



THE COUNCIL

OF THE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

FIRST SESSION: January 1920

100th SESSION: January 1938

THE COUNCIL
OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

COMPOSITION
COMPETENCE
PROCEDURE

INFORMATION SECTION
GENEVA, 1938

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	and following

Pax enim non belli privatio, sed virtus est quae ex animi fortitudine oritur (SPINOZA).

For peace is not merely the absence of war, but a living force born of steadfastness of mind.

INTRODUCTION

The first session of the Council of the League of Nations took place on January 16th, 1920; the hundredth was held at the beginning of 1938.

During these eighteen years, the Council, side by side with the diplomatic representatives of the various countries, has been endeavouring to organise international peace and co-operation.

The Covenant lays down that "the Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year" (Article 4, paragraph 3). Thus, the Council is not a permanent body; but its meetings, both ordinary and extraordinary, have been numerous, and far more frequent than those of the Assembly. After eighteen years, it has arrived at its hundredth session.

Most of these have been ordinary sessions; the majority of the extraordinary sessions have been held at the request of a Member of the League on account of some international crisis, and sometimes at very short notice.

The agenda of an extraordinary session is normally confined to the particular question on which an appeal has been made to the Council. That of an ordinary session comprises an extremely wide range of questions, from international disputes which may remain under discussion for several sessions to the reports of Committees submitting to the Council their views and proposals on economic, financial, social, and other problems.

Having a long experience of pre-war international life, the statesmen who represented their countries at the early meetings of the Council in 1920 were greatly impressed by the novel character of an institution in which the representatives of Powers of unequal

political importance sat together on a footing of legal equality. The programme of the Council's meetings was not confined to the examination of particular problems raised by the Treaties of 1919 and 1920, but entailed active co-operation in reorganising a world in which the economic, financial, and intellectual life of the peoples, and their mutual relations, had been shaken to the root by war.

On January 16th, 1920, when opening the Council's first session, M. Léon Bourgeois said:

“Animated by deep conviction, supported by the public opinion of the world and by the numerous manifestations of these great associations which in all free countries have undertaken the education of the people in the precepts of the League of Nations, and determined to prevent, by every means in our power, the recurrence of these terrible disasters which have imperilled civilisation and drenched the world in blood, we shall proceed by the only sure method—that of attaining practical and successive results.”

Lord Curzon, who followed, said in part:

“The League of Nations is the expression of a universal desire for a saner method of regulating the affairs of mankind. It is not a mere expression in platonic language of the necessity for international friendship and a good understanding. It provides the machinery by which practical effect may be given to these principles. The doctrine of community of international interests is now for the first time provided with an instrument endowed with formidable powers, fortified by the allegiance of Governments, and supported by the public opinion of the civilised world.

“The Council which meets for the first time to-day is the forerunner of many similar gatherings at which the statesmen of the nations, great and small, will meet together to promote this co-operation and to exchange views.”

Four months later, at the close of the Council's fifth session, M. Tittoni, then President, “proclaimed upon the Capitol the constitution of the League of Nations” in the following terms:

“After this meeting at Rome, the League of Nations, after a period of preparation, can be considered truly established . . .

“ The present session of the Council has been the longest, the most arduous, and the most important of the five sessions which have taken place since January 10th, 1920, when the League began its existence. The Council has studied no less than twenty-one different questions; some in connection with the normal working of the League, and others of great or even universal interest . . . ”

Since that time, the Council has always been intimately associated with international life. The advances and setbacks of international co-operation have been reflected in its debates and its decisions. Its authority has been enhanced by the admission of new Members to the League and diminished by the withdrawal of others. Moreover, according as a large section of public opinion in the various countries has upheld, viewed with indifference, or actually rejected the idea of organising peace on the principles of the Covenant, the Council's action has inevitably varied in its influence and efficacy.

It is not the aim of this booklet to trace the course of these fluctuations through the past eighteen years; it represents merely a collection of facts, chiefly dealing with the Council's composition, competence and procedure, that it has been thought desirable to bring to the public notice on the occasion of its hundredth session.

Chapter I

COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL

Of all the questions relating to the organisation of the League of Nations, the one which, from the first, has most frequently engaged the attention of the Members is undoubtedly the composition of the Council.¹

This is dealt with in Article 4 of the Covenant, one of the very few articles² which have been the subject of more than formal amendments that have actually come into force. The amendment to Article 4³ was passed by the Assembly on October 5th, 1921, and came into force on July 29th, 1926.

¹ For a list of the occasions on which this question has been considered, see Annex 4 to the present volume. A complete survey of the question during the period 1920 to 1926 is to be found in document C.394.M.137.1926.V.

² The other being Article 6, to which a fifth paragraph was added.

³ The following is the text of Article 4 of the Covenant. The amendment consisted of the addition of paragraph *2bis*.

" 1. 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.

" 2. 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.

" *2bis*. 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.

" 3. 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.

" 4. 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.

" 5. 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.

" 6. 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."

The Council and Assembly are the two bodies through which decisions of the League of Nations are taken.

Neither, indeed, is subsidiary to the other. Each has specific powers of its own, while in certain matters they are jointly competent. In any organised society there must, however, be some body whose action is characterised by rapidity and continuity, and which in fact assumes the effective direction of the society's affairs, even though it is not necessarily the supreme authority.¹ In States of a democratic type, there is both a legislative and an executive authority. It would be a mistake, from many points of view, to regard the Council as the government of the League or the Assembly as its legislature: there is, indeed, scarcely any analogy between the division of powers between the Council and the Assembly and the division of powers between the executive and legislature under the various constitutions. The Council may, however, be compared to a government, by reason of the fact that its action is more frequent than that of the Assembly, that its specific powers are more numerous, and that it is frequently called upon to give effect to the Assembly's decisions.

For the Council to discharge its functions efficiently and with the necessary authority, two conditions were requisite. It was necessary that its membership should, in the first place, be limited and should, in the second place, be representative of the main forces and various tendencies existing in the Assembly. In other words, it was necessary that the Council should be to some extent a reflection of the Assembly.

The two fundamental problems in regard to the composition of the Council were thus the recruiting of its Members and their number. The second problem has, indeed, been considerably influenced by the first.

SELECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

Under the Covenant, the Council consists of two kinds of Members: permanent Members, which are the Great Powers, and

¹ Cf. the Administrative Board and General Meeting of private companies.

non-permanent Members, elected by the Assembly for a limited term.

What is the reason for the existence of permanent Members ?

Each of the Great Powers represents a large population, a high level of civilisation, and great political strength. On them will fall the heaviest responsibilities, as is manifest above all in the event of an international crisis, more particularly in the event of the application of sanctions under Article 16.

The existence of permanent Members has given rise to certain objections:

(a) It is, it has been contended, contrary to the principle of the equality of States.

The reply to this objection is that although the legal equality of States is recognised by the Covenant of the League, inequalities existing in fact cannot be ignored, and any attempt to ignore them would be both unreal and vain.

(b) It has been argued that the abolition of permanent seats would not involve the drawbacks that might be feared, as the Great Powers would, in the ordinary course of events, be elected Members of the Council.

The only difference, it is urged, would be that if, at any time, any of them were to appear to constitute an obstacle to international co-operation, it could be passed over, just as at present a small Power can be passed over in similar circumstances.

To this, the reply given is that, if it is desired that the Council should invariably represent the whole of the Members of the League, having regard both to numbers and importance, and not represent merely a majority party, the membership of all the Great Powers must not be left to the hazards of election.

The existence of non-permanent Members of the Council has given rise to no discussion.

The questions at issue have been the method of selecting non-permanent Members, their number, and their term of office.

I. PERMANENT MEMBERS

(a) The Covenant provided for two categories of permanent Members. In the first place, there were the Powers described in

Article 4, paragraph 1, as the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers". These were five in number: the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan.¹

In the second place, there were the Powers to which the Council and Assembly conjointly might decide to grant a permanent seat on the Council (Article 4, paragraph 2).²

In virtue of this paragraph, a seat was created for Germany on September 8th, 1926, and another for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on September 18th, 1934.

(b) Owing to the abstention, entry into the League or withdrawal of a number of Great Powers, the number of permanent Members of the Council has varied.

It was:

Four from 1920 to September 7th, 1926 (United Kingdom, France, Italy, Japan);

Five from September 8th, 1926, to September 17th, 1934 (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Japan);

Six from September 18th, 1934, to March 25th, 1935 (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics);

Five from March 26th, 1935, to October 20th, 1935 (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics);

Four since October 21st, 1935 (United Kingdom, France, Italy, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

(c) Certain Members of the League have demanded the creation of permanent seats for themselves. Brazil, having failed to obtain satisfaction in this respect, when the creation of a permanent seat

¹ See preamble to the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

² Article 4:

" 2. 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 "

for Germany was being discussed, gave notice of withdrawal on June 10th, 1926.

2. NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS

(a) Non-permanent seats may be created under the same conditions as permanent seats (Article 4, paragraph 2)—that is, subject to agreement between the Council and the Assembly.

(b) Article 4, paragraph 1, provides that non-permanent Members "shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion".

Non-permanent Members are elected by the Assembly and, constitutionally, no restriction has been placed on its freedom of action; it can elect whomsoever it likes.

(c) A system diametrically opposed to that of free election by the Assembly has sometimes been urged—namely, a system of rotation, under which all Members of the League would sit on the Council in turn.

To this it was objected that membership of the Council was not a privilege but a responsibility, and that it should therefore be confined to those States which are both willing and best able to assume it.

(d) These divergent conceptions of Members of the League regarding the selection of non-permanent Members of the Council are reproduced in the report of the First Committee to the first ordinary session of the Assembly.¹

(e) In fact, the Assembly, without departing from the principle of the free choice of non-permanent Members of the Council, has, first in recommendations and subsequently in actual practice, adopted a system designed to ensure, not that all Members of the League shall in turn be Members of the Council, but that the Council shall always represent the various parts or regions of the world and the different races, religions and civilisations.

¹ See Annex 7.

The principle underlying this system is enunciated in the following recommendation adopted by the Assembly on September 29th, 1922:¹

“ It is desirable that the Assembly, in electing the six non-permanent Members of the Council, should make its choice with due consideration for the main geographical divisions of the world, the great ethnical groups, the different religions, traditions, the various types of civilisation, and the chief sources of wealth ”.

This recommendation, which was re-affirmed on September 27th, 1923, and September 26th, 1924, sets out the Assembly's conception of the composition of the Council.

To permit of its being more adequately carried into effect, particularly in view of the growing membership of the League, it was found necessary to increase the number of non-permanent Members of the Council.

Article 4 of the Covenant provided for four non-permanent Members. This number was increased to six on September 25th, 1922, to nine on September 8th, 1926, to ten by the creation of one new provisional seat on October 5th, 1933, and to eleven by the creation of a further provisional seat on October 10th, 1936.

The system established by practice is a group system under which one or more seats are allotted to the States situated in the same part of the world or belonging to the same political “ family ”.² Before it was ever fully worked out, this system had the effect in practice of depriving certain States not belonging to any group of all chance of becoming Members of the Council. For that reason, in 1933, a tenth seat was created, on the proposal of Portugal, for States not Members of existing groups.

¹ On December 11th, 1920, the Assembly passed a recommendation, as follows: “ The Assembly is recommended to vote for the four non-permanent Members of the Council to be selected by the Assembly in 1920 so that three shall be selected from among the Members of the League in Europe and the two American continents, and one selected from the Members in Asia and the remaining parts of the world ”.

The Committee on Amendments to the Covenant had expressed the opinion, in 1921, that “ a fair geographical distribution of the non-permanent seats on the Council . . . is desirable ”.

² In 1926, the report drawn up, at its first session, by the Committee on the Composition of the Council stated that the Committee was unanimously in favour of allocating three of the non-permanent seats to Latin America and of giving adequate representation to Asia (document C.299.M.139.1926.V).

The group system now followed has not been sanctioned by any rule or resolution. The Assembly could therefore at any time depart from it.

The following groups are represented on the Council:

1. *Latin America:*

16 Members . . .	{	Argentine Bolivia Chile Colombia Cuba Dominican Republic Ecuador Guatemala Honduras Mexico Nicaragua Panama Peru Salvador Uruguay Venezuela	}	3 seats
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2. *Asia:*

5 Members . . .	{	Afghanistan China Iran Iraq Siam	}	2 seats
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3. *British Dominions:*

6 Members . . .	{	Union of South Africa Australia Canada India Ireland New Zealand	}	1 seat
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4. *Little Entente:*

3 Members . . .	{	Czechoslovakia Roumania Yugoslavia	}	1 seat
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5. *"Nordic" States:*

5 Members . . .	{	Denmark Finland Netherlands Norway Sweden	}	1 seat
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6. *Ungrouped States:*

16 Members . . .	{	Albania Austria Belgium Bulgaria Egypt Estonia Ethiopia Greece Haiti Hungary Latvia Liberia Lithuania Luxemburg Portugal Switzerland	}	2 seats
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7. *One State in a Special Position:*

Turkey

8. *States at present or formerly represented on the Council in an Individual Capacity:*

Poland	1 seat
Spain	1 seat

It should be observed that the group system is not absolutely rigid, that it is evolving in certain respects and that the position is not entirely clear in a number of cases.

Within the various groups the States concerned have, as a rule, established a more or less strict system of rotation. Though not obliged to do so, the Assembly allows each group a certain representation and elects the candidates put forward by the group.

ELECTION PROCEDURE

I. NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

This matter was regulated for the first time by the Assembly's resolution of October 2nd, 1933, according to which no Member of the League shall be eligible to be elected as a non-permanent Member of the Council unless it has proposed itself for election, or been nominated by another Member of the League, at least forty-eight hours before the election.

Under the same resolution, notice of candidature must be given in writing to the Secretary-General, who must at once bring it to the attention of the Assembly. The Secretary-General is also required to place before the Assembly a list of the candidates.

2. DATE OF ELECTIONS

(a) As a rule, the election of non-permanent Members of the Council takes place at the ordinary session of the Assembly.¹ The resolution of October 2nd, 1933, provides that the elections may not take place before the seventh day of the Assembly's session.

(b) The elections may, nevertheless, be held at any time—that is to say, at either an ordinary or a special session of the Assembly, if the Assembly decides, in accordance with Article III. of the resolution of September 15th, 1926, to proceed to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council.²

¹ Resolution of September 15th, 1926.

" Article I. — The Assembly shall each year, in the course of its ordinary session, elect three non-permanent Members of the Council . . . "

² This article reads as follows: " 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 . . . "

3. SECRET BALLOT

Non-permanent Members of the Council are elected by secret ballot.¹

4. VOTING

Where several seats are to be filled, the elections are made by voting a list of names.²

5. MAJORITY REQUIRED

(a) The candidates elected at the first and second ballots are those obtaining the greatest number of votes and, at the same time, an absolute majority of the votes cast.³

(b) Third ballot. Article 22a, paragraph 3, of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure⁴ provides:

“ . . . 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.”

(c) Cases in which several candidates obtain an equal number of votes.

Article 22a, paragraph 4, of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure provides:

“ If two or more Members obtain the same number of votes and there is not a seat available for each, a special ballot shall

¹ Assembly resolution of December 11th, 1920. Assembly resolution of September 29th, 1922 (Article 22a, paragraph 1, of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure).

² Assembly resolution of September 29th, 1922 (Article 22a, paragraph 2, of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure). The Assembly resolution of December 11th, 1920, provided for the selection of the non-permanent Members of the Council “ one at a time and by secret ballot ”.

³ Assembly resolution of September 29th, 1922 (Article 22a, paragraph 3, of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure). This paragraph reads as follows: “ 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 ”.

⁴ Previous Assembly resolution of September 29th, 1922.

be held between them; if they again obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide between them by drawing lots.”

In practice, non-permanent Members have always been elected at the first ballot.

LENGTH OF TERM OF OFFICE AND TOTAL OR PARTIAL RENEWAL OF THE COUNCIL

I. FIRST PERIOD (1920-1926)

The Covenant did not fix the length of the term of office of non-permanent Members, and the Assembly has adopted no general rules in the matter.

Under Article 4, paragraph 1, Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece were to be Members of the Council until the appointment of the non-permanent Members first selected by the Assembly.

At its first session the Assembly decided, on December 11th, 1920, that the mandates of the Members named in the Covenant should expire on December 31st, 1920, and that the non-permanent Members of the Council to be elected at that session should remain in office for a period of one year.

The Committee on Amendments to the Covenant, which met in 1921, proposed that the non-permanent Members of the Council should be elected for four years and that half their number should be renewed every two years.

At its 1921 session, however, the Assembly again refrained from adopting any general rules in the matter and confined itself to renewing the appointment of the Members in office for the year 1922.

On September 30th, 1922, the Assembly elected all the non-permanent Members of the Council for one year, the number being fixed at six. The Assembly also recommended the following Assembly to adopt various rules regarding elections to the Council, including the following:

“ The non-permanent Members of the Council are elected for a period of three years commencing on the first day of January following the date of their election.

.

“ One-third of the non-permanent part of the Council shall be renewed each year.”¹

The 1923 Assembly was unable to comply with the 1922 recommendation regarding the term of office of the non-permanent Members and the partial renewal of the Council. On September 29th, 1923, it elected the six non-permanent Members of the Council for the year 1924.

On October 20th, 1924, the Assembly elected the six non-permanent Members of the Council for the year 1925.

On September 26th, 1925, the Assembly elected the six non-permanent Members of the Council for the year 1926.

2. SECOND PERIOD (1926 to the present day)

The amendment to the Covenant embodying rules for the election of non-permanent Members of the Council which was passed by the Assembly on October 5th, 1921, came into force on July 29th, 1926. At its seventh session, the Assembly was thus in a position to adopt the General Rules dated September 15th, 1926.²

Under Article 1, paragraph 1, of these Rules, the term of office of the non-permanent Members was fixed at three years commencing immediately on their election and ending on the day of the elections held three years later by the Assembly. Provision was made for renewal: three of the non-permanent Members—that is, one-third of the total—were to be elected each year.³

There are, however, two kinds of circumstances by which non-permanent Members of the Council may be prevented from occupying their seats for the whole of their normal term.

¹ Resolution of September 29th, 1922.

² These Rules were framed by a Committee of fifteen members (Committee on the Composition of the Council) set up by a Council resolution of March 18th, 1926, under the chairmanship of M. Motta. The Committee held two sessions, the first from May 10th to 18th and the second from August 20th to September 3rd, 1926.

³ Article 1. — 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 . . .

In the first place, a non-permanent Member may cease to belong to the Council before the expiry of its term of office.¹ In such a case, a by-election must be held (Article I, paragraph 2).²

In the second place, the Assembly may, by a two-thirds majority, decide to proceed to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council. This case is provided for in Article III.³

The 1926 Rules included temporary provisions (Article 4) under which, of the nine members elected in 1926, three were to be elected for a term of three years, three for a term of two years and three for a term of one year.

When, in 1933, a new non-permanent seat was provisionally created for three years for the ungrouped States, no change was made in the 1926 Rules. As the result of this decision, however, the Assembly, at its 1933 session, had to elect four Members instead of three.

In 1936, the seat provisionally created in 1933 was provisionally maintained for a further three years and another seat was created, also provisionally, for three years. The number of non-permanent Members of the Council having thus been raised from nine to eleven, the Assembly, at its 1936 session, elected five non-permanent Members.

RE-ELIGIBILITY

From the outset there have been clearly defined differences of opinion regarding the re-eligibility of non-permanent Members

¹ For instance, if the State in question ceases to belong to the League or if a Member State relinquishes its seat on the Council.

² Article I:

.....
"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."

³ 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."

on the expiry of their term of office.¹ According to one theory, the Assembly should be entirely free to re-elect Members whose presence on the Council it may, for various reasons, consider desirable. According to another theory, the re-election of retiring non-permanent Members would appear to place such Members in a more or less privileged position and thus delay or hinder the entry of other Members into the Council. Generally speaking, the Governments in favour of a system of rotation are opposed to the re-eligibility of non-permanent Members.

Chronologically, a distinction should be made here, as before, between two periods.

I. FIRST PERIOD (1920-1926)

The discussion at the first session of the Assembly produced no tangible result, and the problem was referred to the Committee on Amendments to the Covenant.

In its report, that body stated that "it would be dangerous to authorise unrestricted re-eligibility,"² and proposed that, on the completion of their terms of office, Members of the Council should not be re-eligible for the four years following.

In a resolution of October 5th, 1921, the Assembly adopted various conclusions embodied in the First Committee's report, including the following: "(a) That the non-permanent Members of the Council should, in future, be elected according to a system of rotation for a fixed period . . ."

In 1922, the Assembly recommended the following Assembly to adopt the rule that retiring Members should not be re-eligible until the expiration of a period of three years.

¹ See, more particularly, the discussion at the first ordinary session of the Assembly in 1920. In Annex 7 is an extract from the report of the First Committee.

² Document C.394.M.137.1926.V, page 18. The report reads as follows:

"It would be dangerous to authorise unrestricted re-eligibility. This might easily result in the non-permanent seats becoming, in effect, permanent ones.

"By restricting re-eligibility, the tendency—which operates naturally in any organisation, civil or political—to retain in office those who have held office to the satisfaction of all is checked. Any consideration of courtesy or of personal good feeling towards the representatives of States is disregarded once for all, thus giving to each one liberty to vote to obtain a better general rotation.

"In addition, unrestricted re-eligibility might eventually result in the exclusion of certain States."

The 1923 Assembly took no decision in the matter.

Indeed, from 1920 to 1926, the retiring Members were, as a rule, re-elected. There were only two cases in which re-election did not take place.¹ At this time, the Members were elected for one year only.

2. SECOND PERIOD (1926 to the present day)

The problem of re-eligibility was settled in Article II of the Rules adopted by the Assembly on September 15th, 1926.²

Under these Rules, non-re-eligibility is the rule and re-eligibility the exception.

In principle, a retiring Member may not be re-elected until three years after ceasing to be a Member of the Council.

Nevertheless, upon receipt of a request in writing from the Member concerned, the Assembly may, by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast, decide that such Member shall be re-eligible. Each request for re-eligibility is voted on separately and by secret ballot.

¹ In 1920, three retiring Members out of four were re-elected. Greece was not re-elected.

In 1921, four retiring Members out of four were re-elected.

In 1922, four retiring Members out of four were re-elected (further, two new seats were filled).

In 1923, five retiring Members out of six were re-elected (China was not re-elected).

In 1924, six retiring Members out of six were re-elected.

In 1925, six retiring Members out of six were re-elected.

² Article II reads as follows:

" A retiring Member may not be re-elected during the period between the expiration of its term of office and the third election in ordinary session held thereafter unless the Assembly, either on the expiration of the Member's term of office or in the course of the said period of three years, shall, by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast, previously have decided that such Member is re-eligible.

" The Assembly shall pronounce separately, by secret ballot, upon each request for re-eligibility. The number of votes cast shall be determined by the total number of voting-tickets deposited, deducting blank or spoilt votes.

" The Assembly 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."

The mere fact that a Member is declared re-eligible does not necessarily imply election. The Member must subsequently be elected in the ordinary way.

The Assembly's power to declare non-permanent Members of the Council re-eligible is, moreover, restricted by the Rules, which provide that "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".

In fact, the Assembly declared Poland re-eligible under Article II of the above-mentioned Rules on September 16th, 1926, September 9th, 1929, October 3rd, 1932, and September 16th, 1935,¹ Spain on September 10th, 1928, September 14th, 1931, and September 17th, 1934, and China on October 8th, 1936.

On several occasions, requests for re-eligibility submitted to the Assembly failed to obtain the two-thirds majority required by the Rules.²

THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

I. INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

The Covenant originally provided for a Council consisting of nine Members (five permanent Members and four non-permanent Members).

Owing to the abstention of the United States of America, the Council began with only eight Members. There has since been a continual increase in the number of Members of the Council, as may be seen from the following table:

	Permanent Members	+ Non-per- manent Members	= Total
1920	4	+ 4	= 8
1923	4	+ 6	= 10
1926	5	+ 9	= 14

¹ Certain Members of the League regularly declared re-eligible on the expiry of their term of office have been commonly described as "semi-permanent Members".

² This applies to requests submitted by *China* (votes of September 10th, 1928, September 17th, 1930, and September 17th, 1934); by *Spain* (vote of September 20th, 1937); and by *Turkey* (vote of September 20th, 1937).

	Permanent Members	+ Non-per- manent Members	= Total
1933	5	+ 10	= 15
1934	6	+ 10	= 16
1935 {	(Until May 25th)	+ 10	= 16
	(Until October 20th)	+ 10	= 15
	(As from October 21st)	+ 10	= 14
1936	4	+ 11	= 15

The increase in the number of Members of the Council has been chiefly due to the increase in the number of the non-permanent Members. This was made either to ensure the representation of the various groups of States or to increase their representation.¹

The increase in the number of Members of the Council was not brought about without criticism or opposition.

This increase, it was said, involved two drawbacks. The first was that the Council, it was argued, would become a more cumbrous organ, less fitted to take rapid decisions. The second was that it would be more difficult to reach unanimity, as is necessary under Article 5, if a decision is to be taken. In reality, unanimity has always been obtained whenever by the terms of the Covenant it was required.²

2. RELATIVE PROPORTION OF PERMANENT MEMBERS AND NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS

The Covenant originally provided for a Council in which the permanent Members would have had a majority of seats: five to four. Owing to the abstention of the United States, there was

¹ When, on September 15th, 1922, the representatives of France and the British Empire proposed that the number of non-permanent Members should be increased from four to six, they urged in support of this proposal, on the one hand, the increase in the number of Members of the League since its inception and, on the other, the difficulty of ensuring "an equitable allocation of the non-permanent seats among the different countries which, owing to common interests, have a tendency to form themselves into groups" (document C.394.M.137.1926, page 26).

² Cases in which a solution had to be obtained by conciliation, which required acceptance by the parties to the dispute, are evidently excluded.

equality of numbers as between the permanent and the non-permanent Members from 1920 to 1922. This balance was subsequently upset—to the advantage of the non-permanent Members—partly owing to the increase in the number of non-permanent Members and partly through the withdrawal of two Great Powers from the League of Nations: Germany and Japan.

At present, the proportion is eleven non-permanent to four permanent Members.

The change in the proportion between the two categories of Members has not, generally speaking, given rise to any criticism. The unanimity rule does, in fact, prevent the non-permanent Members from imposing on the Council any decision with which the Great Powers may not be in agreement.¹

¹ When, on September 15th, 1922, the representatives of France and the British Empire proposed that the number of non-permanent Members should be increased from four to six, they pointed out that, while it was true that the increase in the number of non-permanent Members of the Council would invert the proportion originally fixed as between permanent and non-permanent Members of the Council, this objection could hardly be considered a serious one, since, on the one hand, under Article 5 of the Covenant, decisions of the Council are—except where otherwise provided—taken unanimously, and the question of a majority, therefore, did not arise so far as the Council is concerned and, on the other hand, it was advisable to provide for a future increase in the number of permanent Members.

Chapter II

COMPETENCE OF THE COUNCIL

The competence of the Council is derived from the Covenant of the League. Further, certain treaties have conferred on the Council special competence to deal with questions coming within the general aims of the League.

As has been said above, one might be tempted to distinguish between the powers and duties of the Council and the Assembly by regarding the former as an executive and the latter as a legislative body, thus drawing a comparison with the constitution of a State.¹

GENERAL COMPETENCE OF THE COUNCIL

I. ARTICLE 4, PARAGRAPH 4, OF THE COVENANT

Paragraph 4 of Article 4, which deals with the Council, reads as follows:

"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."

This provision should be read in connection with Article 3, paragraph 3, which deals with the Assembly.² It will be observed

¹ The report on the Relations between, and the Respective Competence of, the Council and the Assembly, adopted on December 7th, 1920, says on this subject:

" . . . It is impossible to consider the Council as invested with the executive and the Assembly with the legislative power. The conclusive objection to this view is that the Assembly possesses executive prerogatives . . . the League has no analogy in ordinary constitutional law. Article 2 of the Covenant provides that the action of the League shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and a Council."

² Paragraph 3 of Article 3 is worded as follows:

"The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world."

that the text which determines the competence of the Council and that which determines the competence of the Assembly are worded in the same terms. Hence there is not, in principle, one category of questions reserved for the Council and another reserved for the Assembly. Council and Assembly can deal with the same questions without action by either excluding action by the other.

The competence of the Council, like that of the Assembly, extends, in principle, to all questions coming within the competence of the League. The League's competence need not be considered here: it has never been defined in precise terms.

This competence covers two things—namely, any matter " within the sphere of action of the League " and any matter " affecting the peace of the world ".

The second of these covers a very wide field; but the meaning is clear. The first is not defined by Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant, which refer to the " sphere of action of the League " but do not delimit that sphere of action. Other articles of the Covenant, however, contain indications as to the subjects with which the League has to deal.

2. EXERCISE BY THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY OF THEIR GENERAL COMPETENCE

It has already been said that the general competence of the Council and of the Assembly extends over two fields: the maintenance of peace and international co-operation in various technical matters (economics, finance, social questions, etc.).

Two points are to be noted as regards these technical questions.

First, the Assembly has come to play a preponderant part. This is for two reasons: the Assembly votes the necessary funds and thus has the supreme control over the development of the League's technical activities. On the other hand, one of the main results of the League's technical work is the conclusion of conventions by international conferences. Now the decision as to the summoning of such conferences (resolution of September 25th, 1931) is with the Assembly.

Secondly, the Council and the Assembly have come to play somewhat different parts in practice. Action is taken and decisions

on points of principle are reached chiefly by the Assembly. The Council also takes action and reaches decisions, but it also has more specially executive duties such as a smaller body meeting several times a year is better able to perform. Thus the Council, in conformity with decisions of the Assembly:

(a) Appoints members of the permanent technical Committees;

(b) Gives instructions from time to time to the technical organisations;

(c) Appoints special committees to report on questions raised in the Assembly;

(d) Approved the statutes of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, the Institute of Educational Cinematography, the Institute for the Unification of Private Law and the International Centre for Research on Leprosy, and drew up the statutes of the Nansen Office;

(e) Assumed important duties in regard to the construction of the new League buildings.

3. DECLARATION OF THE COUNCIL OF DECEMBER 6TH, 1927

The Council declared on December 6th, 1927, that, when seized of a question under an article of the Covenant, it had power to declare itself competent under another article of the Covenant¹ in the case of disputes submitted to the League.

To understand this declaration, it is essential to bear in mind the general competence which is given to the Council by Article 4, paragraph 4, of the Covenant.

In practice, the Council appears in an increasing degree to base its competence on particular articles, and it is becoming less and less common for Members of the League to refer a dispute to the Council without expressly invoking one or more particular articles.

¹ This should be understood, it would appear, as meaning another article of the Covenant expressly giving the Council competence or not referring either to the Council or Assembly.

JOINT COMPETENCE OF COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY

It has been shown that Article 4, paragraph 4, and Article 3, paragraph 3, confer the same general competence on the Council and on the Assembly.

Further, various articles of the Covenant which provide for special procedures confer competence upon both Council and Assembly. These are Article 4, paragraph 2, Article 6, paragraph 2, Article II, paragraph 2, Article 14, Article 15 and Article 23.

A distinction should be made between the three cases of concurrent competence, successive competence, and acts requiring the co-operation of the Council and the Assembly.

I. CONCURRENT COMPETENCE

When both the Council and the Assembly may deal with the same questions at the same time, there is what may be called "a concurrent competence".

Such a competence arises either from provisions of the Covenant which give it expressly to the Council and to the Assembly (*e.g.*, Article II, paragraph 2), or from provisions of the Covenant which give a special competence to the League without mentioning the Council or the Assembly (Article 23).

A. *Provisions which expressly confer the same competence on the Council and on the Assembly*

Article II, paragraph 2, and Article 14.

A matter may first be brought before the Council or before the Assembly, and there is no obstacle in principle to a simultaneous consideration by the Council and by the Assembly. In other words, a reference to the one does not exclude consideration by the other. But in fact the Council and the Assembly will not often take action at the same time.

(a) Article II, paragraph 2.

This paragraph is in the following terms:

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the

Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.”

Article II, paragraph 2, allows such matters to be brought before either the Council or the Assembly. In practice, they are brought before the Council. Such reference has been fairly frequent, whether at the request of a party to a dispute—*i.e.*, a State considering itself injured or threatened—or at the request of a third State which saw fit to draw the Council’s attention to a situation calculated to threaten peace or disturb good international understanding. The seriousness of the situations so referred to the Council has, in practice, varied a great deal, as was contemplated in Article II itself. In certain cases, there was actual menace of war, or hostilities had even begun. In other cases, there was a dispute of some seriousness which might have been submitted to the procedure reserved by Article 15 for disputes “likely to lead to a rupture”; but the State concerned preferred to submit the dispute to a more elastic and more discreet procedure. Invoking its friendly right under Article II, paragraph 2, the State has placed its claim before international public opinion and asked for the Council’s good offices with a view to a satisfactory settlement. On other occasions, it has been a case of disputes of minor importance which did not justify the use of the machinery provided in Article 15. In such cases, the Council has never applied the maxim *de minimis non curat prætor*. It has given a hearing to the appellant State as well as to the reply of the other party to the dispute.

In all cases, the Council has instructed one or more rapporteurs to ascertain whether conciliation was possible. It has endeavoured, when it seemed suitable, to propose a settlement to the parties. Frequently, the matter has been terminated by a unanimous resolution of the Council—*i.e.*, a resolution accepted by the parties.

(b) Article 14.

Article 14 reads:

“ . . . The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.”

The Council and Assembly are each perfectly free to put questions to the Court on any given subject. It is in this sense that there may be said to be concurrent competence of the Council and Assembly.

Obviously, when the Council has put a particular question to the Court, the Assembly will not need to put the same question.

Can the Assembly ask the Permanent Court of International Justice a question which the Council has been requested to and has refused to ask, or *vice-versa*? This point was put before the First Committee of the Assembly in 1923 on the occasion of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute.¹

The First Committee confined itself to the somewhat unusual case that was before it. Its report is very complicated.²

In practice, up to the present, the Council alone has applied for advisory opinions.

B. Provisions of the Covenant conferring a special competence on the League without mentioning the Council or the Assembly

Paragraphs (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f) of Article 23, which run as follows:

" . . . The Members of the League:

" (a) . . .

" (b) Undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

" (c) Will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

" (d) Will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; "

" (e) Will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League . . .

" (f) Will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease."

¹ The Lithuanian Government was not satisfied [with certain decisions of the Council and asked the latter to request the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on two questions relating to the Council's competence, and on the effect of recommendations formulated by the Council in virtue of Article 15 of the Covenant. The Council refused to comply with this request, which Lithuania then addressed to the Assembly.

² Assembly 1923, Minutes of the First Committee, page 57.

In reality, action by one of the two organs on these technical matters is followed by action by the other, and there is more or less continuous collaboration between them.

The Assembly and the Council join in or share in a work of initiative, direction and co-ordination to an extent that varies with circumstances, but the technical work is done by Advisory Committees,¹ supervised both by the Assembly and by the Council. This work often leads up to a Convention² prepared by an international conference in which the decision rests with Governments.

2. SUCCESSIVE COMPETENCES

Article 15, which provides machinery for the consideration of disputes by the Council, contemplates the cancellation of a reference to the Council either if the Council so decides or if a request to that effect is made by one of the parties. This is provided for in Article 15, paragraph 9, which reads as follows:

"The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council."

Under Article 15, reference has to be made to the Council in all cases. If the matter is then referred to the Assembly, the reference

¹ Examples:

Article 23(b): Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery.

Article 23(c): Advisory Committee on Social Questions; Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs.

Article 23(e): Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit.

While this activity was not provided for expressly in article 23 of the Covenant, the Council and the Assembly proceeded in the same way in regard to intellectual co-operation, creating an International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

² Examples:

Article 23(b): Slavery Convention, Geneva, September 25th, 1926.

Article 23(c): Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, Geneva, September 30th, 1921; Convention for limiting the Manufacture and regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs, Geneva, July 13th, 1931.

Article 23(d): Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and Implements of War (Convention), Geneva, June 17th, 1925.

Article 23(e): Convention and Statute on Freedom of Transit, Barcelona, April 20th, 1921. Simplification of Customs Formalities. Geneva, November 3rd, 1923.

to the Council lapses. This is a clear case of successive competence of the Council and Assembly.

The procedure of Article 15 comprises two stages. The first aims at the conciliation of the parties (paragraphs 1, 2 and 3). Should the first stage be unsuccessful, it is followed by the second, which concludes with the adoption by the Council or Assembly of a report recommending solutions (paragraphs 4, 5, 6 and 7). Even if the report is adopted unanimously, it does not bind the parties, but it has an important legal effect: it obliges the Members of the League not to go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations of the report (paragraph 6).

Article 15 has been invoked on a number of occasions. Sometimes, on account of various circumstances, it has not been necessary to apply it, or the application has only been begun,¹ while on other occasions the procedure has continued to the final stage—namely, the report of the Council or Assembly.² In this case, the report has always been adopted unanimously.

On two occasions, matters have been referred from the Council to the Assembly at the request of one of the parties. This was first done at the request of China in the Manchurian conflict (1932), and on the second occasion at the request of Bolivia in the Chaco conflict (1934).

3. ACTS REQUIRING THE CO-OPERATION OF THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY

The Covenant provides that for certain acts the Council and Assembly must be consulted. The more important rôle devolves

¹ 1920: Bolivia, Chile, Peru (Tacna-Arica).

1923: Greece, Italy (Corfu).

1925: Greece, Bulgaria (Demir-Kapu).

1932: United Kingdom, Iran (Anglo-Persian Oil Co.).

² 1923: Lithuania, Poland (Vilna). *Council* report of September 20th, 1921.

1924: United Kingdom, Turkey (Mosul). *Council* decision of September 30th, 1924.

1932: China, Japan (Manchuria). *Assembly* report of February 24th, 1933.

1933: Colombia, Peru (Leticia). *Council* report of March 18th, 1933.

1934: Bolivia, Paraguay (Chaco). *Assembly* report of November 24th, 1934.

1935: Italy, Ethiopia. *Council* report of October 7th, 1935.

on the Council. It takes the initiative, and carries out the act, but it requires the approval of the Assembly.

(a) Creation of new seats on the Council (Article 4, paragraph 2).

Article 4, paragraph 2, of the Covenant, which provides for the creation of new permanent or non-permanent seats, is worded as follows:

"2. 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;¹ 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."²

(b) Appointment of the Secretary-General (Article 6, paragraph 2).

This paragraph is worded as follows:

"2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter, the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly."³

SPECIAL POWERS CONFERRED ON THE COUNCIL BY CERTAIN ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT

Various articles of the Covenant grant certain special powers to the Council, while other articles grant such powers to the Assembly.

¹ In virtue of this provision, permanent seats were created for Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

² Under this provision, the number of non-permanent seats has been raised on various occasions from four to eleven (see Annex 4).

³ In accordance with this provision, M. Joseph Avenol was appointed Secretary-General by the Council on October 15th, 1932. This appointment was approved by the Assembly on December 9th, 1932.

It is not without interest to compare the special powers conferred on the Council and on the Assembly:

<i>Council</i>		<i>Assembly</i>	
Article	Paragraph	Article	Paragraph
6	3	I	2
7	2	4	I
8	2	"	2
"	4	"	2 <i>bis</i>
"	5	6	2
10	—	"	5
11	I	19	—
13	4	26	—
14	—		
16	2		
"	4		
17	I		
"	2		
"	4		
22	7		
"	8		
"	9		
24	2		
"	3		

The special powers of the Council may be classified under the following heads:

I. INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES AND SECURITY

The Council has in fact been called upon much more frequently than the Assembly to discuss situations dangerous for peace, or to deal with disputes which have occurred between the nations.

This is due, not merely to the fact that the ordinary sessions of the Council are more frequent than those of the Assembly and that it is easier to convene an extraordinary session of the Council than to hold an extraordinary session of the Assembly, but also to the fact that the Covenant itself gives wider powers in these matters to the Council than to the Assembly.

(a) Article 10.

Article 10 reads:

“The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.”

This article has been invoked by various Members of the League during the past eighteen years.¹ Generally it has not been invoked alone, but in conjunction with other articles (Articles 11 or 15). It has not given rise to any special procedure.

(b) Article 11 (paragraph 1).

This paragraph reads:

“1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.”

This paragraph has been invoked several times in cases where a serious difference existed between States, or even where hostilities had broken out.²

(c) Article 13, paragraph 4.

This paragraph reads as follows:

“The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and

¹ It was invoked in connection with the following disputes: Persia-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1920); Austria-Hungary (1921); Greece-Bulgaria (1925); Ethiopian protest against an Anglo-Italian agreement (1926); China-Japan (1931); Colombia-Peru (1933); Bolivia-Paraguay (1928-1935); China-Japan (1937).

² For instance, in the following disputes: Persia-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Enzeli affair) (1920); Greece-Bulgaria (1925); Poland-Lithuania (1927); China-Japan (1931); Bolivia-Paraguay (1933).

that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

This paragraph aims at providing for the enforcement of arbitral or judicial awards.

During the past eighteen years, this provision has been invoked only once.¹

(d) Article 16, paragraph 2.

This paragraph reads:

" 2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League."

This paragraph, which relates to military sanctions, has never been put into effect. Article 16 has been applied in only one case (the Italo-Ethiopian conflict), and then there was no question of military sanctions.

Article 16 does not authorise the Council to name the aggressor or even to give an opinion on the question. But it may be taken that, if the Council has the duty of recommending military measures against the aggressor, it will be called upon to deal with the question who is the aggressor before recommending such measures.

On October 5th, 1921, the Assembly adopted various amendments extending and defining the Council's duties in the application of Article 16.² These amendments have not come

¹ Affair of the Hungarian optants (Letter of the Hungarian Government of August 25th, 1928—*Official Journal*, October 1928, page 1588).

² A new paragraph, which was intended to become paragraph 2 of Article 16 was worded as follows:

" It is for the Council to give an opinion whether or not a breach of the Covenant has taken place. In deliberations on this question in the Council, the votes of Members of the League alleged to have resorted to war and of Members against whom such action was directed shall not be counted."

This amendment has obtained three ratifications and nine signatures not followed by ratification.

A new paragraph, which was intended to become paragraph 3 of Article 16, was worded as follows:

" The Council will notify to all Members of the League the date which it recommends for the application of the economic pressure under this article."

into force because the necessary ratifications have not been obtained.¹

On the same day, the Assembly also adopted a number of resolutions regarding the economic weapon, some of which extended the powers of the Council.²

In the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, the Council, like the Assembly, played a certain part in finding that there had been a breach of the Covenant. The Council met, and though it did not adopt a resolution, its Members gave their individual views on the breach of the Covenant.

(e) Article 17.

This article states that:

" 1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership

This amendment has obtained thirty-one ratifications and nine signatures not followed by ratification.

A new paragraph, which was intended to become paragraph 4 of Article 16, was worded as follows:

" Nevertheless, the Council may, in the case of particular Members, postpone the coming into force of any of these measures for a specified period where it is satisfied that such a postponement will facilitate the attainment of the object of the measures referred to in the preceding paragraph, or that it is necessary in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience which will be caused to such Members."

This amendment has obtained thirty-one ratifications and eleven signatures not followed by ratification.

¹ On October 4th, 1921, the Assembly adopted the following resolution:

" The resolutions and the proposals for amendments to Article 16 which have been adopted by the Assembly shall, so long as the amendments have not been put in force in the form required by the Covenant, constitute rules for guidance which the Assembly recommends, as a provisional measure, to the Council and to the Members of the League in connection with the application of Article 16."

² " 5. All cases of breach of Covenant under Article 16 shall be referred to the Council as a matter of urgency at the request of any Member of the League. Further, if a breach of Covenant be committed, or if there arise a danger of such breach being committed, the Secretary-General shall at once give notice thereof to all the Members of the Council. Upon receipt of such a request by a Member of the League, or of such a notice by the Secretary-General, the Council will meet as soon as possible. The Council shall summon representatives of the parties to the conflict and of all States which are neighbours of the defaulting State, or which normally maintain close economic relations with it, or whose co-operation would be especially valuable for the application of Article 16.

" 6. If the Council is of opinion that a State has been guilty of a breach of Covenant, the Minutes of the meeting at which that opinion is arrived at shall be

in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

" 2. Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

" 3.

" 4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute."

The above paragraphs entrust an important duty to the Council.

immediately sent to all Members of the League, accompanied by a statement of reasons and by an invitation to take action accordingly. The fullest publicity shall be given to this decision.

" 7. For the purpose of assisting it to enforce Article 16, the Council may, if it thinks fit, be assisted by a technical committee. This committee, which will remain in permanent session as soon as the action decided on is taken, may include, if desirable, representatives of the States specially affected.

" 8. The Council shall recommend the date on which the enforcement of economic pressure, under Article 16, is to be begun, and shall give notice of that date to all the Members of the League.

" 9. All States must be treated alike as regards the application of the measures of economic pressure, with the following reservations:

" (a) It may be necessary to recommend the execution of special measures by certain States;

" (b) If it is thought desirable to postpone, wholly or partially, in the case of certain States, the effective application of the economic sanctions laid down in Article 16, such postponement shall not be permitted except in so far as it is desirable for the success of the common plan of action, or reduces to a minimum the losses and embarrassments which may be entailed in the case of certain Members of the League by the application of the sanctions.

" 10. It is not possible to decide beforehand, and in detail, the various measures of an economic, commercial and financial nature to be taken in each case where economic pressure is to be applied.

" When the case arises, the Council shall recommend to the Members of the League a plan for joint action.

" 19. The Council shall urge upon all the States Members of the League that their Governments should take the necessary preparatory measures, above all of a legislative character, to enable them to enforce at short notice the necessary measures of economic pressure."

Article 17 was invoked, *inter alia*, together with Articles 10 and 11, on September 12th, 1937, by the Chinese Government in its dispute with Japan. The question was placed on the agenda of the Council.¹

2. DISARMAMENT

In the matter of armaments, the Covenant entrusted the Council with two tasks, the first dealing with the reduction in armaments, and the second with the private manufacture of munitions and implements of war. The Council, like the Assembly, has often considered the general problem or some aspects of it.

(a) Article 8 (paragraphs 2 and 4): Reduction of armaments.

Article 8, paragraphs 2 and 4, of the Covenant state that:

“The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

“

“After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.”

The Covenant provided that the Council should itself prepare for the reduction in armaments (Article 8, paragraph 2) and should control such reduction when it had been achieved (Article 8, paragraph 4).

Owing to various circumstances, the chief of which appear to have been the League's lack of universality and the need for the collaboration of non-member States in the matter of disarmament, the Council stood aside and the work of disarmament was entrusted to an International Conference which opened at Geneva on February 2nd, 1932.

¹ The Chinese Government subsequently stated that it would agree to the matter being dealt with by the Far Eastern Advisory Committee (which was set up by the Assembly on February 24th, 1933, after its adoption of the report provided for under Article 15 on the Sino-Japanese dispute in September 1931).

On September 16th, 1937, the Council adopted a decision enabling it to bring the matter before the Advisory Committee while retaining it on its agenda.

(b) Article 8 (paragraph 5): Private manufacture of armaments.

Article 8, paragraph 5, of the Covenant states that:

"The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety."

This problem was taken up by the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

3. ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(a) Article 6 (paragraph 3): Appointment of League officials.

Paragraph 3 of Article 6 states that:

"The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council."

In the case of the Secretary-General of the League, the conditions of appointment are different.

(b) Article 7 (paragraph 2): Establishment of the seat of the League elsewhere.

Article 7 states that:

"1. The seat of the League is established in Geneva.

"2. The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere"

(c) Article 14: Creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Article 14 instructed the Council to formulate plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. This article states that:

"The Council shall formulate . . . plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice"

The Council carried out the task entrusted to it under the Covenant in the following manner:

It instructed an Advisory Committee of Jurists to prepare a draft, which was communicated to the Members of the League. The Council then revised the draft and communicated it to the Assembly, which, after introducing certain amendments, adopted it on December 13th, 1920. In doing so, it did not itself create the Court, but simply drew up the constitutive act of the Court, giving it the form of an international treaty. A Protocol, dated December 16th, 1920, was opened for signature and ratification by Members of the League and the other States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

The Statute of the Court was to come into force when the Protocol had been ratified by a majority of the Members of the League. This condition was fulfilled on October 3rd, 1921.

(d) Article 24 (paragraphs 2 and 3): Matters regulated by general Conventions; international bureaux or commissions.

Paragraph 2 of Article 24 states that:

“In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general Conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.”

Paragraph 3 of Article 24 states that:

“The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.”

4. EXCLUSION FROM THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Paragraph 4 of Article 16 of the Covenant states that:

“Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the

League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon."

This provision has never been applied.

5. MANDATES

The Council exercises control over mandated territories in virtue of Article 22, paragraphs 7, 8 and 9, of the Covenant, which read as follows:

"7. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

"8. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

"9. 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."

In accordance with paragraph 8 of the above article, the Council drew up the terms of the charters which bind mandatory Powers, and the responsibility for control assumed by the League is based on those instruments. The Council appoints the members of the Permanent Mandates Commission. It has endowed that body with Statutes and Rules of Procedure. The Permanent Mandates Commission submits reports to the Council.

On the basis of these reports, the Council addresses observations, if it thinks fit, to the mandatory Power.

In so far as they have not previously been determined, the frontier-lines of mandated territories are submitted to the Council for approval. Rectifications of frontiers are subject to the Council's approval.

Finally, as Article 22 of the Covenant contains no provisions regarding the expiry of the mandatory regime, the Council decides when the time has come for the emancipation of a mandated

territory. With this object it laid down in 1931 the general conditions to be fulfilled by a mandated territory before the mandatory regime can be terminated.

POWERS OF THE COUNCIL UNDER CERTAIN TREATIES

I. THE TREATIES IN QUESTION

Certain treaties, varying considerably in character, confer powers on the Council. Such are the Peace Treaties, the Minority Treaties, the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, concerning the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Treaty of Lausanne of July 24th, 1923, the Treaty of Locarno, and various Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League.

(a) Peace Treaties.

Certain powers were conferred on the Council of the League by the Peace Treaties. The majority of those powers were connected with temporary circumstances (*e.g.*, the Saar Territory) and have now expired. Among those which are not of this nature, mention may be made of Article 80 of the Treaty of Versailles concerning the independence of Austria ¹, the Free City of Danzig (Articles 100 to 108) and Article 213, which concerns investigations in Germany.²

(b) Minority Treaties.

In the Peace Treaties and in the special, so-called Minority Treaties there are provisions on behalf of racial, religious or linguistic minorities. These obligations of international concern are placed under the guarantee of the League, and could not be modified without the consent of a majority of the Council.

The provisions relating to minorities in the following countries: Poland (February 13th, 1920), Austria (October 27th, 1920), Bulgaria (October 27th, 1920), Czechoslovakia (November 29th, 1920), the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (November

¹ This article states that "this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations".

² This article states that:

"So long as the present Treaty remains in force, Germany undertakes to give every facility for any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting *if need be* by a majority vote, may consider necessary."

29th, 1920), Hungary (August 30th, 1921), Roumania (August 30th, 1921), Greece (September 26th, 1924) and Turkey (September 26th, 1924) were successively placed under the League's guarantee.

Clauses providing that the League should guarantee the protection of minorities were likewise included in the declarations made before the Council by Finland (June 27th, 1921), Albania (October 2nd, 1921), Lithuania (May 22nd, 1922), Latvia (July 7th, 1923), Estonia (September 17th, 1923), and Iraq (May 30th, 1932), and also in special chapters inserted in the Convention between Germany and Poland concerning Upper Silesia (May 15th, 1922),¹ and in the Convention regarding the Memel Territory, between France, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom of the one part, and Lithuania of the other (May 8th, 1924).

Consequently, the Council considered that the nature and limits of the guarantee undertaken by the League should be defined. This was done in the report by M. Tittoni, which was approved by the Council on October 22nd, 1920. This report states that the right to draw attention to infringements, or risks of infringement, of treaty clauses is reserved to Members of the Council. The report also contains a number of Rules of Procedure. (See also the Council resolutions of October 25th, 1920, September 5th, 1923, June 27th, 1923, June 10th, 1925, and June 13th, 1929.)

(c) Protocol of December 16th, 1920.

This protocol relates to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Article 10 of that Statute, concerning the election of judges, states that:

“Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the Assembly and in the Council shall be considered as elected.”

The procedure is thus one which requires the co-operation of the Council and of the Assembly.

(d) Treaty of Lausanne.

Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Treaty of Lausanne, of July 24th, 1923, entrusted the Council with the task of determining

¹ This Convention has expired.

the frontier between Turkey and Iraq, should no agreement between the two countries be reached within a period of three months.

The Permanent Court of International Justice, which had been asked for an advisory opinion on this subject, stated that the decision to be taken by the Council would be binding on the parties concerned, and that the latter's votes would not be included when the necessary unanimity of votes was calculated.¹

In its advisory opinion, the Court stated that the Council could be asked to give a binding decision in a dispute if the parties concerned agreed that such should be done.² The Council may thus be invested with quasi-arbitral powers.

(e) Treaty of Locarno, of October 16th, 1925.

Articles 4 and 5 of the treaty of mutual guarantee between Belgium, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, done at Locarno on October 16th, 1925, give the Council control over the execution of the measures to be adopted if the undertakings embodied in the treaty are violated.

(f) Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League.

Certain Conventions concluded under the auspices of the League confer on the Council various powers, consisting in particular of the right to nominate members of Committees.³

¹ Advisory Opinion No. 12, November 21st, 1925.

² The opinion runs:

" Though it is true that the powers of the Council, in regard to the settlement of disputes, are dealt with in Article 15 of the Covenant, and that, under that article, the Council can only make recommendations, which, even when made unanimously, do not of necessity settle the dispute, that article only sets out the *minimum* obligations which are imposed upon States and the minimum corresponding powers of the Council. There is nothing to prevent the parties from accepting obligations, and from conferring on the Council powers wider than those resulting from the strict terms of Article 15, and in particular from substituting, by an agreement entered into in advance, for the Council's power to make a mere recommendation, the power to give a decision which, by virtue of their previous consent, compulsorily settles the dispute."

³ See the Geneva Opium Convention of 1925, Articles 19 and 20 (Permanent Central Opium Board).

2. POWERS CONFERRED ON THE COUNCIL REQUIRE TO BE ACCEPTED BY IT

The fact that a treaty confers powers on the Council of the League obviously does not bind the League to exercise those powers.

The exercise of such powers must have been provided for by the Covenant itself. This is so in the case of Article 5 of the Covenant with regard to the Peace Treaties.¹

In other cases, it is necessary for the Council to have accepted the powers conferred on it. Such acceptance may be the result of a formal decision² or may be implicit.³

CAN THE ASSEMBLY DEAL WITH MATTERS IN REGARD TO WHICH THE COUNCIL HAS RECEIVED A SPECIAL JURISDICTION ?

This question may arise in regard to the Council also, for there are matters that are specially placed within the jurisdiction of the Council and others within that of the Assembly.

This is a delicate question and any reply must be somewhat indefinite. An opinion can only be founded on the decisions of the Council or of the Assembly, or on the practice followed by the organs of the League.

I. REPORT ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY ON DECEMBER 7TH, 1920
The following principles were laid down:

“(a) The Council and the Assembly are each invested with particular powers and duties. Neither body has jurisdiction

¹ That article states that:

“Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members . . .”

(The Covenant forms the first part of each of the Peace Treaties.)

² As was the case with the Minorities Treaties.

³ As was the case with the Treaty of Locarno.

to render a decision in a matter which by the treaties or the Covenant has been expressly committed to the other organ of the League. Either body may discuss and examine any matter which is within the competence of the League."

Here there appear to be two distinct principles: on the one hand, the decision rests with the organ on which jurisdiction has been conferred, and, on the other hand, the other organ retains the right to discuss and consider the question, having regard to the fact that it falls within the general jurisdiction of the League.

2. PRESENT PRACTICE

The Assembly is accustomed to discuss the position of minorities, although the Council is indicated as the competent body to deal with breaches of the minorities treaties by those treaties themselves. The same applies to mandates, which are placed by Article 22 within the competence of the Council.

The Assembly has discussed questions of disarmament, although Article 8 mentions only the Council.

It would seem that, in applying the articles of the Covenant that relate to international disputes and security, there has been a stricter separation between the powers specially given to the Council and those specially given to the Assembly.

Chapter III

COUNCIL PROCEDURE

HISTORICAL SURVEY

The internal procedure of the Council was, until 1933, governed by the Rules of Procedure which the Council adopted on May 17th, 1920. Although in the main the Council followed these Rules of Procedure, some of their provisions—for instance, those concerning the appointment of a Vice-President—were never applied.

The Council, being desirous of amending its Rules of Procedure in the light of experience, decided on January 24th, 1933, to request a Committee, consisting of the representatives of Italy, Guatemala and Norway, to prepare a draft of new Rules of Procedure. The Committee submitted its draft on January 27th, 1933, and it was decided that this should be communicated to the Members of the Council and that they should be invited to study it before the next session of the Council. On May 26th, 1933, the text drawn up by the Council Committee was adopted by the Council with a few slight amendments. These are the Rules that are applied to-day.

The 1933 Rules have undergone few modifications. They were supplemented by a few provisions adopted by the Council on September 29th, 1937, on the proposal of a Committee composed of the representatives of the United Kingdom, Chile, China, France and Poland.¹

The Council has also adopted certain resolutions relating to procedure which do not appear in its Rules of Procedure. These resolutions were annexed to the report of the above-mentioned Committee.²

¹ Document C.395.1937. See Annex 6.

² They are given in the annex to document C.395.1937.

DATES AND PLACE OF COUNCIL MEETINGS

Article 4, paragraph 3, of the Covenant provides that the Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year.¹

I. ORDINARY SESSIONS

The Rules of Procedure of the Council provide for periodical ordinary sessions. These are at present four in number. They are held on the third Monday in January, the second Monday in May, three days before the ordinary meeting of the Assembly, and, in the case of the fourth session, at a date following closely upon the appointment by the Assembly of the non-permanent Members of the Council. As the Council's fourth session follows on the third, the Council meets, in point of fact, three times a year at intervals of four months.²

2. EXTRAORDINARY SESSIONS

(a) By whom are they summoned ?

Article I, paragraph 2, of the Rules of Procedure provides that "the Council may at any time decide to meet in extraordinary session".

Paragraph 3 provides that "the Council must meet, at the request of any Member of the League of Nations (if necessary, in extraordinary session), in the circumstances referred to in Articles II, 15 and 17 of the Covenant".

(b) Dates of meetings.

¹ Cf. Article 3, paragraph 2, concerning meetings of the Assembly, which reads: "2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon."

² Originally, no fixed date was laid down for these meetings of the Council. Certain fixed periods were, however, very soon established.

On April 31st, 1923, the Council decided to hold thenceforward four ordinary sessions each year; in December, March, June and September—*i.e.*, at intervals of three months.

On September 6th, 1929, the Council adopted the present system, which is confirmed in the Rules of Procedure and which makes the interval between the sessions of the Council one of four months, except in the case of the third and fourth sessions, held during the Assembly.

Paragraph 4 of Article I reads:

“ If not fixed by the Council, the date of the opening of an extraordinary session shall be fixed by the President, if possible after consultation with his colleagues.”

3. CHANGE OF DATE ¹

Paragraph 5 of Article I of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ The President of the Council, after consulting his colleagues and with the consent of the majority, may, when necessary, advance or retard the date of the opening of a session of the Council. The President may not, however, without the consent of all his colleagues, advance or retard by more than seven days the opening of an ordinary session.”

The Council laid down detailed rules for the application of these provisions in a resolution which it adopted on January 11th, 1935, as follows:

“ (a) Except in cases of real emergency, the President of the Council should not propose a change in the date fixed for a session of the Council if the session is already due to commence in five days.

“ (b) In the communication by which he consults his colleagues as to a change in the date of a session of the Council, the President should, if possible, state the new date proposed for the opening of the session or, if this is not possible, should indicate the earliest date at which the Council will be convened.

“ (c) Except in cases of real emergency, the President of the Council should give his colleagues at least twelve days' notice of the date which he proposes to substitute for the date originally fixed for a session of the Council.”

4. DESPATCH OF SUMMONS¹

Paragraph 6 of Article I of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ The Secretary-General shall give notice to the Members of the Council of the date at which a session is to begin, unless the

¹ This section applies both to ordinary and to extraordinary sessions.

session is to be held at a date provided by the present Rules or fixed by the Council.”

5. PLACE OF MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

Article 4, paragraph 3, of the Covenant reads:

“ 3. The Council shall meet . . . at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.”

Article II of the Council's Rules of Procedure reads:

“ The sessions of the Council shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, except in cases where the majority of the Members of the Council consider that the Council should meet elsewhere.”

In point of fact, the Council's sessions have generally been held at Geneva. Of the one hundred sessions, twenty-two have been held at places other than Geneva, and occurred more particularly in the early years of the League.¹

WHO ATTEND MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL ?

1. PERMANENT AND NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

These Members naturally attend all meetings of the Council.

2. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Members of the League of Nations who are not Members of the Council may be called upon to sit as Members of the Council.

Two cases must be distinguished:

(a) The case covered by Article 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant. This article reads:

“ Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a Member at any

¹ See Annex 1.

meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.”

In such a case, an invitation must be sent to the State concerned, and the latter will sit with the Council and, in principle, enjoy the same rights as a Member of the Council—that is to say, the representative in question will take part in the discussion and in the voting.

The Council has, on several occasions, had to consider the nature of the interest which would justify the despatch of the invitation provided for in Article 4, paragraph 5. The practice followed is somewhat complex. It would appear, however, to be established that the mere fact that a State takes a particular interest in any question is not what should be taken into consideration, but rather the fact that, from an objective standpoint, the matter is one that particularly concerns it.

A State which is not a Member of the Council but to which a question is of particular interest may take part in the work of the Council both when the inclusion of the question in the agenda is being discussed ¹ and when the Council is dealing with the question after it has been placed on the agenda.

(b) The case of a special Convention.

Some Conventions provide for the participation in the Council's work of a State that is not a Member of the Council.

The Opium Convention signed at Geneva on February 19th, 1925, provides that the Members of the Permanent Central Opium Board shall be appointed by the Council and that the United States of America and Germany shall be invited each to nominate one person to participate in these appointments.²

¹ “ At the private meeting at which it adopts the agenda, whether of the session or of the meeting, the Council sits in its ordinary composition. Nevertheless, if the representative of a Member of the League entitled to send a representative to the Council for the discussion of the substance of an item asks permission to present any observations to the Council in regard to the inclusion of that item on the agenda, that representative is invited to the Council table. Similarly, if any discussion in regard to the inclusion of the item otherwise arises, the representative of such Member of the League, if present in the room, is invited to the Council table.” (Document C.395.1937, September 21st, 1937.)

² Article 19 of the Convention of February 19th, 1925.

The point has been raised whether, in such a case, it is by the Council that the election is made or by a special electoral body with the Council as its chief component.

(c) Case of a decision by the Assembly.

The Assembly, by a resolution dated October 3rd, 1936, decided to admit Germany, Brazil and Japan to sit in the Council at any election of members of the Court that may take place before January 1st, 1940.

(d) Invitation addressed by the Council to a State.

Apart from the cases mentioned above, the Council may, if it thinks it expedient to do so, invite a State that is not a Member of the Council or even of the League of Nations to sit at the Council table. But in such cases, of course, the State invited¹ does not take part in the voting.

3. RULES CONCERNING REPRESENTATION ON THE COUNCIL

(a) Article 4, paragraph 6, of the Covenant reads:

“At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote and may not have more than one representative.”

(b) Votes cast by Representatives of Members of the League in the Council.

The Assembly report of December 7th, 1920, in discussing “whether a member of the Council, in rendering his decisions on the Council, represented the Member of the League which appointed him or acted in an independent capacity”, says:

“Representatives on the Council and the Assembly are responsible to their own Governments and to those Governments alone. The Assembly has no right to interfere with the choice which a Member of the League may make of persons to represent it, nor to prevent a Representative from saying what he pleases; but it

¹ An invitation of this kind was, in virtue of Article 11, addressed by the Council to the United States, on October 15th, 1931, in connection with the Sino-Japanese conflict.

is essential that it should be thoroughly understood that, when a Representative votes, the vote is that of the Member which he represents, whether the vote be cast in the Council or the Assembly."

THE QUORUM

Article VIII of the Rules of Procedure reads:

"The Council shall not discuss or decide upon any matter unless the majority of its Members are present."

THE PRESIDENT

I. ORDINARY SESSIONS

Article IV of the Rules of Procedure reads:

"1. The representatives on the Council shall preside over its sessions in rotation in the alphabetical order in French of the names of the countries which they represent.

"2. A President shall, in principle, enter into office at the beginning of an ordinary session and remain in office until the opening of the next ordinary session."

Previously, the practice was that the two autumn sessions of the Council were presided over by the same President. In order to ensure effective rotation, the Council decided, on September 29th, 1937, to discontinue this practice and to have each of the four regular sessions of the Council presided over by a new President.¹

2. EXTRAORDINARY SESSIONS

Article IV (paragraph 3) reads:

"3. Extraordinary sessions shall be presided over by the President for the time being in office."

¹ Document C.395.1937. — Annex 6.

3. REPLACEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

(a) During a session.

Article IV (paragraph 4) reads:

" 4. If the representative who should act as President considers that he should decline to do so during a particular session; or during the consideration of a particular matter, the Council shall arrange for another member to act as President."

Such a case has arisen on several occasions, and the practice has been that the President last in office takes the place of the President in office.¹

(b) During intervals between sessions.

Article V reads:

" Where, during the interval between sessions of the Council, the Secretary-General, for the purposes of application of the provisions of the present Rules or for any other purpose, has occasion to apply to the President of the Council and the President is prevented from acting, the Secretary-General shall apply to the last President, if the country which he represents continues to belong to the Council. If the last President is unable to act, the Secretary-General shall apply, subject to the same condition, to his predecessor, and, thereafter, in accordance with the same system, to earlier Presidents of the Council."

4. CASE IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL CEASES TO REPRESENT HIS COUNTRY ON THE COUNCIL

Article VI reads:

" 1. If the person who is President ceases to represent his country on the Council, he shall be replaced by the new representative.

" 2. In like manner, if a former President has ceased to represent his country on the Council, the new representative shall act in his place for the purposes of Article V of the present Rules."

¹ This practice follows the principle embodied in Article V of the Rules of Procedure.

This provision is intended to indicate that the Presidency of the Council is not a personal office and that when the occupant of this office ceases to represent his country, he vacates the Presidency. He is then succeeded by the new representative of the country in question.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FURNISHED TO THE COUNCIL

Article XIII of the Rules of Procedure says:

“ The chairmen and members of Committees, experts and officials of the League may be admitted to give information or assistance at meetings of the Council.”

On September 29th, 1937, the Council took the following decision:

“ It is generally unnecessary for the chairmen or other representatives of League Committees to come to the Council table for the discussion of their Committees' reports. Nevertheless, it is open to the Rapporteur for the particular question on the agenda to ask the Secretary-General to arrange for the representation of the Committee, should special circumstances appear to the Rapporteur to warrant such action.”¹

AGENDA

I. PROVISIONAL AGENDA

Article III of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ 1. A provisional agenda shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General and approved by the President of the Council. It shall in all cases include any questions which a Member of the League has asked the Council to consider.

.....

“ 2. The provisional agenda shall be sent to the Members of the Council not less than three weeks before the opening of the

¹ Document C.395.1937.

session, except in the case of the fourth ordinary session of the year or of a session the date of which is such as to make it impossible to maintain this interval.

“ 3. Any subsequent modification of the provisional agenda shall be communicated to the Members of the Council.”

2. FINAL AGENDA

Paragraph 6 of Article III of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ At the opening of the session, the Council shall adopt its agenda at a private meeting.”

Can the final adoption of the agenda be regarded as a simple question of procedure? Does it not raise the general question of the League's competence?

If the Council is not unanimous in placing or not placing an item on its agenda, the question may arise under what conditions a vote should be taken. The solution of the problem must be sought by reference to Article 5.¹

The Council has, in point of fact, never settled the question expressly.²

3. INCLUSION OF QUESTIONS DURING THE SESSION

(a) Ordinary sessions.

Paragraph 7 of Article III of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ The Council may, by a majority, add during a meeting new questions to its agenda. In such case, unless the Council otherwise unanimously decides, such questions shall not be discussed before the next meeting.”

¹ When examining this question, several cases may have to be considered: (1) It is contended that the question does not come within the competence of the League of Nations; (2) the competence of the League is not disputed, but the expediency of placing the matter on the agenda is contested; (3) the request for inclusion in the agenda has been made with or without reference to a special procedure for which provision is made in some article of the Covenant (*e.g.*, Article 11, Article 15); (4) the only point for discussion is whether the matter shall be placed on the agenda of the current session.

² The question was raised and discussed at the fifty-first session of the Council, in connection with the question of the “ Hungarian optants ” (see Minutes of the meetings of August 30th and September 1st, 1928: morning and evening). Agreement was reached without a vote being necessary.

(b) Extraordinary sessions.

The Council resolution of June 1st, 1934, reads:

" In the case of an extraordinary session, the provisional agenda circulated to the Members of the Council shall contain only the item for which the extraordinary session was originally called; but, at the beginning of the session, when the Council adopts its agenda, the Secretary-General shall communicate to it a list of the other most urgent questions. The purpose of this list would be to enable the Members of the Council to exercise the right accorded to them under Rule III, paragraph 7, of the Rules of Procedure of the Council, to ask for the inclusion of an item in the agenda of the session."

4. ADJOURNMENT OF QUESTIONS

Questions placed on the final agenda may be adjourned during the session at the Rapporteur's request. Such is the practice.

5. REMOVAL FROM THE AGENDA

The fact of the removal of a question from the Council's agenda signifies that the Council decides to deal no more with a question in regard to which it thinks fit to propose no solution.

The Council, by a majority, withdrew from its agenda two questions referred to it under Article II and considered by it—namely, that of the Finnish ships (May 23rd, 1935) and that of the war damage sustained by Switzerland (September 13th, 1935).

MEETINGS IN PUBLIC

I. PRINCIPLE THAT MEETINGS ARE HELD IN PUBLIC

Article VII of the Rules of Procedure reads:

" Subject to the provisions of Article III, paragraph 6, and Article X of the present Rules, the meetings of the Council shall, unless the Council otherwise decides, be held in public."

It is clear from this provision that the principle is that meetings are to be held in public.

2. CASES IN WHICH MEETINGS ARE NOT HELD IN PUBLIC

In several cases, the principle that meetings are to be held in public does not apply.

In the first place, meetings are not held in public in certain cases for which provision is made in the Rules of Procedure.

(a) Adoption of the agenda (Article III, paragraph 6).

The Rules of Procedure provide merely that the Council shall adopt the agenda of the session at a private meeting. But the Council also meets in private to adopt the agenda of each meeting.¹

(b) Decisions concerning persons.

Article X says:

“All decisions concerning persons shall be taken at a private meeting.”

In the second place, the Council may, whenever it thinks it expedient, decide that its meeting shall not be held in public (Article VII, quoted above).

3. PRIVATE MEETINGS AND SECRET MEETINGS

Meetings which the Council does not hold in public are either private meetings or secret meetings.

(a) Private meetings.

The public and the Press are not admitted. Further, Members of the Council may be accompanied only by a small number of collaborators, and the number of Secretariat officials admitted to the meeting is limited.²

The representatives of Members of the League not represented on the Council may attend private meetings.²

¹ Document C.395.1937, paragraph 3 (see Annex 6).

² Document C.395.1937.

At private meetings, Minutes are taken. Unless the Council decides otherwise (Article XI, paragraph 4), these Minutes are subsequently published.

(b) Secret meetings.

The Council sometimes holds secret meetings.¹ At these meetings, the Members of the Council may, in principle, be accompanied only by one assistant, and the number of persons accompanying the Secretary-General is reduced to the strict minimum.

Except in so far as the issue of information is authorised by the Council itself, no person present at a secret meeting of the Council has the right to divulge what has happened at the meeting.

Where circumstances permit, a *communiqué* is issued at the end of a secret meeting. This *communiqué* is normally prepared by the President and the Secretary-General.²

Document C.395.1937 further states:

“As regards information of a confidential nature, of importance to permanent delegates or other representatives of the Members of the League duly authorised by their respective Governments to follow the Council's proceedings, the latter might empower the President or the Secretary-General to furnish such information, with due regard both for the interests of the League and for the legitimate desire of these representatives to be kept duly informed of the general course of the Council's proceedings.”

THE DIFFERENT STAGES IN THE PROCEDURE

A question has been placed on the agenda of the Council. How is it dealt with ?

The procedure is, in general, as follows: (1) There is a discussion in the Council. (2) The Council usually desires that, before it takes a decision, there should be an examination of the matter. It therefore appoints one or more rapporteurs. (3) The rapporteur submits his report at a subsequent meeting during the same session

¹ The Rules of Procedure do not mention secret meetings. They refer only to private meetings.

² Document C.395.1937.

or the following session. (4) The Council, having the report before it, again discusses the question and takes a decision.

One of the articles of the Covenant—Article 15—provides for a special procedure. Though this does not differ fundamentally from the procedure outlined above, it is nevertheless characterised by certain special features.

The different stages in the procedure usually observed may be briefly outlined as follows.

I. GENERAL DISCUSSION

(a) When does it take place ?

The general discussion may take place before the appointment of the rapporteur and after the submission of the report.

When the Council has before it a report by a technical Committee it may, however, begin by hearing the report submitted by the rapporteur whom it had previously appointed. In that case, there is no general discussion previous to the submission of the report by the rapporteur.

On the other hand, the Council, when it has a report before it, may adopt it without any of its Members speaking.

There may thus have been two general discussions or one only, or there may even have been no general discussion at all.

(b) Order of speaking.

It is the President who calls on Members of the Council to speak.

Normally, Members speak in the order in which they have asked the President for permission to do so.

In the case of a dispute or a proposal submitted by a Member of the Council, however, the custom is that the parties concerned should be called on to speak first.

The rapporteur may intervene in the discussion at any time.

2. REPORTS

(a) Permanent rapporteurs and special rapporteurs.

There are two kinds of rapporteurs—permanent rapporteurs and special rapporteurs.

Permanent rapporteurs are appointed each year by the Council ¹ for certain categories of questions with which the Council is habitually called upon to deal.²

Special rapporteurs are appointed by the Council when it deems this to be expedient for the study of matters which may be brought before it and for which there is no permanent rapporteur.

(b) Number of rapporteurs.

The Council calls on one or more rapporteurs. Usually, however, when several persons (generally three) are called on, only one of them acts as rapporteur and it is the duty of the other two to assist him in his task.

(c) How are the rapporteurs appointed ?

Paragraph 5 of Article III of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“Where rapporteurs have not been appointed by the Council, they shall be appointed by the President.”

(d) A special committee may be set up for the study of a question.

The Council may decide, particularly when dealing with an important dispute or a question of an organic or constitutional character, to appoint, for the examination of the question, instead of a rapporteur—even though he might be assisted by other Members of the Council—a committee consisting of several, though not always the same number, of members.³

(e) Contents of the report.

In general, the rapporteur supplies the Council with the necessary information and proposes a solution.

¹ Article III (paragraph 4) of the Rules of Procedure.

² The Council adopted the following list of rapporteurs for the year 1937/38:

Standing Questions.

Budgetary and Administrative: China; Danzig: United Kingdom; Disarmament: Iran; Economic: Poland; Financial: Sweden; Health: New Zealand; Intellectual Co-operation: France; Legal: Italy; Mandates: Roumania; Opium: Latvia; Refugees: Bolivia; Slavery: United Kingdom; Social: Peru; Transit: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Special Questions.

Constitution, Procedure and Practice of League Committees: France; Question of Alexandretta: Sweden.

³ Italo-Ethiopian conflict, 1935. Committee of six members.

The report furnishes the Council with the necessary information by tracing the history of the problem and setting forth and discussing the various facts involved.

From a formal standpoint, the report often falls into two parts—namely, the rapporteur's statement and a draft resolution for the Council to adopt. It happens fairly frequently, however, that the resolutions submitted by the rapporteur are embodied, wholly or in part, in a statement—more particularly in the conclusions of that statement—which precedes the draft resolution, when there is one.

(f) Communication of reports and documents to the Council.

Paragraph 2 of Article VII says:

“Unless they have been previously circulated, the reports of rapporteurs and the documents to which they relate shall, so far as possible, be sent to the Members of the Council not less than forty-eight hours before the opening of the meeting at which they are discussed. Where this has been done, the report will not be read, unless the rapporteur desires or another Member of the Council asks that it shall be read; the rapporteurs may always give such explanations in regard to their reports as they consider desirable. The text of resolutions proposed in the reports shall be read in all cases.”

The Council took the following decision on September 29th, 1937.

“In order to avoid to some extent the inconvenience resulting from Members of the Council being asked to discuss reports of technical committees distributed during or immediately before the Council session, it is recommended that the following practice be observed:

“When the report of a standing technical Committee has not been distributed to the Council at least one week before the date fixed for the opening of the session, the relevant question shall be excluded from the revised agenda which is distributed by the Secretariat just before the session. Members of the Council shall nevertheless retain their right, under Article III, paragraph 7, of the Rules of Procedure, to propose to the Council that the

discussion of a particular report should be added to the agenda in the course of the session.”¹

VOTING

I. UNANIMITY AND MAJORITY

(a) The principle embodied in Article 5 of the Covenant and reproduced in paragraph 1 of Article IX of the Rules of Procedure of the Council is that decisions of the Council must be unanimous.

(b) Cases in which a majority is sufficient.

There are two classes of exceptions to the unanimity rule:

In the first place, the Covenant itself, or some other instrument that is to be applied, may provide that the decision shall be taken by a majority vote (Covenant, Article 5, paragraph 1, and Rules of Procedure, Article IX, paragraph 1).

In the second place, matters of procedure may be decided by a simple majority vote (Covenant, Article 5, paragraph 2, and Rules of Procedure, Article IX, paragraph 2).

The question whether any particular point relates only to procedure or involves the substance of a matter is sometimes a delicate one.

(c) Votes of the parties. Inclusion of the votes of the parties in determining unanimity.

Should the votes of the parties be counted in determining unanimity in the case of disputes submitted to the Council?

In the case of Article 15, paragraph 6, of the Covenant (and in that of Article 16, paragraph 4), the votes of the parties are expressly excluded in determining unanimity.

In the case of other articles of the Covenant,² in the absence of any provision of this kind, there is a certain division of opinion as to whether the votes of the parties should or should not be counted.

¹ Document C.395.1937. See Annex 6.

² Articles 10, 11, 13 (paragraph 4), 16 (paragraph 2), 19.

(d) Abstentions.

Paragraph 3 of Article IX of the Rules of Procedure says:

“ . . . In counting the votes, abstentions from voting shall be disregarded.”

2. HOW ARE THE VOTES TAKEN ?

(a) Vote by roll-call.

Paragraph 3 of Article IX says:

“ . . . each member of the Council shall be called upon separately to vote, if a Member of the Council so requires.”

On September 29th, 1937, the Council decided:

“ It is recommended that the following procedure, which corresponds to the practice generally adopted hitherto, should be followed, unless the Council, in a given case, should decide otherwise:

When a vote by roll-call is required under Article IX, paragraph 3, of the Rules of Procedure, it shall be taken in French alphabetical order of the Members of the League represented at the meeting, the President voting last. In cases in which the vote concerns a dispute, the representatives of the parties to the dispute shall vote after the other members of the Council and the President. The vote of the parties shall also be taken in French alphabetical order.”

(b) Current practice.

Usually, there is not a vote by roll-call. In actual fact, the President asks the Members of the Council whether they have any observations to make regarding a proposal. If there are no observations, the President declares the proposal adopted, the absence of objections being taken to signify the tacit agreement of the Members of the Council.

(c) Secret ballot.

A secret ballot is obligatory if demanded by any Member of the Council in the case of votes concerning persons. (See Article X of the Rules of Procedure of the Council.)

In point of fact, a secret vote is very rarely asked for.

3. WHAT IS PUT TO THE VOTE ?

(a) Resolution.

The Council in most cases adopts a resolution. The scope of such a resolution varies greatly. It may be a formal decision of the Council in regard to a question which the Council has power to settle (the constitution of a committee, the adoption of a plan of work, etc.).

It may be a recommendation or the expression of a wish addressed to Members of the League of Nations. In the case of Articles 15 and 16 (paragraph 2) of the Covenant, the Council's decision may be itself in the nature of a recommendation.

In the case of Article 11, the resolution may be in the nature of a finding of facts or of a record of an agreement reached in the Council or of recommendations.¹

(b) Report submitted to the Council.

The Council may merely adopt the conclusions of a report.

In cases where the Council adopts a resolution, the latter may be explained or even supplemented by passages in the report itself.

The Council has on occasion approved a report as a whole, but of recent years it has not usually followed this practice. In point of fact, reports are sometimes somewhat long and complicated documents, containing various considerations which the Members of the Council have not been able to consider in detail and in regard to which their opinions may differ. The Council's agreement thus relates merely to the draft resolution which follows the report or to the conclusions of the report, and the statements appearing in the report as a whole normally involve only the responsibility of the rapporteur himself.

(c) Removal from the agenda.

The Council may, in certain cases, conclude the examination of a question without proposing any solution. It may, if it follows this course, decide to remove the question from its agenda.²

¹ The Council's resolution may, in certain cases, contain several of these elements.

² This does not refer to reports submitted by Committees.

There are cases in which the Council may have to make recommendations.¹

MINUTES

I. KEEPING OF MINUTES

Paragraph 1 of Article XI of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ 1. The Minutes of the meetings of the Council shall be kept by the Secretariat”

2. CORRECTIONS OF MINUTES

Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article XI of the Rules of Procedure read:

“ 2. The Minutes of each meeting of the Council shall be sent as soon as possible to the Members of the Council, who shall, within forty-eight hours, inform the Secretariat of any corrections which they may desire to have made in their own speeches.

“ 3. Where the Minutes were sent to the Members of the Council less than forty-eight hours before the close of the session, they shall be considered as approved if no corrections have been asked for within ten days.”

3. PUBLICITY OF MINUTES

(a) Publicity rule.

Paragraph 1 of Article XI of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ 1. The Minutes of the meetings of the Council . . . shall be published.”

The following is the method: the final revised Minutes are issued as a separate document and afterwards published in the League's *Official Journal*.²

¹ Article 15.

² The documents relating to questions dealt with are distributed to members of the Council and, if the meeting be public, to the Press, and are also published in the League's *Official Journal* as an annex to the relevant minutes.

Before the Minutes appear, a certain publicity is given to the Council debates by the Information Section, which issues a summary in a *communiqué*. Shortly after, a verbatim record of the public meetings is published.

(b) Exceptions to the publicity rule.

Paragraph 4 of Article XI reads:

"The Council may decide not to have published Minutes."

In such a case, however, it is provided that a summary record shall be made in a single copy which Members of the Council who took part in the meeting may consult in the Secretariat.¹

THE COUNCIL WHEN NOT IN SESSION

When not in session, the Council may be called upon to perform certain duties either directly or through its President.

I. THE COUNCIL ITSELF

Paragraph 1 of Article XII of the Rules of Procedure reads:

"When the Council is not in session, its Members may be consulted by correspondence by the Secretary-General, on instructions from the President, and may by this means adopt such measures of an administrative character as appear on grounds of urgency to be strictly necessary before the Council again meets."

These measures of an administrative character have, in point of fact, related more particularly to the appointment of members of Committees.

¹ Paragraph 4 of Article XI reads: "4. A summary record in a single copy shall alone be made. Such record shall be kept in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, where the representatives of Governments which took part in the meeting may have corrections made in their own speeches within a period of ten days. On the expiration of this period, the record shall be considered as approved and shall be signed by the Secretary-General. Representatives of the said Governments shall at all times have the right to consult the record at the Secretariat."

2. THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL ¹

(a) Paragraph 2 of Article XII of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ Subject to confirmation by the Council at its next session, the President of the Council, at the request of the Secretary-General, may, in the interval between sessions, take financial measures of an urgent character which fall within the competence of the Council, such as the approval of transfers, charging of expenditure to the Council's vote for unforeseen expenditure, and advances from the Working Capital Fund.”

(b) Apart from this particular case, in the interval between sessions, Presidents of the Council have, in practice, on several occasions, addressed the parties to a dispute in their capacity as President.²

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND DEPARTURES THEREFROM

I. AMENDMENT

Paragraph 1 of Article XIV of the Rules of Procedure reads:

“ 1. Subject to the provisions of the Covenant, the present Rules may be amended by a three-fourths majority, subject to the proposal for amendment of the Rules having been first placed on the agenda.”

2. DEPARTURES FROM THE RULES OF PROCEDURE

Paragraph 2 of Article XIV reads:

“ 2. Subject to the same restriction, a departure from the provisions of the present Rules may be sanctioned, by the same majority, without its being necessary for a proposal to that effect to be first placed on the agenda.”

¹ It is recalled that in the interval between sessions, the President in office of the Council is the President of the Council who presided over the last session.

² See in particular *Official Journal of the League of Nations*, September 1932, page 1576-VI.

ANNEXES

Annex I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF COUNCIL SESSIONS

		Number of meetings	President
1920			
1. <i>Paris</i>	Jan. 16	1	M. Léon BOURGEOIS (France)
2. <i>London</i>	Feb. 11 and 12	6	Rt. Hon. Arthur James BALFOUR (United Kingdom)
3. <i>Paris</i>	Mar. 12 and 13	2	M. Léon BOURGEOIS (France)
4. "	Apl. 9-11	4	M. Léon BOURGEOIS (France)
5. <i>Rome</i>	May 14-19	9	M. Tommaso TITTONI (Italy)
6. <i>London</i>	June 14-16	4	Lord CURZON OF KEDLESTON (United Kingdom)
7. "	July 9-11	6	Rt. Hon. Arthur James BALFOUR (United Kingdom)
8. <i>San Sebastian</i>	July 30-Aug. 5	10	M. José QUIÑONES DE LEÓN (Spain)
9. <i>Paris</i>	Sept. 16-20	7	M. Léon BOURGEOIS (France)
10. <i>Brussels</i>	Oct. 20-28	12	M. Paul HYMANS (Belgium)
11. <i>Geneva</i>	Nov. 14-Dec. 18	15	M. Paul HYMANS (Belgium)
1921			
12. <i>Paris</i>	Feb. 21-Mar. 4	18	M. Gastao DA CUNHA (Brazil)
13. <i>Geneva</i>	June 17-28	21	Viscount Kikujiro ISHII (Japan)
14. "	Aug. 30-Oct. 12	14	M. Wellington Koo (China)
15. <i>Paris</i>	Nov. 16-19	6	M. Paul HYMANS (Belgium)
1922			
16. <i>Geneva</i>	Jan. 10-14	13	M. Paul HYMANS (Belgium)
17. <i>Paris</i>	Mar. 24-28	6	M. Paul HYMANS (Belgium)
18. <i>Geneva</i>	May 11-17	12	M. José QUIÑONES DE LEÓN (Spain)
19. <i>London</i>	July 17-24	13	M. José QUIÑONES DE LEÓN (Spain)
20. <i>Geneva</i>	Aug. 31 and Oct. 4	2	M. José QUIÑONES DE LEÓN (Spain)
21. "	Aug. 31-Oct. 4	19	M. DOMICIO DA GAMA (Brazil)
22. "	Aug. 31-Oct. 4	8	M. DOMICIO DA GAMA (Brazil)
1923			
23. <i>Paris</i>	Jan. 29-Feb. 3	14	M. René VIVIANI (France)
24. <i>Geneva</i>	Apl. 17-23	14	Rt. Hon. Edward WOOD (United Kingdom)
25. "	July 2-7	13	M. Antonio SALANDRA (Italy)
26. "	Aug. 31-Sept. 29	24	Viscount Kikujiro ISHII (Japan)
27. <i>Paris</i>	Dec. 10-20	12	M. Hjalmar BRANTING (Sweden)
1924			
28. <i>Geneva</i>	Mar. 10-15	11	M. Alberto GUANI (Uruguay)
29. "	June 11-17	7	M. Eduard BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia)
30. "	Aug. 29-Oct. 3	20	M. Paul HYMANS (Belgium)
31. <i>Brussels</i>	Oct. 27-31	4	M. Paul HYMANS (Belgium)
32. <i>Rome</i>	Dec. 8-13	11	M. Afranio DE MELLO-FRANCO (Brazil)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF COUNCIL SESSIONS (*continued*)

		Number of meetings	President
1925			
33. Geneva	Mar. 9-14	12	Rt. Hon. Sir Austen CHAMBERLAIN (United Kingdom)
34. "	June 8-11	8	M. José QUIÑONES DE LEÓN (Spain)
35. "	Sept. 2-28	17	M. Paul PAINLEVÉ (France)
36. Paris	Oct. 26-30	5	M. Aristide BRIAND (France)
37. Geneva	Dec. 7-16	15	M. Vittorio SCIALOJA (Italy)
1926			
38. Geneva	Feb. 12	1	M. Carlo GARBASSO (Italy)
39. "	Mar. 8-18	7	Viscount Kikujiro ISHII (Japan)
40. "	June 7-10	5	M. Alberto GUANI (Uruguay)
41. "	Sept. 2-7	5	M. Eduard BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia)
42. "	Sept. 16-20	3	M. Eduard BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia)
43. "	Dec. 6-11	6	M. Emile VANDERVELDE (Belgium)
1927			
44. Geneva	Mar. 7-12	8	Dr. Gustav STRESEMANN (Germany)
45. "	June 13-17	6	Rt. Hon. Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (United Kingdom)
46. "	Sept. 1-15	7	M. Enrique VILLEGAS (Chile)
47. "	Sept. 17-28	8	M. Enrique VILLEGAS (Chile)
48. "	Dec. 5-12	8	M. TCHENG-LOH (China)
1928			
49. Geneva	Mar. 5-10	10	M. Francisco José URRUTIA (Colombia)
50. "	June 4-9	9	M. Aristides DE AGÜERO Y BETHAN- COURT (Cuba)
51. "	Aug. 30-Sept. 8	7	M. H. J. PROCOPÉ (Finland)
52. "	Sept. 12-26	6	M. H. J. PROCOPÉ (Finland)
53. Lugano	Dec. 10-15	7	M. Aristide BRIAND (France)
1929			
54. Geneva	Mar. 4-9	7	M. Vittorio SCIALOJA (Italy)
55. Madrid	June 10-15	5	M. Mineitciro ADATCI (Japan)
56. Geneva	Aug. 30-Sept. 6	3	H.H. Ali Khan FOROUGHÍ (Persia)
57. "	Sept. 13-25	3	H.H. Ali Khan FOROUGHÍ (Persia)
1930			
58. Geneva	Jan. 13-16	7	M. Auguste ZALESKI (Poland)
59. "	May 12-15	4	M. Voislav MARINKOVITCH (Yugoslavia)
60. "	Sept. 8-12	3	M. Cesar ZUMETA (Venezuela)
61. "	Sept. 17-Oct. 3	8	M. Cesar ZUMETA (Venezuela)
1931			
62. Geneva	Jan. 19-24	9	Rt. Hon. Arthur HENDERSON (United Kingdom)
63. "	May 18-23	6	M. Julius CURTIUS (Germany)
64. "	Sept. 1-14	4	M. Alejandro LERROUX (Spain)
65. { " { " { Paris	Sept. 19-30 Oct. 13-24 Nov. 16-Dec. 10	20	{ { { M. Alejandro LERROUX (Spain) M. Aristide BRIAND (France) M. Aristide BRIAND (France)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF COUNCIL SESSIONS (*continued*)

		Number of meetings	President		
1932					
66. Geneva	{ Jan. 25-Feb. 29 Apl. 12-15	} 16	M. Joseph PAUL-BONCOUR (France)		
67. "	May 9-July 15			10	M. José MATOS (Guatemala)
68. "	Sept. 23-Oct. 3			4	M. Eamon DE VALERA (Irish Free State)
69. "	Oct. 3-Dec. 19			16	M. Eamon DE VALERA (Irish Free State)
1933					
70. Geneva	Jan. 24-Feb. 3	7	M. Pompeo ALOISI (Italy)		
71. "	Feb. 21-Mar. 18	5	M. Pompeo ALOISI (Italy)		
72. "	May 15-20	2	Count PIOLA CASELLI (Italy)		
73. "	May 22-June 6	7	M. F. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico)		
74. "	July 3	2	M. F. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico)		
75. "	Aug. 3	1	M. F. CASTILLO NAJERA (Mexico)		
76. "	Sept. 22-29	4	M. Joh. Ludovic MOWINCKEL (Norway)		
77. "	Oct. 4-26	5	M. Raúl AMADOR (Panama)		
1934					
78. Geneva	Jan. 15-20	5	M. Joseph BECK (Poland)		
79. "	May 14-19	5	M. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal)		
80. "	May 30-June 7	6	M. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal)		
81. "	Sept. 7-15	3	M. Eduard BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia)		
82. "	Sept. 19-28	5	M. Eduard BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia)		
83. "	Dec. 5-11	7	{ M. Eduard BENEŠ (Czechoslovakia) M. Augusto DE VASCONCELLOS (Portugal)		
1935					
84. Geneva	Jan. 11-21	9	M. RÜSTÜ ARAS (Turkey)		
85. "	April 15-17	4	M. RÜSTÜ ARAS (Turkey)		
86. "	May 20-25	6	M. Maxime LITVINOFF (U.S.S.R.)		
87. "	July 31-Aug. 3	2	M. Maxime LITVINOFF (U.S.S.R.)		
88. "	Sept. 5-13	5	M. RUIZ GUIÑAZÚ (Argentine)		
89. "	Sept. 17-Dec. 19	10	M. RUIZ GUIÑAZÚ (Argentine)		
1936					
90. Geneva	Jan. 20-24	} 6	Rt. Hon. S. M. BRUCE (Australia)		
91. { London Geneva	March 14-24 April 20			} 11	Rt. Hon. S. M. BRUCE (Australia)
92. "	{ May 11-13 June 25-July 24	} 5	Rt. Hon. Anthony EDEN (United Kingdom)		
93. "	Sept. 18-26			} 4	M. Manuel RIVAS VICUÑA (Chile) M. Luis V. DE PORTO SEGURO (Chile)
94. "	Oct. 2-10	} 4	M. Manuel RIVAS VICUÑA (Chile) M. Luis V. DE PORTO SEGURO (Chile)		
95. "	Dec. 10-16			7	M. Agustin EDWARDS (Chile)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF COUNCIL SESSIONS (*concluded*)

		Number of meetings	President
	1937		
96. Geneva	Jan. 21-27	5	M. V. K. Wellington Koo (China)
97. "	May 24-29	6	M. Antonio J. QUEVEDO (Ecuador)
98. "	Sept. 10-16	3	M. Juan NEGRÍN (Spain)
99. "	Sept. 29-Oct. 5	3	M. Yvon DELBOS (France)
			M. J. PAUL-BONCOUR (France)

Annex 2

STATES THAT HAVE SAT AS NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS
OF THE COUNCIL

	Date of election	Period of office	
Argentina . . .	Oct. 2, 1933	Oct. 2, 1933-Sept. 28, 1936	3 years
Australia . . .	Oct. 2, 1933	Oct. 2, 1933-Sept. 28, 1936	3 years
Belgium	In virtue of Article 4, § 1, of the Covenant	Jan. 10-Dec. 31, 1920	1 year
	Dec. 15, 1920	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1921	1 year
	Oct. 5, 1921	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1922	1 year
	Sept. 30, 1922	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1923	1 year
	Sept. 29, 1923	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1924	1 year
	Oct. 2, 1924	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1925	1 year
	Sept. 26, 1925	Jan. 1-Sept. 16, 1926	8½ months
	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 15, 1927	1 year
	Sept. 28, 1937	Sept. 28, 1937-1940 election	3 years
Bolivia	Sept. 28, 1936	Sept. 28, 1936-1939 election	3 years
Brazil	In virtue of Article 4, § 1, of the Covenant	Jan. 10-Dec. 31, 1920	1 year
	Dec. 15, 1920	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1921	1 year
	Oct. 5, 1921	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1922	1 year
	Sept. 30, 1922	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1923	1 year
	Sept. 29, 1923	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1924	1 year
	Oct. 2, 1924	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1925	1 year
	Sept. 26, 1925	Jan. 1-Sept. 16, 1926	8½ months
Canada	Sept. 15, 1927	Sept. 15, 1927-Sept. 17, 1930	3 years
Chile	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 9, 1929	3 years
	Sept. 17, 1934	Sept. 17, 1934-Sept. 20, 1937	3 years
China	Dec. 15, 1920	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1921	1 year
	Oct. 5, 1921	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1922	1 year
	Sept. 30, 1922	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1923	1 year
	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 10, 1928	2 years
	Sept. 14, 1931	Sept. 14, 1931-Sept. 17, 1934	3 years
	Oct. 8, 1936	Oct. 8, 1936-1939 election	3 years
Colombia	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 10, 1928	2 years
Cuba	Sept. 15, 1927	Sept. 15, 1927-Sept. 17, 1930	3 years
Czechoslovakia .	Sept. 29, 1923	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1924	1 year
	Oct. 2, 1924	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1925	1 year
	Sept. 26, 1925	Jan. 1-Sept. 16, 1926	8½ months
	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 15, 1927	1 year
	Oct. 3, 1932	Oct. 3, 1932-Sept. 16, 1935	3 years
Denmark	Oct. 2, 1933	Oct. 2, 1933-Sept. 28, 1936	3 years
Ecuador	Sept. 16, 1935	Sept. 16, 1935-1938 election	3 years
Finland	Sept. 15, 1927	Sept. 15, 1927-Sept. 17, 1930	3 years
Greece	In virtue of Article 4, § 1, of the Covenant	Jan. 10-Dec. 31, 1920	1 year
Guatemala . . .	Sept. 17, 1930	Sept. 17, 1930-Oct. 2, 1933	3 years

STATES THAT HAVE SAT AS NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS
OF THE COUNCIL (*concluded*)

	Date of election	Period of office		
Iran	Sept. 10, 1928	Sept. 10, 1928-Sept. 14, 1931	3 years	
	Sept. 20, 1937	Sept. 20, 1937-1940 election	3 years	
Irish Free State	Sept. 17, 1930	Sept. 17, 1930-Oct. 2, 1933	3 years	
	Oct. 8, 1936	Oct. 8, 1936-1939 election	3 years	
Latvia	Oct. 3, 1932	Oct. 3, 1932-Sept. 16, 1935	3 years	
Mexico	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 10, 1928	2 years	
Netherlands	Sept. 28, 1936	Sept. 28, 1936-1939 election	3 years	
New Zealand	Sept. 17, 1930	Sept. 17, 1930-Oct. 2, 1933	3 years	
Norway	Sept. 14, 1931	Sept. 14, 1931-Sept. 17, 1934	3 years	
Panama	Sept. 9, 1929	Sept. 9, 1929-Oct. 3, 1932	3 years	
	Sept. 20, 1937	Sept. 20, 1937-1940 election	3 years	
Poland	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 9, 1929	3 years	
	Sept. 9, 1929	Sept. 9, 1929-Oct. 3, 1932	3 years	
	Oct. 3, 1932	Oct. 3, 1932-Sept. 16, 1935	3 years	
Portugal	Sept. 16, 1935	Sept. 16, 1935-1938 election	3 years	
	Oct. 9, 1933	Oct. 9, 1933-Sept. 28, 1936	3 years	
Roumania	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 9, 1929	3 years	
Salvador	Sept. 16, 1935	Sept. 16, 1935-1938 election	3 years	
	Sept. 16, 1926	Sept. 16, 1926-Sept. 15, 1927	1 year	
Spain	In virtue of Article 4, § 1, of the Covenant	Jan. 10-Dec. 31, 1920	1 year	
	Dec. 15, 1920	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1921	1 year	
	Oct. 5, 1921	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1922	1 year	
	Sept. 30, 1922	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1923	1 year	
	Sept. 29, 1923	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1924	1 year	
	Oct. 2, 1924	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1925	1 year	
	Sept. 26, 1925	Jan. 1-Sept. 16, 1926	8½ months	
	Sept. 10, 1928	Sept. 10, 1928-Sept. 14, 1931	3 years	
	Sept. 14, 1931	Sept. 14, 1931-Sept. 17, 1934	3 years	
	Sept. 17, 1934	Sept. 17, 1934-Sept. 20, 1937	3 years	
	Sweden	Sept. 30, 1922	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1923	1 year
		Sept. 29, 1923	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1924	1 year
		Oct. 2, 1924	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1925	1 year
		Sept. 26, 1925	Jan. 1-Sept. 16, 1926	8½ months
		Sept. 28, 1936	Sept. 28, 1936-1939 election	3 years
Turkey	Sept. 17, 1934	Sept. 17, 1934-Sept. 20, 1937	3 years	
Uruguay	Sept. 30, 1922	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1923	1 year	
	Sept. 29, 1923	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1924	1 year	
	Oct. 2, 1924	Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1925	1 year	
Venezuela	Sept. 26, 1925	Jan. 1-Sept. 16, 1926	8½ months	
	Sept. 10, 1928	Sept. 10, 1928-Sept. 14, 1931	3 years	
Yugoslavia	Sept. 9, 1929	Sept. 9, 1929-Oct. 3, 1932	3 years	

Annex 3

LIST OF THOSE WHO HAVE SAT ON THE COUNCIL,
1920-1937

The figures relate to the number of the Session

ALLEMAGNE — GERMANY

Le comte Bernstorff	56, 61, 65.
M. von Bülow	66/1, 66/2, 66/4.
Le D ^r Curtius	59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65.
M. Dieckhoff	91/1-ex. représ.
Le D ^r Otto Göppert	47, 69/1, 69/2.
M. von Kamphövener	77/1, 77/2.
M. von Keller . 70, 71/1, 71/2, 72, 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2.	
M. Krauel	75 ex.
Le D ^r Meyer	69/1, 69/2.
M. Hermann Müller	52.
Le baron von Neurath	68, 69/1, 69/2.
M. von Ribbentrop	91/1-ex: représ.
M. von Rosenberg	68, 69/1, 69/2.
Le D ^r von Schubert . 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58.	
Le D ^r Stresemann . . . 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56.	
Le baron von Weizsäcker	62, 66/1, 66/2, 66/3, 69/1, 69/2.
Le comte Welzeck	67.

RÉPUBLIQUE ARGENTINE — ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

M. J. M. Cantilo . . . 78/1, 78/2, 79/1 ex., 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 81/1, 81/2, 82/1, 82/2, 83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 86.	
M. Enrique Ruiz-Guiñazú . 87 ex., 88, 89/1, 89/2, 90, 91/1 ex., 91/2 ex., 92/1, 92/2, 93.	
M. Carlos Saavedra Lamas	93.

AUSTRALIE — AUSTRALIA

The Right Honourable S. M. Bruce . 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 81/1, 81/2, 83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 86, 87 ex., 88, 89/1, 89/2, 90, 91/1 ex., 91/2 ex., 92/1, 92/2, 93.	
Mr. K. Officer . . . 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 84, 86, 93.	
Mr. J. G. McLaren	79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex.
Mr. F. L. McDougall	82/1, 82/2.

BELGIQUE — BELGIUM

M. Louis de Brouckère	42, 46.
M. de Cartier de Marchienne	91/1 ex.: représ.
M. Destrée	5.
Le baron de Gaiffier d'Hestroy	4, 15.
M. Paul Hymans	1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 1921 ex., 14/1, 14/2, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37.
M. Joseph Mélot	25, 28, 29, 33, 34, 39, 40.
Le baron Moncheur	6, 7.
M. Peltzer	38 ex.
Le vicomte Prosper Poulet	26.
M. Emile Vandervelde	39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46.
M. van Zeeland	91/1 ex.: représ.

BOLIVIE — BOLIVIA

M. Adolfo Costa du Rels	94, 95 ex., 96, 97.
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BRÉSIL — BRAZIL

M. de Castello-Branco Clark	17, 18.
M. Clark	6.
M. Gastao da Cunha	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 1921 ex., 14/a, 14/b, 15, 16.
M. Domicio da Gama	19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.
M. Afranio de Mello-Franco	26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 ex., 39, 40.
M. de Rio Branco	13, 25, 26.
M. de Souza Dantas	27, 28, 29.

CANADA

The Honourable Dandurand	47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59.
The Right Honourable W. Mackenzie King	51, 52.
The Right Honourable Robert Laird Borden	60.
The Honourable Philippe Roy	50.

CHILI — CHILE

M. Agustín Edwards	91/1 ex., 95 ex., 96, 97.
M. Fernando García-Oldini	87 ex., 89/2, 90, 91/2 ex., 92/2, 96, 97.
M. Luis V. de Porto-Seguro	89/1, 93, 94.

CHILI (*suite*) — CHILE (*continued*)

- M. Manuel Rivas-Vicuña . . . 82/1, 82/2, 83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 86, 87 ex., 88,
89/1, 89/2, 92/1, 92/2, 93, 94.
M. Jorge Valdés-Mendeville 42, 54.
M. Enrique Villegas 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56.

CHINE — CHINA

- Le Dr Wellington Koo . . . 12, 13, 1921 ex., 14/a, 14/b, 17, 69/1, 69/2,
70, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 75 ex.,
76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex.,
95 ex., 96, 97.
M. Tang Tsai Fou 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.
M. Chao-Hsin Chu 42, 43, 44, 45.
M. Ouang Ting Tchang 46, 47.
M. Tcheng-Loh 48, 49, 50.
M. Wang-King-Ky 51.
M. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze 65.
M. W. W. Yen 66/1, 66/2, 66/3, 66/4, 67, 68, 69/1, 69/2.
M. Hoo Chi-Tsai 66/1, 66/2, 67, 70, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 97.
M. Wunsz King 70, 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2.
M. Quo Tai-chi 81/1, 81'2, 94.
M. Liu Chieh 97.

COLOMBIE — COLOMBIA

- Le Dr Antonio J. Restrepo 51.
Le Dr Francisco J. Urrutia 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.

CUBA

- M. de Agüero y Bethancourt 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58,
59, 60.
M. de Cespedes 49.
M. Orestes Ferrara 52.

DANEMARK — DENMARK

- M. William Borberg . . . 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 82/1,
82/2, 84, 86, 87 ex., 89/1, 89/2, 91/2 ex.
M. Peter Munch . . . 79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 81/1, 81/2, 82/1,
82/2, 83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 88, 89/1, 89/2, 90, 91/1 ex., 92/1, 92/2, 93.
M. Erik de Scavenius . . . 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 81/1, 81/2, 82/1, 82/2,
83 ex., 84, 87 ex.

EQUATEUR — ECUADOR

M. Alejandro Gastelú	93, 96.
Le D ^r Antonio J. Quevedo	97.
M. Gonzalo Zaldumbide 89/1, 89/2, 90, 91/1 ex., 91/2 ex., 92/1, 92/2, 94.	

ESPAGNE — SPAIN

M. Teodomiro de Aguilar.	86, 88.
M. Julio Alvarez del Vayo	93, 95 ex., 96, 97.
M. P. de Azcárate	95 ex., 96, 97.
M. Augusto Barcia Trelles	91/1 ex., 92/2.
M. Botella	94.
M. Carlos Esplá	29.
M. le Marquis de Faura	6.
M. Amadeo Hurtado.	69/1, 69/2.
M. Alejandro Lerroux	63, 64, 65.
M. Julio López Oliván 66/4, 67, 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 81/1, 81/2, 82/1, 82/2, 83 ex., 84, 87 ex., 88, 89/2.	
M. Salvador de Madariaga . 66/1, 66/2, 66/3, 66/4, 67, 68, 69/1, 69/2, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 75 ex., 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 81/1, 81/2, 82/1, 82/2, 83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 86, 88, 89/1, 89/2, 90, 91/1 ex., 91/2 ex., 92/1.	
M. Angel Ossorio y Gallardo	94.
M. E. de Palacios	52.
M. Manuel Pedroso 69/1, 69/2, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex.	
M. Quer Boule	40.
M. Quiñones de León	I, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 1921 ex., 14/a, 14/b, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 ex., 39, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62.
M. de Reynoso	13, 16.
M. Fernando de los Rios	93.
M. Serrat	70.
M. Luis de Zulueta	66/1, 66/2, 69/1, 69/2, 70, 73/1, 73/2.

FINLANDE — FINLAND

M. Enckell	7: représ., 9.
M. Rafael Erich.	47.
M. Rudolf Holsti	48, 50, 54, 57.
M. Hj. J. Procopé	49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.
M. Väinö Voionmaa	47, 48.

FRANCE

M. Louis Barthou	79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 81/1, 81/2, 82/1, 82/2.
M. Basdevant	69/1, 69/2, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 84.
M. Henry Bérenger	69/1, 69/2.
M. Léon Bourgeois	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1921 ex., 14/a, 14/b, 15, 17, 18, 29, 30.
M. Aristide Briand	30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65.
M. Clauzel	29, 30, 47, 75 ex., 76/1, 76/2.
M. Pierre Cot	70, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex..
M. Corbin	91/1 ex.
M. Yvon Delbos	92/2, 93, 94, 96, 97.
M. Pierre-Etienne Flandin	64, 65, 91/1 extr.
M. A. de Fleuriau	6.
M. François-Poncet	63.
M. Jean Gout	24.
M. Gabriel Hanotaux	13, 16, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.
M. Jean Hennessy	38 ex.
M. Maurice Herbet	31.
M. Edouard Herriot	89/1.
M. Henry de Jouvenel	29, 30.
M. Lagarde	96.
M. Pierre Laval	83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 86, 87 ex., 88, 89/1, 89/2, 90.
M. Loucheur	35, 45, 46, 48, 57.
M. A. Léger	90.
M. René Massigli	52, 56, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69/1, 69/2, 70, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 82/1, 82/2, 83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 86, 88, 89/1, 89/2, 90.
M. Paul-Boncour	34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 66/1, 66/2, 66/3, 66/4, 67, 68, 69/1, 69/2, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 91/1 ex., 91/2 ex., 92/1, 93, 94.
M. Joseph Paganon	68, 69/1, 69/2.
M. Paul Painlevé	35.
M. Georges Pernot	61.
M. Maurice Petsche	65.
M. André Tardieu	66/1, 66/2, 66/4.
M. Pierre Viénot	93, 94, 95 ex., 96, 97.
M. René Viviani	19, 23.

GRÈCE — GREECE

M. Demetrius Caclamanos	2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11.
M. Coromilas	5.

GRÈCE (*suite*) — GREECE (*continued*)

M. Panas	11.
M. Politis	11.
M. A. Romanos	3.
M. Scassis	8.
M. Eleftherios K. Venizelos.	1, 4.

GUATÉMALA — GUATEMALA

M. José Matos	61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66/1, 66/2, 66/4, 67, 68, 69/1, 69/2, 70, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 76/1, 76/2.
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IRAN

S.E. Hussein Khan Alâ	59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.
S.A. le prince Firouz	6.
S.A. Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi	52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.
S.E. Anouchirevan Khan Sépahbody	63.

ETAT LIBRE D'IRLANDE — IRISH FREE STATE

Mr. Erneste Blythe	61.
Mr. Joseph Connolly.	69/1, 69/2.
Mr. T. Coyne	67, 75 ex.
Mr. J. J. Hearne	66/1, 66/2, 66/3.
Mr. Sean Lester	61, 62, 64, 65, 66/1, 66/2, 66/4, 67, 69/1, 69/2, 70, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 76/1, 76/2.
Mr. MacGilligen	62, 63, 64, 65.
Mr. Sean O'Kelly	76/1, 76/2.
Mr. Eamon de Valera	68, 69/1, 69/2.

ITALIE — ITALY

Le baron Pompeo Aloisi	68, 69/1, 69/2, 70, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 81/1, 81/2, 82/1, 82/2, 83 ex., 84, 85 ex., 86, 87 ex., 88, 89/1, 90, 91/2 ex., 92/1.
M. Orsini Baroni	13, 31.
M. Augusto Biancheri	68, 69/1, 69/2, 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 75 ex., 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 82/1, 82/2, 84.
Le comte Bonin-Longare	4, 15, 27, 39, 52, 56.

ITALIE (suite) — ITALY (continued)

M. Renato Bova Scoppa	84.
M. G. Catalani	6.
M. Maggiorino Ferraris	1, 2, 9.
M. Garbasso	24, 38 ex.
M. Dino Grandi	58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66/1, 66/2, 66/3, 66/4, 91/1 ex.
Le marquis Imperiali	7, 12, 13, 1921 ex., 14/a, 14/b, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.
Le marquis Medici del Vascello	26.
M. Tommaso Perassi	86.
M. Massimo Pilotti	66/1, 66/2, 69/1, 69/2.
Le comte Piola-Caselli	71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex.
M. Guido Rocco	88, 89/1.
M. Augusto Rosso	63, 65, 66/1, 66/2, 66/3, 66/4, 67.
M. Salandra	23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32.
M. Schanzer	11.
M. Vittorio Scialoja	33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67.
M. Tittoni	3, 5, 8, 10, 11.

JAPON — JAPAN

M. Minéitcirô Adatci	18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.
M. Ariyoshi	38 ex.
Le vicomte Chinda	6.
Le vicomte Ishii	10, 11, 12, 13, 1921 ex., 14/a, 14/b, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.
M. Matsuda	35.
M. M.-K. Matsui	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9.
M. Yosuké Matsuoka	69/1, 69/2.
M. Matsuzô Nagai	7, 59.
M. Harakazu Nagaoka	66/4, 67, 68, 69/1, 69/2, 70.
M. Naotake Sato	47, 56, 65, 66/1, 66/2, 66/3.
M. Setsuzo Sawada	65, 67, 70.
M. Isaburô Yoshida	58.
M. Kenkichi Yoshizawa	60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65.

LETTONIE — LATVIA

M. Jules Feldmans	95 ex., 96.
M. Andréjs Kampe	94.
M. Wilhelms Munters	94, 96, 97.

MEXIQUE — MEXICO

M. Vicente Estrada Cajigal	86.
M. Castillo Najera	72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 75 ex., 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2, 79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 80/1 ex., 80/2 ex., 81/1, 81/2, 82/1, 82/2, 83 ex., 84.
M. Marte R. Gomez	85 ex., 86, 87 ex., 88.
M. Arturo Pani	70, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 76/1, 76/2.
M. Manuel Tello	84.
M. Pérez Verdía	71/1 ex., 71/2 ex.

NORVÈGE — NORWAY

M. Rolf Andvord	67, 70, 73/1, 73/2.
M. Hersleb Birkeland	74/1 ex., 74/2 ex., 75 ex.
M. Birger Braadland	63, 64, 65, 66/4, 67, 68, 70.
M. Erik Colban	61, 62, 66/1, 66/2, 66/3.
M. Carl J. Hambro	61, 68.
Le D ^r Christian Lange	61, 71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 74/1 ex., 74/2 ex.
M. Joh. Ludwig Mowinckel	61, 62, 73/1, 73/2, 76/1, 76/2.

NOUVELLE-ZÉLANDE — NEW ZEALAND

The Honourable Hubert T. Armstrong	97.
Mr. William Joseph Jordan	94, 95 ex., 96, 97.
The Honourable Walter Nash	96.

PANAMA

M. Raoul A. Amador	71/1 ex., 71/2 ex., 72 ex., 73/1, 73/2, 75 ex., 76/1, 76/2, 77/1, 77/2, 78/1, 78/2.
Le D ^r Narciso Garay	65, 66/1, 66/2, 66/4, 67, 68, 70.
M. Belisario Porras	79/1, 79/2, 79/3, 81/1, 81/2.

PAYS-BAS — NETHERLANDS

Le Jonkheer T. Beelaerts van Blokland	45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.
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Annex 4

EVOLUTION AND ENLARGEMENT OF THE COUNCIL

January 10th, 1920. — The original text of Article 4 of the Covenant was as follows :

“ 1. 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.

“ 2. 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.

“ 3. 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.

“ 4. 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.

“ 5. 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.

“ 6. 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.”

November 15th-December 18th, 1920. — The first session of the Assembly referred to its First Committee the question of the appointment of non-permanent Members of the Council. The First Committee charged a sub-committee with the consideration of this problem.

The Sub-Committee's investigation dealt with the following points: (a) System of rotation; (b) Method of apportioning the four seats; (c) Duration of the mandates; (d) Dates of the partial renewals; (e) Re-eligibility; (f) Method of selection.

A fundamental difference of opinion appeared within the Sub-Committee and within the Committee itself as to the interpretation of the following passage in Article 4: “. . . shall be selected by the Assembly *from time to time in its discretion*”; — in French: “. . . sont désignés *librement* par l'Assemblée et aux époques qu'il lui *plaît de choisir*”.

The Committee also discussed at some length whether the non-permanent Members of the Council should be chosen from those which were best fitted to carry out, in conjunction with the permanent Members, the duties entrusted to the Council—*i.e.*, whether the election must always be a selection—or whether it was essential to guarantee to Members of the League the certainty of obtaining a seat in turn—*i.e.*, that there should be a compulsory rotation.

December 11th, 1920. — Finally the Assembly voted the following resolutions and recommendation:

RESOLUTIONS

" 1. The mandates of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece as Members of the Council, as provisionally conferred by Article 4, paragraph 1, sentence 3, of the Covenant, shall expire on December 31st, 1920.

" 2. In execution of Article 4, paragraph 1, sentence 2, of the Covenant, the non-permanent Members of the Council shall, at the present session of the Assembly, be selected one at a time and by secret ballot for a period of one year. If no Member obtains at the first ballot an absolute majority of votes, a new ballot shall be taken, but on this occasion the voting shall be confined to the two Members which obtained the largest number of votes at the first ballot. If at this ballot the two Members obtain an equal number of votes, the President shall decide by lot.

" 3. The various proposals considered by the First Committee of the Assembly on the subject shall be sent to the Committee to be constituted by the Council for studying the amendments to the Covenant, which shall report on them to the next Assembly."

RECOMMENDATION

" The Assembly is recommended to vote for the four non-permanent Members of the Council to be selected by the Assembly in 1920 so that three shall be selected from among the Members of the League in Europe and the two American continents, and one selected from among the Members in Asia and the remaining parts of the world."

1921. . . . — The Committee on Amendments to the Covenant, which met in 1921, considered, in accordance with paragraph 3 of the Assembly resolution of December 11th, 1920, proposals and amendments in regard to the drafting of Article 4 of the Covenant. This consideration led to the laying down of a certain number of principles:

(1) That a geographical distribution of the non-permanent seats on the Council was desirable;

- (2) That the duration of the term of office of non-permanent Members should not be very short;
- (3) That it would be dangerous to permit unlimited re-eligibility;
- (4) That an overlapping of the terms of office was to be recommended.

Finally the Committee proposed that Article 4, paragraph 1, sentence 2, of the Covenant should be amended as follows:

Instead of:

"These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion",

Read:

"These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly in its discretion, in accordance with a procedure which the Assembly, by a two-thirds vote, may determine and may modify."

With regard to the rules for the elections, the Committee made the following proposal:

"The non-permanent Members of the Council of the League shall be selected by the Assembly, by a majority vote, for a period of four years. Half of their number shall be renewed every two years. Of the first Members selected for four years, two, to be selected by the Assembly by lot, shall remain in office for two years only.

"Retiring Members shall not be re-eligible for a period of four years following the expiration of their term of office."

At the Assembly's second session the Committee's proposals for amendments to the Covenant were considered. The Assembly's consideration led to the drafting of the following resolution:

October 5th, 1921.

Resolutions and Text of Amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant adopted by the Assembly on October 5th, 1921.

"I. The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of its First Committee:

"(a) That the non-permanent Members of the Council should in future be elected according to a system of rotation for a fixed period; and that the Assembly should this year renew for the year 1922 the appointment of the present Members;

"(b) That, in the absence of any decision with regard to the number of the non-permanent Members of the Council, it is inexpedient to lay

down precise rulings, in consideration of the fact that at the election held next year account will be taken, both as regards the determination of the entire period of office for each Member and as regards the conditions of re-eligibility, of the period already spent in office as the result of previous elections.

“(c) The Committee expresses no opinion as to whether, from the legal point of view, an amendment to the Covenant is or is not necessary, but it is of opinion that it is prudent and desirable to adopt the following amendment, which would be inserted between the second and the third paragraphs of Article 4.

“II. The Assembly adopts the following resolution, being an amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant:

“The following paragraph shall be inserted between the second and third paragraphs of Article 4:

“‘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.’”

September 15th, 1922. — The British and French representatives on the Council proposed that the number of non-permanent Members should be increased from four to six. In support of this proposal, they pointed out that, since the coming into force of the Covenant, the number of States Members of the League had been considerably increased by the admission of nine new States and that it was very difficult to ensure an equitable allocation of the non-permanent seats among the different countries which, owing to common interests, had a tendency to form themselves into groups (document C.394.M.137.1926, page 26).

September 21st, 1922. — The Council proposed to the Assembly that the Assembly should approve of its decision that the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council should be increased from four to six.

September 25th, 1922. — The Assembly approved this decision, which was to come into force immediately.

September 29th, 1922. — The Assembly adopted the following recommendation:

“It is desirable that the Assembly, in electing the six non-permanent Members of the Council, should make its choice with due consideration for the main geographical divisions of the world, the great ethnical groups, the different religious traditions, the various types of civilisation and the chief sources of wealth.”

September 30th, 1922. — The Assembly elected the following as non-permanent Members of the Council, without fixing any limit to the

duration of these appointments: Brazil, Spain, Uruguay, Belgium, Sweden and China.

September 27th, 1923. — The Assembly repeated the recommendation of the 1922 Assembly. On September 29th, 1923, the following were elected non-permanent Members of the Council: Brazil, Spain, Uruguay, Belgium, Sweden and Czechoslovakia.

September 26th, 1924. — The Assembly reiterated the recommendation adopted by the Assemblies of 1922 and 1923. On October 2nd, 1924, the six non-permanent Members of the Council elected on September 29th, 1923, were re-elected for 1925.

February 12th, 1926. — The Council decided to summon an extraordinary session of the Assembly for March 8th, 1926, to deal with the following points:

- (1) Application by Germany for admission to the League;
- (2) Decisions on any proposals to be made by the Council in application of Article 4 of the Covenant.

March 17th, 1926. — Brazil applied for a permanent seat on the Council.

March 18th, 1926. — The Council decided to appoint a Committee to study the composition of the Council and the number and method of election of its Members. The Committee was to consist of representatives of the Members of the Council and of the following States: Argentine Republic, China, Germany, Poland and Switzerland.

May 10th-17th, 1926. — The Committee, which was presided over by M. Motta, drafted an interim report accepting the principle of an increase of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and adopted at a first reading draft regulations for their election. The report stated that the increase of the number of the non-permanent seats on the Council would permit the Assembly to take account in a more comprehensive and equitable measure of the principle of geographical distribution of seats, in accordance with the recommendations of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Assemblies. The report also observed that the Committee was unanimously favourable to an allocation of three of the non-permanent seats to Latin America and that adequate representation should be given to Asia.

June 10th, 1926. — Brazil stated that she renounced her seat on the Council as a non-permanent Member and gave notice of withdrawal from the League. On the same date, the Spanish representative on the Council announced that his Government would ratify the amendment to Article 4, "as the present situation excludes the possibility of the

presence of Spain at an election, and as the reason which prevented ratification by Spain had thus been removed.”

On the same date also, the Council agreed to the principles laid down by the Committee in regard to the number of non-permanent Members of the Council and the method of their election.

July 29th, 1926. — The amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant which had been voted by the second Assembly on October 5th, 1921, came into force.

August 30th-September 3rd, 1926. — The Committee on the Composition of the Council held a second session from August 30th to September 3rd, 1926, under the chairmanship of M. Motta. The Brazilian representative was not present. The session ended with the drafting of a final report, Argentine, Sweden, Spain and Poland made reservation.

September 4th, 1926. — The Council:

“ Approves the report of the Committee on the Composition of the Council;

“ 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;

“ Recommends to the Assembly the approval of those decisions;

“ 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.”

September 8th, 1926. — The Assembly in a resolution approved the report of the First Committee of the Special Assembly on the request of the German Government for admission to the League and also the proposals put forward by the Council in its resolution of September 4th regarding the nomination of Germany as a permanent Member of the Council and the increase of the number of non-permanent seats, which were to be brought up to nine.

September 15th, 1926. — The Assembly, acting in virtue of Article 4 of the Covenant, decided 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.

January 5th, 1931. — The Portuguese Government pointed out in a memorandum that, apart from the permanent Members of the Council and the two States which had an expectation of being declared re-eligible for election to the Council, representation on that body was habitually limited to States belonging to certain groups—namely, the Latin-American States (three seats), the ex-neutral States (one seat), the Little Entente (one seat), the British Dominions (one seat) and the Asiatic States (one seat). These groups, together with Spain and Poland, occupied in practice the existing nine non-permanent seats. The result of this situation constituted a permanent representation on the Council of certain tendencies and points of view, and there remained some ten to fifteen Members of the League which had no effective prospect of entering the Council. The Portuguese Government therefore proposed an increase in the number of seats by one.

September 25th, 1931. — The Assembly requested the Council to appoint a special committee to study the system of elections to the Council and to report to a future session of the Assembly.

January 29th, 1932. — The Council appointed a small committee consisting of representatives of the following countries: Argentine, Belgium, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Canada, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, Portugal, Spain and Sweden (the Argentine Government being unable to be represented). Subsequently, in agreement with that Government, the Council invited the Government of Uruguay to appoint a representative on the committee. It authorised the Secretary-General to convene this committee.

The Council rapporteurs were M. Rosso, Chairman of the committee, M. Pilotti and M. Piola-Caselli (rapporteurs to the committee), Lord Cecil and the Belgian representatives (Count Carton de Wiart, M. Mélot, M. van Langenhove, M. Bourquin).

July 1932. — The Committee invited Members of the League to communicate their observations on the problems that it had to consider. Observations were received from the following Governments: Colombia, Hungary, India, Norway, Siam.

January 30th to February 4th, 1933. — Session of the Committee.

May 16th to 19th, 1933. — Session of the Committee.

May 19th, 1933. — In its report adopted on May 19th, 1933, the Committee was unanimously of opinion that a *de facto* exclusion from the Council of a large number of Members of the League was open to very grave objections. As any modification of the existing practice in regard to representation of groups which would make room for representation of a new group composed of States not at present belonging to any group would also be open to grave objections, the majority of the Committee considered that a solution would have to be found in an increase in the number of non-permanent seats.

The Portuguese member of the Committee, contrary to the Portuguese memorandum of January 5th, 1931, recommended an increase of two seats. Some members were, however, strongly of opinion that any further increase in the size of the Council would almost inevitably result in a decline in its efficiency, or at least in undesirable modifications in its procedure. It was also pointed out that the increase of non-permanent Members from six to nine which was made in 1926 was understood at that time to constitute the maximum increase which would be made. It was generally agreed that the moment was not opportune for the adoption of a decision making far-reaching constitutional changes in the Council's composition.

The Committee reached agreement upon a compromise solution which had the effect of giving provisional recognition to the claim of the non-grouped States, while postponing any final decision as to further constitutional changes. The majority of the Committee was however of opinion that one change in procedure might be suggested for the consideration of the Assembly—namely, that candidates for election to the Council should be publicly nominated in writing before the election.

October 4th, 1933. — The Republic of Portugal submitted its candidature for the new seat on the Council.

October 4th, 1933. — The Council proposed that for the period commencing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council at the Assembly's session of 1933 and ending with the election of the said non-permanent Members in the year 1936, the number of

non-permanent seats on the Council should be provisionally increased from nine to ten, on the understanding that, towards the end of that period, the question of the number of the Members of the Council would be reconsidered.

October 5th, 1933. — The Assembly approved of the increase in the number of non-permanent seats from *nine to ten* and decided that no Member of the League should be eligible to be elected as a non-permanent Member of the Council unless it had proposed itself for election, or been nominated by another Member of the League at least forty-eight hours before the election, which should not be held before the seventh day of the Assembly's session. The notice of the candidature should be given in writing to the Secretary-General, who should forthwith bring it to the attention of the Assembly. The Secretary-General should at the time of the election place before the Assembly a list of the Members which had been duly put forward as candidates.

September 15th, 1934. — The Council proposed that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should be appointed a permanent Member of the Council.

September 18th, 1934. — The Assembly approved the proposal contained in the Council resolution of September 15th and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics became a permanent Member of the Council.

May 21st, 1935. — Communication from the Chinese Government which, in view of the withdrawal of Japan from the League, asked the Council to take practical steps to provide for the representation of China on that body.

September 26th, 1935. — The Council appointed a committee to consider the question of the number of Members of the Council and at the same time the Chinese proposal. This Committee consisted of the representatives of the following States: Argentine, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom, Canada, China, France, Iran, Italy, Latvia, Peru, Poland, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Chairman was M. Guido Rocco; M. Bourquin was Vice-Chairman and Viscount Cecil Rapporteur.

September 28th, 1935 ; January 24th, 1936 ; April 27th-28th, 1936. — Sessions of the Committee. The Committee received replies from twenty-five countries. The others preferred to state their views during the discussion.

April 28th, 1936. — In adopting its report, the Committee observed that, since 1928, two of the nine non-permanent seats on the Council had always been held by the so-called "semi-permanent Members" (Spain and Poland) and the remaining seven by States belonging to five groups (see above). The creation in 1933 of a tenth non-permanent

seat, to which Portugal was elected, was a temporary remedy for the unsatisfactory situation whereby States which did not belong to any group were not in practice able to secure election.

Some Members having maintained that there should rather be a modification of the group system, the Swedish representative declared that, with the assent of Finland, the group of the ex-neutrals (composed of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland) agreed to take that country into the group.

The Committee recognised that the objections which, in 1933, stood in the way of a definitive solution of the questions connected with the non-permanent seats on the Council still existed, and that it seemed undesirable at the moment to attempt permanent changes in the composition or mode of election. The Committee's suggestion was therefore provisional; but it felt that it would be regrettable if a definitive solution were postponed longer than was necessary.

It therefore proposed that, for a limited period, the number of non-permanent seats should be raised to eleven. Of the two seats thus created, one might provide representation for a group comprising the non-grouped European States, while the Assembly might consider the other as attributed to Asia, and in particular to China.

May 13th, 1936. — The Council decided to forward the Committee's report to the Assembly.

The Portuguese representative observed that if the proposal were adopted that one seat should be created for the Asiatic States and one seat for the non-grouped States, there would be two seats for six States and one seat for fourteen States; thus the latter could only be represented on the Council once in forty-two years.

September 28th, 1936. — The Assembly approved of the recommendation of the Committee for the provisional creation of two new seats for the period commencing with the election at its 1936 session and ending with the election in 1939.

It also recommended the Council, as soon as circumstances permitted, to appoint and convene a small committee of experts to draw up proposals on the subject.

Annex 5

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL

Adopted by the Council on May 26th, 1933

ARTICLE I

1. The Council shall meet in ordinary session four times in each year—namely, on the third Monday in January, the second Monday in May, three days before the meeting of the Assembly and, for the fourth session, at a date following closely upon the appointment by the Assembly of the non-permanent Members of the Council and fixed by the President of the Council.

2. The Council may at any time decide to meet in extraordinary session.

3. The Council must meet, at the request of any Member of the League of Nations (if necessary, in extraordinary session), in the circumstances referred to in Articles II, 15 and 17 of the Covenant.

4. If not fixed by the Council, the date of the opening of an extraordinary session shall be fixed by the President, if possible after consultation with his colleagues.

5. The President of the Council, after consulting his colleagues and with the consent of the majority, may, where necessary, advance or retard the date of the opening of a session of the Council. The President may not, however, without the consent of all his colleagues, advance or retard by more than seven days the opening of an ordinary session.¹

6. The Secretary-General shall give notice to the Members of the Council of the date at which a session is to begin, unless the session is to be held at a date provided by the present Rules or fixed by the Council.

¹ On January 11th, 1935, the Council formulated the following principles for the guidance of its President in the application of Article 1, paragraph 5:

(a) Except in cases of real emergency, the President of the Council should not propose a change in the date fixed for a session of the Council if the session is already due to commence in five days.

(b) In the communication by which he consults his colleagues as to a change in the date of a session of the Council, the President should, if possible, state the new date proposed for the opening of the session or, if this is not possible, should indicate the earliest date at which the Council will be convened.

(c) Except in cases of real emergency, the President of the Council should give his colleagues at least twelve days' notice of the date which he proposes to substitute for the date originally fixed for a session of the Council.

ARTICLE II

The sessions of the Council shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, except in cases where the majority of the Members of the Council consider that the Council should meet elsewhere.

ARTICLE III

1. A provisional agenda shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General and approved by the President of the Council. It shall in all cases include any questions which a Member of the League has asked the Council to consider. It shall, so far as possible, show the rapporteurs for the various questions and give references to the documents relating thereto.

2. The provisional agenda shall be sent to the Members of the Council not less than three weeks before the opening of the session, except in the case of the fourth ordinary session of the year or of a session the date of which is such as to make it impossible to maintain this interval.

3. Any subsequent modification of the provisional agenda shall be communicated to the Members of the Council.

4. At the last ordinary session of each year, the Council shall draw up a list of rapporteurs for the various matters with which it is habitually called upon to deal.

5. Where rapporteurs have not been appointed by the Council, they shall be appointed by the President.

6. At the opening of the session, the Council shall adopt its agenda at a private meeting.

7. The Council may, by a majority, add during a meeting new questions to its agenda. In such case, unless the Council otherwise unanimously decides, such questions shall not be discussed before the next meeting.

ARTICLE IV

1. The representatives on the Council shall preside over its sessions in rotation in the alphabetical order in French of the names of the countries which they represent.

2. A President shall, in principle, enter into office at the beginning of an ordinary session and remain in office until the opening of the next ordinary session.

3. Extraordinary sessions shall be presided over by the President for the time being in office.

4. If the representative who should act as President considers that he should decline to do so during a particular session, or during the consideration of a particular matter, the Council shall arrange for another member to act as President.

ARTICLE V

Where, during the interval between sessions of the Council, the Secretary-General, for the purposes of application of the provisions of the present Rules or for any other purpose, has occasion to apply to the President of the Council and the President is prevented from acting, the Secretary-General shall apply to the last President, if the country which he represents continues to belong to the Council. If the last President is unable to act, the Secretary-General shall apply, subject to the same condition, to his predecessor, and, thereafter, in accordance with the same system, to earlier Presidents of the Council.

ARTICLE VI

1. If the person who is President ceases to represent his country on the Council, he shall be replaced by the new representative.

2. In like manner, if a former President has ceased to represent his country on the Council, the new representative shall act in his place for the purposes of Article V of the present Rules.

ARTICLE VII

1. Subject to the provisions of Article III, paragraph 6, and Article X of the present Rules, the meetings of the Council shall, unless the Council otherwise decides, be held in public.

2. Unless they have been previously circulated, the reports of rapporteurs and the documents to which they relate shall, so far as possible, be sent to the Members of the Council not less than forty-eight hours before the opening of the meeting at which they are discussed. Where this has been done, the report will not be read, unless the rapporteur desires or another Member of the Council asks that it shall be read; the rapporteurs may always give such explanations in regard to their reports as they consider desirable. The text of resolutions proposed in the reports shall be read in all cases.

ARTICLE VIII

The Council shall not discuss or decide upon any matter unless the majority of its Members are present.

ARTICLE IX

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided by the Covenant, or by the terms of any other instrument which is to be applied, decisions at any meeting of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. Subject to the provisions of Article X of the present Rules, each Member of the Council shall be called upon separately to vote, if a Member of the Council so requires. In counting the votes, abstentions from voting shall be disregarded.

ARTICLE X

All decisions concerning persons shall be taken at a private meeting. On the demand of any Member of the Council, the voting shall be by secret ballot.

ARTICLE XI

1. The Minutes of the meetings of the Council shall be kept by the Secretariat. They shall be published.

2. The Minutes of each meeting of the Council shall be sent as soon as possible to the Members of the Council, who shall, within forty-eight hours, inform the Secretariat of any corrections which they may desire to have made in their own speeches.

3. Where the Minutes were sent to the Members of the Council less than forty-eight hours before the close of the session, they shall be considered as approved if no corrections have been asked for within ten days.

4. The Council may decide not to have published Minutes. In this case, a summary record in a single copy shall alone be made. Such record shall be kept in the Secretariat of the League of Nations, where the representatives of Governments which took part in the meeting may have corrections made in their own speeches within a period of ten days. On the expiration of this period, the record shall be considered as approved and shall be signed by the Secretary-General. Representatives of the said Governments shall at all times have the right to consult the record at the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XII

1. When the Council is not in session, its Members may be consulted by correspondence by the Secretary-General, on instructions from the President, and may by this means adopt such measures of an administrative character as appear on grounds of urgency to be strictly necessary before the Council again meets.

2. Subject to confirmation by the Council at its next session, the President of the Council, at the request of the Secretary-General, may, in the interval between sessions, take financial measures of an urgent

character which fall within the competence of the Council, such as the approval of transfers, charging of expenditure to the Council's vote for unforeseen expenditure, and advances from the Working Capital Fund.

ARTICLE XIII

The chairmen and members of committees, experts and officials of the League may be admitted to give information or assistance at meetings of the Council.

ARTICLE XIV

1. Subject to the provisions of the Covenant, the present Rules may be amended by a three-fourths majority, subject to the proposal for amendment of the Rules having been first placed on the agenda.

2. Subject to the same restriction, a departure from the provisions of the present Rules may be sanctioned, by the same majority, without its being necessary for a proposal to that effect to be first placed on the agenda.

Annex 6

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COUNCIL PROCEDURE

(Geneva, September 21st, 1937. Document C.395.1937)

(Adopted by the Council on September 29th, 1937)

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Committee appointed by the Council on May 27th, 1937 (ninety-seventh session), to consider certain points in connection with Council procedure, was composed as follows:

United Kingdom . . .	Mr. R. C. S. STEVENSON.
Chile	H.E. M. F. GARCÍA OLDINI.
China	H.E. Dr. HOO Chi-Tsai.
France	M. LAGARDE.
Poland	H.E. M. Tytus KOMARNICKI.

M. Komarnicki was appointed Rapporteur.

The Committee was of opinion that it would be a mistake to attempt to regulate the procedure of the Council in too great detail. Nevertheless, it considered that experience had shown that a number of points not covered by the Rules of Procedure might with advantage be clarified. Moreover, it thought that it might be convenient if, on one or two points, the procedure of the Council, as established by custom, were expressly stated.

The Committee therefore submits the following points for the consideration of the Council.

The Committee does not consider it necessary, at all events at the present stage, to amend or supplement the Rules of Procedure.

Certain resolutions on procedure already adopted by the Council but not included in its Rules of Procedure, and on which the Committee has no suggestions to make, are annexed for convenience to the present report.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

I. Secret Meetings

(a) It is desirable to limit as far as possible the number of persons attending secret meetings. It is therefore recommended that each Member of the Council be normally accompanied by not more than one assistant. If, for exceptional reasons, a Member of the Council

wishes to be accompanied by more than one assistant, he should so inform the President beforehand. In no case should the number of assistants exceed three.

The same considerations apply to the number of persons who may accompany the Secretary-General (apart from technical staff).

(b) It is desirable that, where circumstances permit, the Council should issue a *communiqué*. The preparation of such *communiqué* might normally be left to the President and the Secretary-General.

As regards information of a confidential nature, of importance to permanent delegates or other representatives of the Members of the League duly authorised by their respective Governments to follow the Council's proceedings, the latter might empower the President or the Secretary-General to furnish such information with due regard both for the interests of the League and for the legitimate desire of these representatives to be kept duly informed of the general course of the Council's proceedings.

Except in so far as the issue of information is authorised by the Council itself, no person present has the right to divulge what passed at the meeting.

2. *Private Meetings*

(a) With a view to avoiding over-crowding in the room assigned to the Council for its private meetings, it is recommended that each Member of the Council be normally accompanied by not more than three assistants. If, for exceptional reasons, a Member of the Council wishes to be accompanied by more than three assistants, he should so inform the President beforehand. In no case should the number of assistants exceed five.

The representatives of Members of the League not represented on the Council may also attend private meetings. In view of the limited accommodation available, however, it is desirable that as far as possible each Member should be represented by one person only.

The Secretary-General shall limit as far as possible the number of officials attending private meetings.

The Committee considers that a reasonable allocation of the seating accommodation available at private meetings would be as follows:

For each Council delegation	2 seats
For representatives of Members of the League not represented on the Council	15 seats
For members of the Secretariat (other than technical staff)	5 seats

(b) It is recommended that the President should open the private meeting not later than five minutes after the time announced.

3. *Adoption of Agenda*

It is recommended that the following procedure, which corresponds to the practice generally adopted hitherto, should be followed, unless the Council, in a given case, should decide otherwise:

At the private meeting at which it adopts the agenda, whether of the session or of the meeting, the Council sits in its ordinary composition. Nevertheless, if the representative of a Member of the League entitled to send a representative to the Council for the discussion of the substance of an item asks permission to present any observations to the Council in regard to the inclusion of that item on the agenda, that representative is invited to the Council table. Similarly, if any discussion in regard to the inclusion of the item otherwise arises, the representative of such Member of the League, if present in the room, is invited to the Council table.

4. *Voting*

It is recommended that the following procedure, which corresponds to the practice generally adopted hitherto, should be followed, unless the Council, in a given case, should decide otherwise:

When a vote by roll-call is required under Article IX, paragraph 3, of the Rules of Procedure, it shall be taken in French alphabetical order of the Members of the League represented at the meeting, the President voting last. In cases in which the vote concerns a dispute, the representatives of the parties to the dispute shall vote after the other Members of the Council and the President. The vote of the parties shall also be taken in French alphabetical order.

5. *Distribution of the Text of Speeches*

In deference to the dignity of Council meetings, it is recommended that those delegations desirous of communicating the text of a speech to the Press should wait, before doing so, until the speaker in question has finished speaking.

6. *Presidency of the Council*

In order to expedite the operation of the system of rotation, it is recommended that the practice followed hitherto, by which the two autumn sessions of the Council are presided over by the same President, should be discontinued, and that a new President should take office for each of the four regular sessions of the Council.

7. *Deputations*

The President of the Council cannot speak in the name of the Council unless he has been specially requested to do so by the latter, and

therefore should not, in that capacity, receive deputations. Any statement made to him should therefore be received by him in his capacity as a Member of the Council only.

8. *Reports of Technical Committees*

In order to avoid to some extent the inconvenience resulting from Members of the Council being asked to discuss reports of technical committees distributed during or immediately before the Council session, it is recommended that the following practice be observed:

When the report of a standing technical committee has not been distributed to the Council at least one week before the date fixed for the opening of the session, the relevant question shall be excluded from the revised agenda which is distributed by the Secretariat just before the session. Members of the Council shall nevertheless retain their right, under Article III, paragraph 7, of the Rules of Procedure, to propose to the Council that the discussion of a particular report should be added to the agenda in the course of the session.

9. *Presence of Representatives of League Committees at the Council Table*

It is generally unnecessary for the chairman or other representatives of League committees to come to the Council table for the discussion of their committees' reports. Nevertheless, it is open to the Rapporteur for the particular question on the agenda to ask the Secretary-General to arrange for the representation of the committee, should special circumstances appear to the Rapporteur to warrant such action.

10. *Occasional Speeches*

Occasional speeches, such as speeches of condolence or congratulation, are normally made by the President on behalf of the Council as a whole, so that any Member of the Council may refrain from speaking without any discourtesy being imputed to him. Members of the Council other than the President are nevertheless at liberty to speak on such occasions, but it is recommended that, so far as possible, they should make their intention of speaking known at the private meeting preceding the public meeting in question.

Sub-annex

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE PROCEDURE OF THE COUNCIL WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED IN THE RULES OF PROCEDURE

(a) *Date of Sessions of the Council* (Resolution of January 11th, 1935)

(1) Except in cases of real emergency, the President of the Council should not propose a change in the date fixed for a session of the Council if the session is already due to commence in five days.

(2) In the communication by which he consults his colleagues as to a change in the date of a session of the Council, the President should, if possible, state the new date proposed for the opening of the session or, if this is not possible, should indicate the earliest date at which the Council will be convened.

(3) Except in cases of real emergency, the President of the Council should give his colleagues at least twelve days' notice of the date which he proposes to substitute for the date originally fixed for a session of the Council.

(b) *Communications from Non-official International Organisations*
(Resolution of December 10th, 1923)

The Council of the League, while confirming the principles laid down in July last in its decision that the documents of non-official associations should not be forwarded to Governments by the Secretary-General of the League, in order that the Members of the Council might be informed of the nature of any communications addressed to the League by non-official international associations, instructs the Secretary-General to prepare and present to the Council at the beginning of each of its sessions a list of any such communications which he may have received, stating the international organisations from which they emanate and the subject to which they refer.

Each Member of the Council will thus be aware what resolutions or petitions have been received, and will be able, should it so desire, to obtain cognisance of their terms.

(c) *Acceptance of Gifts* (Resolution of January 15th, 1934)

1. Gifts which are less than 5,000 Swiss francs in value and which do not involve the League in financial liability shall be brought to the knowledge of the Council by the circulation of a list before each session. On this list, the Secretary-General shall report in each case whether, in his opinion, the gift is one which should be accepted.

2. The gift shall not be placed upon the agenda of the Council unless one of its Members makes a request to that effect.

3. If no Member of the Council raises any objection during the session following the circulation of the list, the Secretary-General shall be considered as being authorised to accept the gifts which he has reported to be acceptable and to refuse the other gifts.

4. Where the gift is obviously of a trivial or undesirable nature, the Secretary-General is authorised to refuse it without reference to the Council.

5. Where the gift is not made for a particular purpose, the Secretary-General shall indicate the object for which he proposes to use it.

(d) *Agenda of Extraordinary Sessions* (Resolution of June 1st, 1934)

In the case of an extraordinary session, the provisional agenda circulated to the Members of the Council shall contain only the item for which the extraordinary session was originally called; but, at the beginning of the session, when the Council adopts its agenda, the Secretary-General shall communicate to it a list of the other most urgent questions. The purpose of this list would be to enable the Members of the Council to exercise the right accorded to them under Rule III, paragraph 7, of the Rules of Procedure of the Council to ask for the inclusion of an item in the agenda of the session.

Annex 7

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT PRESENTED BY THE FIRST
COMMITTEE TO THE FIRST ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
ASSEMBLY

.....
II. In the course of the discussion a difference of opinion appeared as to the interpretation of the first paragraph of Article 4 of the Covenant.

The French text of Article 4, paragraph 1, lays down that the four non-permanent Members of the Council "*sont désignés librement par l'Assemblée et aux époques qu'il lui plaît de choisir*", while the English text reads: "shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time *in its discretion*".

Part of the Committee was of opinion that this provision should be understood as follows: The plenary Assembly should remain free to choose as Members of the Council those of the Members of the League of Nations which, at the time the selection is made, it considers best fitted to carry out their duties as such, that is to say, to watch over the interests entrusted to the Council. The selection of the four Members is therefore to be free and not subject to any regulations on the part of the Assembly, either in respect of apportionment of seats or of the progressive limitation of choice. Such regulations are alone admissible as are confined to the method of selection and the duration of the mandates or are intended to guarantee freedom of choice. In other words, only regulations exclusively affecting the actual procedure of selection can be considered as compatible with the Covenant.

On the other hand, however, other members of the Committee are of opinion that Article 4 gives the Assembly of the League absolute liberty not only to regulate at will the method of election and the duration of mandates but also to introduce any system of apportionment of seats or of rotation calculated to increase the prestige of the Council and to enable it to watch over the common interests of the whole world in the best possible manner.

III. Part of the Committee was of opinion that the fundamental principle to which the Assembly should always adhere in selecting the non-permanent Members of the Council is that those Members should be chosen which are best fitted to carry out, in conjunction with the permanent Members, the duties entrusted to the Council; the election

must always be a selection. With this object in view, especial consideration should, amongst other things, be given to international political, economic, social and financial relations of every sort, as well as to the respective situations of the various States at the time of the election.

Other Members consider that, in order to ensure that the composition of the Council is satisfactory, it is essential to guarantee to Members of the League the certainty of obtaining a seat in turn, since without this certainty there would be a risk that they would gradually cease to take an interest in the work of the Council, and that the spirit of co-operation would be weakened. For these reasons, they proposed that the duration of the mandate of non-permanent Members of the Council should be reduced to a short period—for example, two years—in order to accelerate the rotation as much as possible, and to require that a Member which had sat on the Council should not be re-elected until all the other Members had also sat on the Council. This system has been called the system of obligatory rotation.

Part of the Committee believes that this is incompatible with Article 4 of the Covenant. The system of free selection provided for in this article would thus be replaced by the system of obligatory rotation. The latitude of choice would be restricted from year to year, and would indeed finish by disappearing altogether, because the Assembly would ultimately only be able to appoint to the Council those Members who had not yet been elected.

It was urged that justice as well as expediency requires that all the Members of the League of Nations should in turn obtain a seat on the Council, in order to be able to represent their views on matters of international policy and to utilise their special knowledge concerning the actual situation in different parts of the world. The majority, however, considers that the appreciation of these elements should always be left to the Assembly. The latter cannot therefore adopt a rigid system, which is foreign to the Covenant, nor can it be bound by any such principle as that of obligatory rotation. The Committee has accordingly not adopted this system.

Annex 8

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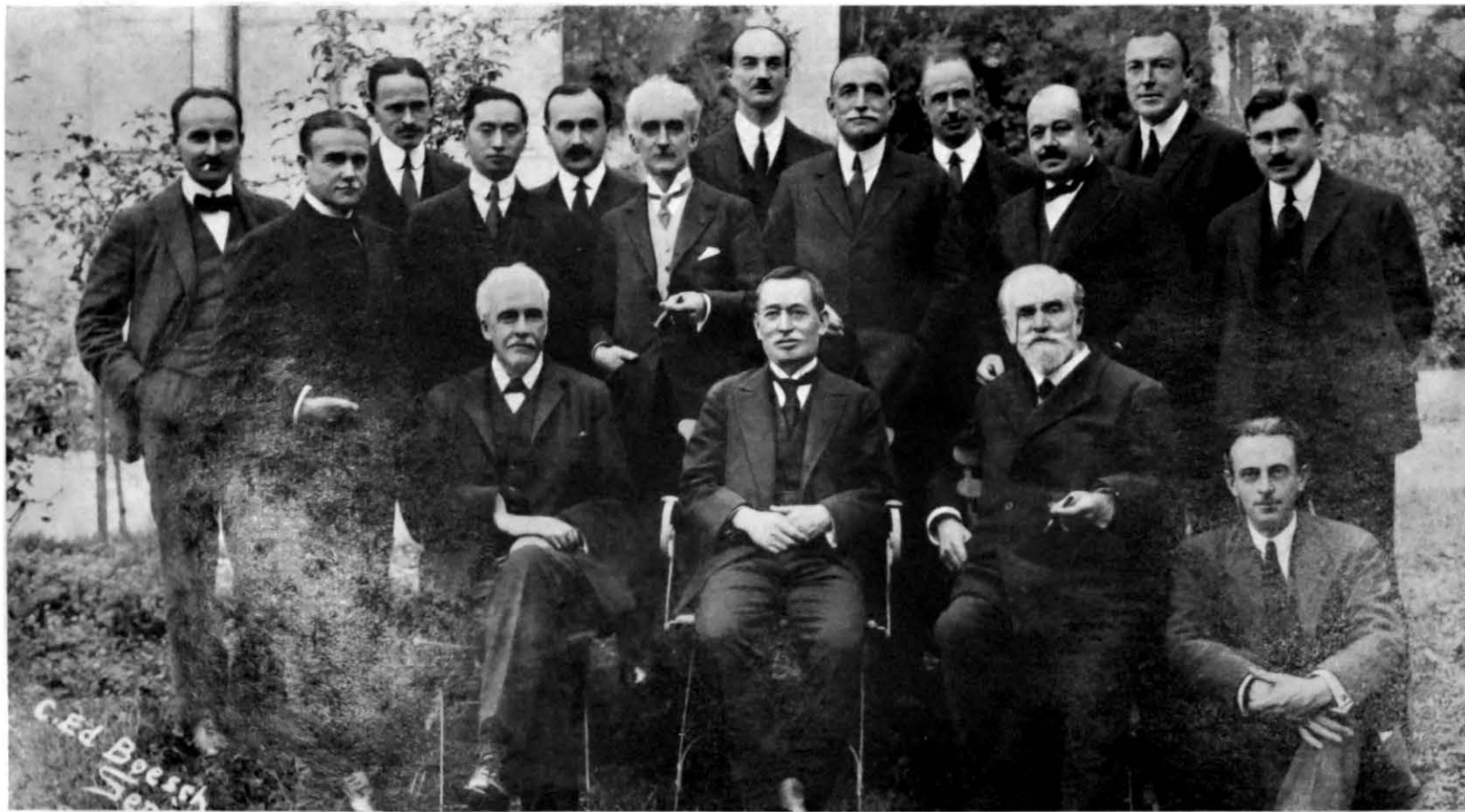
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VARIOUS MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL



FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN PARIS ON JANUARY 16TH,
1920.

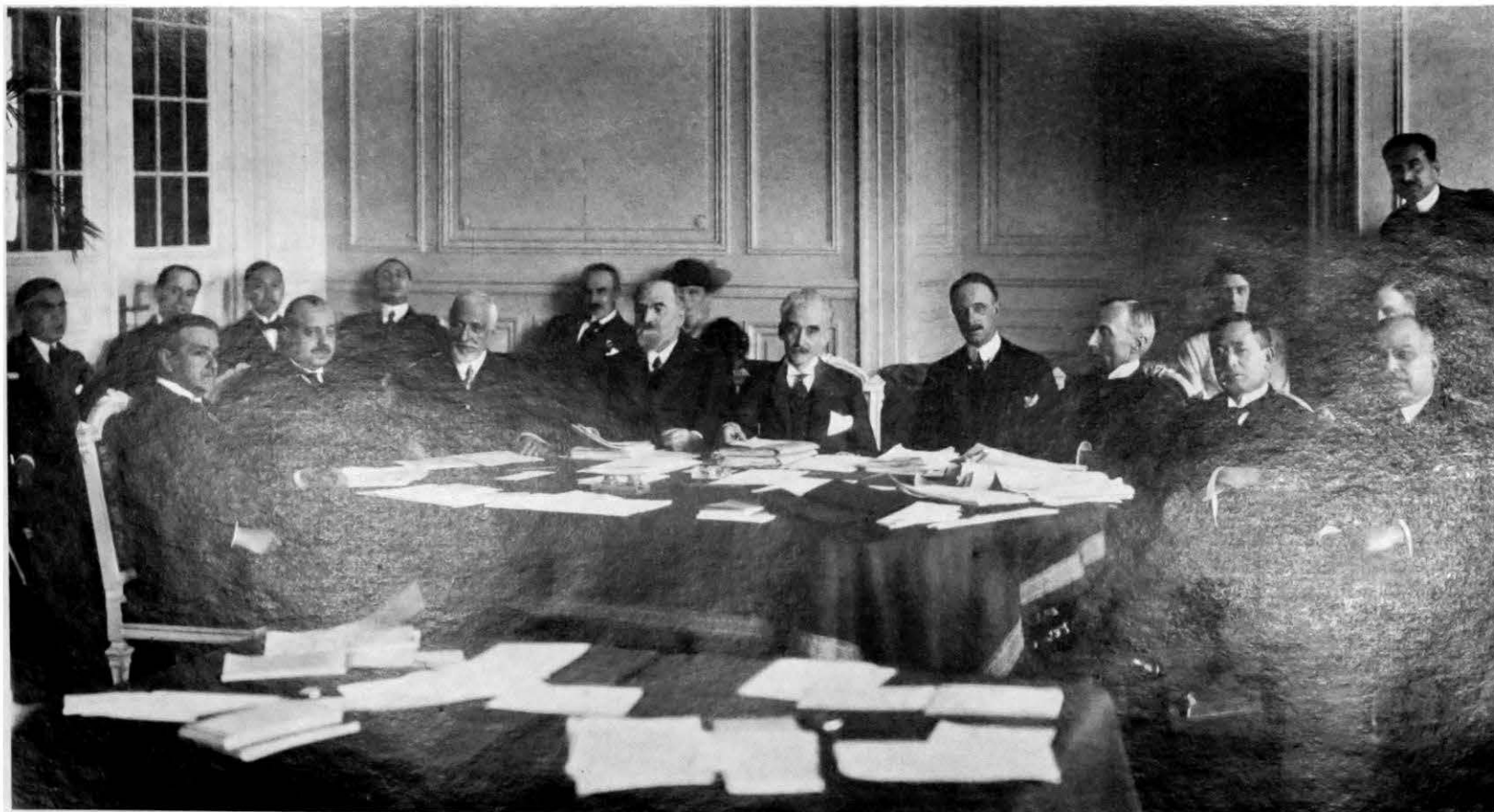
From left to right around the table: M. Venizelos (Greece); M. da Cunha (Brazil); M. Matsui (Japan); Earl Curzon of Kedleston (Great Britain); M. Bourgeois (France), President; M. Ferraris (Italy); M. Hymans (Belgium); M. Quiñones de León (Spain).



THIRTEENTH (EXTRAORDINARY) SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN GENEVA FROM JUNE 17TH TO 28TH, 1921.

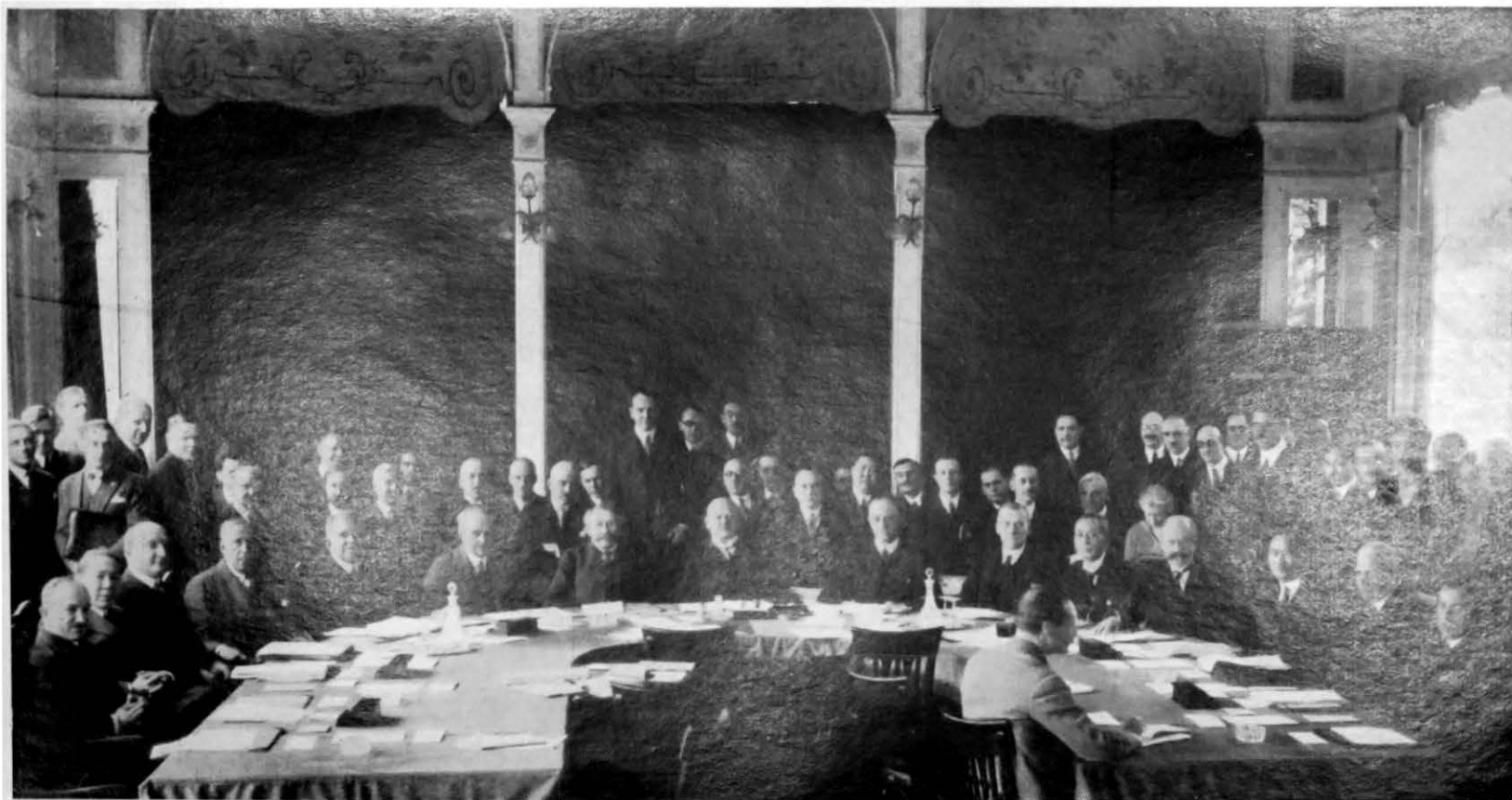
Seated, from left to right: Mr. Balfour (Great Britain); Viscount Ishii (Japan), President; M. L. Bourgeois (France); M. X. (Secretariat).

Standing, from left to right: M. da Cunha (Brazil); M. Wellington Koo (China); M. Hymans (Belgium); Marquis Imperiali (Italy); Sir Eric Drummond (Secretary-General); M. Quiñones de León (Spain).



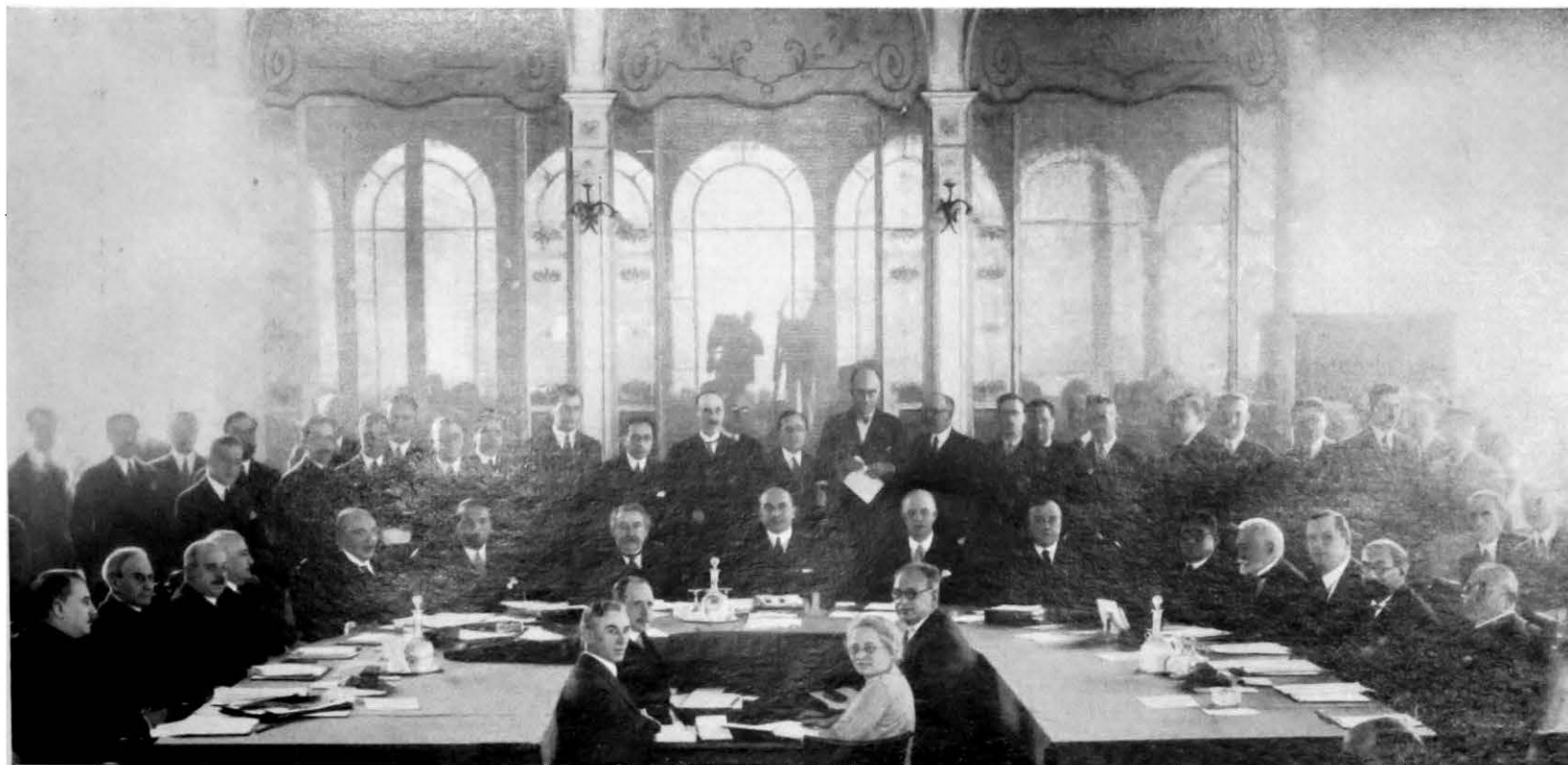
SIXTEENTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN GENEVA FROM JANUARY 10TH TO 14TH, 1922.

From left to right: M. da Cunha (Brazil); M. Quiñones de León (Spain); M. Tittoni (Italy); M. Bourgeois (France); M. Hymans (Belgium), President; Sir Eric Drummond (Secretary-General); Mr. Fisher (Great Britain); Viscount Ishii (Japan); M. Tang-Tsai Fou (China).



FORTY-FOURTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN GENEVA FROM MARCH 7TH TO 12TH, 1927.

From left to right: M. Beneš (Czechoslovakia); M. Titulesco (Roumania); M. Zaleski (Poland); M. Urrutia (Colombia); M. Villegas (Chile); M. Scialoja (Italy); M. Briand (France); M. Stresemann (Germany), President; Sir Eric Drummond (Secretary-General); Sir Austen Chamberlain (Great Britain); Viscount Ishii (Japan); M. Vandervelde (Belgium); M. Chao-Hsin Chu (China); M. Doude van Troostwyk (Netherlands); M. Guerrero (Salvador).



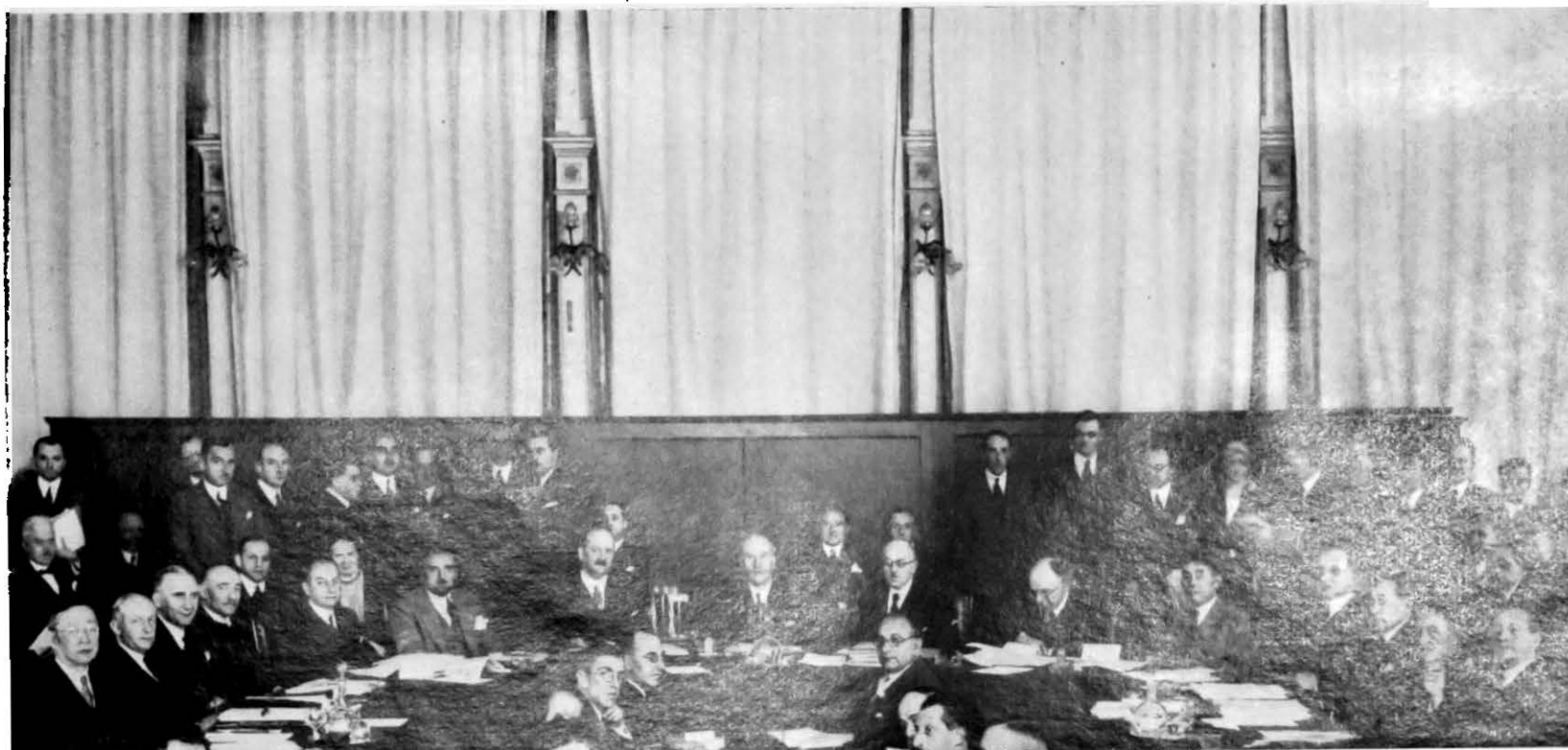
FIFTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD AT GENEVA FROM JANUARY 13TH TO 16TH, 1930.

From left to right: M. Choumenkovitch (Yugoslavia); M. Zumeta (Venezuela); M. Quiñones de León (Spain); M. Agüero y Bethancourt (Cuba); M. von Schubert (Germany); M. Grandi (Italy); M. Briand (France); M. Zaleski (Poland), President; Sir Eric Drummond (Secretary-General); Mr. Henderson (Great Britain); M. Yoshida (Japan); M. Dandurand (Canada); M. Procope (Finland); M. Foroughi Khan (Persia); M. Cornejo (Peru).



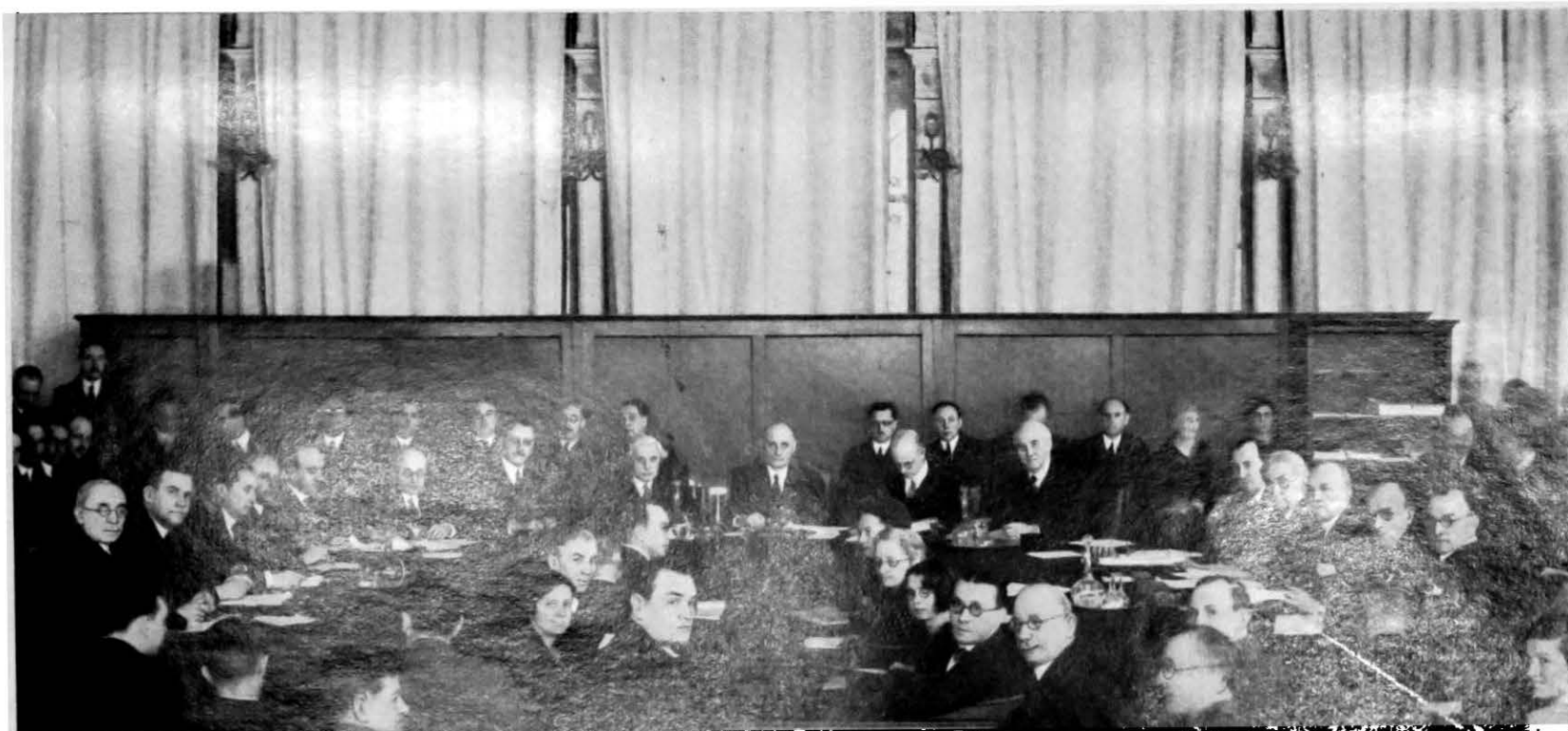
SIXTY-THIRD SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD AT GENEVA FROM MAY 18TH TO 23RD, 1931.

From left to right: M. Schober (Austria); M. Matos (Guatemala); Mr. MacGilligan (Irish Free State); M. Zumeta (Venezuela); M. Marinkovitch (Yugoslavia); M. Zaleski (Poland); M. Grandi (Italy); M. Briand (France); M. Curtius (Germany), President; Sir Eric Drummond (Secretary-General); Mr. Henderson (Great Britain); M. Yoshisawa (Japan); M. Lerroux (Spain); M. Hussein Ala (Persia); M. Barreto (Peru); M. Braadland (Norway); M. Beneš (Czechoslovakia); M. Hymans (Belgium).



SIXTY-FIFTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN GENEVA FROM SEPTEMBER 19TH TO 30TH, 1931.

From left to right: M. Sao-Ke Sze (China); M. Matos (Guatemala); Mr. MacGilligan (Irish Free State); M. Marinkovitch (Yugoslavia); M. Curtius (Germany); M. Grandi (Italy); M. Flandin (France); M. Lerroux (Spain), President; M. Avenol (Deputy Secretary-General); Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (Great Britain); M. Yoshisawa (Japan); M. Zaleski (Poland); M. Barreto (Peru); M. Braadland (Norway); M. Garay (Panama).



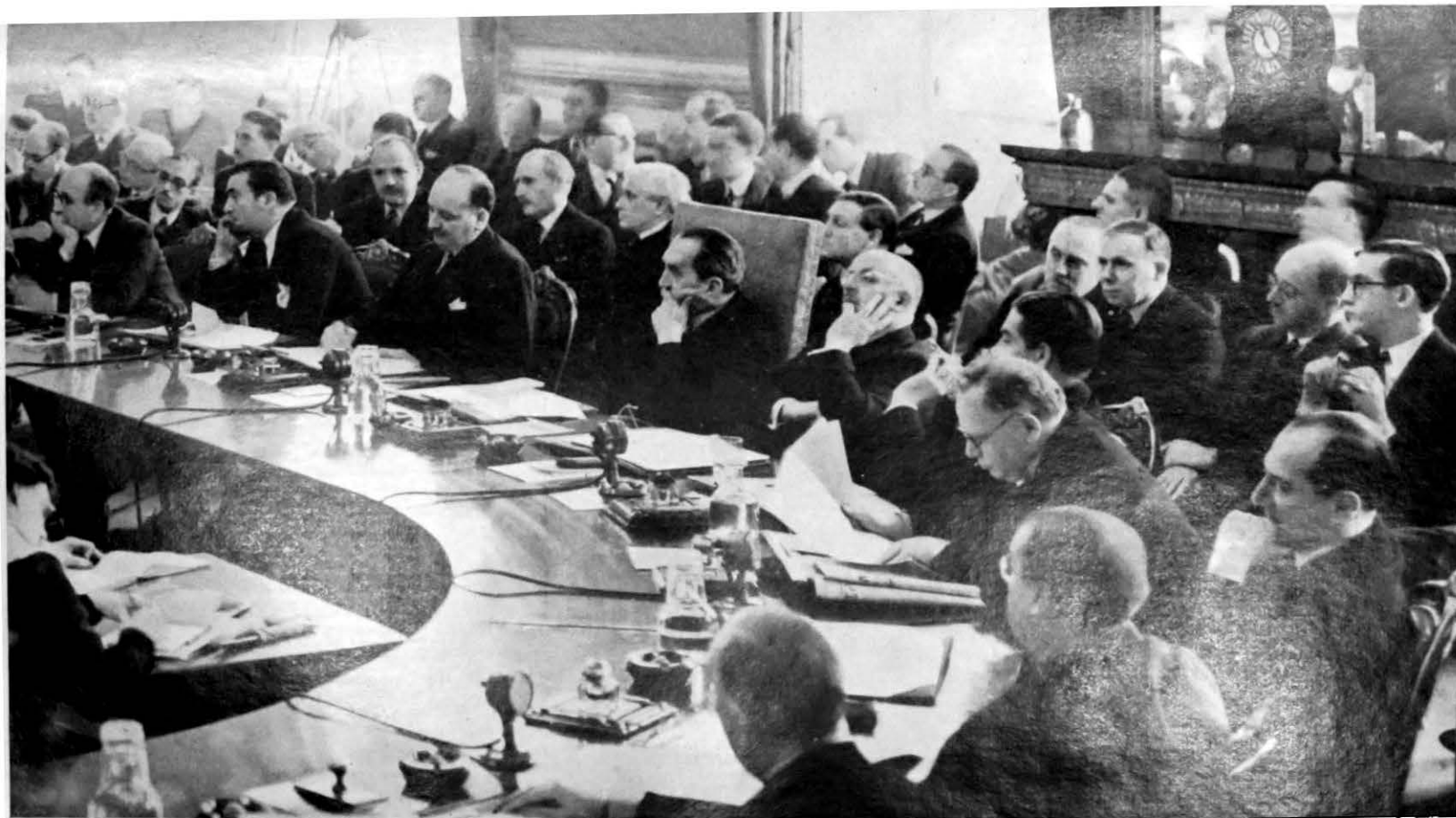
SEVENTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD AT GENEVA FROM FEBRUARY 21ST TO MARCH 18TH, 1933.

From left to right: M. Künzl-Jizersky (Czechoslovakia); M. Wellington Koo (China); M. Matos (Guatemala); Mr. Lester (Irish Free State); M. de Madariaga (Spain); M. von Keller (Germany); M. Paul-Boncour (France); M. Aloisi (Italy), President; Sir Eric Drummond (Secretary-General); Sir John Simon (Great Britain); M. Beck (Poland); M. Lange (Norway); M. Amador (Panama); M. Pani (Mexico); M. Rosting (High Commissioner, Danzig).



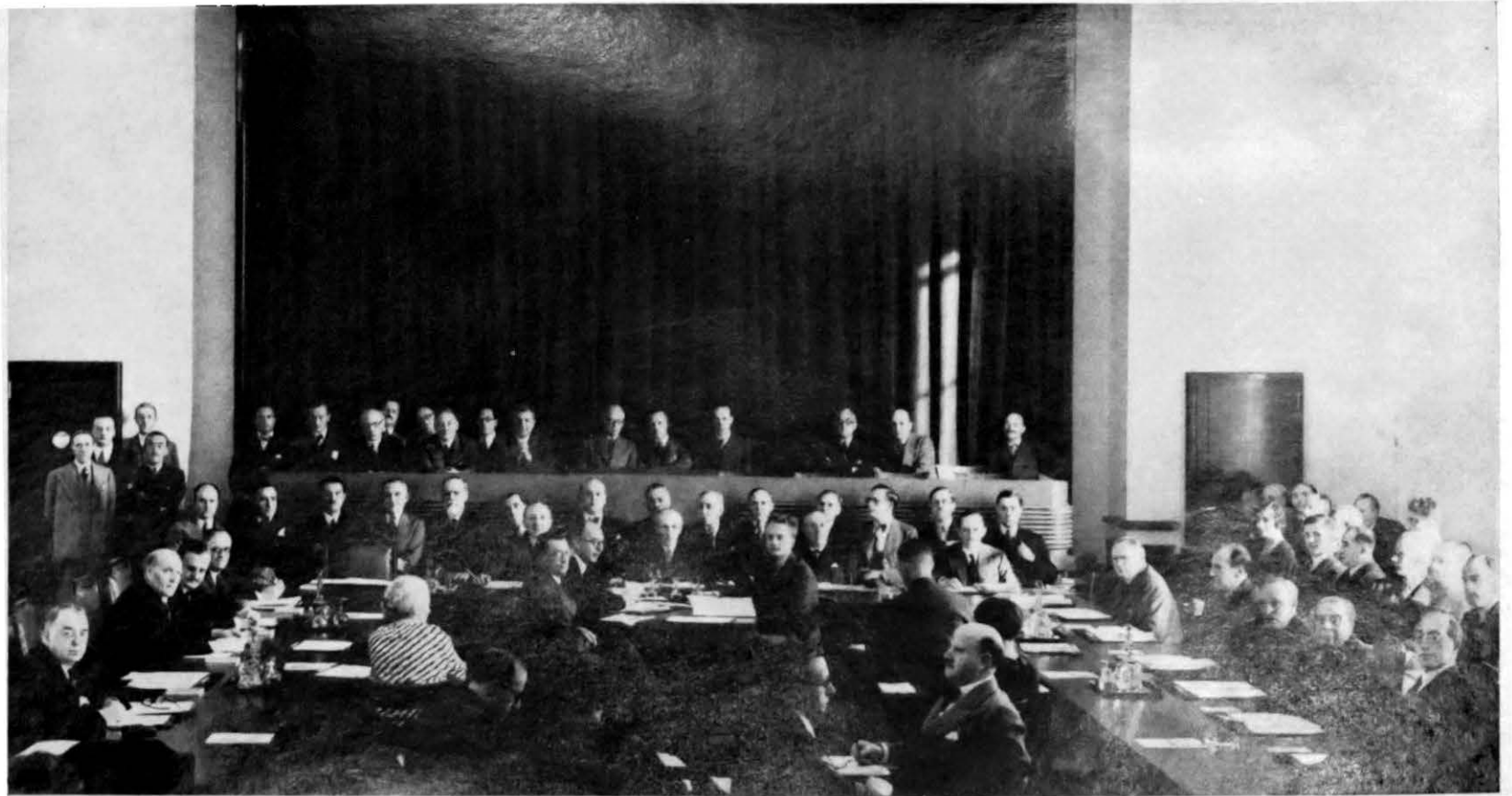
EIGHTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD AT GENEVA FROM JULY 31ST TO AUGUST 3RD, 1935.

From left to right: M. Rivas Vicuña (Chile); M. Borberg (Denmark); M. Cantilo (Argentine); M. Marté Gomez (Mexico); M. de Madariaga (Spain); M. Aloisi (Italy); M. Massigli (France); M. Litvinoff (U.S.S.R.), President; M. Avenol (Secretary-General); Mr. Eden (Great Britain); M. Komarnicki (Poland); M. Künzl-Jizersky (Czechoslovakia); Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce (Australia); M. Vasconcellos (Portugal); M. Rüstü Aras (Turkey).



NINETY-FIRST (EXTRAORDINARY) SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN LONDON FROM MARCH 11TH TO 24TH, 1936.

From left to right: M. de Madariaga (Spain); M. Grandi (Italy); M. Flandin (France); The Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce (Australia), President; M. J. Avenol (Secretary-General); Mr. Eden (Great Britain); M. Litvinoff (U.S.S.R.); M. Beck (Poland); M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal).



NINETY-THIRD SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN GENEVA FROM SEPTEMBER 18TH TO 26TH, 1936.

First meeting in the new headquarters of the League.

From left to right around the table: M. Antonesco (Roumania); M. Munch (Denmark); M. Saavedra Lamas (Argentine); M. Del Vayo (Spain); M. Delbos (France); M. Rivas Vicuña (Chile), President; M. Avenol (Secretary-General); Lord Cranborne (Great Britain); M. Litvinoff (U.S.S.R.); M. Beck (Poland); Mr. Officer (Australia); M. de Vasconcellos (Portugal); M. Rüstü Aras (Turkey).



NINETY-NINTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, HELD IN GENEVA FROM SEPTEMBER 29TH TO OCTOBER 5TH, 1937.
Council Chamber.

From left to right: M. Ulloa (Peru); M. Feldmans (Latvia); M. Sandler (Sweden); M. Costa du Rels (Bolivia); M. Quevedo (Ecuador); M. Komarnicki (Poland); M. Delbos (France); M. Avenol (Secretary-General); Lord Cranborne (Great Britain); M. Litvinoff (U.S.S.R.); M. Antonesco (Roumania); Mr. Jordan (New Zealand); M. Wellington Koo (China); M. Samiy (Iran); M. Spaak (Belgium).