhaps should also be made of the fact that, since the last Assembly, the Conference of the Telegraph Union has met and that the Organisation for Communications and Transit was represented there by the distinguished Chairman of its Telegraph Committee. This Conference gave effect to certain recommendations put forward on several occasions by the Assembly. Facilities were granted for telegraphic and telephonic communication with the seat of the League of Nations, these communications being assimilated to State communications. The Conference also gave effect to a recommendation adopted by the Assembly with regard to the use of Esperanto in telegraphic communications.

The Advisory and Technical Committee has hitherto restricted its activity mainly to Europe, where, as we have said, the situation consequent upon the war had given these services exceptional importance. I would like to point out, however, that, in the interests of the League of Nations and of the Latin-American States, it would be most desirable that its work should extend to these countries. For this purpose information would first have to be collected on both sides in order that, on the one hand, the Advisory and Technical Committee might become familiar with the situation and conditions of the Latin-American countries as regards transit and communications, and that, on the other hand, the Governments and public opinion in these countries might be acquainted with the aim and work of the Committee, the results obtained and the ways in which the Committee could on occasion do them important service. In order to attain this result, the Committee must get into touch with the governmental and administrative bodies responsible for communications in each of these countries and supply them with all necessary information on

the work it has already done, at the same time asking them for details regarding the situation of communications in each country.

This exchange of information between the Latin-American countries and one of the most important organs of the League of Nations on questions which are of such importance for their future development will always be of the highest utility as an element of international co-operation. It is especially necessary at the present time, when the preliminary work for the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit is being actively pursued — a Conference in which representatives of these countries will naturally take part — since they and their respective Governments must be provided with sufficient documentation and information in the interests of the success of the Conference.

It might further be suggested that an annual summary of the principal work of the Advisory and Technical Committee should be made (as much might be said of the work of the other technical organisations of the League). This summary, translated into Spanish and widely distributed in the Latin-American countries, would contribute towards extending the field of activity of the Committee, and would spread among these peoples a knowledge of the work of the League of Nations in the economic sphere which interests them more particularly, and complete the intellectual and idealist support they have hitherto given to the great creation of Woodrow Wilson by a practical adherence and immediate results.

The various questions of documentation and liaison will be discussed at the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, which will have to renew the Advisory and Technical Committee, examine its work from the point of view of specialists, lay down rules for the future and deal with all problems of organisation. This Conference, which will be held in 1927, cannot accordingly but be of great utility, especially as it will not be required to conclude any conventions. It will certainly meet with complete success, as will also the special Conference which will deal, on the basis of conclusions already reached as a result of the work of the Advisory and Technical Committee, with the question of the unification of buoyage and lighting of coasts, a question which specially concerns safety at sea, and in this way all maritime transport.

In conclusion, the Second Committee submits the following draft resolution to the Assembly:

I. "The Assembly:

"Notes the progress accomplished by the Organisation for Communications and Transit since the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, and especially the success obtained by the European Conference on the Measurement of Vessels employed in Inland Navigation and the Conference on the Passports Regime;

"Trusts that the Third General Conference on Communications and Transit, which will be held in 1927 and which will examine in particular the general questions of organisation and documentation, will consider the question of improving, as far as possible, technical liaison between the work of the Organisation for Communications and Transit and the specialised administration and experts of non-European countries; and

"Notes, finally, the conclusion of the work of the Special Committee of Enquiry into the Reform of the Calendar, and associates itself with the findings and suggestions made by the Advisory and Technical Committee.

The Second Committee has also examined the proposal of the Chilean delegation concerning the facilities to be granted in the crossing of frontiers to journalists who hold cards issued by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations. This proposal had been referred to it by the Assembly.

The Second Committee, while entirely approving the spirit of the Chilean delegation's proposal, has had regard, in drawing up the draft resolution which it is submitting to the Assembly, to the discussions which took place recently at the Passport Conference and to the assurances given to it that, on the occasion of the said Conference, most of the delegations assembled at Geneva had declared that, although they could not impose upon themselves strict regulations of an international character, their Governments were prepared in practice to give journalists who held these cards all the facilities which may be deemed possible.

In these circumstances it appeared to the Second Committee that it would be sufficient if the Assembly were to take note of the situation by the adoption of the following resolution:

II. "The Assembly,

"Desiring that all possible assistance should be given to journalists attending the meetings of the League at Geneva,

"Takes note of the liberal statements made at the time of the Passports Conference with regard to the facilities for crossing frontiers to be granted to bearers of identity cards issued by the International Association of Journalists accredited to the League of Nations."

ANNEX 19.

INTERPRETATION OF THE PREAMBLE AND OF ARTICLES
3 AND 4 OF THE COVENANT.

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Professor BARTHÉLEMY (France).

On September 14th, 1926, the Assembly referred to its First Committee a proposal by the British Delegation, as follows:

"The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a Committee to consider and report what questions are and what are not within the sphere of action of the League within the meaning of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, especially with reference to the questions which are now being dealt with by the organs of the League or are proposed to be so dealt with".

During discussion in the First Committee, the British delegate withdrew his proposal for the appointment of a Committee of the Council, basing his withdrawal on various considerations, more particularly on the desire to avoid the expense which would be incurred by the meeting of this Committee at Geneva outside the sessions of the Assembly.

The British delegate submitted to the First Committee a memorandum setting forth the arguments in support of the other parts of the proposal.

After a full discussion, which maintained a very high level, the First Committee recommends to the Assembly the adoption of the following Resolution:

"The Assembly:

"Having considered with the deepest interest Viscount Cecil's proposal and the memorandum of the British delegation annexed to the present resolution¹;

"Shares the feelings which inspired these two documents;

"Recognises that the League of Nations should avoid dissipating its activity upon subjects which might divert it from its lofty mission of promoting the peace of the world and facilitating co-operation between nations for the peaceful progress of mankind;

"Recommends that each body forming part of the League, before taking into consideration any proposal submitted to it, should satisfy itself that the proposal is in accordance with the objects of the League as indicated by the Covenant and possesses real importance from the point of view of the attainment of those objects;

"Decides that in case of doubt, and if so requested by a member of the body, the question shall be submitted to the Council, in the interval between the sessions of the Assembly, and, during those sessions, to the Committee appointed by the Assembly for legal and constitutional questions.

"The present resolution shall be brought by the Secretary-General to the knowledge of the various bodies forming part of the League."

Appendix.

MEMORANDUM BY THE BRITISH DELEGATION, DATED SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1926,
ON VISCOUNT CECIL'S RESOLUTION².

In the sixth and seventh ordinary sessions of the Assembly, as well as earlier, questions have been raised as to whether particular proposals did not go beyond the sphere of action of the League. The phrase "sphere of action of the League", as used in Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, is nowhere defined, but its meaning may be gathered from various passages in that document.

The wording of Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant is sufficient to show that a matter may fall within the sphere of action of the League even though it does not affect the peace of the world. Both the Assembly and the Council are authorised at their meetings to deal with any matter "within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world". The first phrase would be superfluous if the activities of the League were limited to matters relating to peace and war.

On the other hand, its activities are limited to matters of international concern. Thus, in the Preamble of the Covenant, it is stated to have been agreed to for the purpose of (1) promoting *international* co-operation, and (2) achieving *international* peace and security. Again, Articles

¹ See Appendix.

² "The Assembly requests the Council to appoint a committee to consider and report what questions are and what are not within the sphere of action of the League within the meaning of the Preamble and Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, especially with reference to the questions which are now being dealt with by the organs of the League or are proposed to be so dealt with."

8-17 inclusive consist of various provisions declared to be essential for the maintenance of peace and "the good understanding between nations". No one questions that these are within the sphere of the League.

They deal primarily with armaments, aggression and international disputes which may be likely to lead to a breach of the peace. But it is to be noted that, even in a dispute likely to lead to a rupture, if the matter "is solely within the jurisdiction" of one of the parties, the Council is not to attempt to pronounce upon its merits.

Further, by the Preamble, international co-operation is to be promoted by: first, open diplomacy; secondly, observing international law; and, thirdly, maintaining justice and a scrupulous respect for treaties in the dealings of organised peoples *with one another*. All these presuppose international relations. Diplomacy is only concerned with the relations of Governments. International law only comes into play as between different Governments or their nationals, and the last heading is specifically limited to the dealings of organised peoples with one another.

It is worth noting that this last clause of the Preamble as to maintaining justice in the dealings of organised peoples with one another, though containing two phrases, is again restricted in its operation by Articles 23 and 24 of the Covenant, by which the obligations of Members of the League with regard to a variety of matters which primarily are matters of national concern are to be carried out in conformity with international conventions present or future. This shows that the two phrases of the last clause of the Preamble must be read together and not separately.

The activities of the League may be roughly divided into its political functions and its non-political, the political functions including the administrative duties which have been cast upon the League.

The administrative duties now exercised by the League all originate in special treaty provisions, such as those in connection with the Saar (Treaty of Versailles, Article 49), Mandates (Covenant, Article 22), Minorities (various special treaties and declarations).

All the administrative duties of the League originate in special treaty provisions. Their existence, therefore, throws no light on the question of the correct interpretation of the words "sphere of action of the League".

The political activities of the League (other than its administrative functions) fall, like disarmament, into the category of questions affecting the peace of the world. Any circumstance which threatens to disturb that good understanding between nations upon which peace depends is proclaimed by Article 11 of the Covenant to be a subject which a Member of the League may bring before the Council or the Assembly. It is the element that it may be a potential source of quarrel which is important; as such it may affect the peace of the world. However much a matter of internal politics might constitute a burning question in a State, the League would have no *locus standi* to take it up unless there was reason to think that it might prejudice and disturb relations with another State. To fall within the province of the League, a political question must be international in the sense of being a potential source of quarrel.

It is in connection with non-political matters that the chief difficulty arises in deciding what is or is not within the proper function of the League.

An examination of the Articles of the Covenant shows that only Articles 23-25 deal with such matters. The earlier Articles 1-7 relate to its organisation. Articles 8-17 relate to the maintenance of peace. Articles 18-21 relate to treaties, *i.e.*, international engagements. Article 22 to administrative work, *viz.*, mandates; and Article 26 to amendments. Only Articles 22-25 remain to cover the social and economic activities of the League, and these articles show the limitations of the League's action in such matters.

The subjects covered by Article 23 are primarily national matters. To enable the League to intervene, there must be either a treaty or (under Article 24) an international bureau, and a bureau must of necessity be the creature of a treaty or an agreement. The sphere of the League no doubt comprises the encouragement of States to conclude treaties upon these matters, but actual intervention in national affairs is not compatible with the Covenant until such time as a treaty has been concluded. As no treaty can be concluded without the concurrence of the States which accept it, the League cannot intervene in the national affairs of any such State unless by its own action that State has consented thereto.

In most of the cases covered by Article 23, no progress can be made except by international agreement. This applies to every subject which raises questions of international communication, such as those enumerated in sub-paragraph (c) of Article 23. To this class also belong all the questions dealt with by the Transit Committee. Closely allied to these are the economic questions referred to in sub-paragraph (e) of the same article, which include not only the questions of communication and transit there mentioned but also such matters as tariffs and other commercial barriers. To these must be added a variety of matters dealing with commerce, such as unfair competition, commercial arbitration, etc., which are necessarily international in their character and are therefore rightly to be regulated by treaty. So, too, the conditions and hours of labour in the various countries; though from one point of view they are primarily of national interest, yet by reason of the economic unity of the world, labour conditions in one country have a very direct bearing on labour conditions in another. A more difficult case is perhaps that of health. Epidemics of infectious diseases clearly warrant international regulation by means of a treaty, since their existence in one country constitutes a danger for its neighbours. Beyond that, a more difficult ground is reached. Some matters of hygiene certainly appear national.

Questions of nutrition, housing, even cleanliness, except so far as it is a contributory cause to infectious disease, seem primarily national matters and should so remain. Again, education is evidently normally a national matter, though it may be argued that it is in the interests of peace that the population of the world may be educated in sound moral and religious principles. Certainly

text-books which glorify war and ignore the League of Nations may be justly considered to be an international danger. At the other end of the educational scale, no one would maintain that the best method of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic was anything but a matter of national concern; and the same applies to provision for recreation, such as swimming-baths and the like. Morals, too, are normally national rather than international, though deleterious literature and films, since they travel from one country to another, have an international aspect. Further, even in strictly national matters there may be, and often is, an international interest in providing by agreement for the pooling of knowledge and experience. In fighting some intractable disease, for instance, it may be very important that the knowledge of what is being done and the experiences in different countries should be collected and compared, and this is equally true of many other subjects.

In all those matters which are national in their essence but which have a direct bearing on the well-being of populations, international interest may justify efforts to conclude international agreements for improving comparative knowledge but cannot extend to recommendations of changes in national legislation or administration. Many matters, of course, have nothing but a national interest, such as national customs, dress, food, recreations, etc.

Article 25 might at first sight appear to run counter to the principle enunciated above. In reality, it supports it. The Red Cross organisations there referred to are specifically stated to be national organisations. It was the fact that the organisations were national, which necessitated a special article of the Covenant with regard to them. If the League could concern itself with any national organisations, Article 25 would have been unnecessary.

The principle which emerges appears to be fairly clear.

In non-political matters such as those of a social or economic character, the League has no *locus standi* except (1) where a treaty has been concluded, and then of course the observance of the treaty is a matter of international interest; or (2) where the subject-matter has sufficient repercussion outside the frontiers of a particular State to justify consideration of the subject by the League, and in that case the efforts of the League must be directed first to securing the adoption of a suitable treaty. Without such a treaty, action by the League would constitute intervention in national affairs in a manner and to an extent not provided for by the Covenant. Thirdly, the collection and comparison of information with regard to national activities in the various States as to matters of serious interest to humanity in general may be often profitably undertaken by the League.

A. 104. 1926. VI.

ANNEX 20.

SLAVERY CONVENTION.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Viscount CECIL OF CHELWOOD (British Empire).

The Sixth Committee, with the help of a Sub-Committee, and assisted by M. Gohr, Chairman of the Temporary Slavery Commission, considered anew in the light of the observations which had been made by various Governments and by members of the Committee, the Draft Slavery Convention which was prepared by the last ordinary session of the Assembly.

As a result of the careful consideration given to this question during the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, it was unnecessary to go over much of the ground which had been so fully covered on the previous occasion. In order, however, that the present report may be comprehensive, much of the comment contained in the report which I had the honour to submit to the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly has been embodied in the present paper, which therefore constitutes a full commentary on the final text of the Convention.

The Convention itself is appended to this document and I now propose to comment briefly on its different articles.

Article 1 (Definitions).

No change has been made in this article. The text is primarily the result of the work of legal experts, and appears to the Committee to correspond satisfactorily with the chief object they had in view.

Article 2 (Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade).

The Sixth Committee was of the opinion that the abolition of slavery could only be successfully brought about with due regard to the maintenance of order and the well-being of the peoples

concerned. This accounts for the use of the word "progressively" in paragraph (b), for it was recognised that in certain cases in the past the attempt to do away with slavery and other similar conditions in an abrupt manner, although noble in its inspiration, had resulted in unforeseen hardships for the individuals whose condition it was sought to alleviate, and even in grave social upheavals. The Committee, nevertheless, was confident that each Government concerned would do its utmost to bring about the total disappearance of slavery at the very earliest moment.

Indeed, the Committee carefully considered certain definite proposals which were made for the purpose of alleviating the hardships which might result from the transition period, fully realising that the measures which would be most appropriate to this end would probably vary with the circumstances existing in different localities and at different times, and that they must be left to the judgment of the Government responsible. Among the measures proposed was the suggestion that in certain cases there could be an arrangement whereby freed slaves in possession of all their natural and civil rights might be obliged to continue to serve their former masters for a certain time, but only subject to the obligations and rights consequent upon a labour contract.

The German delegation urged on the Committee that, in order to minimise the loss which enfranchisement would cause to slave-owners, compensation should be provided for them.

It also proposed that steps should be agreed on to enable the enfranchised slaves who could not be repatriated to begin the life of freedom under possible economic conditions.

The Committee, however, felt that these proposals, admirable in many cases, could with difficulty be inserted in the Convention. They would require considerable safeguards against abuse and belonged rather to the sphere of national than international action.

A slight change has been made in the drafting of sub-paragraph (b) of this article, the words "notably in the case of domestic slavery and similar conditions" being now omitted. This modification was made because it was believed that such conditions came within the definition of slavery contained in the first article and that no further prohibition of them in express terms was necessary. This applies not only to domestic slavery but to all those conditions mentioned by the Temporary Slavery Commission and to which I referred last year, *i.e.*, "debt slavery", the enslaving of persons disguised as the adoption of children and the acquisition of girls by purchase disguised as payment of dowry, etc. Even if these last practices do not come under the definition of slavery as it is given in Article 1, the Commission is unanimously of the opinion that they must be combated. In a more general way, it interprets Article 2 as tending to bring about the disappearance from written legislation or from the customs of the country of everything which admits the maintenance by a private individual of rights over another person of the same nature as the rights which an individual can have over things.

Article 3 (Slave Trade by Sea).

The British Government again supported a suggestion contained in the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission that the transport of slaves by sea be treated in the Convention as piracy. The Sixth Committee took the same attitude toward the question from a moral point of view, but many members of the Commission thought that serious difficulties arose as regards the application in law of this proposal. No attempt has therefore been made to incorporate a clause to this effect in Article 3. The French Government proposes that, instead, the provisions of the Arms Traffic Convention dealing with maritime rights should be inserted in the Convention, with the necessary adaptations to make them applicable to slaves. Other delegations felt, however, that to make so considerable a change in the Convention would not be in consonance with their instructions. The Committee therefore decided to confine itself to the article in the Convention which refers to certain provisions of the Convention concerning the International Trade in Arms, gives greater elasticity as to the final arrangements to be made, and provides for the absolute equality of the signatory States. In particular, attention may be drawn to the third paragraph of Article 3, which provides for the conclusion of special agreements between the signatory Powers. These agreements will enable the parties concerned to make arrangements of greater stringency and stipulations better suited to local conditions than are possible in a general International Convention.

Article 4 (Mutual Assistance).

No change has been made in this article, but the various suggestions as to its application made on behalf of the Committee last year may be recalled. It was then pointed out that mutual assistance might be given in particular by arrangements for the right of pursuit across inland frontiers, a point treated in the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission. I sincerely trust that such arrangements for the right of pursuit across inland frontiers will be concluded by the States concerned, particularly those situated in Africa, Arabia or Asia, or those having possessions in these parts of the world.

Another manner in which I suggest States might assist one another to secure the abolition of slavery is by instructing their respective consular officers in places where manumission or similar methods of freeing slaves exist, to collaborate closely with a view to liberating and repatriating slaves when and wherever possible.

All States might apply the provisions of this article in regard to such matters as extradition, which do not concern colonial areas alone.

Article 5 (Forced or Compulsory Labour).

In drafting this article, the Committee confronted perhaps the most difficult of the problems before it. After much consideration, the present drafting was finally agreed. It represents a

definite attempt to deal with the question of forced labour in a general international agreement. This alone marks progress of considerable importance.

The Committee was very anxious to put into the Convention all the provisions necessary to prevent forced labour giving rise to conditions analogous to slavery. With this object in view, it has agreed that forced labour should only be resorted to for public purposes, apart from purely transitory arrangements designed to make the progressive abolition of forced labour for private purposes both just and practicable. In this connection it will be observed that stringent conditions are imposed on forced labour for private purposes even during the transitory period. Among these conditions is the requirement that adequate remuneration should be paid to those subjected to forced labour. In the case of forced labour for public purposes, this condition is not repeated. This omission has been made because there are cases where forced labour for public purposes is not remunerated in the ordinary sense of that word. For instance, in certain countries labour for public purposes is accepted instead of taxes. There are also other exceptional cases in which it could scarcely be said that compulsory labour for public purposes is, strictly speaking, remunerated. But though the requirement that adequate remuneration should be paid for forced labour for public purposes is not included in the Convention, the Committee is strongly of opinion that such remuneration should as a general rule be paid. It is also of opinion that forced labour, even for public purposes, should not as a general rule be resorted to unless voluntary labour is unobtainable. It therefore suggests that the Assembly should pass a resolution to this effect, which I shall subsequently propose and which is based on a proposal by the German delegation.

The Belgian delegation had submitted an amendment to the effect that forced labour might also be exacted in the interests of education and social welfare, provided that it was only imposed upon the natives in those two cases on their own lands and for their own direct profit. In the mind of the authors of the amendment, this provision had no other purpose than to give to the colonial Governments the means of protecting the natives against their want of foresight, and to assist them in rising to a more advanced state of civilisation. The Commission, while recognising the disinterested and humanitarian motives for this suggestion, was not able to accept it. It feared that in its application this proposal might lead to grave abuses of exactly the type which the Convention itself was designed to prevent or suppress.

It was also suggested that a clause be added to this article providing for the infliction of due punishment on anyone who exacted or who sought to exact forced labour from natives illegally. The Committee entirely agreed with the intention of the authors of this proposal, but considered that such an addition to Article 5 was unnecessary, as in its opinion such punishment would be provided for as the result of stipulations in Article 6. Last year the representative of Norway called attention to the useful work which could be done by the International Labour Office in bringing about better conditions for native labour and the question was again considered this year. I shall shortly propose a resolution which resulted from this discussion.

Article 6 (Penalties).

The desirability of attaching severe penalties to the legislation against the slave trade is too evident to need comment. The draft article as adopted last year only obliged the contracting parties to adopt or to propose for adoption by their respective legislatures the necessary measures in this respect, but the final text has been strengthened by the omission of the words "or to propose for adoption by their respective legislatures", making the adoption of the necessary measures an obligation resulting automatically from the ratification and coming into force of the Convention.

Article 7 (Exchange of Laws and Regulations).

This article remains as in the draft Convention, but it is supplemented by a resolution which the Commission desires to propose to the Assembly for adoption. This resolution, which is given textually at the end of this report, is proposed to enable the Assembly to continue to follow future developments in the task of removing from the world the scourge of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. The Commission considers that the Governments concerned will be glad of the opportunity to inform their co-Members of the League of the measures taken to this end and of the success achieved. No attempt has been made to lay down any definite methods as regards the use of the documentation in question, as it was considered that the Council, in the light of experience and of the information received, would be in a better position to instruct the Secretary-General as to the methods appropriate to achieve the desired end without undue expense.

Article 8 (Compulsory Jurisdiction of the International Court).

This article is substantially identical with articles of the same nature which have been inserted in several international conventions negotiated during recent years under the auspices of the League of Nations, and it imposes no new obligation on the Members of the League of Nations which have signed the optional clause of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 9 (Partial Accessions to the Convention).

This article has been inserted primarily for formal reasons in most of the recent international conventions and it was considered advisable to follow a practice which has now become usual.

Article 10 (Denunciation of the Convention), Article 11 (Signature of and Adhesion to the Convention) and Article 12 (Ratification and Coming into Force of the Convention) do not appear to call for any remarks.

Old Article 8 (Abrogation of Previous Conventions).

The draft Convention contained an article (No. 8) which provided that:

“All the provisions of international conventions of a general character anterior to the date of the present Convention shall be regarded as abrogated, in so far as they relate to matters dealt with in the present Convention and bind in their relations with each other the Powers which are parties to the said Convention.”

In view of the fact that the legal position, with reference to these previous Conventions, did not seem to be altogether clear, and as there was no desire to reflect upon the importance or the value of these conventions, or to express an opinion upon their maintenance, the Committee decided that it would be preferable, in order that any misunderstandings might be avoided, to omit the article in the final Convention. It is hoped that this change will remove the misapprehensions expressed to the League of Nations by the Apostolic Nuncio at Berne.

When the British Government proposed a convention on this subject at the opening of the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly, it was thought that it might be possible and desirable to conclude the convention during that session, and to open it immediately for signature. This action, however, turned out to be impracticable in such a short time, as many delegates had not sufficient opportunity to examine the question and did not possess the necessary powers. It is now a matter of peculiar gratification to me to propose that the text of the revised convention, which I believe to be an improvement over the draft of last year, should be approved by the seventh ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and immediately opened for signature by all Members of the League. As a result of a resolution adopted by the Council at its session in June last, the Secretary-General has already suggested to the Governments of States Members of the League that their delegates be given powers to sign a convention at the present Assembly. This will enable all delegations possessing the necessary powers to associate their Governments immediately with this further step in the movement for the eradication of one of the greatest evils of the world.

I have the honour to propose the following resolutions:

“ I. The Assembly:

“ Approves the Slavery Convention¹ drafted by its Sixth Committee and earnestly trusts that it will be signed and ratified as soon as possible by all the Members of the League of Nations;

“ Instructs the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to bring the Convention officially to the knowledge of all States Members or non-members of the League of Nations which may not have signed it before the end of the present session of the Assembly, to the end that they may sign or adhere to it in accordance with the provisions of Article 11 of the Conventions.”

“ II. The Assembly:

“ Desires that the League of Nations should continue to interest itself in securing the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto and therefore requests the Council to prepare and communicate to the Assembly every year a document mentioning the laws and regulations which parties to the Convention on Slavery, in accordance with Article 7, will have communicated to the Secretary-General, and that the Council will include therein any supplementary information which the Members of the League may be disposed spontaneously to furnish with regard to the measures taken by them to this end.”

“ III. The Assembly:

“ While recognising that forced labour for public purposes is sometimes necessary;
“ Is of opinion that, as a general rule, it should not be resorted to unless it is impossible to obtain voluntary labour and should receive adequate remuneration.”

“ IV. The Assembly:

“ Taking note of the work undertaken by the International Labour Office in conformity with the mission entrusted to it and within the limits of its constitution;

“ Considering that these studies naturally include the problem of forced labour;

“ Requests the Council to inform the Governing Body of the International Labour Office of the adoption of the Slavery Convention, and to draw its attention to the importance of the work undertaken by the Office with a view to studying the best means of preventing forced or compulsory labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.”

¹ See Appendix.

Appendix.

SLAVERY CONVENTION.

.....
Whereas the signatories of the General Act of the Brussels Conference of 1889-90 declared that they were equally animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the traffic in African slaves;

Whereas the signatories of the Convention of Saint Germain-en-Laye of 1919 to revise the General Act of Berlin of 1885 and the General Act and Declaration of Brussels of 1890 affirmed their intention of securing the complete suppression of slavery in all its forms and of the slave trade by land and sea;

Taking into consideration the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission appointed by the Council of the League of Nations on June 12th, 1924;

Desiring to complete and extend the work accomplished under the Brussels Act and to find a means of giving practical effect throughout the world to such intentions as were expressed in regard to slave trade and slavery by the signatories of the Convention of Saint Germain-en-Laye, and recognising that it is necessary to conclude to that end more detailed arrangements than are contained in that Convention;

Considering, moreover, that it is necessary to prevent forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery;

Have decided to conclude a Convention and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

.....
Who, having communicated their full powers, have agreed as follows: •

Article 1.

For the purpose of the present Convention, the following definitions are agreed upon:

1. Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.

2. The slave trade includes all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves.

Article 2.

The High Contracting Parties undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, so far as they have not already taken the necessary steps:

- (a) To prevent and suppress the slave trade;
- (b) To bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms.

Article 3.

• The High Contracting Parties undertake to adopt all appropriate measures with a view to preventing and suppressing the embarkation, disembarkation and transport of slaves in their territorial waters and upon all vessels flying their respective flags.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to negotiate as soon as possible a general Convention with regard to the slave trade which will give them rights and impose upon them duties of the same nature as those provided for in the Convention of June 17th, 1925, relative to the International Trade in Arms (Articles 12, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of Section II of Annex II) with the necessary adaptations, it being understood that this general Convention will not place the ships (even of small tonnage) of any High Contracting Parties in a position different from that of the other High Contracting Parties.

It is also understood that, before or after the coming into force of this general Convention, the High Contracting Parties are entirely free to conclude between themselves, without, however, derogating from the principles laid down in the preceding paragraph, such special agreements as, by reason of their peculiar situation, might appear to be suitable in order to bring about as soon as possible the complete disappearance of the slave trade.

Article 4.

The High Contracting Parties shall give to one another every assistance with the object of securing the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

Article 5.

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

It is agreed that:

(1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes.

(2) In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.

(3) In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

Article 6.

Those of the High Contracting Parties whose laws do not at present make adequate provision for the punishment of infractions of laws and regulations enacted with a view to giving effect to the purposes of the present Convention undertake to adopt the necessary measures in order that severe penalties may be imposed in respect of such infractions.

Article 7.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to communicate to each other and to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations any laws and regulations which they may enact with a view to the application of the provisions of the present Convention.

Article 8.

The High Contracting Parties agree that disputes arising between them relating to the interpretation or application of this Convention shall, if they cannot be settled by direct negotiation, be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In case either or both of the States Parties to such a dispute should not be parties to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, relating to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the dispute shall be referred, at the choice of the Parties and in accordance with the constitutional procedure of each State, either to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to a court of arbitration constituted in accordance with the Convention of October 18th, 1907, for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, or to some other court of arbitration.

Article 9.

At the time of signature or of ratification or of accession, any High Contracting Party may declare that its acceptance of the present Convention does not bind some or all of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage in respect of all or any provisions of the Convention; it may subsequently accede separately on behalf of any one of them or in respect of any provision to which any one of them is not a party.

Article 10.

In the event of a High Contracting Party wishing to denounce the present Convention, the denunciation shall be notified in writing to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who will at once communicate a certified true copy of the notification to all the other High Contracting Parties informing them of the date on which it was received.

The denunciation shall only have effect in regard to the notifying State, and one year after the notification has reached the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

Denunciation may also be made separately in respect of any territory placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage.

Article 11.

The present Convention, which will bear this day's date and of which the French and English texts are both authentic, will remain open for signature by the States Members of the League of Nations until April 1st, 1927.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations will subsequently bring the present Convention to the notice of States which have not signed it, including States which are not Members of the League of Nations, and invite them to accede thereto.

A State desiring to accede to the Convention shall notify its intention in writing to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and transmit to him the instrument of accession, which shall be deposited in the archives of the League.

The Secretary-General shall immediately transmit to all the other High Contracting Parties a certified true copy of the notification and of the instrument of accession, informing them of the date on which he received them.

Article 12.

The present Convention will be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the office of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General will inform all the High Contracting Parties of such deposit.

The Convention will come into operation for each State on the date of the deposit of its ratification or of its accession.

In faith whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

DONE at Geneva the twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six, in one copy, which will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. A certified copy shall be forwarded to each signatory State.

ANNEX 21.

A. III. 1926. IV.

SETTLEMENT OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Dr. BREITSCHIED (Germany).

The Assembly will have studied the documents which have been circulated regarding this question, namely, the report of the Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission, the report of the Financial Committee to the Council, and the resolution taken by the Council on September 16th, 1926.

The situation disclosed appears to be the following: Definite plans for an irrigation and settlement scheme have been drawn up after a careful enquiry, and a reliable estimate has been made of the expenditure involved—about one and a-half million pounds sterling. No further enquiry into this aspect of the problem is necessary, and the scheme is likely to be self-supporting if the initial sum required to finance it can be obtained.

It does not appear probable that the sum required can be provided by means of an ordinary public loan. In any case the Council, on the advice of the Financial Committee, is not able to declare that it could associate itself with the issue of such a loan to the extent and in the form for which precedents exist in the case of Austria, Hungary, Greece and Bulgaria.

At the same time, the Council has stated that, subject to certain conditions, and if requested to do so by the parties interested, it would be willing to appoint persons to supervise the due expenditure of the money in the manner proposed in the plan.

The Settlement Commission has put forward an alternative to the flotation of a public loan. It has suggested that private organisations and individuals may be willing to put up money in the form of a loan or gift for this scheme, and the Committee thinks that the Assembly would wish to do what is in its power to facilitate all efforts which may be made to obtain it in this way, the more so as the Council has declared itself ready, if the money is forthcoming, and subject to the conditions contained in the report of the Financial Committee, to supervise its expenditure.

In order to carry out the work which is obviously necessary if such a sum is to be obtained, it may, the Committee suggests, be necessary to create a small committee composed of representatives of those organisations most likely to interest themselves in the project. A careful enquiry should be made in order to determine the organisations most suitable for this purpose.

It is not necessary to elaborate here the reasons why the League of Nations should continue to take an active part in promoting this scheme. At every session of the Assembly since the inception of the League, resolutions have been passed expressing sympathy with the object of the scheme, namely the creation of a national home for Armenia, and these resolutions have been reinforced by the declarations made in many quarters by responsible statesmen belonging to many States Members of the League.

The Committee has the honour to propose the following draft resolution for the Assembly. It will be observed that the fourth paragraph of this resolution involves an inscription in the Budget for next year. After a joint Sub-Committee meeting between the Fourth and Fifth Committees, this paragraph was approved on behalf of the Fifth Committee and voted later by a majority of a meeting of the Fourth Committee.

“ The Assembly: ”

“ (1) Takes note of and adopts the report of the Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission (document C.328.M.135.1926.II), and expresses its appreciation of the valuable work done by this Commission in the elaboration of a workable scheme, found after careful enquiry to be technically sound, which it is estimated will result in the settlement of at least 25,000 Armenians in their national home.

“ (2) Takes note of the resolution of the Council of September 16th, 1926, stating that, if the money to finance the initial outlay required by the scheme is forthcoming, the Council would, subject to certain conditions and if requested to do so by the parties interested, be willing to appoint a person or persons to supervise the due expenditure of that money for the objects specified in the scheme;

“ (3) Requests the Council to consider the possibility, after due enquiry, of setting up a small committee, under the chairmanship of a member appointed by the Council and consisting partly of representatives of private organisations interested in the promotion of this scheme, to investigate the possibility of obtaining the sum required, and of using it for the purposes of the scheme in the Republic of Armenia;

“ (4) Decides that a sum of 15,000 francs be allowed, subject to the conditions already set forth, in order to provide for the printing and distribution of literature regarding the proposed financial operation and to permit Dr. Nansen — or his representative — to lay his proposals before possible contributors in Europe or America. ”

A. 109. 1926. IV.

ANNEX 22.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN REFUGEES.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Dr. BREITSCHIED (*Germany*).

The Fifth Committee of the Assembly has carefully considered the reports on Armenian and Russian refugee problems submitted by the High Commissioner for Refugees and by the International Labour Office, and has recommended unanimously the adoption by the Assembly of the resolutions at the foot of this report.

The Assembly is too well acquainted with the general aspects of the Armenian and Russian refugee problems, which have occupied the attention of successive Assemblies, for it to be necessary to dilate on their origins, their gravity, or their economic and social repercussion on the large numbers of countries concerned.

On looking back at the beginning of those problems and at the existing situation as disclosed in the reports submitted by the High Commissioner and by the International Labour Office, the Fifth Committee considered that the Assembly was entitled to a feeling of legitimate satisfaction at the commendable foresight it displayed in recognising their international importance in their early stages, and of having made the happy choice of a combination of the co-ordinated efforts of Dr. Nansen and of the International Labour Office for their progressive solution. It is because new and important technical means have been placed at the service of the ideal of human solidarity that several thousands of destitute and unemployed refugees owe their present comparatively tolerable situation, achieved at a relatively negligible expenditure per head. Had the refugees been left to fend for themselves, the results would have been disastrous to the majority of them, and very embarrassing to the countries where they were concentrated in the largest numbers. It is only necessary to compare the unhappy situation of other “*Staatenlosen*” who do not enjoy the protection of the High Commissioner and that of the refugees to appreciate the far-reaching value of this international action.

The statistics furnished in the report of the International Labour Office indicate the existence of no fewer than one million Armenian and Russian refugees in 26 different countries. As definite records had not been received from certain countries, where large numbers of refugees are known to exist, it would therefore be probably safe to estimate the total number of Armenian and Russian refugees at not less than 1,500,000. Of this number, 190,000 are reported to be unemployed; but this figure again does not include the statistics for the countries referred to, so that the total number of unemployed refugees may be reckoned at not less than 250,000.

That the political, economic and social difficulties inherent to problems of this magnitude have so far been either avoided or solved in their infancy without their having led to political crises must be considered a tribute to the efficacy of the co-operation established between the High Commissioner and the International Labour Office.

The methods adopted to achieve that satisfactory state of affairs merit the attention of the Assembly, in order that it may be in a position to endorse the recommendations made by the Fifth Committee to fortify them.

In accordance with the request of the sixth session of the Assembly, the High Commissioner, in May last, convened an inter-Governmental Conference for the purpose of improving the refugee passport systems, and of raising a revolving fund of not less than £100,000 to assist the migration of refugees. From the comprehensive information made available as a result of that Conference, it appears that the International Passport Arrangement has been adopted by 46 and 34 Governments in respect of Russian and Armenian refugees respectively, and is therefore probably the most widely applied international technical arrangement existing. Practical experience, however, indicated that the refugees in some countries were not receiving the benefits from the passport systems contemplated at the time when the International Arrangement was framed. The Conference therefore drew up a supplementary Arrangement, on May 12th, 1926, which was designed:

- (a) To regularise the identity certificate systems for Armenian and Russian refugees;
- (b) To determine more accurately the number and situation of Armenian and Russian refugees in the various countries;
- (c) To create a revolving fund to provide for the cost of transport and settlement of refugees by the introduction of a yearly tax of 5 gold francs on self-supporting refugees.

That Arrangement was signed by the representatives of 22 countries, and has already been ratified or adopted by the British, Bulgarian, Danish, Estonian, Finnish, French, Greek, Indian, Luxemburg, Polish, Swedish and Swiss Governments with certain reservations.

The urgent necessity of complying with the High Commissioner's appeal for the early and general ratification of that arrangement is only too apparent from a perusal of the reports to the Assembly, but the Fifth Committee considered it necessary to emphasise certain important points falling under the above three headings:

(a) Serious discriminations are made by certain countries against the bearers of refugee identity certificates, as compared with the holders of national passports. This constitutes a serious hardship to refugees desiring to travel for professional, health, or domestic reasons, and renders exceedingly difficult the work of placing the refugees undertaken by the International Labour Office. A special appeal should be made to the various Governments in this connection to apply the identity certificate systems as generously as possible in order to ensure the refugees the freedom of movement necessary to enable them to travel in search of employment or for health or family reasons.

(b) The International Labour Office experiences considerable difficulty in obtaining accurate statistics regarding the number of unemployed refugees according to their occupations. The general application of the identity certificate systems would contribute considerably to the removal of that difficulty.

(c) The report of the High Commissioner and that of the International Labour Office lays stress on the fact that the maximum value cannot be secured from their services until the revolving fund recommended by the sixth ordinary session of the Assembly and planned by the Inter-Governmental Conference materialises. The arguments in favour of that fund appear to be incontestable; on the one hand it is shown that eight governments alone expended annually no less than 20 million gold francs on their refugee problems, or 335 francs per head of the refugees concerned, whereas the cost to the League, in the shape of administrative liquidation expenditure, is no more than 20 francs per head, expenditure from the revolving fund being reimbursed by the refugee benefiting therefrom.

The reports demonstrate conclusively that the policy and methods pursued by the High Commissioner and by the International Labour Office have won the approval, not only of the emigration countries offering hospitality to the refugees but also of the immigration countries desirous of taking advantage of the International Labour Office for the recruitment of selected labour. Nothing is lacking but the funds indispensable for transport and settlement expenses and the Fifth Committee decided that, not only should a strong resolution be submitted to the Assembly on this point, but that its individual members should exert every possible effort with their respective Governments to enlist their benevolent co-operation for the creation of the Fund. This is not only necessary for the normal development of refugee overseas emigration, but also in view of the precarious situation of the large number of Armenian refugees in Syria, for whose settlement the co-operation of the High Commissioner and the International Labour Office is sought.

The Fifth Committee proposes the adoption of the following resolutions by the Assembly:

“ The Assembly,

“ (1) Having carefully examined the reports of the High Commissioner and of the International Labour Office on the refugee questions (document A.44.1926):

“ Approves those reports;

“ Expresses its high appreciation of the important work which they have accomplished for the refugees;

“ Expresses the opinion that this work should be prosecuted to a satisfactory conclusion in the interests both of the refugees themselves and of political, economic and social order;

“ (2) Having regard to the precarious position of thousands of Armenian refugees in the Near East;

" Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and the High Commissioner for Refugees to consider the possibility of making an effective response to the appeals for their co-operation in the permanent settlement of these refugees and of co-ordinating the activities of private organisations working for the refugees;

" Urges the Governments of the States Members to further the settlement of unemployed Russian and Armenian refugees by giving notice as soon as possible of their ratification of the Arrangement drawn up by the Inter-Governmental Conference on May 12th, 1926, particularly as regards contributions to the working capital fund (' revolving fund ') and the issue of visas to refugees, on the recommendation of the High Commissioner and of the International Labour Office; and

" Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to appoint a co-trustee to be responsible jointly with Dr. Nansen for the administration of the fund in question;

" (3) Considering the necessity of maintaining a delegation of the Refugee Service in Berlin in view of the large number of refugees in Germany;

" Takes note of the possibility of a contribution of one-half the cost being made by the German Government;

" Decides to increase the Refugee budget by 18,750 francs in order that the important delegation of the Refugee Service may be maintained in Berlin.¹"

A. 106. 1926.

ANNEX 23.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE NEAR EAST.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur: Dame Edith LYTTELTON (British Empire).

The Fifth Committee has before it the report of the Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East.

This Commission is divided into two sections: the Rescue Work, carried on under the Aleppo Branch, and directed by Miss Jeppe; and the Constantinople Branch, where the League of Nations House is situated, under the direction of Miss Caris E. Mills. Last year it was arranged that Miss Jeppe should continue her most successful work but in close collaboration with the authorities of the mandatory Power, France; she is responsible for all this work to the French officials and received also the authority of the High Commissioner, M. de Jouvenel, to continue her excellent work of colonisation in her personal capacity.

The close co-operation with the officials of the mandatory Power has been a real success. Miss Jeppe reports that the French officials, particularly those in Aleppo and the military officers in the district of Deir-el-Zor, have all given her much help and have shown a most sympathetic understanding of her task.

The Aleppo Branch has received increased subscriptions from outside, which have enabled it to make the fullest use of this co-operation on the spot. The Lord Mayor of London's Fund, amounting to £2,802, the contribution of societies both in England and in Germany, and various small contributions, have brought the total to £4,650. This sum, added to the 45,000 francs granted by the League of Nations, has made it possible also to support the necessary stations connected with the rescue of women and children and to meet their pressing needs.

Three hundred people have been thus rescued in the past year — 93 women, mostly quite young, 82 children and 125 bigger boys. The Commission has been very successful in finding the relations of those rescued. Out of three hundred, 228 have been restored to their families, and for those who have come in quite recently, there is still hope that the same success may be attained. Miss Jeppe is convinced that the only way of dealing with the boys is to settle them in villages, and this has already been done on a considerable scale. The Armenian villages founded two years ago have been an undeniable success. The mandatory Power is now responsible for them; Miss Jeppe, however, considers that they are of vital importance for her rescue work. When these little colonies are more developed and consolidated, they will to a certain degree be able to replace the stations and the reception house, when the latter cease to exist.

Miss Jeppe is convinced that there still remains a certain number to be rescued. Many women have been captured and kept by the Kurdish tribes, but last winter a considerable number of Kurds fled over the frontier and settled in Syria, probably, however, only temporarily. The opportunity of rescuing some of the unhappy victims, who had been sending messages imploring help for many years, has occurred; and, of course, it was eagerly seized. Miss Jeppe considers that this chance of rescuing the victims of the Kurdish tribes would alone justify the prolongation of the work for another year. She believes that after a year almost all that can be done by the

¹ This item of the Budget has received the approval of the Fourth Committee.

Commission, acting through her, will have been accomplished. Many women have become resigned to their lot. Some are now even happy. The fate of women is rarely a clear-cut issue—motherhood is a trap in which many a soul, however ardent for freedom and for the practices of its own faith, gets caught.

The Fifth Committee had the privilege of hearing Miss Jeppe herself, who gave a most interesting account of her work. The Fifth Committee had originally decided to propose to the Assembly to vote a credit of 45,000 gold francs for Miss Jeppe's mission. The Fourth Committee has, however, decided that it cannot recommend the continuation of the grant to Miss Jeppe, and the Fifth Committee has accepted the decision of the Fourth Committee in view of the fact that Miss Jeppe will endeavour to obtain the necessary money from private sources in order to enable her to carry out her work under the auspices of the League of Nations under the same conditions as formerly.

The house in Constantinople has harboured many destitute women and children and no praise is too high for the work accomplished by Dr. Kennedy and Miss Caris E. Mills, who continue it in the League of Nations House.

They received a grant of 30,000 francs last year, which, in addition to other funds, helped them to carry on the work.

Miss Mills came to Geneva and was seen by a sub-committee of the Fifth Committee.

She reports that, besides the work she has done in harbouring destitute women and children, she has employed the fund entrusted to her by the League in maintaining the League of Nations House, and in exactly the same work as Miss Jeppe is doing, only in a different district. Miss Mills also considers that this part of her work will be concluded in 1927 and that there remain, on a rough calculation, at last two hundred women and girls who need her help. In these circumstances, the Fifth Committee recommended that Miss Mills be given a reduced grant, but this the Fourth Committee has not considered desirable.

The Fifth Committee wishes to express its thanks to Miss Mills for her excellent work, and, if she continues to carry on the work herself, it recommends to the Assembly to offer her the loan of the equipment of the Neutral House for another year.

The Fifth Committee recommends the adoption of the following resolutions:

“ The Assembly:

“(1) Desires to express its admiration for the work Miss Jeppe has performed and its gratitude for the devoted way she has carried it out;

“(2) Approves Miss Jeppe's report (Document A.25.1926.IV) and expresses its satisfaction with the results obtained during the course of the past year;

“(3) Decides that the mission for the rescue of women and children, which has been entrusted to Miss Jeppe by the League of Nations, shall be prolonged for one year more under the conditions fixed by the Assembly at its last ordinary session; that is to say, under the high authority of the Power which holds a mandate in Syria under the League of Nations.

“(4) Seeing that the work of Armenian colonisation and any other work undertaken by Miss Jeppe personally in connection with the mission for the rescue of women and children entrusted to her by the League of Nations fall within the class of work entrusted by the mandatory Power, in the general interest, to a central organ representing the Refugee Service at the International Labour Office and the direction of the International Red Cross Committee; invites Miss Jeppe to come to an understanding as regards the general direction of the work mentioned under paragraph 3, with the liaison organisation established by the mandatory Power;

“(5) Seeing that Miss Jeppe is of opinion that her task will be discharged during the coming year, requests her to submit to the next ordinary session of the Assembly a final report on all the results of her mission;

“(6) Thanks Miss Mills for her devoted and excellent work and regrets that it has not been found possible to continue the grant from the League of Nations for another year.”

ANNEX 24.

A. 105. 1926. X.

FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : H.E. M. Andreas OLDENBURG (Denmark).

This year, the Fourth Committee instructed its general Rapporteur to deal with all the questions included in its agenda except that of arrears of contributions, which, in accordance with precedent, was referred to a special sub-committee; the proposals of the Fourth Committee on this matter were embodied in a special report to the Assembly.

At the beginning of its report, the Committee desires to pay its tribute to the first Financial Director of the League of Nations, who has just relinquished his duties as a member of the Secretariat. The sound financial organisation of the League is in no small measure due to the untiring efforts and the thorough technical knowledge of Sir Herbert Ames.

I. AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1925.

The Committee unanimously recommends the Assembly to approve the accounts of the Secretariat and the autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they have been submitted to it. It also associates itself with the various recommendations formulated by the Auditor in the reports attached to the closed accounts.

II. BUDGET FOR 1927.

A. *Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League.*

After discussion, the Committee adopted the following resolution proposed by the delegate for India :

“The Fourth Committee,

“Noting the tendency of the Budget of the League to increase, and considering that, in the present financial state of most countries of the world, every effort should be made to resist this tendency;

“Is of opinion that, as a preliminary to the discussion of the details of the Budget and as a general guide to their consideration, it is desirable, without putting obstacles in the way of the development of the League, to keep in view a maximum limit of expenditure with the object of securing that the contributions of individual States shall not normally in future exceed their contributions for the current year;

“And that copies of this resolution should be communicated to other Committees concerned with measures involving expenditure.”

It was agreed that this resolution should be interpreted in the light of the speeches made during the discussion which is recorded in the Committee's Minutes. The purpose of the resolution is to serve as a serious warning likely to exercise influence on all concerned, on the other hand, it must not prevent future sessions of the Assembly from undertaking work of essential importance.

During the discussion of the Budget, the Secretary-General stated that the principle he had adopted, and which he intended to observe in the future, was to charge to Item 3, “Unforeseen expenditure subject to special vote of the Council”, only expenditure which could not be entered against any heading already included in the Budget. This appropriation, which amounts to 500,000 francs, is exclusively reserved for expenditure of a political nature, whereas the other items in respect of unforeseen expenditure are included in the Budget in order to meet other unexpected contingencies arising in the course of the year.

The Budget of the Secretariat and autonomous organisations contains a certain number of credits corresponding to expenses which may not actually have to be incurred, but which the Secretary-General is bound to take into account owing to the provisions of the Covenant or of Treaties or resolutions by the Council and the Assembly. In the administration of a State, these estimates would not appear in the ordinary budget, but would, if necessary, be asked for in the form of supplementary credits. Owing, however, to the fact that the Assembly only meets once a year, the Secretary-General and the competent officials of the autonomous organisations are compelled to include in the Budget comparatively large sums to provide for all contingencies which may arise during the ensuing year.

Certain members of the Committee expressed the opinion that measures might perhaps be taken to obviate the increased contributions which result from the present system. The Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission undertook to consider, before the next ordinary session of the Assembly, whether it would be possible to comply with the suggestions submitted during the discussion and which are recorded in the Commission's Minutes.

As the result of a long discussion which arose during the debate on the Budget of the Labour Organisation, but which in reality referred to the financial system of the League of Nations as a whole, the Fourth Committee recognised that it would be difficult to make the present system of supervision more effective by means of new regulations. As the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission pointed out, there are three different aspects to the question. The control of expenditure and accounts is effected by the Auditor; the present Auditor, who is the highest official in the Italian Treasury, submits his report to the Supervisory Commission, which examines it after it has been previously studied in detail by the Rapporteur. In the second place, supervision of the Budget estimates in respect of work undertaken as the result of decisions by the competent bodies falls upon the Supervisory Commission, which, as is shown by its reports, effects considerable saving in the draft budgets submitted to it. Finally, as regards new work undertaken by the

Assembly or the development of work that has already been begun, the power of decision lies with the Fourth Committee and, in the last resort, with the Assembly. Their intervention is facilitated by the adoption of the resolution submitted by the delegation for India. After discussion the Committee considered that this system was practical and satisfactory as far as it goes; a better degree of correlation between the decisions of the delegates on the different Committees would ease the task of the Fourth Committee, and the Supervisory Commission and the Fourth Committee should be given sufficient time to study all proposals with the desired thoroughness.

When the credits relating to salaries of the Secretariat were being considered, a discussion arose regarding the "representation" of the different nationalities on the Secretariat. The Secretary-General repeated the assurances which he had given to the Committee last year. Although "administrative" posts (precis-writers, translators, stenographers, etc.) are as a general rule reserved for the nationals of English-speaking or French-speaking countries, the Secretary-General will continue to do what he can in order that, having regard to the necessary qualifications of the different candidates, the higher posts may as far as possible be distributed among the nationals of the different States Members of the League of Nations. It should be pointed out, however, that, owing to the contracts which were concluded as a result of the decision taken at the second ordinary session of the Assembly, vacancies are few and there is hardly any increase in the number of posts from year to year. The Secretary-General drew attention to the fact that, whenever a new post is created, preference is given—granted equal qualifications—to nationals of States "represented" either inadequately or not at all. In order that recruiting may be on a widely international basis, a perfect knowledge of the official languages is only deemed indispensable in the case of administrative posts. On the other hand, while preserving their nationality, officials of the League of Nations are responsible in the performance of their duties to the Secretary-General alone; they cannot demand or receive instructions from their Government or from any other authority.

In agreement with a proposal made by one of the delegates, the Secretary-General promised next year to communicate the Staff Regulations to the members of the Fourth Committee, and to arrange that the Staff List now distributed to the members of the Fourth Committee should contain a list of resignations for the year.

The Secretary-General stated that he would examine with interest the desirability of adopting the suggestions made by the British delegation for the keeping of efficiency records for staff engaged in clerical work.

After a discussion, the Committee decided, while voting the necessary credits, to recommend to the Assembly that the title of Item 6 in the budget should be changed from "Latin-American Liaison Office" to "Liaison with Latin America".

The Secretary-General agreed to examine with the Supervisory Commission whether it would be expedient to alter the rates at present laid down for the subsistence allowances of members of committees and of officials of the League of Nations travelling on League business, taking into account the variation of prices since 1921. It was also agreed that the Supervisory Commission might do well to consider the expediency of suppressing or reducing the credits provided for the fidelity guarantee, the League of Nations being perhaps sufficiently guaranteed against embezzlement by the sums standing to the credit of its officials under the Provident Fund.

On a proposal of the Second Committee, and without exceeding the maximum figure of 1,000,000 francs fixed by the Assembly at its sixth ordinary session, the Fourth Committee included in the budget of the Health Organisation a contribution towards the cost of the Bureau of Epidemiological Intelligence at Singapore. The Secretary-General informed the Committee that the budget of the Health Organisation would not next year exceed the sum of 1,000,000 francs even if it was found necessary to increase the present credit allowed for the Far Eastern Bureau.

B. *Budget of the International Labour Organisation.*

In his explanation of the general principles which guide the Governing Body of the International Labour Office in drawing up the budget estimates, M. Albert Thomas pointed out that the resolution submitted by the delegate of India and adopted by the Committee constituted the rule which governed the discussion of the Budget. This general rule, however, was somewhat modified by the fact, verified by the members of the Governing Body, that the work of the International Labour Office was steadily increasing; the admission of new States, however, and the increased contribution of certain others have compensated for the consequent additional expenditure. It may therefore be said that the Budget of the International Labour Office is an elastic and discriminating application of the motion voted by the Fourth Committee.

In reply to observations made by various delegates, the Director of the International Labour Office stated that he was making every effort, within the limits fixed by the Treaty of Peace and taking into consideration the exigencies of the service, to secure a more equitable "representation" of all nationalities. He would be able to continue these efforts during 1927, thanks to the increased credits which had been granted him. The competitive examinations which were about to be organised would open the doors of the Organisation to nationals of countries which were represented inadequately or not at all.

The Director promised to consider, with the help of the Supervisory Commission, whether it would not be advisable to include under Section II of the Budget, "Capital Expenditure", the credits for the purchase of material for the correspondents' offices.

In reply to a question, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission stated that the principles adopted by the Commission concerning the expenses chargeable to credits for unforeseen expenditure, applied to the Secretariat as well as to the autonomous organisations, such as the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

C. *Permanent Court of International Justice.*

The Fourth Committee noted with interest the observations regarding the emoluments of the deputy judges of the Court contained in the report of the Supervisory Commission. The delegate for the British Empire having proposed that the abnormal situation created by the fact that the emoluments of the deputy judges amount in some cases to almost as much as those of the judges themselves should be investigated, and, the Registrar having stated that the Court would have no objection to one or more members of the Court attending such an investigation, in a purely personal capacity, the Committee was of opinion that this enquiry might be entrusted to the Supervisory Commission. It was agreed that this enquiry, the results of which would be communicated to the next ordinary session of the Assembly, should not, in accordance with Article 32 of the Statute of the Court, affect established situations.

In reply to a question, the Registrar stated that the scale of subsistence allowances of the Registry officials was identical with that in force in Geneva, the exchange of Swiss francs into florins being effected at a rate fixed by the Supervisory Commission. If the rate of exchange applicable to the Secretariat were modified, this modification will also be applied to the Court staff.

III. REPORTS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION

Subject to the observations which follow, the Fourth Committee adopted the conclusions of the various reports submitted by the Supervisory Commission. The Committee particularly examined the following points :

(a) *League Building Fund.* — The Fourth Committee approved the proposals of the Supervisory Commission as explained in the report on its eighteenth and nineteenth sessions. It therefore proposes to the Assembly that the whole cost of the International Labour Office building shall be charged to the League Building Fund; the sale price of the Hôtel National should also be added to the Building Fund.

The Committee also approved the schedule of allocation of the annuities to be made of States which, by the prompt payment of their contributions, have contributed to the constitution of the Building Fund. The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission explained that the sum of 1,400,000 francs, which is to be distributed in 1927, may in the future be increased or decreased. The Supervisory Commission, however, after examination of the sums at present available and of the expenditure to be met, considered that the sum of 1,400,000 francs was approximately what States might reasonably expect to receive annually.

The Chairman of the Supervisory Commission added that, after deduction of the sums already spent (see document A.41.1926.X), and not including the surplus for 1925, the fund amounted to 7,972,135.51 francs, which were placed in fixed-term accounts in various banks at 5 per cent. interest.

The Secretary-General promised that the amount due from States should be included in the schedule of allocation for 1927, after deduction of the sums reimbursable to them during 1927 as annuities. This is the basis on which they will be requested to pay their contributions towards the expenses of the new financial year.

The Committee was informed by the Rapporteur to the Assembly at its special session on the question of the new buildings that, instead of erecting temporary huts, for which authority had previously been given, the Secretary-General had been able to purchase a building situated behind the Secretariat, which it will be possible to sell at a reasonable price as soon as the Secretariat is established in the new building. The Committee ratified this decision of the Secretary-General, which will result in a considerable saving.

The Secretary-General, in reply to a question put by the same delegate, explained that, as it had been impossible to come to an amicable arrangement with the owner of the property called "La Perle du Lac", he had been informed that the Genevese authorities were taking the necessary measures for expropriation, although, as regards the League of Nations, all negotiations would be carried on with the Federal Government.

(b) The Fourth Committee was informed that the Supervisory Commission was considering a suggestion to set up an Administrative Tribunal to deal with all cases of dispute in regard to the carrying out of staff contracts which might arise between the heads of the League's Organisations and their subordinates. When the scheme has been definitely drawn up by the Supervisory Commission, a proposal will be laid before the Assembly.

(c) The Committee approved the Supervisory Commission's recommendations in regard to the allowances to be granted to the Deputy-Auditor, and the printing of a bibliographical bulletin, giving a list of works relating to the League of Nations. It noted that it would be impossible, without increasing expenditure on staff and material, to publish an annual list of articles on the League of Nations appearing in the periodical publications of the various countries. It also concurred in the opinion of the Supervisory Commission that there was no justification either in equity or law for restoring, in favour of the Heads of Sections of the International Labour Office, Article 60 of the Statute, which provided for a payment on the expiration of contracts. It noted, however, that the Supervisory Commission would have no objection to these officials bringing the question before the Administrative Tribunal when it had been set up.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

(a) The Committee took note of the report of the Council and of the Director of the International Labour Office on new works involving additional expenditure on the part of the League.

(b) The Committee approved a proposal of the Council to grant an allowance of 2,000 Swiss francs to members of the Mandates Commission who have sat more than thirty days during any one given year. It noted that this proposal had been approved by the Supervisory Commission, which had particularly emphasised that this case must not in any way constitute a precedent, in view of the special situation of the members of the Mandates Commission, who, according to the Commission's Rules of Procedure, may not fill any office which makes them directly dependent upon their Governments. The Supervisory Commission also noted that the sessions of the Mandates Commission were longer than those of other League Committees (44 meetings in 1925), and that the study of the many and voluminous reports transmitted by the mandatory Powers imposed heavy work upon the members of the Commission.

(c) The Committee noted with satisfaction the agreement between the Allocation of Expenses Committee and the German delegation concerning the Reich's contribution to the expenses of the League. The Committee therefore recommends the Assembly to fix Germany's number of units at 79 in the scale of the allocation of League expenses.

(d) At the request of a member of the Committee, the Secretary-General undertook, if and when a suitable occasion occurred, to draw the attention of the Council to the desirability of securing a higher proportion of nationals of States which are not Members of the Council on the various League Committees.

(e) The Committee proposed that the Assembly should ratify the amendment to Article 6 of the Staff Provident Fund Regulations, approved by the Council on March 15th. The first paragraph of the amended article will be as follows :

"On the termination of a member's services or at his death, the balance standing to the credit of his account, including interest up to the date of termination of service or death, calculated at the rate of the last annual distribution of interest, and interest thereafter down to the date of tender of payment, at the rate of 3 per cent. or such other rate as the Board of Management may fix, shall be paid to him, or, if the member is dead, to the person or persons entitled under the annex to this article."¹

(f) The Supervisory Commission having noted that certain difficulties have been experienced in connection with the payment of expenses to members of League Commissions, the Fourth Committee considers it desirable to propose that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution :

"The Assembly :

"Notes that the Internal Control Service of the League of Nations experiences difficulty and is caused considerable trouble by the fact that members of Committees and other persons who have to submit requests for repayment do not always take into consideration the exact terms of the various regulations governing the financial administration of the League of Nations; and, therefore,

"Requests members of Committees and all other persons performing work of any kind whatever at the request and at the expense of the League of Nations to comply strictly with the above Regulations, and, in case of doubt, to apply for information beforehand to the competent officials."

(g) The Fourth Committee noted a report submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission on the question of publications; the text of this report is given as an annex to the report of the Commission. It may be useful to point out that the suggested changes in the various items in the Budget estimates do not involve any increase in the total.

¹ For the annex, see document A.72. 1926. X.

The Fourth Committee also proposes that the Assembly should adopt the following resolution, which has been drafted with a view to giving effect to the proposals made by the Supervisory Commission in its May report (document A.5.1926.X) :

“The Assembly :

“While appreciating the results of the sale of publications and approving the proposals submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission and the Secretary-General relative to the extension of these sales and a stricter supervision of the employment of the grants for printing ;

“Decides to draw the attention of the Advisory Committees and the Conferences convened by the League to the heavy expense entailed by the publication of their Minutes and requests them to consider whether the publication of their discussions would not frequently be better effected by means of a detailed report giving as exactly as possible an account of their work ;

“Decides that the Minutes of Sub-Committees will in no case be published unless a formal request, containing a statement of the reasons for such a course, is submitted to the Council through the Secretary-General ;

“Requests the Supervisory Commission to report to it again next year on the printing expenses and to indicate the saving effected in consequence of this decision.”

(h) In accordance with a proposal made by the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee, considering that the salaries of all officials of lower rank than Under-Secretary-General are subject to an annual increment, and, moreover, that members of the Secretariat of higher rank than Chief of Section are not entitled to share in the Provident Fund, proposes that the salary of the Treasurer of the League should be on the following scale :

40,000 francs, rising by annual increments of 1,000 francs to 45,000 francs.

(i) The Committee has been informed by the Supervisory Commission that, owing to an error which occurred in the preparation of the Budget, the number of posts of Member of Section A in the Information Section should be increased from 10 to 11, and the Members of Section B *reduced* from 7 to 6. This correction will not involve any change in the 1927 Budget.

(j) The Supervisory Commission informed the Commission that the 1926 Conference of the International Labour Organisation was in session for a longer period than had been anticipated in the Budget estimates, and that consequently the appropriation in the Budget was exceeded. No transfer can, however, be made, as no saving can be effected on the only other item in the same chapter.

After considering the question, the Committee has decided to propose that the Assembly authorise the Governing Body, as an entirely exceptional measure and notwithstanding Article 29 of the Financial Regulations, to sanction the transfer of funds from another chapter in the Budget.

The only other solution would have been to ask the Assembly to vote a supplementary credit for 1926 ; but this method would have been both unpractical and unnecessary, as savings can probably be made on the items in Chapter II.

V. REPORT OF THE SALARIES ADJUSTMENT COMMITTEE (DOCUMENT A. 78. 1926. X).

The Fourth Committee approved the following report submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission :

“The Commission have, as instructed by the Council and the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, examined the report of the Salaries Adjustment Committee dated September 18th. They have also gone carefully into the statistics referred to in that report, and considered the circumstances in which those statistics were obtained.

“The conclusion of the Commission is that, although there seems to have been a certain rise in the cost of living since 1923, the figures, as they stand, do not raise the general index number of 1923 by the *full* 10 per cent, which, according to the existing rules, is necessary to justify a rise in salaries. The Commission is thus unable to make any recommendation affecting the Budget of 1927.

“This, however, does not close the matter. The criticisms of the Salaries Adjustment Committee on the figures which were employed in the decision of 1923, and the claims which would arise if those criticisms are justified, have led the Commission to a closer scrutiny of the whole statistical basis and history of the present method of varying the salaries of the staff with reference to the cost of living in Geneva. This scrutiny has forced the Commission to the conclusion that the statistical features are in several respects unsatisfactory, and that in certain other respects the equity of the present system requires re-examination. Without therefore advancing any opinion as to the practical result of such an examination, the Commission requests the Assembly to authorise it, before next

year, to study the entire system and its application, and to submit the result of its study to the Assembly of 1927. The adjustment of salaries from time to time must always be a task of delicacy and difficulty and, if it is to be maintained as a principle, it is essential that its basis should be unassailable and that the staff should be thoroughly satisfied of its justice.”

* * *

The Fourth Committee's Report would not be complete without mentioning the gratitude of its members to their chairman, M. Titulesco, the distinguished delegate of Roumania, who has conducted the Committee's discussions with authority, tact and impartiality. A tribute must also be paid to M. Stefan Osusky, the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, whose clear and lucid explanations have, time and again, served to illuminate the Committee's discussions and guide its decisions.

In conclusion, the Fourth Committee has the honour to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolutions :

Draft Resolutions.

“1. The Assembly of the League of Nations, in virtue of Article 38 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League, finally approves the audited accounts of the League for the seventh financial period, ending December 31st, 1925.

“2. The Assembly, in virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League :

“Approves, for the financial year 1927, the general Budget of the League, of the Secretariat and of the Special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the total amount of which including supplementary credits is 24,512,341 gold francs.¹

“And decides that the said budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

“3. The Assembly adopts, in so far as they have been approved by the Fourth Committee, the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted to its consideration.

“4. The Assembly approves the schedule showing the proportional interest of each Member of the League in the League Building Fund (document A. 39. 1926).

“5. The Assembly fixes at 79 the number of units allocated to Germany in the scale of apportionment of the League's expenditure.

“6. The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee (document A. 105. 1926. X.)”

¹ The original Budget amounted to 24,615,097 gold francs. The following modifications were made by the Fourth Committee :

A. DECREASES.

	Francs	Francs
Deduction of the German contribution to the Budget of the International Labour Office for 1926 from the General Budget for 1927	265,766.—	
Item 1 of the Budget of the Secretariat, “Session of the Assembly”	3,800.—	
Item 2 of the Budget of the Secretariat, “Sessions of the Council”	5,000.—	
	<u>274,566.—</u>	

B. INCREASES.

<i>1. Budget of the Secretariat.</i>		
International Convention on Slavery	1,000.—	
Settlement of Armenian Refugees	15,000.—	
Item 6. Technical investigations to be undertaken in Latin America.	30,000.—	
Item 4. (a) Tokyo Office of the Information Section	10,000.—	
Internal Control Office	5,000.—	
Item 4. (b) House staff at Geneva	21,600.—	
Item 23. International Health Organisation	8,885.—	
Item 25. Reduction of Armaments	48,000.—	
	<u>139,485.—</u>	
<i>2. Budget of the International Labour Organisation.</i>		
Chapter II. (a) Russian and Armenian Refugees	22,325.—	
Item 13. Commissions	10,000.—	
	<u>32,325.—</u>	
Total increase		<u>171,810.—</u>
Net decrease		102,756.—
The 1927 Budget will therefore amount to 24,615,097 francs minus 102,756 francs making	24,512,341.—	

ANNEX 25.

A. 95. 1926. X.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE TO THE ASSEMBLY.

Rapporteur : M. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS (*Portugal*).

The Fourth Committee instructed a Sub-Committee to consider the question of unpaid contributions for the financial years of the League previous to December 31st, 1925.

The Sub-Committee was composed as follows :

Sir Herbert AMES (Canada).
M. Jean RÉVEILLAUD (France).
M. Mineitcero ADATCI (Japan).
M. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal).
M. FERNANDEZ Y MEDINA (Uruguay).

M. Mineitcero ADATCI was elected Chairman and M. DE VASCONCELLOS *Rapporteur* of the Sub-Committee.

The Sub-Committee presented a confidential report to the Committee.

After this report had been discussed at private meetings, the Fourth Committee unanimously agreed to propose to the Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution :

“ The Assembly :

“(1) Authorises the Secretary-General, as the result of previous negotiations, to write off from the accounts of the League the sum of 22,478.71 gold francs due from Panama for the financial year 1925 ;

“(2) Requests the Secretary-General :

“(a) To give his support, when necessary, to any steps which he may consider useful with a view to the recovery of arrears ;

“(b) To submit to the Council at its session of June 1927 a detailed report on the position with regard to contributions in arrears ;

“(3) Requests China to propose effective and concrete methods, acceptable to the League of Nations, with a view to the payment of her contributions in arrears ;

“(4) Requests the Council to have a study made of the legal position of States which do not pay their contributions to the League of Nations, with a view to giving the Assembly information on the matter at its eighth ordinary session.”

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